

Hurricane Winds Ravage Samoa

1-19-86
HSB



Most of Ta'u village on Ta'u Island in the Manua group of American Samoa lies in ruins today after it was hit by Hurricane Tusi. Associated Press

100 Injured, 2,000 Homeless on 3 Isles

Associated Press

PAGO PAGO, American Samoa — Villagers on three remote islands of this U.S. territory slept in tents and lean-tos today and relied on coconuts for liquid to drink after a hurricane packing 110 mph winds injured about 100 people and left more than 2,000 homeless.

Hurricane Tusi yesterday ravaged the South Pacific islands of Tau, Ofu and Olosega, 60 miles east of here, hurling furniture and appliances through walls and flattening plantations that grew bananas, oranges, taro and breadfruit, said Aleni Ripine, spokesman for Gov. A.P. Lutali.

"The situation is very bad," Ripine said. "About 95 percent

of the homes have been totally destroyed, and the others very badly damaged."

He said the lowest damage estimate given so far was \$80 million.

"EVERYTHING is flattened. It looks like the moon," photographer Geoffrey Van Kirk said after returning from Tau.

The Defense Department was asked to mobilize its Army Re-

serve unit in Pago Pago, and call went out to American Red Cross chapters in Honolulu and San Francisco to airlift relief supplies.

A team of five doctors and 20 nurses from Lyndon B. Johnson Medical Center here went to the affected islands to treat the injured.

Thirty-seven of the most serious cases were reported.

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2,000 Homeless in Samoa Storm

Continued from Page One
ously hurt were sent here for treatment and at least 16 were admitted to the hospital, hospital spokeswoman Ete Lutu said. Most of the injuries involved broken bones, she said.

A 48-year-old man from Tau was listed in serious condition in the center's intensive care unit with fractured ribs and a punctured lung, Lutu said.

TERRITORIAL authorities asked the U.S. Interior Department, which has jurisdiction over American Samoa, to have President Reagan declare the chain of islands called Manua a disaster area.

Pumps that bring drinking water to the surface from wells were useless because of power

failures, and the government was sending water aboard fishing boats, Ripine said.

Islanders slept in shelters made of roofing materials and in tents provided by the government, while Pago Pago residents donated money, clothing and food, he said.

The government also was sending teams of officials to deal with problems involving electrical power, agriculture, roads and schooling, he said.

The only village on the three islands not destroyed by the hurricane was on Ofu, where a motel and six guest huts near an airstrip were left standing.

AT LAST REPORT, the hurricane, with winds gusting to 150 mph, was 450 miles southeast

of here, moving to the southeast at 15 mph. There are no islands in its current path, said Air Force Maj. John Trumble in Honolulu.

The Hawaii State Chapter of the American Red Cross has not been asked for any assistance regarding personnel, according to John Parrish, associate manager-operations in Honolulu.

"However, we are accepting donations for victims of the hurricane," he said.

Checks should be made out to the Hawaii State Chapter, American Red Cross, 4151 Diamond Head Road, Honolulu 96816.

The checks should be marked for "American Samoa hurricane victims."

Sighting Information • TURTLE and SEAL

Animal sighted (circle): TURTLE SEAL
Number of animals: 1 Type, if known: Hawksbill
Date: 9-25-90 Observer: Robert
Time: 2:30 PM Address & phone (optional): Am. Samoa
Location: Amatau (North Shore of Tutuila)
Observed from(circle): shore; boat(name: _____);
while skin or SCUBA diving(on surface or at 30 feet deep).
Estimated size(length): 22 1/2 inches long
COMMENTS:(color pattern; injuries; scar patterns; tumors;
flipper tags:present Y/N, tag color, and if readable tag number;
bleach marks(number/letter); behavior; and weather.
Right rear fluke torn, no tag, overcast with rough seas, behaving sick + weak.

Sighting Information • TURTLE and SEAL

Animal sighted (circle): TURTLE SEAL
Number of animals: 1 Type, if known: GREEN
Date: May 8, 1987 Observer: TEOV BUCKLEY
Time: Noon Address & phone (optional): Omura P.O. BOX 3730
Location: Folaa Bay, American Samoa
Observed from(circle): shore; boat(name: Omura/Whaler);
while skin or SCUBA diving(on surface or at 20 feet deep).
Estimated size(length): .7 m (shell length)
COMMENTS:(color pattern; injuries; scar patterns; tumors;
flipper tags:present Y/N, tag color, and if readable tag number;
bleach marks(number/letter); behavior; and weather.
no observed tags swimming over 30-35 ft. break in reef (along reef front) on a sunny calm day. Did not seem wary & just a little curious

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Wildlife personnel rescue and release 100 pound sea turtle

A mature female Hawksbill Sea Turtle (Laumei Faiuga) was saved from an uncertain fate and released back to the waters it calls home Friday morning. DMWR personnel were notified and confiscated the turtle in Pago Pago earlier Friday morning. Local biologists stated the marine mammal weighed about 100 pounds and measured 33 and half inches in length.

Preliminary reports from the Department of Marine and Wildlife Resources (DMWR) staff of biologists stated that "someone had picked up the turtle" on a road near Sailele and transported it to Pago Pago when the report was made to the department.

They speculated that the turtle may have come ashore to lay its eggs. "To our knowledge," said Tom Morrell, DMWR wildlife biologist, "no harm was done" to the turtle. He did acknowledge that the turtle risked dehydration, which occurs if the turtle is left out of the water for an extended length of time. The age of the turtle was estimated to be about 25 years old.

Shortly after the turtle was brought to the DMWR build-

ing in Fagatogo, the staff quickly prepared to escort the mammal to a point two miles out of the harbor where it was released.

The Fono, on May 25, 1990, enacted legislation adopting existing federal regulations forbidding any handling, capture, eating, harming or selling sea turtles themselves, their hatchlings or their eggs. These laws were adopted by the Legislature of American Samoa in order to preserve and protect sea turtles in the territory.

(All sea turtles are listed as "endangered" by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) and are protected by the federal government. Federal penalties for taking, capturing or harming any turtle or its eggs can mean a \$10,000 to \$20,000 fine and six months in prison.)

DMWR biologists tagged the Hawksbill before its release so as to keep some record of the turtle. "Very little is known about them," said Dr. Peter Craig, "and it is suspected that the sea turtles in the Pacific are rapidly declining."

He added, "Here in the territory, the sea turtles are far

less abundant than they were just a few years ago." These declines have been noted world-wide due to the over-harvest, destruction of natural habitat and incidental kills in fishing methods. "The U.S. FWS lists sea turtles as endangered," said Craig, "because the turtles are in danger of extinction."

The tag was placed on the left front flipper of the animal as part of an on-going program which was begun years ago as an effort to understand more about these sea turtles. This way, the DMWR can collect more data on the distribution and abundance of sea turtles in the territory.

"We're extremely concerned," said Morrell, "that they're on their way out," citing weekly surveys carried out over a nine-month period in Swains Island where only eight sea turtle tracks were documented.

Earlier tagging operations showed strong evidence of sea turtles migrating over long distances. One turtle tagged in American Samoa was discovered in Fiji.

(Continued on page 8)



Staff of the Department of Marine and Wildlife Resources carefully handle a Hawksbill Sea Turtle as they return it to sea. The department confiscated the animal early Friday morning, saving it from an uncertain fate. This species, as well as other sea turtles, are listed as "endangered" and are protected from harm by strict regulation.

the territory, and the DMWR suspects that they were eaten. Also, the department has reported three sightings of persons raiding the turtle nests on the beaches and taking all the eggs.

"People should understand that taking the eggs will only hurt the village in the future," said Craig.

He elaborated that turtles instinctively return to the beaches where they were hatched to lay their eggs, just as salmon return to spawn. When enough eggs are taken, then the number of turtles which grow to maturity swiftly declines, thus a village lessens the worth of its beaches as a haven for turtles which have been a strong part of Samoan tradition and culture.

"The prospect of extinction is not wholly a cultural issue," said Morrel. "It's a biological one."

He added, "The turtle is faced with extinction. If we don't take action now, the turtle may be lost."

"We have to educate the people that there is definitely a real problem here," was another comment made by a biologist. But, Mrs. Bartley, a local, made a statement that struck closer to home.

She said, "The turtles are a part of our culture and if we don't protect and conserve that part of the culture, then it will die. When that part of our culture dies it will be lost to our families forever..."

The department urges anyone with information concerning sea turtles to contact their office at 633-4456.

* TURTLE

from page one

Many other Pacific island governments are ahead of American Samoa in developing and implementing protection and conservation programs for sea turtles. Hawaii has a program underway in an attempt to protect sea turtles in order to raise their numbers. Fiji recently enacted a ban on all exports of turtle shells, especially to markets in Japan.

The South Pacific Commission is also putting together a recovery plan for sea turtles in the Western

SEA TURTLE SURVEY

"We want the people to realize that the turtle is an important resource," Craig stressed, warning, "and it is headed for extinction."

At present, the DMWR is conducting a sea turtle information survey. The survey is being spearheaded by assistant wildlife biologist Natasha Barley and wildlife technician Kiso So'oto.

The two are interviewing knowledgeable residents in coastal villages of Tutuila and Manu'a about what they have observed of the turtles both past and present. This information will also help the department in learning more about such marine turtles.

Although the survey is a month old, some shocking statistics have begun to arise.

So far, there has been six confirmed kills of sea turtles in

New Kind of "Faisua" for Samoa?

Four hundred "giant seed clams" (*Faisua*) of a different species than those found locally are now being hatched for the first time in American Samoa, as a result of a new project of the Office of Marine and Wildlife Resources.

The clams were brought to Samoa from Palau by the local Office of Marine and Wildlife Resources on Tuesday night and placed at Aofau Lagoon Wednesday.

OMWR hopes the clams can be successfully bred in Samoan waters as a local food source and as a source of foreign export earnings.

400 clams are being experimentally bred at Aofau, and an equal number will be bred off Coconut Point, Nu'uuli, OMWR will use the balance of the 1000-clam shipment OMWR to experiment in some other places.

Aofau and Nu'uuli were the areas recommended for initial trials by a survey conducted by the Sea Grant Program in Hawaii earlier in the year. Other sites OMWR hopes to utilize are the ocean deeps within the airport landing strips.

Director of OMWR Ray Tulafono explained to the *Samoa News* the arrangements between his office and the villages where the clams will be hatched.

"Since this is just an experimental project, the

village council of Chiefs have agreed that they'll provide the security of the animals until they're ready for harvest, at which point they'll use the animals for themselves.

"How they regulate this security is solely up to them, but we hope to breed the animals around the whole territory if it proves successful in these first two areas," said Tulafono.

A spokesman for Aofau village, HTC Tuato'o Tautalatasi, told the *News* that the hatchery, an area of about 1,500 square yards, will be out of bounds to everyone starting from Wednesday this week.

"We already have curfews prohibiting the use of dynamite and the Niukini Kava roots (poisonous herbs) in our waters, so the protection of the clams will be no problem. The whole village will provide security for the hatchery and anyone caught fishing within this area will be dealt with accordingly," Tuato'o said. The two chiefs already appointed to watch the area day and night are Taula'a and Fanene.

Tulafono also said they'll be putting up signs at the hatchery to inform the public of their existence.

Giant clams are placed in traps when they're first taken to the hatcheries. After one year the traps are taken out



Fale, Dave and Lei, OMWR marine staff with their dinghy loaded with seed clams. Picture taken at Aofau. (Photo by Lokeni)

and put on underwater sand, where they'll continue to grow for three to five years when they should be ready for harvest.

The clams, which belong to the family of Tridacnidae, a group of exceptionally large bivalve molluscs which have inhabited the tropical seas for some 200 million years, may be grown in land-based or ocean-based systems. OMWR also has a land-based aquarium beside their office in Fagatogo where some of the seed clams bought from Palau are being bred.

The clams cost OMWR \$1,500, and the Micronesian Mariculture Demonstration Center in Palau (where the clams were bought) is providing free training in giant clam culture methods to countries with clam breeding projects.

At present giant clam mariculture development programs are underway in more than 12 Pacific nations: Australia, Japan, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Solomons, Hawaii, Marshalls, Pohnpei, Yap, Truk, Palau, Cook Islands and the most recent

one, American Samoa.

In recent years giant clams have become the object of intense commercial exploitation, primarily by Taiwanese fishermen. It is estimated that millions of giant clams have been illegally harvested from Indo-pacific coral reefs. The meat is sold as a high priced delicacy in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and Japan.

As a result, giant clams are now listed as threatened species which could face extinction if conservation measures are not implemented soon.

By James P. Sterba

Staff Reporter of the Wall Street
Journal

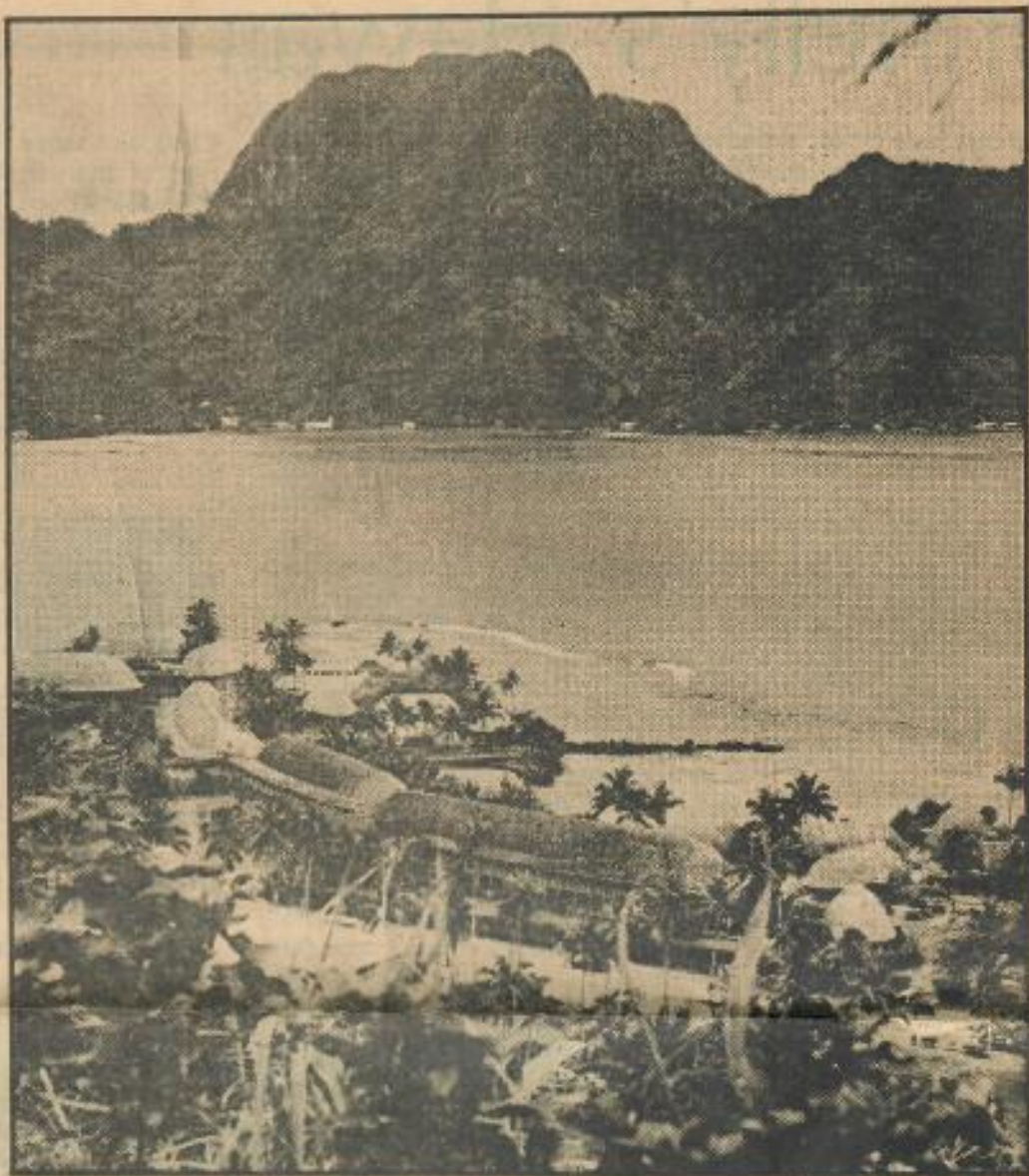
LUMA, American Samoa—Village life begins at dawn, just as Margaret Mead said it did when she was here in 1928. Roosters crow. Frangipani blossoms fall. Birds chirp in the breadfruit trees. The insistent roar from the direction of the reef seems muted by the sounds of a waking village—sounds that these days include a beeping school bus and the rhythmic tattoo of alien Droids disintegrating on the Space Invaders video game at Jerry Matautia's grocery store.

Up the mountain go men in Toyota pickups to tend taro and banana crops. Others make their way to small plots where 98 villagers get \$1.79 an hour under the U.S. government's Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) to learn how to grow vegetables on South Pacific soil so fertile that the main lesson, villagers joke, is to drop a seed and jump out of its way.

But wait. Something seems to be missing here. Where is all the free love that has kept many a drowsy college student turning the pages of Mead's 1928 book, "Coming of Age in Samoa"?

Recent pre-dawn inspections of the beachfront—admittedly cursory—failed to turn up a single example of adolescent lovers slipping home from "trysts beneath the palm trees or in the shadow of beached canoes" like those Mead said were commonplace.

No wonder. A curfew bell bongs at 9 p.m. for the 240 juveniles and 10 p.m. for the 230



The harbor at Pago Pago, American Samoa.

Samoa Revisited:

TV, Subsidies and a Steady Exodus

adults who live here. Men deputized by the village chief patrol after hours, alert for slippages in virtue and authorized to issue \$5 fines to curfew violators.

For would-be trysters, one false step under the coconut palms sets off the clunk and clang of empty Budweiser and Mountain Dew cans that litter the ground. That, in turn, rouses a canine auxiliary into howling conceptions. Ghosts, said to be as ubiquitous as the beer cans, restrain the fainthearted. At sunset prayers, three choir practices a week and two long services on Sunday, the Christian Congregational Church of Samoa urges moral vigilance.

And if all those obstacles fail, mosquitos exact a heavy toll on amorous impulse.

Sure, it happens, some villagers admit. But the gentle free-loving aspects of Mead's vision seem somewhat removed today from Tau, the island on which the village of Luma is located and one of the seven islands that make up American Samoa. Into today's Luma and Siufaga, Tau's two main villages, wires bring electricity, pipes bring water, telephones bring calls from state-side relatives (push-button direct-dial is coming soon). TV brings nightly installments of everyone's favorite soap opera, "Days of Our Lives," and the mail boat brings so many checks from "uncle," the federal government, that some bureaucrats over in Pago Pago, the capital, have taken to dubbing American Samoa, 2,300 miles southwest of Hawaii, as the "Land of the Free Lunch."

To disrupt this modern, heavily subsidized tranquility has come of late an assortment of what Samoans call *palagis*, or foreigners, with free love on the brain. They arrive in commuter planes from Pago Pago carrying cameras, notebooks, TV equipment and word of a hubbub beyond the horizons.

Star-Bulletin

Today

Features
Entertainment

Section

E

Honolulu
Wednesday,
April 27, 1983



Margaret Mead with a Samoan girl, 1920s.

of people we have to put up with down here."

Mary Pritchard said she spent an evening with Margaret Mead herself in the old days but has tried and failed repeatedly to finish "that book."

That is more effort than the 160 or so students at the high school on Tau have made. "Coming of Age" has been checked out of the library only twice in the last six years. Much more popular is a book called "Tales From the Margaret Mead Taproom," featuring "Doonesbury" comic strips by Garry Trudeau and satirical musings on modern Samoa by Nicholas von Hoffman, who wrote that Samoans "say they just made up every kind of sexy story for the funny *palagi* lady because she dug dirt."

That, of course, is grievously outrageous nonsense, in the view of Mead supporters, who, incidentally, seem to be a tiny minority of American Samoa's 32,000 residents. Residents of Tau tend to be polite. Perhaps she had language-translation problems, they say, or maybe the teen-age girls she studied followed the tradition of telling foreigners what they want to hear to please them.

In any case, the latest parade of visitors eventually makes a beeline for Soafetu Taula, an 84-year-old matron who greets inquisitors with eyes that say, "Oh no, not another crazy *palagi*!" She used to greet them formally, upstairs in the living room of her Western-style house. Now, as she reluctantly answers the same tired questions, she sits and weaves mats in the cool, open-air crawl space under her house, next to a grandchild's broken-down motorbike and a retired skateboard.

She tells of befriending the 23-year-old Mead even though the anthropologist spoke poor Samoan and she spoke little English. She says she took Mead the 60 miles by boat to the village of Loaloa, near Pago Pago, so the American could get her thighs tattooed in the traditional island manner.

told

The eager *palagis* (pronounced puh-LAHNG-ees) tell of a new book entitled "Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth." Its author, Derek Freeman, an anthropologist from New Zealand who has studied Samoan culture since the 1940s, is the latest to assert that the Mead study was essentially bunk—a revelation greeted by villagers here with the Samoan words for "So what's new?"

Over the years, Samoans have concluded a thing or two about interloping foreigners who presume to understand their complex culture. One is that while Samoans are quick with a rock or a knuckle sandwich, they quickly make up; anthropologists, in contrast, go on bickering for decades. Another is that many foreigners seem preoccupied with Samoan sex.

"What would you think if some foreigner came into your house and started asking about the sex life of your kids?" asks Mary Pritchard, a feisty 79-year-old Samoan tapa artist who goes from school to school in what she says is a failing effort to revitalize this traditional bark-cloth painting.

"In the early '60s, this kid from Columbia University came here and announced he had a grant to study the sex life of Samoans," she says. "I said, 'Gee, how can I get a grant to study the sex life of Americans?' I said, 'Are you going to be a peeping Tom?' I asked him what he thought was so special about Samoan sex, and he said it had to do with our sleeping in open-air houses. Those are the kinds

'So much bilge has been written of the place, especially in the area of sex, that it is difficult to sort it out...'



Mary Pritchard: 'Gee, how can I get a grant to study the sex life of Americans?'

Soaifetu Taula says she Mead that the tattoo, using coconut-husk charcoal and the bone stinger of a stingray, would be painful; but Mead told her she wanted the mark so that when she went back to America, people would pay to see her dance.

(Eddie Imo, a local *matai*, or chief, and U.S. Army veteran, did the translating in these recent interviews. He says Soaifetu Taula says the evidence against the Mead assertion of free-loving adolescence is that there were very few pregnancies among unmarried girls during the time of the anthropologist's study.)

Ali Filoiali, 75, remembers Mead, too. He says she was "always going around writing things all the time. We didn't know what she was writing, but the things about boys and girls going out at night, she was wrong about." As evidence, he says he was 26 and had never had a date when he was married.

Taisoua Maui, 74, is another who knew Mead and says she simply cannot figure out how "all that stuff" got into the book, which she has heard about but hasn't read.

But Mead has her staunch supporters here. "These people are just covering up because they think Margaret Mead gave Samoans a bad name," says Napoleone A. Tuiteleapaga, a 78-year-old former teacher who served

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Samoa Revisited

Continued from Page E-1

as Mead's principal interpreter during her study. They became close friends, he says. She called him "Napo." He called her "Margaret." He was 21 then. She was 23. And when they first met he recalls saying, "Hello, *palagi* girl, good-looking girl."

"Margaret Mead was 100 percent right in her book," he goes on. "The boys and girls would meet at night on the beach under the coconut trees on the smooth white sand. And they lay down there and play and have intercourse there. I had intercourse with girls there myself."

But what about the alleged lack of pregnancies?

"Here you can have intercourse 25 times and they don't get pregnant," he says. "It's probably because of the weather."

Another Mead fan is Joseph Theroux, a 29-year-old Samoan-speaking writer who came to this area originally as a volunteer with the U.S. Peace Corps in independent Western Samoa. Theroux thinks that for Samoan women to say now that they made up stories for Mead is a face-saving device.

"Samoa is not the paradise of

free love it has been portrayed, nor is it a cloistered nunnery where virginity is sacrosanct," he wrote in one article. "So much bilge has been written of the place, especially in the area of sex, that it is difficult to sort it out."

There is no doubt that foreign influence has taken its tolls on Samoan culture and habits, starting in the last century when European explorers and missionaries arrived with tins of pea soup. Soon, everything in cans was called *pisupo*. Now that's the word for imported corned beef, a mainstay of the Samoan diet.

An unincorporated territory, American Samoa passed into U.S. hands in 1899 under terms of a treaty with Germany and Britain. The islands were under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Navy until 1951, when such jurisdiction passed to the Interior Department. And in the past quarter-century, a stream of money from Washington has profoundly influenced local customs. Today, for example, residents of Pago Pago go to air-conditioned supermarkets to buy breadfruit, taro, bananas, pineapples and papayas instead of growing their own.

Canned fish is another staple. American Samoans do little fish-

ing. Instead, U.S., Korean and Taiwanese boats catch Samoan fish, can it—and sell it to Samoans.

Much food comes free from the federal government. Besides school breakfast and lunch programs, there is a feeding program for the elderly. (There is also an old-age job program, free transportation and almost free medical care for retirees and government workers and families—the vast majority of Americans Samoans.)

Three years ago, American Samoa was making a valiant attempt at self-sufficiency in vegetable production to reduce costly imports. Some 767,870 pounds of tomatoes, cucumbers, string beans, cabbages and other greens were grown on the islands. A year later, production was cut in half after "productive but illegal Oriental farmers"—the words are those of the local government's annual report—were deported. Hence the federal vegetable-growing training program.

At the high school, Mary Pritchard goes through the motions of teaching tapa painting to students far more interested in the results of tests they took last month to join the U.S. Army, which could mean a ticket out of Samoa. "I keep telling them that one day they'll have outsiders coming in and teaching them their own culture," she says.

Leaving seems to be the prime goal of young people. Federal programs and grants, which pour an estimated \$80 million to \$100 million annually into American Samoa haven't stemmed the exodus.

These days, any comprehensive study of Samoans would have to include the more than 120,000 who live on the U.S. mainland, mostly in California, and in Hawaii. Only 32,000 people live here, and more than half of them are said to be workers from Western Samoa and Tonga, two relatively poor but independent nations in the nearby South Pacific.

Nearly half the work force here is on the payroll of the local government in which lead-

land and Hawaii. Three-fourths of the government's funds come from Washington. In contrast, Western Samoa generates three-fourths of its income locally and gets the rest from foreign aid.

Five years ago, a study by the U.S. General Accounting Office found that American Samoa couldn't absorb all the federal dollars pouring in. That is no longer a problem. The administration of Governor Peter Tali Coleman has overspent itself this year into such a fiscal crisis that he was forced to lead an emergency delegation to Washington earlier this month to plead with Congress for more funds. (Some observers blame the crisis on sloppy accounting procedures.)

One other aspect of Samoan society about which anthropologists are divided is violence. Samoans can be extremely gentle—as Mead stressed—even though most of them are built like South Pacific versions of Mr. T of the TV show "The A Team."

Tuufili Uperesa, a 35-year-old local high-school football coach, is something of an expert on this subject even though anthropologists haven't yet consulted him.

Football recruiters from mainland colleges and the University of Hawaii, however, make annual pilgrimages.

At 6 feet 4 and 255 pounds, Uperesa played offensive guard for the Philadelphia Eagles and Ottawa Rough Riders for seven years. His fellow Samoan veterans of the professional football wars include John Tautolo of the New York Giants, Mose Tatupu of the New England Patriots and Jack Thompson, the "throwin' Samoan" quarterback of the Cincinnati Bengals.

Local high schools started American football six years ago because too many kids were getting serious injuries playing Samoan-style rugby, which is now confined to village teams. "Our kids are too aggressive," says Uperesa. "The high-school hitting here is like college hitting in the States. Our kids are very hungry here. They want to get out of this place."

SEA TURTLE SIGHTING REPORT

Please return to: George H. Balazs;
NATIONAL MARINE FISHERIES SERVICE
HONOLULU LABORATORY
P. O. BOX 3830
HONOLULU, HAWAII 96812
(684) 633-4694

Observation made by: JIM DOHERTY & TOM ARTHUR

Address & Tel. No. (optional): PO BOX 3178 PAGO PAGO, AS 96799

Date: 10/19/86 Time: 1 PM Location Lat & Long.

LEONE BAY, TUTUILA ISLAND, AMERICAN SAMOA
@ 14°S, 170°W

Observation made from: shore;
 boat; or while skin SCUBA diving.

Estimated size (shell length): 36 inches

Turtle seen on: surface; or at depth of

approx. 20 ft. Distinguishing

characteristics (species I.D. if known, long
tail, shell color, tags, injuries, etc.):

green turtle

Other comments: while snorkelling we followed the turtle for
about five minutes, until it settled beneath a ledge in
THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION about 40' of water.

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MARINE AND COASTAL PROCESSES IN THE PACIFIC:
ECOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF COASTAL ZONE MANAGEMENT

PAPERS PRESENTED AT A UNESCO SEMINAR
HELD AT MOTUPORE ISLAND RESEARCH CENTRE,
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C 1981

Turtles
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3.1 THE SHORELINE FISHERY OF AMERICAN SAMOA --
PAST AND PRESENT

by

RICHARD C. MASS*

* Government of American Samoa
Office of Marine Resources
Pago Pago
American Samoa 96799
United States of America

INTRODUCTION

Edible marine organisms have been and generally still are the major protein source in the diet of the peoples of Oceania. Analogous methods and equipment have been developed throughout the area to harvest this bounty as a result of species similarities, likenesses in shoreline topography and physiography, common cultural heritages and interisland communication. Today, the islands are experiencing similar trends toward westernization, urbanization and technological development which have resulted in similar modifications and improvements on traditional methods. An examination of current and traditional fishing practice in American Samoa is, thus, broadly applicable to any island in Oceania.

The Samoan islands consist of a chain of seven major islands located at 14°S latitude and ranging from 168° to 173° W longitude. Most are high islands of basaltic composition. They are divided politically into Western Samoa, comprised principally of the two largest and westernmost islands, and American Samoa, comprised principally of uninhabited Nuuu Atoll, three small islands in the Manu'a group and Tutuila Island. Tutuila is about 32 km long and averages about four km in width. Two-thirds of the coastline is bordered by narrow fringing reefs which are partially exposed at low tide. There are no barrier reefs and only a single well-developed lagoon. Beyond the breakers on the seaward margin of the reef flat the bottom slopes rapidly to very deep water. Tutuila is almost bisected by a deep natural harbor, Pago Pago Bay. Considerable urbanization has occurred along the shore of the bay and about a third of Tutuila's 30,626 inhabitants live there.

TRADITIONAL FISHING PRACTICES

The early Samoans spent much of their time fishing, not only because it offered a means of providing food for the family, but because they enjoyed it as well. They were expert fishermen thoroughly familiar with the habits and behavior of their prey. Fishing, by definition, was traditionally the work of men and almost all of the men, including the chiefs, were fishermen. The practice of wading on the reef at low tide, perhaps with a sharp stick or knife, and catching small fishes, sea urchins, shellfish, sea cucumbers, seaweed, etc. was considered the work of women and children and was not "fishing". Women were not allowed to fish outside the reef or from canoes though a number of the community fishing techniques were open for their participation as well as the use of basket traps and scoop nets.

A wide variety of specialized methods and fishing gear was used to harvest hundreds of species of fishes and invertebrates (Bruck, 1930). Common practices included the following: fishes were driven into rock or coral heaps and surrounded by a net. The rocks and coral were then removed to capture the fishes. Shores were used to catch mantis shrimp, jacks, sea and even large sharks which were lured under a canoe by a rattle made from coconut shells and through a noose woven from sennit. Octopus were caught on lures made from

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coconut shells, rocks and coconut husks and dangled just above the bottom. Gill nets, throw nets, scoop nets and seines were skillfully woven with cord made from bark or coconut husks. One of the most popular methods of net fishing involved laying the net across a channel through which fish normally exit the reef at low tide. Several lengths of vine or line to which coconut fronds and other leaves were attached were tied together and used to encircle a portion of the reef flat with the net as part of the circumference. A group of people, sometimes including an entire village, positioned themselves along the line which was steadily drawn in to tighten the circle. The leaves on the line, assisted by a great deal of splashing, shouting and rock throwing, drove the encircled fish into the net.

Spears and harpoons were crafted from sticks and bones. Traps were fabricated with sticks and cord. Fish were narcotized with a mixture of wet sand and the grated fruit of the Haringtonia tree or the roots of certain vines. The substance was used primarily to drive fish from shelter and into nets or other means of capture rather than as a poison to kill them directly. Weirs were constructed on the reef flats from stones, coral and even leaves to direct fishes into a small pond or pen in which they were trapped at low tide. The early Samoans made a variety of hooks and gorges. The most highly refined hooks had shafts of polished pearl shell to which were attached turtle shell points. A complex tradition evolved for making and trading these hooks which were used to troll for pelagic fishes such as skipjack tuna. The lure was trolled from a bamboo rod placed in a holder at the stern of the canoe.

Many of the traditional techniques required a group of fishermen (back, 1930) and much of the enjoyment the Samoans derived from fishing related to its social aspects. Two or three individuals were necessary to position a gill net or to man a shark-fishing canoe; several boat crews were required for a skipjack fishing expedition and perhaps a hundred people were needed for a large fish drive. The larger groups required a leader to coordinate their efforts and to make decisions regarding when to fish, which methods to use, how to divide the catch, etc. The leader or fishing chief was called the "taurai" and was generally elected by common consent because of his knowledge and ability as a fisherman.

Most of the traditional fishing was limited to the reef flat or just beyond. Samoans were not accomplished divers nor did they often make long ocean voyages between islands. Nevertheless, they built planked canoes of excellent quality for offshore fishing. Smaller dugout canoes were used for fishing in bays and lagoons and on the fringing reef at high tide.

TRADITIONAL MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES

Ownership of the reefs and their resources was traditionally vested in the chiefs of each village in a like manner to land ownership. Sailors did a number of one village fish on the reefs or within sight of another village. Marine resources were, thus, controlled by a council of village chiefs who could institute any management measure they desired or felt necessary. A complex system of taboos reserving



Figure 1. Tutuila Island, American Samoa. Location of study villages.

certain species and size of fish, for the chiefs and restricting effort to certain seasons and locations alone which served to protect the reefs from over-exploitation.

The relatively small human population dependent upon the resource base also had a conservatory effect. The Samoans were careful to take only what they needed and to make full use of the entire catch including the bones and heads. The family system of communal living provided many potential recipients if a fisherman happened to catch more than his immediate family required.

CURRENT FISHING PRACTICES AND THE RESULTANT CATCH

During fiscal years 1977-1980, the Office of Marine Resources, American Samoa Government conducted a survey in 13 shore-side villages of Tutuila Island. The study was designed to measure the fishing effort exerted by subsistence and recreational fishermen on the fringing reef or shortly beyond and to estimate the resultant catch. Offshore recreational fishing from powered vessels and large-scale commercial fishing were excluded. The results are useful for determining the economic, recreational, and cultural values of the fishery and for aiding the effort to maximize these values on a sustainable basis through management measures.

Hill (1977) also conducted a survey of the shoreline fishery of Tutuila. His period of study and sample sizes were considerably smaller than those of the present investigation but the conclusions are similar.

Methods

The study was divided into two distinct portions covering different villages and using different methods of data collection. During 1977 and 1978, nine contiguous villages (Faganeanea to Louili'i) along an 18.8 km stretch of shoreline which encompasses Pago Pago Bay and about three kilometers of the exposed coast on either side were surveyed (Fig. 1).

Fishing effort was classified into one of eight generalized methods: day gleaning, night gleaning, bamboo rod fishing, rod and reel fishing, day diving, night diving, throw netting and seining. Gleaning consists of walking along the intertidal zone or on the reef flat at low tide and collecting edible invertebrates and fishes by hand or through use of a knife, stick or spear. The use of a bamboo pole and a fixed length of line is usually involved in bamboo rod fishing though handline fishing is also included within this category. Diving involves the use of goggles or a face mask by a swimmer. Seining is defined as active net fishing (e.g. drive-net fishing) with the fisherman in the water during the entire fishing period as opposed to passive net fishing (e.g. gill-net fishing) where the net is left to fish by itself.

Two types of surveys were made: effort surveys designed to determine average daily fishing effort for each village and method; and catch surveys designed to determine catch/man-hour for each village and method.

TABLE 1. Age and sex of fishermen by fishing method.

Fishing Method	Female		Male		TOTAL
	<14 yrs.	>14 yrs.	<14 yrs.	>14 yrs.	
Day Gleaning	16	94	11	39	144
Night Gleaning	0	10	4	19	33
Bamboo Rod	0	12	88	125	225
Rod & Reel	0	1	12	187	200
Day Diving	5	14	8	172	199
Night Diving	0	0	1	87	88
Throw Netting	0	0	15	160	175
Seining	0	5	0	30	35
TOTAL	21	140	139	819	1,119

From Tutuila's main highway and short access roads, an observer with a pair of binoculars can see more than 95% of the shoreline in the study area without having to leave his vehicle. Effort surveys were conducted by driving back and forth along the perimeter road for an eight-hour time period and totaling the number of fishermen engaged in each fishing method for each village. These totals were multiplied by the quotient obtained from dividing the number of hours in the survey period (eight) by the number of times the observer drove past a village (usually eight) to calculate total man-hours of effort for the eight-hour period.

A total of 201 eight-hour effort surveys were made according to a rigid schedule designed to account for all sources of variation. They covered all portions of the 24-hour day equally as well as weekdays, Saturdays and Sundays in order to measure differential effort for these periods and days. Surveys were conducted during all weather conditions, tidal levels, wave heights, moon phases, seasons, etc.

Average effort was calculated for each eight-hour period for weekdays, Saturdays and Sundays and summed to get 24-hour averages. The 24-hour averages were, respectively, multiplied by the number of days in the year to determine annual effort. Holidays (excepting religious holidays and those falling on a Sunday) were treated as Saturdays.

Catch surveys were conducted on days when no effort surveys were scheduled. Fishermen were interviewed to determine number, age and sex of fishermen responsible for catch, fishing method, length of fishing period and species catch by number and weight. A total of 748 catches resulting from 1,969 man-hours of effort were examined from the nine villages in the greater Pago Pago Bay area. Average catch/man-hour was calculated for each village and method. These figures in turn were multiplied by annual effort estimates to estimate annual catch.

Effort resulting in no catch was, unfortunately, not recorded during the 1977 catch surveys though the use of correction factors enables retention of the data. The factors were calculated from the 1978 catch data and are simply the ratio of hours of total effort to hours of successful effort. The factors for the eight fishing methods varied from 1.00 to 1.25 and averaged 1.10 indicating that about one hour out of every eleven yields no catch. The corrected effort values for 1977 and the actual values for 1978 were totaled and divided by total catch to computer catch/man-hour.

The second portion of the study was conducted during 1979 and the first half of 1980. It covered four of the more outlying villages of Tutuila (Faga'itua, Masefau, Fagasa and Vaitogi) (Fig. 1). These villages are widely scattered and were chosen for their location and reef physiography as more or less representative of all villages outside the greater Pago Pago Bay area.

For this portion of the study the observer spent an entire eight-hour period within one of the villages. Again, the survey periods were scheduled for equal distribution among the four villages.

the hours of the day and the days of the week and occurred during all weather conditions, tidal levels, moon phases, seasons, etc. Catch and effort data were gathered simultaneously by the observer who positioned himself so that he could see the coastline fronting the entire village. For each fishing party, he noted the fishing method, number, age and sex of fishermen and length of the fishing period. Upon termination of the party's effort, the observer identified and weighed the catch.

Because the villages are relatively small, there were generally only a few parties fishing at one time so data were rarely missed because two parties stopped fishing simultaneously.

During the year-and-a-half study period, 199 surveys representing 1,135 hours of observation were made in the four villages. A total of 118 catches representing 687 hours of fishing effort were examined.

The proportion of the year the observer was on site in each village was determined for weekdays, Saturdays and Sundays. The number of hours of observed effort for each day and method was then divided by this figure to estimate annual effort for each day and method. Average catch/man-hour was calculated for each method and multiplied by annual effort estimates to compute annual catch.

Results

Adult males tend to do most of the fishing as indicated by Table I which lists age and sex of fishermen by fishing method for the 1,119 fishermen whose catches were examined. Only the day gleaning effort was dominated by women and children. They also accounted for a significant proportion of the night gleaning effort. Boys do much of the bamboo rod fishing.

Fishing effort showed considerable variation depending upon the day of the week. Medium effort was exerted during weekdays. During Saturdays and non-religious holidays when people have more leisure time and are often engaged in preparation for their Sunday meal, fishing effort was 1.77 times as great. Religious beliefs and custom tend to restrict fishing on Sundays between sunrise and sunset. Sunday effort was found to be only 0.32 times that of a typical weekday.

Table II results from compilation and analysis of the 400 eight-hour effort surveys conducted during the study. It estimates annual fishing effort by village and method totaling over 92,000 man-hours. Most effort is involved in day gleaning, bamboo rod fishing and day diving. Seining accounts for the least amount of effort. Greatest effort was expended in Kus which has a relatively large population and a very well developed reef flat. The least effort was expended in Vaitogi which has no fringing reef flat and a rugged, basaltic coastline exposed to tradewinds and swell.

ABSTRACT

The reefs within Pago Pago Bay have been subjected to increasing amounts of dredging, filling, siltation and pollution since the late nineteenth century. Approximately 95% of the reefs at the back of the bay fronting the villages of Fagatogo and Pago Pago have been filled. Tutuila's main commercial dock and the fuel dock as well as a couple of smaller docks are presently located in Fagatogo. Table III illustrates the considerable influence of filled and degraded reefs and the presence of piers, as well as reduced exposure to waves and currents, on effort and methods. Inner bay villages differ markedly from all others in several respects. Because reef flats are lacking, almost no gleaning effort occurs. Turbid water and the lack of productive reefs result in almost no diving. Instead, most of the effort occurs with bamboo rod and reel. The use of hook and line is encouraged by the presence of piers and docks offering easy access to relatively deep water.

Outer bay and near bay villages show a similar distribution of effort among the various fishing methods and appear to differ somewhat from that of outlying villages in that gleaning seems to occur more often while diving seems to occur less often. These differences are probably non-existent or nearly so because they arise primarily from ambiguous definitions of gleaning and diving during the first portion of the study. Effort which involved wading on the reef flat was sometimes recorded as "gleaning" by the two observers recording data during the first two years even though goggles or a face mask were used concurrently. During the second portion of the study, a third observer recorded the same type of effort as "diving".

A total of 866 catches resulting from 2,656 man-hours of effort by 1,119 fishermen were examined. Average catches/man-hour are listed by village and method in Table IV. Values were estimated for a few positions in the matrix of the table when catches had not been examined for a particular method and village by averaging catch/man-hour values for all villages in the greater Pago Pago Bay area. Fishing effort was substantial for only one of these positions. Some positions are empty because no effort was recorded.

Seining and throw-netting are the most productive methods followed by night diving and day diving. Fishing with a bamboo rod is least productive. More than two-thirds of the gleaning catches and about one-third of the diving catches consist of invertebrates. The other four methods yield fishes primarily.

Hill's (1977) catch/man-hour estimates are generally lower than those listed in Table IV. He found average catches of 0.9 kg for day gleaning, 0.5 kg for night gleaning, about 0.55 kg for line fishing and 0.6 kg for spearfishing. His estimate of 2.5 kg for throw netting, however, is considerably higher. For two villages in Western Samoa, Lockwood (1971) found catches/man-hour to average about 0.9 kg and 2.4 kg for all methods combined.

No effort was made to correct for the shell weight of molluscs and sea urchins.

The proceedings of the Unesco Seminar on Marine and Coastal Processes in the Pacific (Motupore Island, Papua New Guinea, 14-17 July 1980) consisting of ten papers dealing with the coastal marine environment under the headings Habitat Degradation, Coastal Zone Resource Uses and Removals and Tourism and Indirect Impacts Related to Coastal Zone Management are reported herein. Formal recommendations and observations made by participants at the Seminar concerning: populations, development and environmental education, coastal zone research and management, traditional knowledge and management, resource investigations and finally research and training are also included.

The authors are responsible for the choice and the presentation of the facts contained in this book and for the opinions expressed therein, which are not necessarily those of Unesco and do not commit the Organization.

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TABLE IV. Average catch/man-hour (kg) for fishes (upper value) and invertebrates (lower value) by village and method for 866 fishermen interviews representing 2,656 hours of fishing effort. Values in parentheses were estimated by averaging catch/man-hour values for all villages in the bay area because catches were not examined for that particular village and method.

Fishing Method	Faga-neanea	Matu'u	Faga'alu	Utulei	Fagatogo	Pago Pago	Loloalua	Aua	Laulili	Faga-itua	Masefau	Fagasa	Vaitogi	TOTAL	GRAND TOTAL
Day Gleaning	.20	.11	.15	0	.80	(.20)	.05	.10	.17	0	.05	.28	0	.15	1.05
	.60	1.18	.85	1.32	1.28	(.96)	.75	.80	.91	.79	1.58	.88	0	.92	
Night Gleaning	.53	.44	.72	.08		(.37)	(.37)	(.37)	.10					.37	1.05
	.35	.30	.38	1.33		(.68)	(.68)	(.68)	1.33					.68	
Bamboo Rod	.82	.90	.32	.41	.61	.30	.86	.49	.45	1.84	1.96	1.35	.82	.54	.54
	0	0	0	0	0	.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.00	
Rod & Reel	.93	.97	.53	1.02	.70	.91	.88	.77	1.25		.82	1.24	.33	.85	.87
	0	0	0	0	.03	.10	.02	0	0	0	0	0	0	.02	
Day Diving	.75	.35	.70	.68	.33	(.66)	.74	.78	.92	1.30	1.56	1.68		.95	1.30
	.27	.20	.24	.48	2.00	(.50)	.03	.31	.44	.40	.44	.26		.37	
Night Diving	.81	.58	.78	.39			(.68)	.49	1.68	1.63	1.21	1.11	2.37	1.28	1.49
	0	.91	.65	0			(.37)	0	.21	.17	.21	.10	0	.21	
Thru- Netting	1.55	1.44	4.26	1.68	0	1.91	2.21	1.73	1.61	2.25	1.64	1.11		1.76	1.76
	.05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	
Seining	1.52	(2.26)	(2.26)	2.20			.57		6.62					2.14	2.14
	0	(0)	(0)	0			0		0					0	

TABLE V. Annual catch estimates (kg) for fishes (upper value) and invertebrates (lower value) by village and method.

Fishing method	Faganeanea	Matu'u	Faga'alu	Utulei	Fagatogo	Pago Pago	Leloaloa	Aua	Lauli	Faga-'itua	Masefau	Fagasa	Vaitogi	TOTAL
Day	477	229	329	0	2	1	110	470	427	0	83	236	0	2,364
Leaning	1,430	2,454	1,862	1,873	3	5	1,645	3,756	2,286	751	2,623	742	0	19,430
Light leaning	1,384	771	856	15	0	15	167	868	115	0	0	0	0	4,191
	914	525	452	246	0	28	307	1,596	1,528	0	0	0	0	5,596
Ambood	845	690	237	654	3,666	889	708	1,207	257	350	178	373	117	10,171
	0	0	0	0	0	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
Od & eel	1,200	454	653	1,230	3,595	563	618	736	534	0	186	1,485	102	11,356
	0	0	0	0	154	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	168
Day diving	1,091	465	1,068	1,632	51	38	857	1,649	1,028	3,621	1,920	555	0	13,955
	393	266	366	1,152	306	29	35	655	492	1,114	542	83	0	5,433
Light diving	146	51	332	81	0	0	42	78	166	4,730	1,646	1,801	1,095	10,168
	0	81	276	0	0	0	23	0	21	493	286	162	0	1,342
Throw letting	1,000	220	475	354	0	1,274	785	1,742	893	755	860	1,093	0	9,451
	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	32
Seining	113	71	339	558	0	0	40	0	4,494	0	0	0	0	5,615
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	6,256	2,951	4,289	4,524	7,314	2,780	3,327	6,750	7,914	9,456	4,873	5,523	1,314	67,271
	2,769	3,326	2,956	3,271	463	92	2,024	6,007	4,327	2,358	3,451	987	0	32,031
	9,025	6,277	7,245	7,795	7,777	2,872	5,351	12,757	12,241	11,814	8,324	6,510	1,314	99,302

Annual catch estimates are listed by village and method in Table V. Catches totaling 67,271 kg fish (68%) and 32,031 kg invertebrates (32%) for a grand total of 99,302 kg are estimated for the listed methods in the 13 study villages. Day gleaning accounts for the largest catch and includes 61% of the total invertebrate catch. The largest fish catch is produced by day diving which is second to day gleaning in total production. Seining, though shown by the previous table to yield the largest catch/man-hour, accounts for the smallest total catch. Amongst the villages the largest total catch is estimated for Aua and the smallest for Vaitogi. The most fish are caught at Faga'itua and the most invertebrates at Aua. Almost no invertebrates are caught in Fagatogo and Pago Pago. Division of the total estimated catch by total estimated effort yields an average fish of 0.73 kg/man-hour, an average invertebrate catch of 0.35 kg/man-hour and an average total catch of 1.08 kg/man-hour for the eight methods combined.

Data from the 866 catches examined during the study are listed by method and species in Table VI-a for fish and Table VI-b for invertebrates. The values within the matrix of the tables are the percentage contributions of the listed species toward the total catch for the listed method rather than actual weights. This facilitates determination of the species most commonly caught by each method. Total catches of 2,671.8 kg fish and 694.6 kg invertebrates were examined. Gleaning catches consisted primarily of octopus, snails, miscellaneous fishes (eels, wrasses, etc.) and surgeonfish. Hook-and-line catches consisted primarily of jacks, mackerel, snapper and grouper. Diving catches consisted primarily of surgeonfish, miscellaneous fishes (eels, butterflyfish, wrasses, etc.), grouper, octopus and lobster. Throw netting and seining produced mostly mackerel, surgeonfish and mullet.

Estimated catches for the 13 study villages are listed by method and species in Table VII-a for fishes and Table VII-b for invertebrates. These figures are the product of the total estimated catches for each method listed in Table V and the percentages listed in Tables VI-a and VI-b. Big-eye scad (Selar crumenophthalmus) and related species and surgeonfish are the most commonly caught species, each comprising about 19% of the fish catch. The fish catch is extremely diverse as evidenced by the relatively large catch of miscellaneous species (14% of the total) which include butterflyfish, eels, sardines, silversides, majorras, goatfish, wrasses, hawkfish, triggerfish, barracuda, needlefish, stingrays, etc. Octopus clearly account for the bulk of the invertebrate catch (44%) and are followed by snails (turban shells, top shells, etc.) and tridacnid and other clams.

With the exception of bigeye scad the fishes and invertebrates listed in Tables VII-a and VII-b are widely available to fishermen both inside and outside Pago Pago Bay. Big-eye scad, however, comprise about 41% of the fish catch for the six villages inside the bay and only about 3% of the fish catch for the seven villages outside the bay. Therefore, if the percentages listed at the bottom of Table VII-a are applied to a particular village, the big-eye scad percentage should be adjusted up or down with a proportionate adjustment in the percentages for the remaining species.

TABLE VI-a. Fish species catch by method. The figures in the matrix indicate the percentage contribution of the listed species toward the total catch for the listed method. The totals in the margins indicate total weight amongst the catches examined for each species and method.

Fishing Method	Mackerel	Surgeonfish	Jacks	Grouper	Snapper	Parrot-fish	Damsel-fish	Mullet	Squirrel-fish	Miscellaneous	TOTAL (kg)
Day Gleaning	1%	28%		10%	8%	2%	8%		3%	40%	62.1
Night Gleaning		28%	5%	13%	1%	4%	2%		17%	30%	27.2
Bamboo Rod	31%	5%	17%	11%	17%	1%		5%	4%	9%	283.1
Rod & Reel	19%	2%	46%	10%	9%	1%		2%	1%	10%	372.6
Day Diving	1%	31%	2%	17%	3%	6%	17%		5%	18%	459.6
Night Diving		37%	3%	11%	9%	14%	4%		3%	18%	392.5
Throw Netting	42%	11%	13%	1%	2%	3%		19%		9%	631.0
Seining	60%	16%	1%	12%		9%		1%		1%	443.7
TOTAL (kg)	697.9	474.9	329.2	255.9	152.2	149.5	101.1	148.2	54.8	308.1	2,671.8

TABLE VI-b. Invertebrate species catch by method. The figures in the matrix indicate the percentage contribution of the listed species toward the total catch for the listed method. The totals in the margins indicate total weight amongst the catches examined for each species and method.

Fishing Method	Octopus	Snails	Clams	Sea Anemones	Sea Cucumbers	Sea Urchins	Crabs	Lobsters	Miscellaneous	TOTAL (kg)
Day Gleaning	44%	15%	15%	11%	6%	8%			1%	385.6
Night Gleaning	11%	51%			11%		20%	3%	4%	45.5
Bamboo Rod							100%			.8
Rod & Reel	42%	6%					52%			8.2
Day Diving	83%		11%		6%					188.1
Night Diving	33%		7%				19%	41%		64.7
Throw Netting		100%								1.5
Seining		100%								.2
TOTAL (kg)	356.9	66.2	82.1	43.5	38.8	28.4	26.9	27.4	4.4	294.6

TABLE VII-a. Estimated annual fish catch (kg) by species and method for the 13 study villages.

Fishing method	Big-eye, Scad, etc.	Surgeonfish	Jacks	Grouper	Snapper	Parrot-fish	Damsel-fish	Mullet	Squirrel-fish	Miscellaneous	TOTAL
Day cleaning	24	662		237	189	47	189		71	945	2,364
Night cleaning		1,173	209	545	42	168	84		713	1,257	4,191
Bamboo rod	3,153	508	1,729	1,119	1,729	102		509	407	915	10,171
Rod & reel	2,158	227	5,224	1,135	1,022	113		227	114	1,136	11,356
Day diving	140	4,326	279	2,372	419	837	2,372		698	2,512	13,955
Night diving		3,763	305	1,118	915	1,423	407	102	305	1,830	10,168
Throw netting	3,970	1,040	1,229	94	189	283		1,796		850	9,451
Seining	3,369	899	56	674		505		56		56	5,615
TOTAL	12,814	12,598	9,031	7,294	4,505	3,478	3,052	2,690	2,308	9,501	67,271
Percentage	19%	19%	13%	11%	7%	5%	5%	4%	3%	14%	100%

TABLE VII-b. Estimated annual invertebrate catch (kg) by species and method for the 13 study villages.

Fishing Method	Octopus	Snails	Clams	Sea Anemones	Sea Cucumbers	Sea Urchins	Crabs	Lobsters	Miscellaneous	TOTAL
Day Gleaning	8,549	2,915	2,915	2,137	1,166	1,554		194		19,430
Night Gleaning	615	2,854			616		1,119	168	224	5,596
Bamboo Rod							30			30
Rod & Reel	71	10					87			168
Day Diving	4,509		598		326					5,433
Night Diving	443		94				255	550		1,342
Throw Netting		32								32
Seining		0								0
TOTAL	14,187	5,811	3,607	2,137	2,108	1,554	1,491	718	418	32,031
Percentage	44%	18%	11%	7%	7%	5%	5%	2%	1%	100%

The actual catches are, no doubt, greater than the estimates listed in Tables V, VII-a and VII-b. Some fishermen—particularly divers and those fishing at night—were probably overlooked by the observer making a roadside effort survey from his vehicle and there are areas fronting the Seamount Hotel, the marine railway and the cannery which cannot be seen from the road and which were only sporadically checked for fishermen. Cannery and other smaller boats fishing beyond the reef are also difficult to see. Some data were missed during the second portion of the survey when two fishing parties happened to stop fishing simultaneously. It is estimated that about 10% of the effort was missed due to the above deficiencies in data collection.

Though their capture is against U.S. Federal laws applicable to American Samoa, three sea turtles were noted amongst the 866 catches examined. One was caught in Aua while day diving and two were caught in Faga'itua by divers—once during the day and once at night. The analytical methods previously outlined for fish and invertebrates were used to estimate an annual turtle catch of 1,819 kg for the 13 study villages. Turtle catches are not included in Table V.

Though considerable amounts of effort are involved, catches resulting from passive fishing methods involving untended fishing gear such as gill nets, woven hemispherical traps and seines are also excluded from the calculations resulting in Tables VI, VII-a and VII-b. Eighteen passive effort catches (totaling 510.7 kg fish) were examined from the bay area and six catches (totaling 58.6 kg fish and 11.8 kg invertebrates) were examined from the outlying villages. Except for indicating that the passive catch is significant, the bay area data are of little value because annual effort estimates cannot be derived. Passive data from the outlying villages, however, can be used to estimate annual effort and, consequently, annual catch. Calculations similar to those used for active fishing methods result in annual estimates of 72 kg fish and 107 kg invertebrates caught by passive methods in Fagasa and 1,627 kg fish and 322 kg invertebrates for Masofu. No passive effort was recorded for Faga'itua or Vaitogi.

As a first step in estimating the subsistence/recreational catch for the entire island of Tutuila, per capita catch was calculated for the 13 study villages (Table VIII). Catches ranged from 0.9 kg for Pago Pago to 47.1 kg for Fagasa. Averages were 5.5 kg fish and 2.6 kg invertebrates for a total of 8.1 kg. Lowest catches occurred in the Inner Pago Pago Bay villages. Intermediate catches were found for the outer bay villages and considerably higher catches were calculated for the remaining villages. As was previously mentioned, little fishing is done in Vaitogi due to rough seas and the lack of a fringing reef so it is not grouped with the outlying villages in the lower portion of the table.

A combination of three factors is probably responsible for the decreasing catch rate toward the back of Pago Pago Bay. Degradation and destruction of reefs is one which has already been discussed. Another is the relatively high population of villages in the bay area with a consequent per capita reduction in the unit area of reef or unit length of shoreline. With the exception of Vaitogi, the inverse relationship between population and per capita catch is very close for all villages surveyed. The third factor is socio-economic and is related to employment and income. Inhabitants of villages

TABLE VIII. Population size¹ and per capita catch by active fishing methods for the 13 study villages.

Village	Population	Per Capita Catch (kg)		TOTAL
		Fish	Invertebrates	
Fagasa	131	32.8	14.5	47.3
Masofu	315	9.4	10.6	20.0
Faga'itua	757	5.7	3.9	9.6
Utolei	891	4.6	3.3	7.9
Fagatogo	1,855	3.7	0.2	3.9
Pago Pago	3,017	0.9	0.0	0.9
Lelolua	789	4.2	2.6	6.8
Aua	1,475	6.0	4.1	10.1
Laiti	607	13.0	7.1	20.1
Faga'itua	429	22.0	5.5	27.5
Masofu	315	15.5	11.0	26.5
Fagasa	656	8.4	1.5	9.9
Vaitogi	661	2.0	0.0	2.0
All Villages Combined	12,154	5.5	2.6	8.1
Inner Bay Villages	4,972	2.8	0.1	2.9
Outer Bay Villages	4,008	4.7	3.6	8.3
Inner Pago Pago Villages	1,313	15.4	9.4	24.8
Outlying Villages	1,400	14.2	4.9	19.1
Vaitogi	611	2.0	0.0	2.0

¹The population figures are the preliminary counts from the 1980 census. ²Includes the villages of Fagatogo and Pago Pago. ³Includes Faga'itua, Utolei, Lelolua and Aua. ⁴Includes Fagasa, Masofu and Faga'itua. ⁵Includes Faga'itua, Masofu and Fagasa but not Vaitogi.

Within Pago Pago Bay are more likely to have jobs and a higher per capita income. Consequently, they tend to have less time to fish and more money to purchase commercially-caught or imported fish.

Extension of the average per capita catch to the entire population of Tutuila (30,626) results in an estimated total catch of 248,071 kg for active fishing methods. Though most of the villages not covered during the present survey are relatively small and all are outside the Pago Pago Bay area, the per capita catch for all 13 study villages is used rather than the higher catch for villages outside the bay area because ten of the remaining 49 villages are located in inland areas and the coastline of two others is similar to that of Vaitogi. The island wide catch for sea turtles is calculated at 4,585 kg in the same manner.

Annual estimates for passive fishing are available only for outlying villages as discussed above. Per capita catches are computed at 1.21 kg fish and 0.24 kg invertebrates for the outlying villages of Faga'itua, Kasefau and Fagana. The per capita catch of fish and invertebrates for active methods is calculated at 19.1 kg for these outlying villages and 8.1 kg for all villages (Table VIII). Multiplying passive catch rates for outlying villages by the ratio of active catch for all villages to active catch for outlying villages (18.1/19.1 = 0.947) yields per capita catch estimates for all 13 villages of 0.51 kg fish and 0.10 kg invertebrates. Extending these estimates to the entire population of Tutuila yields catch estimates of 15,619 kg fish and 3,053 kg invertebrates.

The total shoreline subsistence/recreational catch for Tutuila Island including sea turtles and passive method catches is, thus, estimated at 271,338 kg annually (Table IX). Assuming that about 10% of the fishing effort was overlooked by the observers involved in this survey, this estimate is rounded up to 300,000 kg.

Annual catches are related to reef surface areas for eleven villages in Table X. Areas are listed for reef flats (the shallow areas inside the breaking waves which are partially exposed at low tide) where fishing is most intensive and for fringing reefs shallower than about eight meters (including reef flats). Fagatogo and Pago Pago are excluded from the table because their reefs have been largely destroyed and the existing shallows are mostly mud and rubble.

An unknown proportion of the catch listed in Table X was caught at depths beyond eight meters. The percentage is small because it was caught from boats. Boats are seldom used by the fishery under consideration and when they are, they are often used at depths of less than eight meters. The error induced by catches made at depths in excess of eight meters is probably offset by the error resulting from effort data collection deficiencies.

Catches for the various villages range from 147 to 440 kg/ha of reef within the 8 m isobath. The wide variation results from several factors which influence the available biomass of fishes and invertebrates and the amount of fishing effort. Environmental

TABLE IX. Estimated shoreline subsistence/recreational fishery catch (kg) for Tutuila Island on an annual basis.

	Fish	Invertebrates	Turtles	TOTAL
Active Methods	108,443	79,628	4,585	252,656
Passive Methods	15,619	3,053		18,682
TOTAL	124,062	82,681	4,585	271,338

Rounding up to account for deficiencies in collection of effort data: 300,000

factors affecting the distribution and abundance of reef organisms include depth, salinity, turbidity, exposure to current and swell, physiography of the reef and the degree of habitat degradation. Sociological factors affecting the amount of fishing effort include population density within the immediate area, employment characteristics of the population, degree of dependence upon the reef as a food source, accessibility of the area to people living elsewhere, commonly used fishing methods and whether access is restricted to certain periods or individuals by village regulations.

The average annual catch for the villages listed in Table X is 266 kg/ha which is equivalent to almost 27 metric tons/km². It is important to note that this figure applies to localized reefs directly in front of villages and subjected to intensive fishing pressure. Hill (1977) calculated an average catch of 12 tons/ha² for a 15.4 km stretch of coastline between Paga'itua and Paga Pago which included some sparsely populated areas. His figure may be a little low, however, because he estimated the night fishing catch at only one-tenth of the day catch. Catch estimates listed in Table V indicate that the night catch is about one-quarter of the day catch. Hill's estimate also excludes the mackerel catch which would add about 4 tons/ha² to his figure. He has justification for excluding mackerel because they frequent the mid-water habitat and are not dependent upon the reef. The figures listed in Table X however, indicate that the average catch for the seven villages located outside Paga Pago Bay (274 kg/ha) is higher than the average for the four villages inside the bay (265 kg/ha) so it cannot be argued that the large mackerel catch in the bay is responsible for the relatively high average value.

Munro (1978) has compiled catch data for a number of tropical Atlantic shelf areas (to the 200 m isobath) and found maximum annual yields to vary from 0 to 1.9 tons/ha² in the Caribbean and from 1.2 to about 4.3 tons/ha² in Jamaica. These are largely trap and handline fisheries. Marshall (1979) suggests a finfish yield of 4 to 5 tons/ha²/yr as the generalized potential for tropical super-ecosystems which he defines to include "coral reefs, the shallow adjacent thereto, plus the immediate slope beyond the reef". This figure is at the high end of fishery yield data compiled from areas in the Caribbean, Bahamas, Indian Ocean and the tropical Pacific. Yields calculated for Sasean reefs by Hill and in the present study are much higher. They represent highly localized situations, however, which do not include adjacent and deeper areas from which there is considerable recruitment. Ease of access and the shallow depths of Sasean fringing reefs result in more intensive fishing effort with a larger number of participants and a more varied methodology than in the areas referred to by Marshall and Munro. A considerable portion of the Sasean catch consists of a diverse assemblage of smaller fishes which are generally not taken in areas where the fishery may be largely commercial. About one-third of the catch is also comprised of invertebrates which are not included in the calculations for other areas. Finally, the yields calculated for Sasean reefs may be larger because catches are derived from shallower bottoms which receive more sunlight and, consequently, are more productive and able to support a relatively greater biomass. Herbivorous fishes which are highly prized by Sasean fishermen are particularly abundant.

*The villages of Paga'itua and Paga Pago are not included because their reef areas are not significant.

Village	Area of reef flat (ha)	Area of reef within 8-meter isobath (ha)	Annual catch (kg) active methods	Annual catch (kg) passive methods	Total Annual catch (kg)	Catch/unit area of reef within 8 meter isobath (kg/ha)
Paga-Munro	23.2	35.5	6,277	7,245	13,522	311
Paga'itua	35.3	35.8	7,795	402	8,197	209
Paga-Pago	18.6	19.1	5,351	481	5,832	166
Paga-Munro	46.5	48.6	12,757	897	13,654	281
Paga'itua	29.7	31.6	11,814	370	12,184	315
Paga-Pago	29.7	31.6	622	897	1,519	227
Paga-Munro	37.2	44.9	8,324	179	8,503	418
Paga'itua	14.1	16.0	6,510	403	6,913	165
Paga-Pago	29.3	10.4	1,314	403	1,717	266
TOTAL	299.3	356.0	9,025	6,177	15,202	266

TABLE X. Estimated annual catch by village* of fishes and invertebrates per unit area of reef.

The annual catch for the entire island of Tutuila is estimated at about 300 tons in Table IX. Division of this figure by the area within the 37 m (20 ft) isobath (64 km²) surrounding Tutuila yields a figure of about 4.7 tons/km² which is equivalent to the maximum potential suggested by Marshall. An additional 297 km² of shelf area surrounds the island to depths of 187 m (100 fm). Annual catches of demersal and nearshore pelagic species (by commercial and recreational powerboat fishermen) within this area average only about 20 tons. Exploitation of these resources, thus, decreases markedly with depth and distance from shore.

TRENDS OF CHANGE IN FISHING PRACTICE

Changing Samoan fishing practices are largely due to modern technology, dilution and loss of culture, increasing population pressure and urbanization. Methodological changes directly attributable to modern technology include the use of rods and reels, power-driven fishing boats and acorns, along with increased access to fishes in deeper water through fishing from man-made piers and docks and around fish aggregation devices such as deep-anchored buoys and artificial reefs. The efficiency of traditional methods is improved with the use of metal hooks and wire for traps and weirs; synthetic lines and nets; fins, diving mask and snorkel; rubber-powered lances and spearguns; underwater lights and gas lanterns; and dynamite and more potent poisons.

Some practices have change very little. Men still do most of the fishing while women and children do most of the gleaning and Sunday is still considered a day for attending church and resting rather than fishing. A 1980 survey conducted by the Development Planning Office, American Samoa Government revealed that less than 5% of the subsistence/recreational catch is sold so most is still consumed by the family and relatives. A greater proportion of a fisherman's catch is consumed by his immediate family today, however, than was traditionally the case. Prior to the availability of refrigeration, catches were more widely distributed because they would spoil if not consumed within a few days.

Increased efficiency and reliance on technology have resulted in a trend toward more generalized fishing methods (Hill, 1977). Traditional methods and gear designed to capture a specific kind of fish in a particular location are no longer used because the required gear is not commercially produced or because the fish is as vulnerable to a generalized method using modern equipment.

The dependency of Samoans on their marine resources is decreasing. Most no longer spend a major portion of their time fishing because fish and other foods can be easily purchased. Canned and frozen fish, poultry and meat are an attractive alternative to self-caught fish because they are convenient to purchase and store, offer a variety of taste, make excellent gifts for weddings, funerals and other cultural functions, and convey a sense of prestige to those who use them. Seafood consumption, however, remains high for Tutuila.

The data in Table XI are used to estimate per capita consumption at 67.3 kg/year. In contrast, the 1977 per capita consumption of fishery products has been estimated at 5.8 kg for the United States and 10.3 kg for the state of Hawaii (Rodgers, 1980). Only about 17% of the fish consumed on Tutuila is locally-caught. Canned sardines from Japan is the largest import.

Growing numbers of automobiles and buses have given the Samoans increased mobility and a widened choice of fishing grounds. Hill (1977) found that 79% of the fishermen still limit their effort to the reefs of their own villages but there is an increasing tendency to fish the reefs of neighboring villages and the bay area.

While there are no quantitative data on group fishing effort prior to the study by Hill (1977), it appears there is also a trend toward decreasing group effort. Hill found group size to average only 1.2 to 2.3 fishermen for seven of the eight methods he examined. Group size for the eighth method (gill-net fishing) averaged 3.9 individuals. Of the eight active methods analyzed in the present study, sailing, the most obvious group fishing method, was found to be the least practiced.

A decreasing influence associated with the position of Lantala parallels the decline in group effort and fishing in general. Cultural breakdown has eroded the tautai's ability to ordain and direct fishing activities and the declining importance of fishing has further reduced the need for such a position. There are few tautai's left on Tutuila and most are old and will probably not be replaced.

The present population of Tutuila is more than six times as large as it was in 1899 when American Samoa was ceded to the United States. Increasing population coupled with a decrease in available fishing area due to reef destruction and pollution have resulted in declining catches and a reduction in per capita effort. Total effort, however, is probably greater than it was at the end of the nineteenth century because of the much larger population. Increased effort, along with new methodology and increased gear efficiency, has placed heavy pressure on the resources.

CURRENT MANAGEMENT MEASURES AND FUTURE STRATEGY

The only American Samoa Government regulations relating directly to fisheries management prohibit the use of dynamite and the "reckless use" of poison. A U.S. federal regulation prohibits the taking of sea turtles and their eggs though it is not effectively enforced. Federal regulations included within the Environmental Protection Act assist in protecting the reefs and inshore environment from pollution, dredging, filling and siltation. Rose Atoll has been established as a fish and wildlife refuge by the territorial and federal governments for the protection of sea turtles and sea birds.

TABLE XI. Annual quantities (kg) and sources of seafood consumed on Tutuila Island. Figures for canned fish have been reduced by 6% for consumption in the Manu'a Islands and by 5% to account for fish taken home by Western Samoans.

Source of Fish	Source of Information	Annual Quantity	Percent of Total
Imports for Retail Sale	Customs Office, American Samoa		
Canned		1,220,560	58.2
Frozen		94,187	4.6
Star Kist Cannery	General Manager, Star Kist, Samoa		
Canned Mahoe		45,297	2.1
Frozen Miscellaneous Species		54,976	2.7
Van Camp Company	Asst. Manager, Van Camp, Samoa		
Canned Mahoe and Tuna		82,809	4.0
Frozen Miscellaneous Species		17,166	0.8
Barter with Cannery Vessels*	Office of Marine Resources, American Samoa	224,254	10.9
Local Commercial Fleet	Office of Marine Resources, American Samoa	30,000	1.4
Powered Sportfishing Vessels	Office of Marine Resources, American Samoa	15,000	0.7
Subsistence/Recreational Fishery	Present Study	305,000	14.6
TOTAL		2,067,203 kg.	100.0%
Per Capita Consumption		67.3 kg.	

*Several canoes regularly trade island produce and liquor for miscellaneous species of fish (Barracuda, mahoe, dolphin, pomfrets, shark-eaten tuna, etc.) with the crews of the longline vessels fishing for the canneries. The fish are sold to markets and restaurants as well as direct to retail customers.

Village councils occasionally limit fishing on the reefs fronting their village through a temporary ban on fishing or by prohibition of fishermen from other villages. Several villages do not allow fishing on Sundays and most prohibit the use of dynamite and poison--especially chlorine bleach. Management regulations instituted on the village level are much more effective than those of the territorial or federal governments because they are promulgated within the cultural context by traditional leaders and, consequently, are more likely to receive the approval and fealty of the villagers.

Current management efforts by village councils are not as extensive as in the past. Councils should be encouraged to take a more active role in future management schemes based on scientific principles as well as traditional religious beliefs and resource preservation for village use. A fisheries manager armed with catch effort and socio-economic data and some tentative management recommendations as a basis for discussion should meet with the councils and solicit their opinion regarding management objectives and the means for their achievement. A management plan applicable to the island as a whole could then be formulated and returned to the councils for their approval and support. Much or all of the enforcement responsibility would be assumed by the villages if the councils firmly believed that the management strategy was beneficial.

Both village council members and fishermen must have an appreciation for the marine environment and a basic knowledge of conservation principles and rationale in order for fisheries management to be effective. These objectives can be achieved only through education. Steps must be taken to instill these qualities in future generations so that Samoans can continue to derive substantial benefits from their shoreline fishery.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the effort of Messrs. Melasti's Misa, Afasa Sasapasa and Herose D. Laupapa who conducted the effort surveys and fishermen interviews. Mr. Laupapa is also responsible for much of the preliminary data compilation and for the data used to estimate the quantity of imported fish entering the market through barter. Mr. Misiroa Pene contributed data from the fishing survey conducted by the Development Planning Office, American Samoa Government. The study was funded primarily by the Federal Aid in Fish Restoration Act (P.L. 81-601) Project No. F-2-R.

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**AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799**

In reply refer to:

**DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Division of Curriculum & Instruction**

June 22, 1987

Mr. George H. Balazs
National Marine Fisheries Service
P.O. Box 3830
2570 Dole St.
Honolulu, Hawaii 96812

Dear Mr. Balazs:

I am the Science Coordinator here in American Samoa and am writing to see if you might be interested in participating in a new program we are trying to set up in the high schools here in American Samoa.

From resources we have put together we understand you have carried out or have an interest in studies of the Pacific area and/or specifically Samoa. We would like to share your interest and knowledge with specific students in our school as well as providing assistance to you or your graduate students in doing research here in American Samoa.

The program is called a Science Mentor Program and what we would like to do is to link you or your students up with one or more students in our high schools who would assist you with collection of data, specimens, information etc. for your research that could be sent to you during the year. You of course would have to assist the student with the information needed to carry out what you want done. In return you would give the student guidance in carrying out a small basic research project that he could present as a project in his class or at the territory science fair related to your shared area of interest and study.

We would hope that the project could benefit you in a number of ways -

- providing you with a year round source of assistance and data
- provide a local contact that could help you if you came to American Samoa
- provide a source of Samoan knowledge and names for places and organisms you may be studying

If you agree to participate and fill out the enclosed form I would pass this on to teachers in the high school that would attempt to find a student who would be interested in helping you in your field and interested in carrying out his own project in the same area.

American Samoa has a very limited number of persons on island with strong science backgrounds and professions and we hope that this program would provide students with a wider range of resources and options in carrying out projects as well as provide you with some additional possibilities for research and assistance here in American Samoa.

If you should be interested please fill in the enclosed form and I will try to link you with a student/teacher who might be able to help you and in return them be helped by you.

Sincerely,

A. Rick Davis
Science Coordinator

I am the Science Coordinator here in American Samoa and am writing to see if you might be interested in participating in a new program we are trying to set up in the high schools here in American Samoa.

From resources we have put together we understand you have carried out or have an interest in studies of the Pacific area and/or specifically Samoa. We would like to share your interest and knowledge with specific students in our school as well as providing assistance to you if your graduate students in doing research here in American Samoa.

The program is called a Science Mentor Program and what we would like to do is to link you or your students up with our top science students in our high schools who would assist you with collection of data, measurements, information etc. for your research that could be used by you during the year. You of course would have to mentor the student with the information to carry out what you want done. In return you would give the student guidance in carrying out a small basic research project that he could present as a project in his class or at the territory science fair related to your shared area of interest and study.

We would hope that the project could benefit you in a number of ways -

- providing you with a year round source of assistance and data
- provide a local contact that could help you if you came to American Samoa
- provide a source of Samoan knowledge and names for places and organisms you may be studying



AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

In reply refer to:

OFFICE OF MARINE AND WILDLIFE RESOURCES

January 12, 1987

TO : George H. Balazs
NATIONAL MARINE FISHERIES SERVICE
Southwest Fisheries Center Honolulu Laboratory
2570 Dole St.
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822-2396

FROM : David Itano
Office of Marine & Wildlife Resources
P. O. Box 3730
American Samoa Government
Pago Pago, American Samoa 96799

Dear George:

I hope the new year finds you all healthy and adequately funded. I have some exciting turtle news that I thought would be of interest to you.

I spent my Christmas vacation on Ofu and Olosega with my family and visiting brother. There was a young palagi couple camping on the beach near Ofu airport who made a startling observation. On December 27, they discovered a large sea turtle laying eggs in a deeply excavated pit during the mid afternoon. The turtle itself was covered with sand but their description is probably that of a green turtle over a meter in carapace length. They did not notice any tags. The pit is located on the southern shore of Ofu about one mile west of the bridge to Olosega.

The same afternoon, my brother discovered a live baby sea turtle being carried away by a cat at the Ofu airport motel. The cat dropped its prize unharmed and we were able to examine it closely. It was olive green in color and about 5 to 6 cm in C.L. We released it on the beach and it swam straight out to sea. I searched for other signs of a nest or tracks but could not find anything. I questioned our fisheries data collector on Ofu concerning sea turtles and he had observed two large sea turtles and he had observed two large sea turtles digging pits on Ofu during November.

A turtle also came up on Tutuila in the village of Sailele during late November. She dug many pits and it appears that she may have successfully nested. Is there any way to determine this short of digging up the eggs? Also, how long does it take for green sea turtle eggs to hatch? Perhaps I could dig around after the expected hatching date to look for egg shells.

George Balazs
Southwest Fisheries Center Honolulu Laboratory
Page 2

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We visited Swains Island in early December but observed no turtle activity. The people also reported no nesting of turtles last season.

That's all for now. Tell Dick we were diving with a big giant grouper on the "Rockpile" on Taema Bank last week. I hope you can both get down here this year. Take care.

Sincerely



DAVID ITANO

Sighting Information • TURTLE and SEAL

Animal sighted (circle): TURTLE SEAL
Number of animals: 1 Type, if known: HAWKSBILL
Date: Aug 28, 1987 Observer: Bill Knowlton
Time: Am Address & phone (optional) OMWR 8053750 Pago
Location: Utulei Beach Pago Pago, Am Samoa 98285
Observed from(circle): shore; boat(name: see below);
while skin or SCUBA diving(on surface or at _____ feet deep).
Estimated size(length): 31 cm measured carapace
COMMENTS:(color pattern; injuries; scar patterns; tumors;
flipper tags:present Y/N, tag color, and if readable tag number;
bleach marks(number/letter); behavior; and weather.
*Animal was speared offshore at Utulei beach
and was brought to shore alive. It was
collected and released*

A-14 Honolulu, July 22, 1984 The Sun

world

11 hurt in crash

Combined News Services

TA'U, American Samoa — A South Pacific Island Airways plane careened off the runway and plowed into the terminal building on Ta'u island in the Manua group yesterday, injuring 11 of the 14 people on board.

The SPIA De Havilland Twin Otter apparently got caught in a crosswind while landing at 2 p.m., local time, officials said.

All three crew members and eight of the 11 passengers were injured, some seriously.

The most seriously injured were flown by the other SPIA plane on the island to LBJ Tropical Medical Center near Pago Pago on the main island of Tutuila 65 miles to the west. A Manua Air Transport plane was also on hand to assist.

DEPARTMENT OF MARINE & WILDLIFE RESOURCES



AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
P.O. BOX 3730
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

TEL: (684) 633-4456
FAX: (684) 633-5944



PETER T. COLEMAN
Governor

24 November 1992

HENRY SESEPASARA
Director

GALEA'I P. POUMELE
Lt. Governor
George Balazs
NMFS, NOAA
Southwest Fisheries Center
2570 Dole Street
Honolulu, HI 96822-2396

PHILIP LANGFORD
Deputy Director

Dear George,

I have enclosed an autopsy report on a hawksbill that died last week along with some barnacles, leeches?, and a surface parasite with some of the skin where it was attached. Peter and I figured you would know what they were or where to send them for identification. I also took some slides of the egg mass in the event they may prove of value. Are there any tissues that you would be interested in from future autopsies? Do you know of any simple test for ciguatera toxins in turtle tissues, short of feeding it to the neighbor's cat?

Shortly after 1 January (I'll be in the states over Xmas) I will send you an annual report of our turtle tagging efforts. We tagged 6 greens on Rose in September plus a couple of hawksbills on Tutuila. We also recaptured one of our tagged hawksbills so have some growth and weight data for it.

We finally mist-netted a first flying fox--difficult to work in this terrain--and equip it with a transmitter shortly. Things are going well. We're having a lot of fun exploring and learning new things about the plants and animals.

Maha'...

Sincerely,

Gilbert S. Grant

DEPARTMENT OF MARINE & WILDLIFE RESOURCES



AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
P.O. BOX 3730
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

TEL: (684) 633-4456
FAX: (684) 633-5944



A. P. LUTALI
Governor

RAY TULAFONO
Director

TAUESE P. F. SUNIA
Lt. Governor

PHILIP LANGFORD
Deputy Director

19 January 1993

George Balazs
NMFS, NOAA
Southwest Fisheries Center
2570 Dole Street
Honolulu, HI 96822-2396

Dear George,

I have enclosed our "annual report" of turtle tagging data, a modified autopsy report for our first hawksbill, and an autopsy report on another stranded hawksbill.

The autopsy of the adult hawksbill (died 17 Nov. 1992= #92-11-17) had a few omissions. Her lungs contained air so she probably did not suffer from a net or other type of forced submergence. The reddish worms were in the foregut region and not down at the bottom of the stomach (pyloric sphincter region). They seemed to be loosely attached to the walls of the upper GI tract. We did bury the carcass in my back yard so we can retrieve the humerii (if still suitable for aging in the dried state). We had a reported nesting turtle on Tutuila over Xmas--will carefully check site in early February. I marked several nests on Rose last September with PVC pipes so hope to find those and do a nest analysis when I next go out there (? April).

I have included a slide of the carapace notches on the second hawksbill for your usage.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Gil".

Gilbert S. Grant

Subject: Hawksbill Turtle autopsy # 92-11-17

Length : 92.0 cm CCL, 86.5 cm SCL
Sex : Female
No tags nor tag scars were present

At about 17:30 on 17 November 1992 Sao Veligigone encountered a large Hawksbill Turtle Eretmochelys imbricata in Pala Lagoon, near Tafuna, Tutuila, American Samoa. It appeared to have little motor control. Sao tried unsuccessfully to push it back out into deeper water in the lagoon. It died shortly thereafter and was loaded onto a truck and taken to Pepper Trail's house. It was transported to DMWR and packed on ice.

An autopsy was performed on 18 November 1992 by Peter Craig and Gilbert S. Grant. No fresh external injuries were found other than a small (about 1 cm X 3 cm) scrape on its plastron which may have occurred when it was being loaded onto the truck. An external parasite (saved) along with a piece of skin tissue was removed from the dorsal surface of its left femur, in a fold under the carapace. A small piece of ventral skin with attached barnacles was saved for identification. An old healed fish? bite wound was found on the distal edge of its left hind flipper. No papilloma tumors were found externally nor internally in its gastrointestinal tract.

About 20 parasites (leeches ?) lightly attached to the wall of the upper GI tract were found in its lower esophagus, cardiac sphincter, and upper stomach (specimens saved for later identification). Coral fragments were found in its stomach and intestines (saved). No plastics were encountered. Heart, lungs, and liver appeared healthy. Air was present in the lungs--thus she did not drown. We counted 1182 ova (ranging in size from 11 to 20 mm in diameter). None of the ova were surrounded by albumen or shells. Numerous white dots were present on the mesentery surrounding the ova--colonies of bacteria?
The large number of ova encountered is about twice the predicted number of eggs laid in a nesting season. A blackened, slightly hardened mass about the size of 5 eggs was present among the ova. This may have been ovarian tissue or a tumor. In addition, some ova had dark coloration covering about 20 % of their surface area.

Even though the turtle had no significant food items in its GI tract, it did not starve to death. She had fatty deposits stored within her mesenteries near the small and large intestine.

In conclusion, no obvious cause of death could be ascertained.

Gilbert S. Grant
DMWR, P.O.Box 3730
Pago Pago, Am Samoa 96799

Subject: Hawksbill Turtle Autopsy #92-12-01

Length: 53.5 cm, CCL
Sex: Female
No tags nor scars were present

At about 11:00 on 1 December 1992 a man was seen carrying a Hawksbill turtle from the Pago Pago harbor opposite Marist School, Leloaloe, Tutuila. We arrived shortly thereafter and confiscated the turtle. It was dead and had probably been dead for about a day.

Peter Craig and Gilbert S. Grant performed an autopsy on 2 December 1992. No external injuries were evident. The turtle was oozing a small quantity of blood from its cloaca. Air was present in the lungs (probably did not drown). No plastics were found in its GI tract. Fat deposits were present. No internal parasites were found. The ovaries were small with individual ova beadlike and less than 1 mm in diameter.

Orange sponge was found in the foregut and hindgut. Samples were saved for later identification. The GI tract was literally full of food--obviously did not starve to death. The only obvious irregularity was the tremendous amount of blood in the liver. A slice through the liver resulted in copious blood flow. In humans, hemorrhaging in the liver is often associated with a blow to the liver or certain viral infections. Speculation: it is possible that the turtle was captured by a fishing vessel and tossed overboard as boat entered harbor--the impact of the turtle with the water may have produced this internal bleeding.

The other observation of interest was the presence of 3-4 notches of regular shape on the edge of both sides of the carapace near the posterior margin--suggestive of some type of captive marking effort. Thus this turtle may have been in captivity at some point in its life--several photos of pattern were taken.

Gilbert S. Grant
DMWR, P.O. Box 3730
Pago Pago, Am. Samoa 96799

Nov 1980

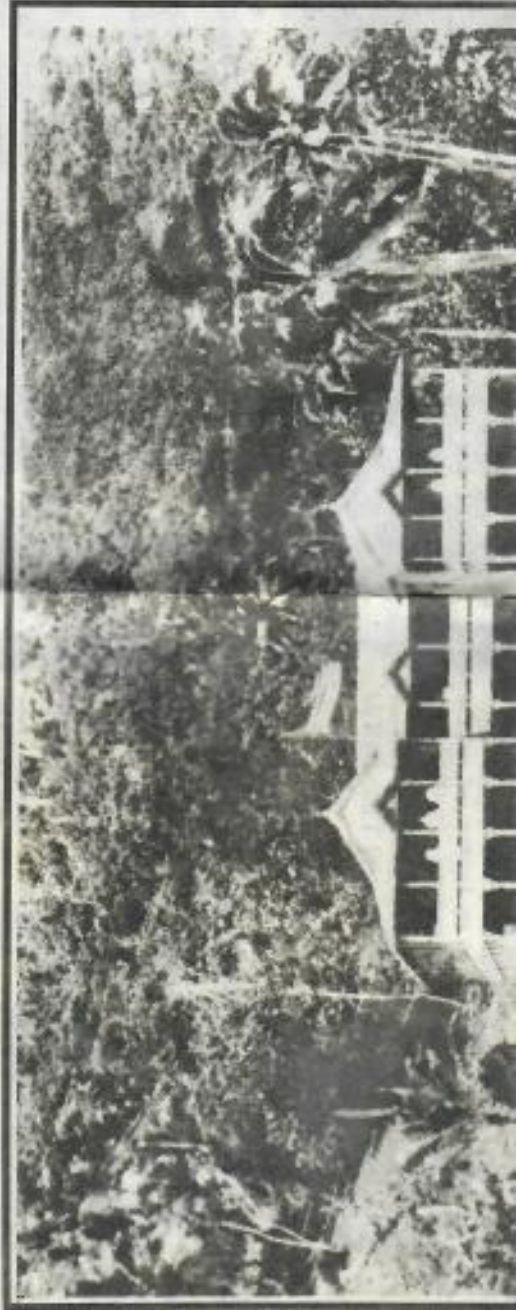
Burns 50 YEARS PAGO PAGO Philp 1930 1980

BURNS PHILP (SOUTH SEA) COMPANY LIMITED was established in 1920 as a subsidiary of Burns Philp & Company Limited, which had traded in the South Pacific since the 1880's. Among the branches which were transferred to Burns Philp (S.S.) was one at Apia which had been set up in 1914. However, the Company had no Branch at Pago Pago at this time.

B.F. Kneubuhl was the Burns Philp (S.S.) Co. agent in Pago Pago because of our dealings in copra and stevedoring which were extensive in the early 30's, at this stage Burns Philp had not established a general merchandise operation. At the end of 1931, it was learned that the assets of the South Seas Pacific Company, Pago Pago would soon be up for sale. The Board of Directors of Burns Philp (S.S.) Co. Ltd. then decided to make a bid for this property, which included a free-hold store at Pago Pago. The reason was expressed in the Board Minutes of 19th November 1931:

"As the Company has for some considerable time contemplated the establishment of a small branch at Pago Pago, being on the direct shipping route between Sydney and San Francisco Accordingly, the Burns Philp (S.S.) Co. agent at Pago Pago B.F. Kneubuhl, was instructed to put in a bid for the property of the South Seas Company, which was in fact bought by Burns Philp (S.S.) Co. in June 1932.

It was not a good time to set up a new business anywhere in the South Pacific. The whole area was in the grip of a great depression, in which the world prices of primary products such as copra and cocoa beans fell very sharply. From the outset, the branch concentrated upon merchandise trading rather than copra buying, although of course the low price of copra affected the ability of the local people to buy imported goods such as draperies, kerosene and canned fish.





OUR FIRST MERCHANDISE STORE

A report to Head Office for the year ending in January 1937, noted that Business was somewhat retarded at the beginning of the year owing to the effects of the January 1936 hurricane. By 1940, Burns Philp (SS) Co. Ltd. had four stores operating in the Territory and the branch was handling some "luxury" lines of goods such as Hercules bicycles, Slazenger tennis racquets and portable radios.

In January 1940 (when wartime conditions had not yet affected the Territory to any great extent) Branch Manager McFadyen, in an annual report, referred to a burglary at the main store. He added "we have written to the Governor expressing our appreciation of the splendid co-operation and assistance rendered us by the Attorney General, as the result of which the thieves were apprehended and a good part of the original loss of \$500 recovered. The Governor has assured us of maximum co-operation at all times". Of course, \$500 was a substantial sum of money in those days.

Pago Pago Branch Managers:

1932 - 1942	.....D.C. McFadyen,	1963 - 1967	.....D.H. McLellan
1942 - 1942	.....J. Kidnie	1967 - 1972	.....L.L.A. Miles
1942 - 1947	.....G.W. Jenner	1972 - 1975	.....C.W. Cramp
1948 - 1953	.....A.T. Low	1975 - 1977	.....P.M. Brooks
1953 - 1957	.....J.Y. Stewart	1977 - 1979	.....B.S. Jones
1957 - 1963R.J. Cruickshank		B.N. Herbert

Burns 50 YEARS PAGO PAGO
Philp 1930 1980

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REPRESENTATIVE

TULA TOUR

Tour proceeds through town, passing the Docks and main shopping center, Court House and Market Place. Somerset Maugham based his short story "Rain" on Pago Pago and the tour passes Sadie Thompson's old boarding house before continuing around the end of the harbor towards the Eastern tip of the island.

The camera enthusiast will be delighted at the opportunities offered him while driving past typical South Sea beaches and little Samoan villages towards Tula, 16 miles along the coast.

The islands of American Samoa benefit from a vast educational television system, and the local TV station produces up to 60 taped lessons a week. On occasions visitors are given the chance to watch a class in progress.

Return via the same road to the Hotel.

From: PAGO PAGO RAINMAKER HOTEL

Operates: Daily - 9:30 a.m. & 1.30p.m.

Duration: 2 hours

Rate: Per car, 1 to 4 persons - \$31.70

Seat-in-car, \$10.60 per person

**AMANAUE TOUR**

Tour passes Department of Education and TV Studios, Lee Auditorium and Administration buildings and out of the harbor towards the Western tip of the island. After a short side-trip to the L.B.J. Tropical Medical Center, the tour continues along the beautiful coastline, passing many picturesque beaches and spectacular mountain ranges.



The road then goes inland giving tour members the opportunity to see Samoan village life at first hand, and reaches the sea again at Leone, former capital of Samoa. Continue along the coast to Amanave and return via the beautiful village of Vaitogi, famous for its shark and turtle call, on its black lava cliff above the sea, then rejoin the main road back to Pago Pago.

From: PAGO PAGO RAINMAKER HOTEL

Operates: Daily - 9:30 a.m. & 1.30p.m.

Duration: 3 hours

Rate: Per car, 1 to 4 persons - \$43.60

Seat-in-car, \$12.55 per person



PPG-03

PAGO PAGO SHOPPING & BAY AREA TOUR

Tour passes through town where visitors can see the main landmarks of Pago Pago.

American Samoa is the Duty-Free shopper's delight, with prices well below any in the Pacific. Perfume, jewelry, watches, radios, tape recorders, record players, cameras, these are the bargains not to be missed, and the tour stops off at the duty-free shops at your convenience.

Stops are also made at some delightful local shops for souvenir hunting. The ceremonial Kava bowl hand hewn out of a piece of wood, the unique Samoan Tapa cloths (the beaten inner rim of the bark of the Mulberry tree), wood carvings, beautiful shell necklaces and the famous fabrics designed with the Samoan wood blocks are all available in these colorful shops.

The tour also makes a stop at Korea House which offers some unique Korean novelties to those with an eye for the unusual.

From: PAGO PAGO RAINMAKER HOTEL
Operates: Daily at times to be arranged
Duration: 2 Hours

Rate: Per car - \$31.00
per person - \$10.60



PPG-04

NIGHT CLUB TOUR

Tour stops at several typical "South Sea" bars and night clubs, including Tepatasi Terrace, Tumua Palace and Evalani's Cabaret. There is also a stop at Soll's Restaurant or Herb & sis's to see a Polynesian Floor Show. Three free drinks included

From: PAGO PAGO RAINMAKER HOTEL
Operates: Friday & Saturday evening
8 p.m.
Minimum of 2 persons.



DAY LONG VILLAGE

By car from the Hotel to beautiful Fagasa then a fast launch ride to Vaita for traditional Samoan Toons'i (lunch feast). All day at the village. Ideal snorkelling
 Duration - All day
 Rates - \$30.00 per person

SPECIAL EXCURSIONS

SNORKELING TOUR: 3 hours

1-4 persons \$66.00 per car
 5-8 persons \$17.15 per person

HIKING TOUR: 4 hours

1-4 persons \$59.40 per car
 5-8 persons \$15.85 per person

EDUCATIONAL T.V. TOUR: 2 hours

1-4 persons \$39.60 per car
 5-8 persons \$13.20 per person

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Camping in villages available upon request



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Scuba diving* Golf course* Tennis courts*

Best Duty Free prices and the best selection in the South Pacific

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1. FEAST AT VAILOATAI

Minimum of 30 persons

Samoan feast at beautiful Vailloatai with music, dancing and singing. Including typical Samoan delicacies & Mixed drinks

From: PAGO PAGORAINMAKERHOTEL

Operates: Times to be arranged

Duration: 5 hours

Rates: \$30.00 per person

2. CABLE CAR RIDE

Leave hotel and proceed to Solo Hill for this spectacular ride across Pago Harbor taking just 5 minutes to reach 1700 ft. atop Mt. Alava which offers breathtaking views of the entire island. On clear days the islands of Western Samoa can be seen, some 60 miles away. This tour can be taken in conjunction with either PPG-01, PPG-02, or PPG-03 for an extra \$8.50 per person.

Duration: 1 hour

1 to 4 persons- \$31.70

Per Person - \$9.25



3. TRIP TO "FORBIDDEN BAY" IN FAGASA

Fagasa is on the North Coast of the island and the tour takes one of the few side roads over the mountains pass to the "Forbidden Bay" which is certainly one of the most beautiful in the South Pacific. This tour can be taken in conjunction with either PPG-01, PPG-02, for an extra \$5.20 per person, or \$8.45 per person if taken as a separate tour.

Operator: Daily

Duration: 1 Hour

4. DEEP SEA FISHING

This 4 hour boat ride will delight all fishing enthusiasts. The equipment is provided.

Rate: \$225.00 flat rate, 1 to 4 persons.

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APW-01: Overnight Tour to Western Samoa. \$320.65 for two, includes accommodations at Aggie Grey's and all meals, & sightseeing tour transfers
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12 hour notice required.

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TRAVELING VISTERS

Samoaan Leader Looks at

By Robert Trumbull
© N.Y. Times Service

HONOLULU — Prime Minister Tofilau Eti of Western Samoa wants his government to take a hand in the current international controversy among Western anthropologists over sexual practices in those balmy South Pacific islands.

The prime minister, visiting here the other day, said he would urge official encouragement of Samoan scholars in correcting what he termed erroneous findings by Margaret Mead, who portrayed the islands as a paradise of untrammelled teen-age love, and Derek Freeman, a New Zealand anthropologist, who contends that Samoan society is one of the most straight-laced in the world on sexual matters.

"To be frank, I think that both anthropologists are all wrong," Tofilau said in an interview. "The best type of person to write about Samoa is a Samoan," he declared, adding that his country is not short of qualified scholars, educated mostly in New Zealand and Australian universities.

Specialists in Pacific cultures have argued for years over the validity of Dr. Mead's description

of sexual permissiveness among Samoan villagers in her 1928 book "Coming of Age in Samoa." The controversy flared internationally with the recent publication of Dr. Freeman's book, "Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking Of An Anthropological Myth," in which he vigorously disputes Dr. Mead, who died in 1978.

The Samoan leader agreed with Freeman's rebuttal to Dr. Mead's account of youthful sexuality, but he was incensed by some of the New Zealanders' other views, especially his reference to jealousy and rape in Samoan society. "Rape can happen anywhere," he said, "but to pick on the Samoan people and say that this is how they are is not true."

TOFILAU, WHO is also chief of an important village on the island of Savaii, is deeply involved in the culture of his people.

He said the key mistake made by Dr. Mead and Freeman was in applying their findings in a specific place — in Dr. Mead's case, a village on the tiny island of Tau in American Samoa — to Samoan society as a whole.

In disputing Dr. Mead's views on Samoan sexual standards, he said Samoan parents placed a

high value on the virginity of unmarried daughters, whose insulation from premarital sex was the responsibility of watchful village mothers. He surmised that Dr. Mead, who was 23 years old and did not speak Samoan when she interviewed young girls on Tau some 58 years ago, may have been misled because of language difficulties.

Tofilau was born 58 years ago in American Samoa, but grew up in Western Samoa. The Samoan archipelago, about 2,300 miles southwest of Hawaii, was divided between the United States and Germany in 1899. Western Samoa, which was taken from the Germans by New Zealand forces in World War I, became independent in 1962.

the Mead-Freeman Fuss

Upsetting economic and social problems have overtaken the islands that Robert Louis Stevenson, who is buried on a hilltop near Apia, the capital, once called "a simple and sunny heaven." There have been many changes since then, but the islands are still sunny.

One problem is idle and restless youth. The suicide rate among Western Samoans between the ages of 15 and 24 is said to be the highest in the world for that age bracket. Tofilau attributed the suicide problem to the frustration of youths upon returning to constricted village life after experiencing the stimulation of Western education and urban surroundings.

BELIEVING THAT young Sa-

moans would profit from a dose of military discipline, the prime minister approached military authorities here with a proposal for the United States Army to set up a branch of its Reserve Officers Training Corps in his country.

The American reaction was partly favorable. An Army spokesman said it would not be feasible to install an element of the ROTC in a foreign country, but added that a request by Western Samoa for help in establishing a military training program of its own would be "given every attention."

"Primarily, what I have in mind is for our youngsters to have the benefit of military discipline while in school," Tofilau said, adding, "I don't think we

will ever be in a position to have an army, due to financial considerations."

On taking office last Dec. 30, Tofilau confronted a shaky financial situation. The small nation has incurred staggering foreign debts and is beset by inflation, shortages and unemployment. A United Nations economic body recently listed Western Samoa as the neediest of the newly independent South Pacific states, and one of the poorest countries in the whole Asian-Pacific region.

Tofilau said he was trying to turn things around with such stringent austerity measures as a 12-month wage freeze for government employees, devaluation of the currency by about 20 percent and strict controls on imports.



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AMERICAN SAMOA

AMERICAN SAMOA



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American Samoa

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The people of Samoa have a long history of greeting strangers to their shores. In 1722 the Dutchman, Jacob Roggeveen, sighted the Samoan Islands. Then in 1900 the American flag was raised over American Samoa.

Today it is a place where visitors are lavishly received. One senses the people's pride as they share the uniqueness of their island home with newcomers. Visitors are proudly invited to witness examples of the rich Samoa culture, be it government affairs or village life. And everywhere you will hear the traditional warm greeting, "Afio mai." "Welcome to our island home."

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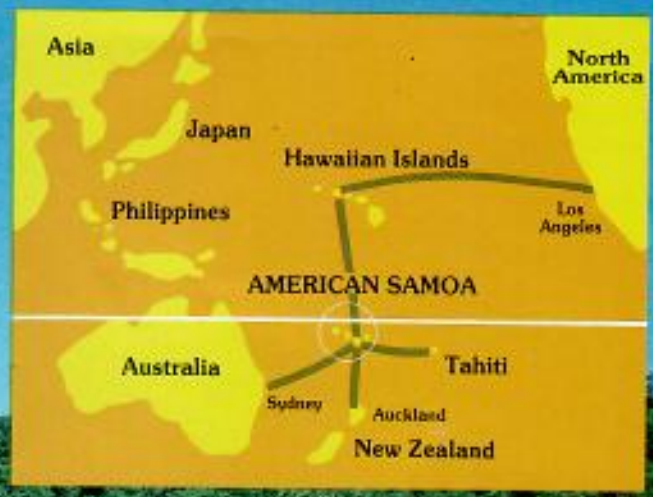
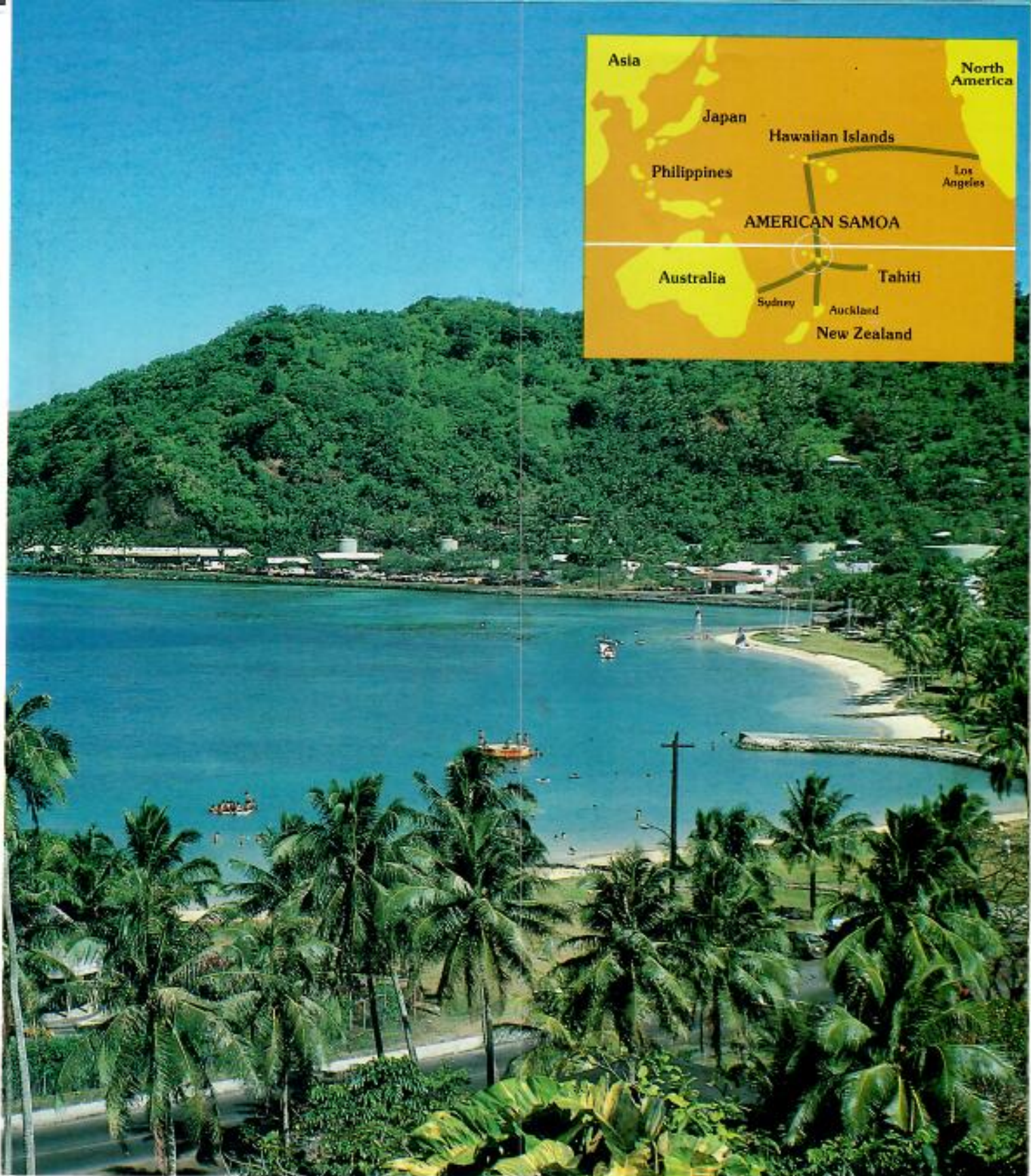
Pago Pago, the famous port-of-call for vessels traveling throughout the South Pacific, remains the most beautiful natural deep water harbor in all of Polynesia. And this is only the beginning of Samoa's natural splendor. Here you will find lush green hills and tropical mountains rising majestically from serene shorelines, cascading waterfalls plummeting into dark fresh water pools and sunny palm fringed beaches. Such beauty provides the ideal backdrop for a vast array of recreational activities – excellent deep-sea fishing, skin diving, golf, tennis, and duty-free and handicraft shopping.

The gateway to Polynesia

American Samoa is the starting place for exciting discoveries of the many islands of three South Seas nations. Western Samoa, the "Cradle of Polynesia" is only a 20-minute plane trip away. Fiji, with its mysterious firewalking natives and endless silk-sand beaches, and Tonga, Polynesia's last kingdom, are less than three hours away by air from Pago Pago. Come to the islands of American Samoa to begin your Polynesian vacation experience.

Situated on the island of Tutuila is beautiful,
Pago Pago Harbour Polynesia's most
protected deep-water port.





Sunday Focus_{edi}

The Sunday Star-Bulletin & Advertiser

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Isle Samoans find i

By Floyd K. Takeuchi

Advertiser Editorial Writer

Controversy has been a way of life for Samoans in Hawaii, even before the first major exodus of the Polynesian islanders reached these shores 31 years ago on a Navy freighter.

The President Jackson brought over 900 Samoans, many of whom were dependents of the famous "Fita-Fita Guard," men who served in a special unit in the pre-integrated Navy.

Territorial officials, however, first heard of the Jackson's impending arrival from newspaper reports, and there was a flurry of concern that the newcomers would be a drain on the local economy and that they might pose a health risk to residents.

IN THE years since, things haven't changed much. Samoans for the most part remain outside of mainstream society. And despite the fact there are now second- and third-generation Samoans living here, they still are viewed by some as being "immigrants" rather than the "residents" that many of them are.

Indeed, being a Samoan in Hawaii, says Salu H. Reid, "means you receive a lot of scrutiny from the public." Reid, who came on the Jackson in 1952 and now is close to finishing her doctorate in education at the University of Hawaii, is often asked "How did you get to speak



itorial, commentary, business

section

G

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Prepared by the staff of the Honolulu Advertiser May 8, 1983

Integration difficult



Hannemann has been pushing this basic political message to Samoans: "Those who have demonstrated they can organize the vote have clout, they get listened to."

THE SAD IRONY about Samoans in the United States is that they may well be more patriotic than many other Americans.

Says Hannemann: "American Samoa is probably the only place that celebrates dependence." That happens yearly during Flag Day ceremonies. The flag, of course, is the stars-and-stripes.

Large numbers of young Samoans, men and women, join the armed services. "I think almost everyone in Samoa has someone who served in the military," says Sergeant First Class Teutusi Satele, a 12-year Army veteran assigned to the Intelligence Pacific Command at CINCPAC.

The services provide a chance to leave the islands, and can give a young man or woman a skill. Sergeant First Class Seu Togia, with the Army's 25th Divison at Schofield Barracks, believes "there is a lot of opportunity for those without much money." Like many others, Togia plans to return to American Samoa when he retires to "build a home and open a little business."

Lui Faleafini Jr., whose father was a Fita-Fita, served in the Marines. So did his older brother, who died in Vietnam. The military heritage

English so well?" The articulate Reid laughs as she repeats the question, but there is annoyance and hurt there, too.

Mufi Hannemann, a graduate of Iolani School and Harvard University, who is now an administrative assistant to Governor George Ariyoshi, says "A lot of times I'm not judged for the person I am." He comes from a family of achievers; one brother, Nephi, is a well-known entertainer, and another, Gus, is a prominent Samoan community spokesman and chairman of the Council of Samoan Chiefs in Hawaii.

Reid, Hannemann and others, regardless of how well they've done, fight a pervasive stereotype: that of the clannish, violence-prone Samoan who is on the welfare rolls. There is a grain of truth in the stereotype, but for those who will look beyond what appears to be the obvious, there are other factors at play.

MOST SAMOANS — and there may be as many as 30,000 in the state — come from American Samoa, a U.S. territory. Some 7,000 of that group are from Western Samoa, an independent nation with historic ties to New Zealand.

Despite their "American" background and status as U.S. nationals, the islanders often go through culture shock in Hawaii. Language is the biggest barrier, as it is with other immigrant groups. But expectations can also clash, thus leading to misunderstanding and sometimes violence.

Samoans are a proud people, quick to protect their personal, family, clan or village honor. That can lead to flying fists, particularly when a language barrier makes it difficult to talk things out.

There's also the problem here of a lack of traditional value orientation. While Samoan culture stresses the group, in Hawaii, the emphasis is usually more on the individual.

Viefu Epenesa, director of the Amerika Samoa Government liaison office here, says, "I'm proud of our customs as long as we don't break the law."

And Lt. Vatau Sua of the Brigham Young University-Hawaii security force puts the dilemma this way: "The Samoan youth were taught to respect others. Here, we are taught to respect our rights."



The Kaimuki High School Samoan Club perform theme of the get together was "Break the langu

PART OF the Samoans' difficulty in being accepted is that unlike the Japanese or Chinese, who were prevented from further immigration in the 1920s, newcomers from the South Pacific continue to arrive. Their adjustment problems receive the most attention, while those who are integrating well are often overlooked.

And like past immigrant groups, the Samoans tend to congregate in certain areas. Kalihi-Palama, Laie and Waianae-Nanakuli are where many live, although as Salu Reid says, "There is a growing population of Samoans . . . who live in Kahala. We never hear about them."

What may complicate their melding into the local scene is that many of the new arrivals, as well as a surprising number from earlier groups, have their hearts set on someday returning to Samoa.


Arthur Ripley, the only Hawaii attorney of Samoan ancestry, admits that the idea "is in the back of my mind. There is always that feeling that you want to go home."

Salu Reid agrees: "There's always that desire to go back."

ONE SAMOAN who breaks rank is Lui Faleafini Jr., deputy manager of the Kuhio Park Terrace public housing project. "There is no future for my children in Samoa," he says, "except for the land rights they have. The future for my children is in Hawaii, in the United States."

Faleafini came to the United States in 1957 when he was seven. He didn't speak a word of English. One wouldn't guess that now, particularly when he says of himself: "Although I am Samoan, I don't look at myself as being a Samoan first. I'm proud to be a Samoan, but I usually think of myself as being 'local.' I'm one of the many faces that make up Hawaii."

A McKinley High School football star in the late 1960s, and a nine-year veteran of the U.S.



ms at the 1980 World Languages Festival. The age barrier — build peace."

Marine Corps, Faleafini admits his views are unconventional, and controversial among fellow Samoans. For example, he believes Samoans will continue to have a second-class status unless they make major changes in their living patterns and customs here.

"As long as there is public housing, as long as there is the matai (chiefly) system and as long as the matai enforce *fa'a Samoa* (the Samoan way), they will always be this way," Faleafini says.

"I believe that Samoans should integrate into the community," he says. That would lead to a lower visibility, perhaps less stereotyping and make it easier to assimilate, Faleafini believes.

Customs are important to Faleafini, but he places a premium on Samoans doing well in American society. "Why did you come to Hawaii anyway," he rhetorically asks of those who believe in maintaining cultural practices. "You should have stayed in Samoa."

AS IT has turned out, many American Samoans have chosen to leave their homeland. There are about 30,000 Samoans who live on the six-island group constituting the territory. That's roughly the number who live in Hawaii, and there are about 43,000 on the Mainland.

As American nationals, Samoans can enter the United States without restriction. However, they can't vote unless they become citizens. That is the only practical difference between national and full citizenship status.

Because many Samoans remain nationals, they may never become the political force some believe they could be.

Mufi Hannemann, the governor's aide, says Samoans need to develop political clout. And they need the help of non-Samoans "to come and assist us, and not just with tokenism or patronage." He cites the example of John A. Burns and the Japanese as what could happen if Samoans were politically motivated.

ended with the younger Faleafini, but he says with some pride, "Samoans are very patriotic to the United States."

WHAT WILL it take before Samoans are as integrated into Hawaii society as earlier immigrant groups?

Many believe the first priority is a greater emphasis on education.

High Chief Lilo Malava Galeai, president of the Royal Council of Samoan Chiefs in Laie, says, "We are here for our children, to help them reach their highest level of education." Sacrifices have to be made along the way, he admits, but "education is the main reason so many Samoans leave their homeland."

Arthur Ripley, the Samoan attorney, recalls that law school was tough, but he stuck it out and for the better. He counsels students to "never give up, never give up. Even if it seems everyone is in front of you, just hang in there and strive."

Mufi Hannemann recalls being an Iolani student and not having any Samoan role models to look to. "The Japanese had Dan Inouye and George Ariyoshi, the Chinese had Hiram Fong," he says.

Hannemann, who went on to become president of his class at Harvard, believes more Samoan youngsters have to be encouraged to go into professional fields and become the role models for others. The emphasis now is on athletics and entertainment, the former varsity basketball player says. Law, medicine and engineering need to also be pushed.

NO ONE IS sure how long the process of assimilation will take, and it may take as much effort on the part of non-Samoans as it will from Samoans.

And as long as Samoan immigrants continue to arrive and bring with them the familiar problems of adjustment, complete integration may never be realized.

But as more Samoans move into professional and political life — when it becomes outmoded to refer to the "only Samoan" this or that — the picture may begin to change for the better.

It is a process familiar to other immigrant groups, and the Samoans' day will come, too.

Hawksbill

4-20-90

P. Craig

Tutuila Island
American Samoa

TURTLES

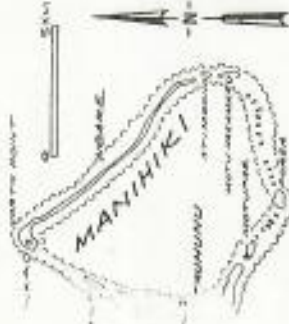
SHELL - 88 CM LONG
80 CM WIDE
109.5 CM END OF SHELL TO TIP
OF NOSE

Found ~~looking~~ (by fishermen) floating at surface
behind FAD B (3 mi from mouth of Pago Harbor)
- nearly dead, but died in transit to DMWR

"Autopsy": large female with small eggs (1cm diameter)
in ovary. No external wounds as possible source
of death. Intestinal tract empty except for "live" leeches
in foregut at tail end of gut section with papillae, +
small amount of greenish material (presumably algae).
Some fat found along intestine + in mesentery

COOK ISLANDS

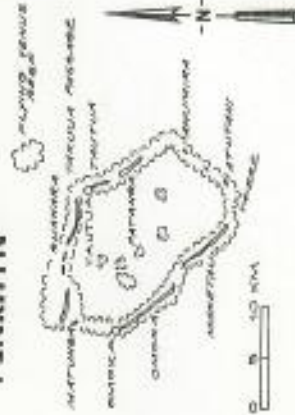
Manihiki's coral ring com-
posed of 19 coral islets. Well known
for its pearl shell, this industry is
the main means of support for its people.
The island has a coral atoll of 5 sq. km
wide & approx 8 km across. See the
notes in the lagoon past Ta'uvalu
islands. Manihiki mother-of-pearl divers
were said to be the Pacific's best,
plunging to depths of 25 to 30 m without
any equipment.



DV 22
D17
NMFS

Penrhyn: An atoll named in 1788 by
Lieutenant Watts of H.M.S. *Isoly Penrhyn*.
The largest of the northern atolls,
Penrhyn's population depends on its
trade in copra and pearl shell. This
is the northernmost of the Cooks and
one of the loneliest islands in the
South Pacific. It's lagoon measures
280 sq. km. On Sun. visit the island's
exuberant hymenfest (sopo) in the court-
yard of the Protestant parsonage.

PENRHYN



MISCELLANEOUS

There is a separate New Zealand dependency
180 km east of Vava'u, Tonga, the near-
ly 2000 and over 800 km west of
Fiji. Niue's land area of 259 sq.
km is less than the total area of all
the Cook Islands. Its population is
small because the men seek employment
and opportunity in other areas of the
Pacific such as in New Zealand. All
land is held by families, there are no
large chiefs. Niue has its own
postage stamps. History: Peopled very
early by Polynesians. Capt. Cook dis-
covered Niue in June 1774 but was so
badly received that he named it 'Savage
Island'. The redoubtable John Williams
was also driven back by force, prevent-
ing the setting up of a mission here.
It took Samoan missionaries to finally
convert the populace in the middle of
the 1870s (relatively quite late).
Their reputation for ferocity had
always won the blackbirders and whalers
away, but now came the Peruvians and
Sully Bros who entered Niuean men to
voluntarily leave their island and work
plantations for years at a time on Malden
Island. Appealing to Great Britain for
protection, Niueans were finally taken
over by the NZ in 1900.

South Pacific Handbook
By Bill Dalton & David Stanley
Moon Publications 1979

AMERICAN SAMOA

352PP

INTRODUCTION

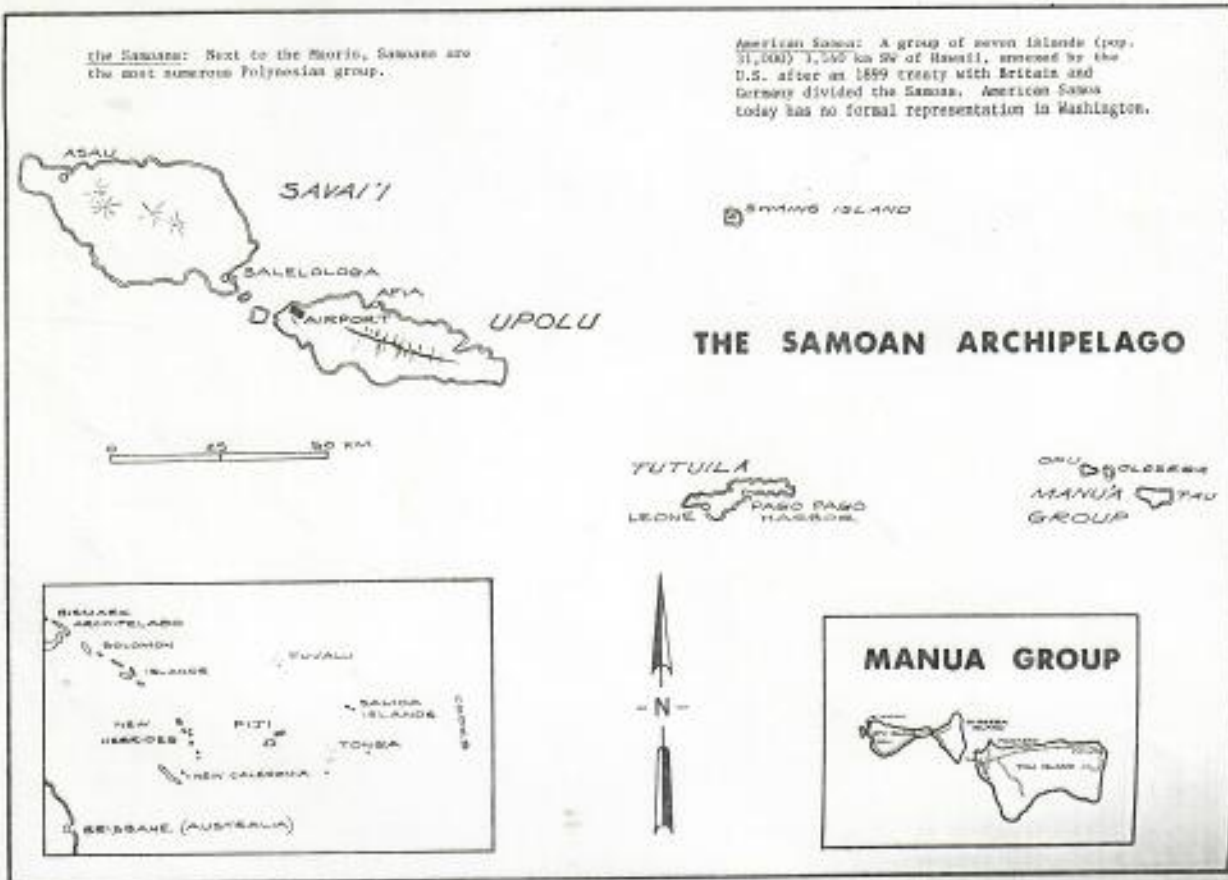
American Samoa consists of Tutuila and
the islands east and north of it:
northern Aunu'u; the Manua Group of
three small islands (Tutuila, Olosega and
Ofu) 130 km east of Tutuila; the
Swains; and uninhabited Ross atoll -
all possessions of the USA. The
principal town, Pago Pago, looks out
onto beautiful Pago Pago Harbor which
almost bisects the island of Tutuila;
Western Samoa (Upolu) is only 130 km
SW of this main island of American
Samoa. The people of the two groups
of islands, American Samoa and Western
Samoa, are homogeneous in blood, speech
and traditions, yet today they live
under different flags, the political
division only being made in 1900. All
the highest chiefs of the Samoan nation
are seated in Western Samoa. Their
counterparts in American Samoa, infe-
rior in rank, don't wish to be placed
under the subordination of 'the three
kings' in Western Samoa. An Inter-
Samoan Consultative Committee was
established in 1955 to promote joint
action and cooperation between the two
nations.

thought to be a living link with tooth-
billed birds of fossil times. Climate:
Famous Pago Pago Harbor, on the main
island of Tutuila, was the setting for
Somerset Maugham's short story *Rain*.
Indeed, the average annual rainfall is
500 cm whereas in Western Samoa only
130 cm distant it's about 300 cm a
year.



History: Once representing a cultural
center of early Polynesia, Samoans are
intensely proud of their island tradi-
tions and claim that their ancestors
did not migrate to these islands from
distant parts of Polynesia, but were
aborigine here. The first European to
sight the Samoan Islands was Roggeveen,
and later, a number of navigators -
Bougainville, La Perouse, and others -
visited during the 18th Century. An
American shipowner, Webb, first became
interested in Pago Pago in 1870 as a
port of call for a steamship line and
this interest led to the visit in 1872
of a U.S. naval steamer. This ship's

people live on 197 sq. km of very hilly
land, much of it still covered by thick
bush and jungle. A short way inland
bananas and coconuts are grown. The heart-
lands of the larger islands are pitted
with green-covered craters of extinct
volcanoes. Most Samoans live along the
coasts and the interiors are almost
unpopulated. Birdlife: Inland live
the birds. Sixteen of Samoa's 36
species are found nowhere else in the
world. One such species is the tooth-
billed pigeon (*Didunculus strigirostris*).
In Samoa it's called *manuava* and it's



The Samoans: Next to the Maoris, Samoans are the most numerous Polynesian group.

American Samoa: A group of seven islands (pop. 31,000) 1,500 km SW of Hawaii, annexed by the U.S. after an 1899 treaty with Britain and Germany divided the Samoa. American Samoa today has no formal representation in Washington.

THE SAMOAN ARCHIPELAGO

MANUA GROUP

commanding officer entered into a treaty with a local chief named Mauga, giving the U.S. exclusive rights for setting up a naval base and coaling station in Pago Pago's fiord-like bay at the end of the 19th Century. Although never ratified by the U.S. Senate, this treaty served effectively to prevent any other foreign interests from claiming the harbor and it was the pretense America used to annex these islands in 1900. In that year American Samoa was placed by President McKinley under the direct administration of the Navy Dept., remaining under its control until 1951. An American, Steinberget, framed the first Samoan Constitution and served as the royal premier. The first locally born part-Samoan governor, Mr. Peter Tali Coleman, wasn't appointed until 1956. The canneries at Pago Pago date from 1954.



vision cosh of American Samoa

politics: Samoa is the only U.S. possession south of the equator. The governor of the territory is elected locally. The government is also controlled by 18 senators chosen by the traditional Samoan chiefs, and 21 representatives elected by the public at large. American Samoans are classed as 'American Nationals', but not citizens, and have free access to the U.S. U.S. currency is used.

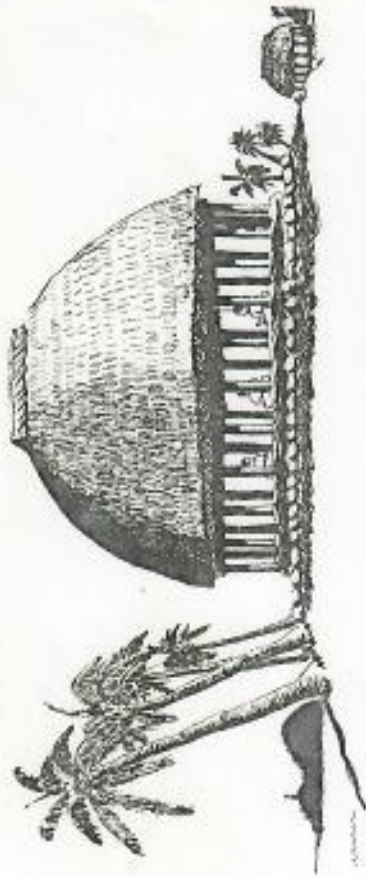
the people: Although American and Western Samoans are one people, life in American Samoa is changing rapidly

as a result of considerable U.S. government spending. The closure of the U.S. naval base in 1950 was initially disastrous to the local economy but American Samoa is today a technologically advanced nation with all the benefits of American civilization without having to live in the USA. Samoans form by far the majority of the population, and except for the Maoris, they are the largest pure-blooded branch of the Polynesian race and have the lightest skin



Samoa (left): The thick lips, slender nose, and wavy hair are characteristic Samoan traits; the epicanthic fold at the corner of the eye is not.

color. Most are literate and very strong Christians; Samoan missionaries have gone on to many other island groups (Tuvulu, Solomons and New Guinea) and further converted large numbers. Samoans are a proud people with an almost feudal concern for social protocol, rank and etiquette. They lead a highly complex, stylized and polished way of life, customary law is quite binding, and some social privileges accorded to certain groups or families go back 400 to 500 years. There are two ways, *fua Samoa*, the Samoan way or fashion, and then there are the ways of other Polynesians and the white man (*popotogi*, or 'white man and his way'). Society is based on the *o'aga*, an extended family group under the *matua*, a headman elected by members of the clan. The *matua* is responsible for the *o'aga's* lands, their assets and distribution. He ensures that no relative is ever in need, settles disputes, sees to the clan's social obligations, and is the *o'aga's* representative on the district council (*fono*). Blood relationships count to a large extent in the elections of the *matua*. In this formalized, ritualized society the only



House of American Samoa

way a man can achieve a place is to become a *matua* of one form or the other. There's also a powerful class, the *fa'afafine*, who serve as public orators ('talking chiefs'), called upon to conduct eloquent debates and give ceremonial speeches. dwellings: Samoan houses (*fa'ale*) are either oval or round in shape and have no walls. Very cool, clean and fresh, mats or blinds are let down to shelter and shield the houses. They are built on high stone platforms with mats covering their pebble-floors.

religion: Ever since the Reverend John Williams of the London Missionary Society landed here in 1831, Samoans have taken Christianity very seriously. Many think the biblical Garden of Eden was Samoa itself. But Christianity has had little effect on the basic Samoan social system of *aloalo*, and neither has the airy, comfortable thatched house (*fa'ale*) been dispensed with. Christianity changed, not the islands.

events: April 17th is American Samoa's Flag Day commemorating the first flying of the American flag in 1900. This enthusiastic one-day celebration features song and dance groups in Fagatogo, the capital. The second Sun. in Oct. is White Sunday when children dress in snow-white clothes and wear garlands on their heads, walking to church in procession singing as they go. After church there are family and clan feasts and the children are given gifts.

the arts: Samoans are skilled singers and dancers, and also excel in crafts. They often build their own houses and weave their own mats. Witness the so-called 'fine mat' which is so exquisitely and tightly plaited that it feels like cloth. 'Fine mats' are highly prized family possessions, used for dowries and as a kind of ceremonial currency in formal presentations. Some 'fine mats' in family heirlooms are up to 200 years old, some have caused wars, and a few are even the equivalent in Samoan history to the original U.S. Constitution, or UK's Magna Carta.



coastlines of American Samoa





food: Try *palusuei*, a very tasty dish when it's prepared well. Samoan-style *palusuei* is thick coconut cream wrapped in a young taro leaf, then baked on hot stones and served on slices of baked taro.

TUTUILA

The main island of American Samoa. Tutuila is 109 sq. km of American Samoa's total of 197 sq. km. sights: Take the cable car to the top of Mt. Alava (535 m) spiked with TV antennas and transmitters, then follow the trail down to Vatia on the north coast. A pioneer road runs from Vatia coast to Afono where one finds a good road S4 back to Aua on the main highway. Allow 5 hours to cover the entire walk. Two 66 II 6-inch cannons are on the hillside near Breakers Point. Walk up past Mr. Papeafeti's house. It is estimated that as many as 30 of these cannons are hidden in the jungles of Tutuila. Near the east end of the island at Alao and Tula there are wide sandy beaches. The road continues around to the north side of Tutuila as far as Ononua. Mr. Lenolo in Tula has a spare room in his house which he sometimes rents to visitors for about \$5 per person including all meals. Lovely swimming, snorkeling and hiking around Tula. Take the Water Transportation boat from Fagatogo to Faganu then walk 3 hours along a jungle trail to Fagali'i where the road back to town begins. The highway construction now underway will extend the road right to Faganu at which time the boat will stop calling. You can also get off the boat at Faganu and catch a bus back to town. Beautiful empty golden beaches all along the north coast. Go in by trail and stay as long as you want camping and fishing. See unforgettable Pula Island with its sheer hundred meter cliffs; Pula is the thin island pointing north off the center of the north coast SE of Vatia. Take the trail to Aua village from Aoloau Fou to see the monument remembering the 1787 massacre of 12 French explorers. At Leone visit the monument to Samoa's first missionary, John Williams, who landed in 1831. One km up a road beginning beside the Catholic church is Leone

airport: No bank. No visa is required for a 30 day stay. The Tourist information desk is around on the departure side, and there's a good duty free shop. To Fagatogo it's 11 km, by public bus 50c, by taxi US\$4.50.

ISLAND

Falls where there's swimming. The former Atauloma Girls School (1900) is a little further west, past Leone, with good beaches and scenery all along the way.

FAGATOGO

The harbor of Pago Pago, on which Fagatogo sits, is shaped like a long elbow, almost cutting Tutuila in half. It is loaded on one of the most breathtaking in the whole South Pacific. Information: The Tourist Office is open Mon.-Fri. 0730-1700. The Office of Samoan Information in the Administration Building puts out a free news bulletin daily Mon.-Friday. They also publish an informative annual report, copies costing only \$1. The *Samoan News* comes out on Fridays. There's a good reading at the Pacific Library, open Tues. and Thurs. 0800-1900, Mon., Wed., and Fri. 0800-1730.



Totoloa boats: The Totoloa Islands are 200 km north of Samoa. This boat is shaped to fit the inside curve of the canoe, and the flood water into a canoe is kept in control by its

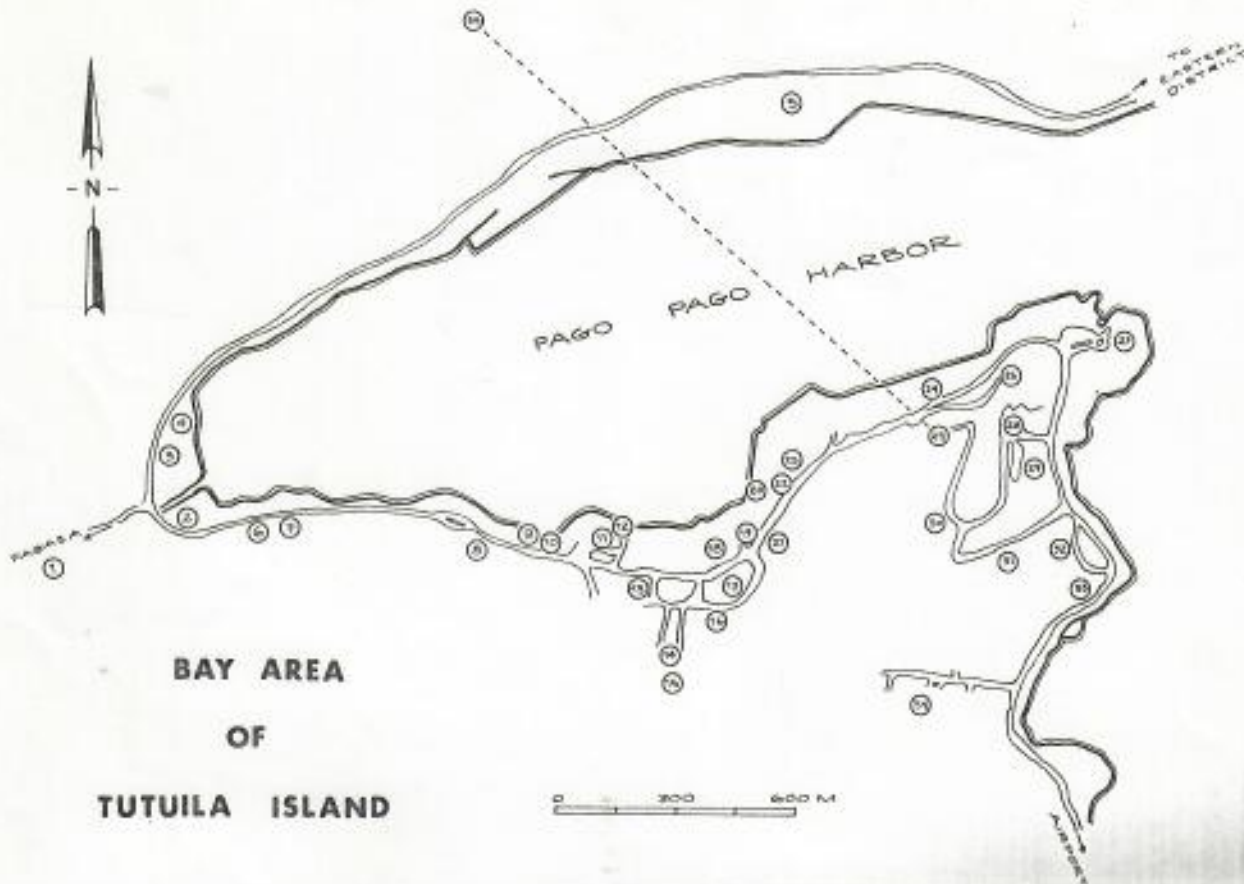
services: The only foreign consulates are those of the Republic of China (Taiwan) and Korea. Get free vaccinations from the Public Health Dept. In the LMJ Tropical Medical Center Mon.-Fri. 0800-1200/1300-1600. Change money at the rather crowded Bank of Samoa beside the Post Office, Mon.-Fri. 0900-1500. You can often get the currency of other Pacific islands here at bargain rates. Laundering Lava Lava is in the Nu'uuli Shopping

Center and charges 50¢ for wash, 35¢ for drying. Shop duty free all over town.

stay: Cheapest is Hurling Moose Youth Hostel on the road up to the tramway; \$3 a night for a mat on the floor. No YH card is required. Can cook. Stay in rooms at Kase's Grocery Store at Fagala just across from the beach park; costs about \$5. For a longer stay check out Frank Manua's house in Pago Pago village. Go up Fagasa Road, turn left after the second church and cross the bridge over the stream. There are four rooms with beds, cooking, quiet location; \$4 single, \$6 double, \$20 per week. Prices are negotiable with Frank. A more expensive alternative is Herb and Sia's Motel where three non-AC rooms go for \$13.50 single, \$17 double, \$20 triple, breakfast included. Camping is possible on private land with permission but the police will probably evict you if you camp in the public parks. Mrs. Maties at Avado will let you camp on the land she owns across the road from her house, a nice grassy area by the beach and Lions Head; \$2 per tent per day. At Tau in the Manua Group the six rooms at the Kiumata Motel Motel go for \$7.50 single, \$12.50 double.

eat: Best for the money is the excellent \$3 steak dinner at Mike Bird's Restaurant. The Seaside Garden Club has meals for \$1.50 up and daily specials at about \$1.50 for a full meal. Get hamburgers, etc., at the Icawich Sale. Much cheaper is the Samoan food available from the food stalls beside Pago Park Handicrafts Fales, 40¢ per scoop of vegetable stew, cooked bananas 10¢. Star of the Sea Fish Market offers a filling luncheon plate of main dish, salad, oka taro (cooked taro), rice or banana for \$1.25. Also get fish for home cooking here (for example, tuna is 50¢ per lb.). Dominique Marine Supplies also has cheap frozen meat and fish for cooking.

from Fagatogo by air: The local airline, South Pacific Island Airways, has daily flights to Tau and Ofu Islands for \$22. The flight between Tau and Ofu costs \$10. SPFA also has a very useful flight three times a week to



BAY AREA
OF
TUTUILA ISLAND

Vava'u, Tonga, for \$88; frequent ships link Vava'u with Nuku'alofa from whence one can sail on to New Zealand. When combined with the cheap Pago Pago-West Coast USA fare of just over \$100 (free stop in Honolulu), it becomes one of the cheapest ways across the South Pacific, by boat: A.E. Steffang of Inter-Island Shipping has a boat to the Manua Islands at midnight every Wed., returning on Thurs., \$20 roundtrip. The same company has boats to Apia, Western Samoa, Tues. at 0800, Thurs. at 1700, and Fri. at 1900; costs \$10 one way, \$20 roundtrip. Sam Scanlan Inc. sometimes has a boat to Apia Fri. at 1600, \$9.30 one way, \$16 roundtrip. For occasional monthly departures for

BAY AREA OF TUTUILA ISLAND

1. Frank Manua's House
2. Senior Handicraft Center
3. Pago Park Handicraft Fales
4. Korea House
5. Van Gorp canning plant
6. Dominique Marine Supplies
7. Burns Philip Store
8. Valupac Foods
9. Seaside Garden Club
10. Icawich Sale
11. Public Market
12. Star of the Sea Fish Market
13. Courthouse
14. Mike Bird's Restaurant
15. Herb & Sia's Motel
16. Sam Scanlan, Inc.
17. Malae-O-Le-Talu
18. Fono Building
19. Office of Tourism
20. Water Transportation
21. Post Office/Bank of Hawaii/Air New Zealand/Pan American museum
22. Inter-Island Shipping
23. Pacific Library
24. cable car terminal
25. Governor's House
26. Bainsmaker Hotel
27. T.V. Studio
28. Lee Auditorium
29. Hurling Moose Youth Hostel
30. Administrative Building
31. Transpac Corporation/Chinese Consulate
32. WW II cannons on hillside
33. Lyndon B. Johnson Tropical Medical Center
34. Mt. Alava

longer inquire at Burns Philip, Water Transportation (Port Authority) runs a tug to the north shore around the east end of Tutuila-Noo, at 0300 and Fri. at 0900. Stops at Aunu'u Island, Afono, Vatia, Fagasa, and Fagmalo but will probably cease operating when new roads now under construction are finished; costs \$1 one way to any of the above mentioned villages, by bus: Three bus zones exist on Tutuila, 25c, 30c, and 75c depending upon the distance covered. Fees for market in town to the east, \$1's 25c as far as Aunu, 50c to Fagatua, 75c to any point from the market to beyond Fagatua. To the west it's 25c to Airport Road, 50c to Leone and 75c to any place beyond Leone. Bicycles are for rent from the Bismarck Hotel at \$5 per day.

THE BAY AREA

Overlooking the mouth of Pago Pago Harbor are two huge 66 II six-inch cannons now almost covered by vegetation. Take the trail from just beyond the Standard Oil depot, the cannons are on the hillside just above the green water tower. Back towards town is Leo Auditorium (1962), named for the governor who introduced educational TV to the territory; the television studios adjoining can be visited. From the TV studios a road leads up to the cable car terminal; open daily 0800-1600, \$1.50 roundtrip. This is the longest single-span aerial tramway in the world, built in 1965 for the transportation of TV technicians to the transmitter atop Mt. Alava. From the mountain one can sometimes see the island of Upolu in Western Samoa, some 130 km distant. The car ways for a mile over Pago Pago harbor above the docks with



mountains looming all around such as rugged Mt. Mafafan (641 m), Samoa's highest peak, making this one of the most spectacular aerial rides in the Pacific. Further along the waterfront a stairway leads up to Government House (1903), the governor's residence. You may usually visit the grounds. An old navy building now houses the Jean F. Hayden Museum, open Mon.-Fri. 1000-1600, Sat. 1000-1200; admission free. Facing onto the Malaa-O-le-Taila field, where the local chiefs coded the island to the USA in 1900, is the Fono Building (1973), home of the territory's legislature. A little further is the old courthouse (1906), and then the Public Market which is busiest on Saturdays. Just past this is the former guest-house where Somerset Naughton stayed in 1916, and which was once also the home of the famous Sadie Thompson, the heroine of Naughton's short story *Robin*, but is now occupied by Valupac Foods. Near the end of the harbor one can see Samoan artisans at work Mon.-Fri. 0800-1600 at the Senior Handicraft Center; tape cloth, shells, and basketry are for sale. A larger selection of crafts is found at Pago Park Handicraft Sales just as the road turns to follow along the other side of the harbor. The large tuna cannery, first established in 1954, are the second biggest employers in American Samoa after the government. To visit then apply to the office of the Van Camp Seafood Co. shortly before 1000, or 1400 weekdays. Best informative.

the jungles of Tutuila,
American Samoa



fa'afanua	traditional women's dress	fa'afanua	hello
fa'afanua	come	fa'afanua	hello to you
fa'afanua	walk	fa'afanua	a boy
fa'afanua	a cent	fa'afanua	a man
fa'afanua	good luck	fa'afanua	run
fa'afanua	dance	fa'afanua	noah
fa'afanua	car	fa'afanua	goodbye
fa'afanua	kava bowl	fa'afanua	lei (flower necklace)
fa'afanua	dollar	fa'afanua	boat

WESTERN SAMOA

INTRODUCTION

The lush green islands of Western Samoa, 1026 km west of Tahiti, are in the very heart of Polynesia. Tahiti was colonized from here and in Western Samoa the old ways are preserved as they are nowhere else in Polynesia. Samoa is a culture that has always drawn poets more than painters. Robert Louis Stevenson spent the last four years of his life here and Rupert Brooke fell enraptured with the Samoans and the beauty of their islands. Western Samoa consists of some 2,842 sq. km and has a population of 151,000, while American Samoa has 197 sq. km and 32,000 people.

The land: Western Samoa is made up of four inhabited islands. Upolu (1,100 sq. km, population 110,000) is the most developed and contains the capital, Apia (pop. 35,000). The town of Apia and Faleolo Airport, both on Upolu, are the only places in the country which presently have electricity. The island of Savai'i (1,690 sq. km, pop. 40,000) is larger than Upolu. Tiny Nanono and Apolima lie between Upolu and Savai'i. Western Samoa's islands are all actively volcanic. On the large islands there are rugged mountain ranges in the interior, summits reaching up to 1,097 m on Upolu and to over 1,829 m on Savai'i. Coral reefs surround them.

HISTORY: Europeans didn't entrench themselves here until the London Missionary Society arrived in 1830, at which time Apia emerged as the European center and capital of the group. Because Samoans have never had a strong, centralized, unified government (except once under a queen around A.D. 1500) and since there was continual rivalry among the leading families, German Colonialism in Western Samoa dates back to as early as 1855 when

a Huguenot family set itself up to make copra. They paid for the coconuts with large worthless Bolivian and Chilean pesos which they palmed off on the unsuspecting Samoans at ten times their real value. This Cecil Rhodes-type commercial exploitation was carried out by an organization which had all the political authority of a chartered company. Many German traders and planters arrived in Samoa during this time, some of their descendants living there to this day. In the late 19th C. the Great Powers used the pretense of Samoa's internal strife and inability to interfere constantly in native affairs. This was brought to a head in 1889 when seven men-of-war refused to abandon Apia Harbor in the face of a barricade because it would have meant leaving the field to the opponent Great Power. This colonial stupidity and arrogance cost the wrecks of four vessels, while two others were beached and damaged and 200 lives lost. The German cruiser Adler which sank during the barricade is now buried under the reclaimed area in central Apia, and today you can still see the old fashioned mahogany hand-steering wheel, inscribed 'Samoa 1889', from the one ship which escaped the catastrophe (the British Colibee), set up as a permanent memorial in Apia's courthouse. Finally, all of Samoa was partitioned between Germany and the USA, the German flag being raised over Western Samoa on the 1st of March, 1900. Then came several despotic German governors, the last of which surrendered to New Zealand forces on Aug. 29, 1914, at the start of WW I. From 1910 New Zealand ruled the islands under a mandate from the League of Nations. In 1946 Savai'i, Upolu and their islets



Bot
924

Vaimea VAIMEA

P.O. Box 734

Apia

Western Samoa

6th July 1993

August

Dear George

Hallo One

I am very happy writing my letter
to you George are you a family thing
or right. I like meet you some time
I am not job now. When you have a
job give me Ha - Ha Ha you now
I never to see you and Western Samoa
check the Kitano and Popitu at Motelma Hospital
and motel George you now Lesina give your
address are 6th August that time I am very sorry
for LESINA

I am to say Good Bye One

I love you and you wife
Kid

By Detang Lalar!

Alofa Maluloto my wife and kid



I like THIS and my dream

DEPARTMENT OF MARINE & WILDLIFE RESOURCES



AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
P.O. BOX 3730
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

TEL: (684) 633-4456
FAX: (684) 633-5944



PETER T. COLEMAN
Governor

HENRY SESEPASARA
Director

GALEA'I P. POUMELE
Lt. Governor

5 February 1992

PHILIP LANGFORD
Deputy Director

George Balazs
U.S. Department of Commerce
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
National Marine Fisheries Service
Southwest Fisheries Center Honolulu Laboratory
2570 Dole St. Honolulu, Hawaii 96822-2396

Dear George:

Here is the information that you requested about Bonnie. I hope it will help you. Her address is

Bonnie Ponwith
c/o Bruce Ponwith
Box 148 Cleveland MN 56017.
Phone: (507) 913-1222

I have talked to Peter about your interest in the Sept.-Nov. Rose trip. We are not sure if it will be financially possible to plan a trip for the above time period. He will keep you posted, because I may be leaving for graduate school in August at Sacramento State.

Fa'afetai tele,

Natasha Tuato'o-Bartley
Natasha Tuato'o-Bartley

SEA TURTLE TAGGING FORM

ID numbers of new tags attached and any old tags already present ¹		Species ² and sex (if known)	Date and time	Place-name location (or latitude and longitude)	Activity of the turtle ³	Curved carapace length ⁴
Left front flipper	Right front flipper					
N-253	N-254	CM ♀	9/24/91 1900	Tutuhala (Maasusi)	Coming ashore to lay eggs	97 cm
N-170	N-168	CM ♀	12-21-91 1930	Tutuhala (Tula)	Coming ashore to lay eggs	91 cm

¹If old tags are present, please carefully record the ID number and the complete address inscription. Indicate if the tag is made of metal or plastic. Use the back of this form if more space is needed to provide details on each turtle handled. Two tags should be applied to all turtles handled.

²CM = Chelonia mydas (green turtle), EI = Eretmochelys imbricata (hawksbill), CC = Caretta caretta (loggerhead), LO = Leidochelone olivacea (olive ridley), DC = Dermochelys coriacea (leatherback), ND = Natator depressa (Australian flatback).

³Activities include (for example) nesting on the beach, swimming or resting in the sea, injured or found sick, etc.
⁴Measured with a flexible tape along the curvature of the midline of the upper shell (carapace).

Name and address of person filling out this form:

Nateko Bayly

REF ID: 73: G. 5. 1. 2. 5

HONOLULU LABORATORY
Southeast Fisheries Center

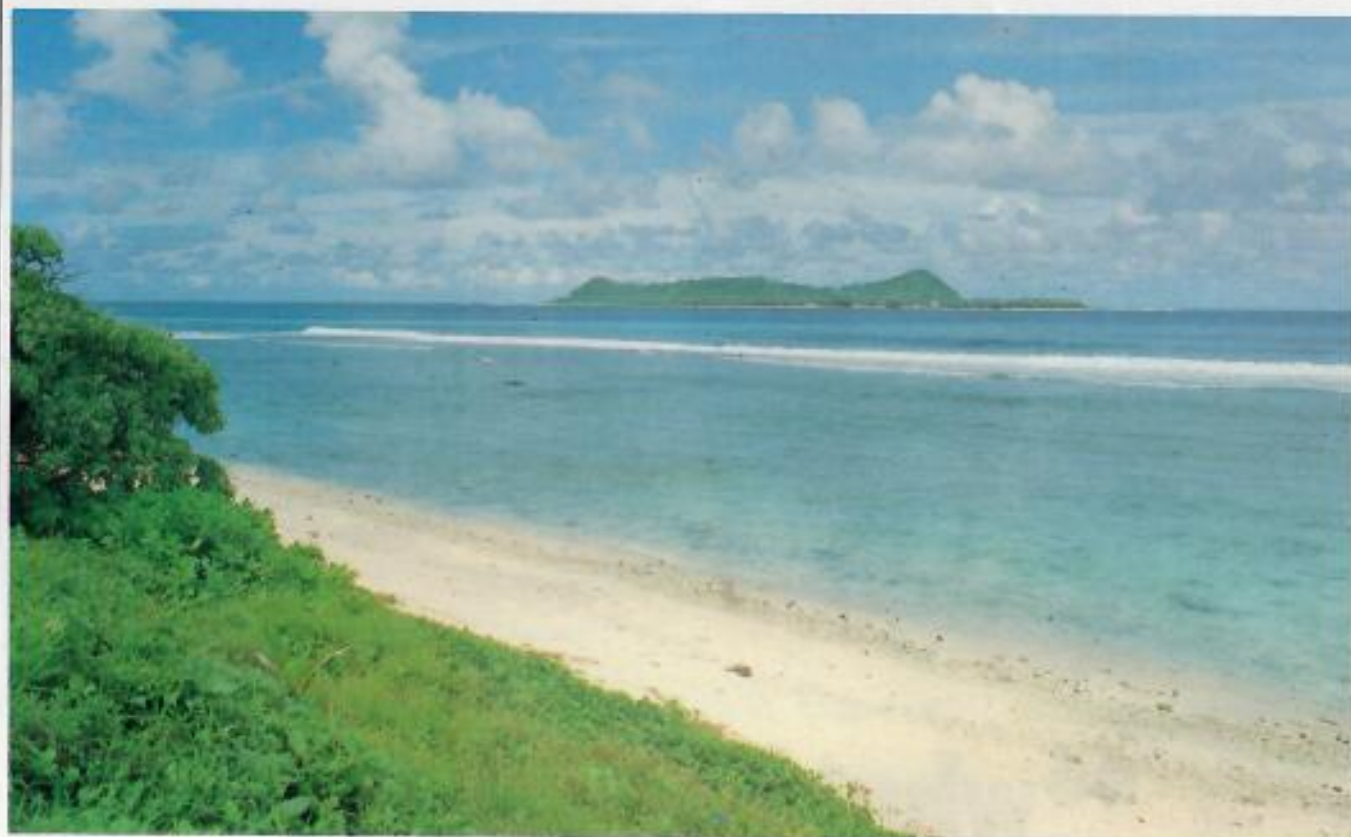
2570 Dole Street
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

Tusitala
Sept-Nov 80

AMERICAN SAMOA

AMERICAN SAMOA

—Modern History



The islands of American Samoa were unknown to the western world until 1722 when the Dutch navigator Jacob Roggeveen sighted Tau, Ofu and Olosega in the Manua group. But it is generally assumed that all the Samoan islands had been inhabited for well over 2,000 years! Tradition has it that Tutuila, American Samoa's main island, was subordinate to Upolu, Western Samoa's most populated island, and that troublesome chiefs were banished from Upolu to Tutuila.

Some great names of early Pacific exploration visited American Samoa in the 18th century. The Frenchman Bougainville was there 46 years after Roggeveen. In 1787 La Perouse was anchored off Tutuila when his

Stunning beaches like the gem pictured here dot the rugged shoreline of the islands of American Samoa.

second-in-command, de Langle and 11 of his men were massacred by the Samoans. And Captain Edwards of HMS Pandora called twice in 1791 in search of the Bounty mutineers.

The Christian missionaries, the Rev. John Williams and the Rev. Charles Barff, of the London Missionary Society, landed in 1830. Pago Pago harbour, which was discovered for the Europeans in 1836 by Captain Cuthbert of the British whaler Elizabeth, became a popular berthing place for whalers.

Rivalry developed between Britain, Germany and the United States over the Samoans but agreement was reached in 1889, giving Western Samoa to Germany and American Samoa to the United States, with Britain obtaining concessions from the Germans elsewhere. The US flag was raised in Tutuila in 1900 but it was not until

1960 that the territory received its first constitution.

The first civilian governor took over control from the US Navy in 1951 and governors were appointed from that date by the Americans until November, 1977, when Peter Tali Coleman, a Samoan, became the first elected governor.

American Samoa today has lost its strategic value but has gained in importance on the economic scene being one of the biggest US fishing bases in the Pacific. The two fish canning factories in Pago Pago, the capital, secure for the Samoans a very favourable trade balance.

American Samoans are becoming more and more Americanised but they retain their ancient culture which is never likely to be swamped by American culture. The United States' policy of keeping 'Samoa for the Samoans' is designed to retain a homogeneous society.

While most Samoans in American Samoa live in rural communities, Pago Pago houses nearly 11,000 people, more than a third of the territory's total population.

The Rising of the PALOLO

PICTURES BY DON COLE AND
STORY BY SHARI COLE

Appraising their catch by lantern light, two young Samoans show the fruits of their night's work. But when it is a delicacy like palolo even a tiny catch is good to have.

It is a case of scarcity making the heart grow fonder.

Samoan caviar, anyone? You cannot order it from the grocer; you have to catch it yourself. For two or three nights each October, people in Samoa have a good excuse to get up at two or three in the morning and wander around in waist-deep water carrying lanterns and dragging sheer curtain material or mosquito netting. The object of this festival lunacy is the reproductive half-of-a-worm, the palolo, architect of coral reefs. The tiny palolo rise, when moon and tide are right, to exchange reproductive cells which become free-swimming coral polyps. People rise, when those who know say the moon and tide are right, to exchange advice on where and how to net the elusive palolo.

Sometimes the catch is plentiful and the palolo firm. At other times the rise is small, or the palolo dissolve into slime in the carrying bucket, or the current carries most of them into deep water. Whether you like the flavour or not, palolo are a delicacy for the sheer effort



P. O. BOX 996
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799



PHONES: 633-4241
633-4033

March 29, 1977

Mr. George H. Balazs
University of Hawaii
Hawaii Institute of Marine Biology
Coconut Island
P.O. Box 1346
Kaneohe, Hawaii 96744

Dear Mr. Balazs:

It was indeed a pleasure to be able to see you again. Your book or gift was send to me "Hawaii's Seabird Turtles & Seal in Color" is genuinely appreciated and I literally devoured the whole book the minute I received the envelope.

Thank you again for the book. Hope to see you and your wife in the near future. Your book is very colorful and beautiful. Well, take care and God bless you and your wife.

Aloha,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Tony T. Brown". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, looping initial "T".

TONY T. BROWN
Acting Resident Manager

TTB/lr

AMERICAN SAMOA



American Samoa's first elected leader, Governor Peter Tali Coleman (right), with his deputy, Lieutenant-Governor Tutele F. Liamatua (left), and his predecessor, H. Rex Lee

HOW ALMIGHTY UNCLE SAM'S DOLLAR?

Canadian historian and university lecturer Dr Jim Boutlier was less than flattering in his description of Guam in last April's PIM. But there are two sides to the American presence in the Pacific, says Bill Goodwin, a Washington DC lawyer, who spent two months last year in American Samoa.

Dr Jim Boutlier's impressions of Agana and the American Dream suggest that the American experience in Oceania and Pacific East Asia is one of polyglot populations and crass commercialism. But having recently spent two months in American Samoa, I find America's presence there to be a coin with two sides, tarnished on one side but shiny on the other.

The tarnished side resembles his description of Agana, one that can be applied equally to Pago Pago. The spectacular harbour — once the reason for America's presence in Samoa — is now ringed with quick-food takeaways, a plethora of shops selling cheap Korean, Taiwanese and Japanese goods, and a selection of honky-tonk bars dispensing Schlitz and Olympia beer imported directly from California.

The winding coastal road around the bay is crowded with motor vehicles and littered with beer cans, cardboard boxes and paper wrappings, the evidence of modern civilisation. And the eastern side of the harbour still

supports the stench of tuna being processed at two American canneries.

Given this shoddy development and the proclivity of the moist trade winds to drop 6 350mm of rain on Pago Pago Bay each year, it is not difficult to appreciate the first impressions drawn by travellers who take one look at the harbour through the rain and catch the next plane to Western Samoa.

The tarnish runs deeper than first impressions, however, and one must get to know the Samoans in order to understand the American experience there — and to appreciate the more elusive shiny side.

One thing soon becomes obvious. The Samoans, in general, have adopted a lifestyle that is dependent on the American dollar, especially the dollar that flows directly from Washington to support a territorial government that now employs roughly 40% of the work-force. The money is easy, and the wages are relatively high.

Gone from the main island is any semblance of a viable

agriculture. Young people are not interested in tending a taro or banana plantation when they can get government jobs that pay in a day what it takes their cousins a week or more to earn in Western Samoa. The territory imports bananas, although banana trees grow wild all over Tutuila Island.

Another lure away from the family land is free access to Hawaii and the US mainland, where two-thirds of all American Samoans now live. Salanoa S. P. Aumocuologo, the president of the American Samoa Senate, has 14 children, 10 of whom live in the States.

"To tell you the truth," an American official confided cynically, "these islands are little more than a baby factory for Hawaii and California."

In the absence of so many young American Samoans, the islands have been invaded by Western Samoans and Tongans searching for jobs and relatively high wages. The top American Samoan musical groups now perform in Honolulu and San Diego, while the bands at the Rainmaker Hotel and Soli's Restaurant are likely to be from Tonga and Apia, respectively.

"I work here because I can make much more money," said a young Western Samoan. "But I can hardly wait until I become a *matal* and go home. It's so peaceful and quiet over there."

The influx of other islanders competing for jobs has caused the government to enforce immigration restrictions which allow non-American Samoans only six months at a time in American Samoa. I found these restrictions particularly grating to the Western Samoans, who are closely related in many respects to the Samoans on American soil.

"If they want to improve relations with our government, they must remove those crazy permits," an elderly Western Samoan told me one morning on the ferry between Upulu and Savai'i. "It's stupid to tell us we can't go and live with our brothers and sisters."

Such a restriction also may gall some Americans who see "Old Glory" flying over the airport terminal to remind them that they are on American terri-

tory. After all, it's constitutionally questionable under American law whether any government, acting under authority of the United States, can exclude an American from an American territory.

Jake King, the editor of the colourful *Samoan News*, fought a long legal battle to avoid being evicted from the islands. The territorial government eventually dropped the case, apparently fearing an adverse US court ruling would throw the regulation off the books insofar as it applies to American citizens.

Those regulations are in effect because of the American Samoa Government's policy — which has Washington's approval — of maintaining "Samoa for the Samoans".

Not only are Americans ostensibly prohibited from remaining in American Samoa beyond six months without contracts to work for the Government or marriages to Samoan citizens, they are not allowed to own land or to carry on a business without Samoan partners.

Ownership of all but a minuscule fraction of the islands has been preserved in the Samoan families since the treaty ceding the territory to the United States was signed in 1900.

"If the land was open to sale to American citizens, then the Rockefellers and the Fords could come in and buy it up. It would be gone, and we would be just another Hawaii," says Senator Salanoa, who opposes any form of statehood for American Samoa. "In Hawaii, the political power rests with the Japanese, the money with the Chinese, and the land with the Americans. The poor Hawaiians have nothing."

If one takes time to rummage around the modern legislative building, where Senator Salanoa's office commands a view of the Pago Pago waterfront, or to walk up to the governor's mansion overlooking the harbour, he will find most day-to-day decisions being made by Samoans — not Americans.

Governor Peter Tali Coleman, the son of a *palagi* father and Samoan mother,

was raised in the islands, educated in Washington, and served in the late 1950s as appointed governor. He was elected to office in November 1977 after the American Samoans agreed, having disapproved the proposition four times previously, to elect their own governor.

In keeping with Samoan custom, members of the upper house of the legislature are chosen by the *matais*, while the lower house members are chosen by popular election. This blending of Samoan and American ways represents the outlook of many Samoan leaders, who persistently emphasise their intention to "adopt the best of the new while keeping the best of the old".

The best of the new, at least in terms of material comfort, can be found on Coconut Point, a narrow peninsula of palm-fringed coral that looks down Tutuila's south coast toward Rainmaker Mountain and the entrance to Pago Pago harbour.

Coconut Point is lined with the homes of American Samoa's newly-affluent, westernised middle class. Governor Coleman's family home, to which he often expressed a desire to return rather than run for governor, sits on the end of the point.

Next door to Coconut Point is the village of Nu'u'uli, Tutuila's largest, where I lived in a "hurricane house" — one of the buildings that replaced homes ravaged by the hurricane of 1966. Unlike the unkempt area around Pago Pago, Nu'u'uli is spotlessly maintained. Painted boulders lie along its sealed main street, which is bordered by immaculately groomed yards.

I had lived in Nu'u'uli less than a week when the village chief came by to implore me to cut my overgrown grass. It was an eyesore, he said.

Nu'u'uli has a lovely swimming beach, but the wearing of shorts and bikinis there — in deference to Samoan customs of dress — is strictly forbidden. Unlike on Tahiti, where European women tourists are likely to run around topless at the drop of a halter top, no such



The Governor's Mansion in Pago Pago — 'Old Glory' aloft is galling to some Americans.

behaviour is tolerated in American Samoa.

Also in keeping with Samoan custom, Sundays are sacrosanct. The son of K. William O'Connor, the Chief Justice of American Samoa, was told in no uncertain terms that surfing was not permitted on Sundays. Samoans have been known to stone Sunday violators, and a paramount chief once punched the foreman of a road-construction crew who insisted on working on a Sunday after a prolonged rainy period.

The roads along Tutuila's south coast are used extensively by the automobiles that the Samoans' new affluence has enabled them to purchase, but the motor car is by no means king on the island. The most widely-used form of transport is the gaily-painted *aiga* buses —

those often rickety, wooden bodies built on the beds of pickup trucks. They are fast, convenient, and relatively cheap, and most Samoan extended families keep at least one on the road during weekdays, using it on Sundays to transport family members to church.

Not far down the road from Nu'u'uli is a small shopping centre, American Samoa's first outright concession to modern suburbia. A large supermarket is owned by three Samoan brothers, each of whom married *palagi* women while they were attending school in America.

Most American Samoans, regardless of age, have at least visited the States for extended periods. From that exposure, especially among the young,

AMERICAN SAMOA

are emerging the new leaders of American Samoa — both in business and in politics.

Governor Coleman, 59 years old, is seen by many Samoan politicians as an interim governor, a man whose experience with the federal bureaucracy can keep the funds flowing from Washington. Young leaders formed the backbone of his successful election campaign last year, especially those who saw in him a continuation of western influence.

After Governor Coleman's term in office expires, many of his young supporters see him being succeeded by younger men of full Samoan blood. The leading prospects mentioned by many of them were Tufele Lea, the former police chief, who now is Lieutenant-Governor, and Senator Fofu Sunia, a high chief on Manua Island who, in 1977, ran unsuccessfully for Lieutenant-Governor on a ticket with A. P. Lutali, the territory's delegate-at-large to Washington. Both Tufele and Fofu were educated in America.

Meantime, Governor Coleman's primary problems will involve reorganising and modernising the territorial government, which has been infused with so much money over so short a time that it has had trouble keeping track of how it was all spent.

He will have assistance from a new breed of American-appointed official — and there still will be a few of them around Pago Pago — who are more attuned to the attitudes and wishes of the Samoan people than were most of the political appointees sent from Washington in the past.

With the exception of H. Rex Lee, whose accomplishments as governor from 1961 to 1967 have made him a legend in American Samoa, the past saw a parade of men who were sent to Pago Pago from Washington as a reward for political support in the last US presidential election.

If the new American appointees are like Chief Justice O'Connor, things will be considerably different. When the Head of State of Western Samoa, Chief Malietoa Tanumafili II, paid his first

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official visit to Pago Pago in 1977, he was pleasantly surprised when Mr O'Connor welcomed him in the Samoan language.

Governor Lee told me that when he returned as governor in 1977 to oversee the transition to "home rule"—as we Americans call it—he found many of the Americans working in the government were either well-intentioned do-gooders unqualified for the jobs they held, or that they had come to Pago Pago because they did not "fit" elsewhere.

The question of selecting good people for his administration aside, Governor Coleman must still cope with the cause of American Samoa's growing pains—money. To understand why money is such a cause of the territory's social problems, one must look back in time a bit.

From the time that the Samoan chiefs ceded their islands to the United States in 1900 until 1951, American authority in Samoa rested with the US Navy, which maintained a station at Pago Pago. The local chiefs went about their business and were left alone for much of that half-century to conduct their own affairs in their own fashion.

The *matai* system of chiefs was left intact, all but a small fraction of land was left in communal hands, and justice was carried out at the village level.

The harbour at Pago Pago lost its strategic value when the nuclear age dawned after World War II, and control of the islands was transferred to the US Department of the Interior in 1951. Unlike Guam, American Samoa now has little military value to the United States, although some officials admit that they would not want the excellent harbour and the jet airstrip at Tafuna to fall into hostile hands.

The Interior Department did little to change things in Samoa until *Reader's Digest* magazine ran a well-publicised story about "America's Shame in the South Seas" a few years later.

That article described the lack of roads, adequate schools or medical care in terms that

could accurately describe conditions today on the Western Samoan island of Savai'i. In other words, *Reader's Digest* found a virtually-untouched Polynesian society, complete with thatched huts and subsistence farming, smiling faces and few motor vehicles. And that, by contemporary American standards, was a "disgrace".

The American Government reacted as it often does when it attempts to solve a perceived social problem—by throwing money at it.

Along with that money came H. Rex Lee to bring about the overhaul. Unlike his predecessors, Governor Lee had been a career bureaucrat with years of experience in the Interior Department's Bureau of Indian Affairs.

He used federal financial aid to augment a massive effort by the Samoans themselves. "I had one great untapped resource," he recalls, "and that was the desire of the Samoan people to help themselves. All they needed was someone to show them the way."

He gave the islands sealed roads, improved water and electrical systems, the modern Rainmaker Hotel and a convention centre, and his pride and joy, a revamped school system complete with educational television. Along with television came the famous cable car across Pago Pago harbour, built to construct and service the transmitter atop Mount Alava.

Reader's Digest sent its reporter back to the islands late in Lee's term and pronounced the territory to be "America's show-place in the South Seas".

Then came the "Great Society" domestic programmes enacted during the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson. Those social programmes were created to eliminate poverty in America, and they were made applicable to the territories and possessions as well as in the States themselves.

Other programmes followed during the Nixon administration, and Mr Nixon's appointed governor, John M. Haydon, turned on the money tap at Pago Pago. Since American Samoa easily qualified as a poverty area under criteria ap-

plicable to the States, it had almost immediate access to an array of assistance programmes, such as aid to education, health programmes, and law-enforcement assistance.

Over the course of five years, the territorial government's budget grew from \$US18 millions to \$45 millions—



Straw mat maker in Pago Pago... a lifestyle dependent on the dollar

twice the present expenditure by the Government of Western Samoa, which has five times as many people. In Governor Lee's first year, the budget was a mere US\$2 million.

And every time a new programme was added, a new bureaucracy was established to administer that programme. The government payroll grew and grew.

As more and more Samoans took jobs with the government—often after returning home from America—they became more and more dissatisfied with the *fa'u Samoa* custom of turning their earnings over to the head of their families. They had learned to adopt western ways, including the possession of their own paychecks.

So money and exposure to American ways has created a new class of young Samoans who are somewhat leery of old Samoan customs and definitely interested in getting ahead economically. They run the gamut from professionals down to the teenagers who can be found on the streets of Pago Pago at all hours, wearing west-

ern jeans and comporting themselves as they have seen their relatives living in America.

Nevertheless, technical skills among the young are sadly lacking, partly because a skilled Samoan can make three or four times as much pay in America as he can at home. That lack of local skill showed up last year when Governor Lee found, upon his return, that "our fiscal and accounting systems and records are in poor condition".

Governor Lee went on to say that the government had "tried to do too much too quickly without proper supervision or technical assistance".

Money, in other words, represents both the tarnished and shiny sides of the American Samoan coin. It has brought about an almost overnight acceptance of American ways among large segments of the population, but it has resulted in a dependence on federal largesse and a breakdown in Samoan customs. Money has enabled Governor Lee's prized television station to beam American programmes into every home in the islands, complete with commercial advertisements for products either not available locally or far beyond the means of most Samoans.

On the other side of the coin, money has given the American Samoans better schools, better transport, and better health care facilities. And it has given them the unique advantage in the American system of being able to determine their own destinies.

The American Government has made it very clear to the American Samoans that they can become independent, but they obviously have become so economically dependent on Washington that few voices can be heard speaking of political independence.

The choice is theirs, not America's. Whether the coin becomes shiny on both sides is a decision to be made in Pago Pago, not in Washington. Given enough time and enlightened young leaders, I have no doubt but that the American Samoans will indeed "adopt the best of the new while keeping the best of the old".



AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799
OFFICE OF MARINE RESOURCES

In reply refer to:

December 10, 1981

Dr. George H. Balazs
National Marine Fisheries Service
Honolulu Laboratory
P.O. Box 3830
Honolulu, Hawaii 96812

Dear George:

Henry has asked me to reply to your letter of November 30. You asked for our estimate of the extent of subsistence fishing for turtles in American Samoa. This is very difficult to do without taking the time (which I don't have) to interview a large number of fishermen. My best guess is that the Tutuila fishermen and the Manu'a fishermen each take about 50 turtles a year (excluding eggs and hatchings). The catch probably consists mostly of hawksbills. While William and our new boat were at Swains Island last week, a green turtle which had just nested was discovered on the beach. She was killed and her eggs were dug up. One of the 18 inhabitants of the island told William that this was the first turtle they had caught in the past three years. Tutuila fishermen have recently told me that turtles are considerably less abundant now than they were five years ago.

Since the taking of turtles will continue to occur whether or not the Federal Government considers it illegal, Henry and I feel that regulations should allow the subsistence take (but certainly not the commercial sale) of a few turtles by American Samoans, particularly those living at Swains Island. Under no circumstances, however, should the take of eggs or hatchings be allowed. I also feel that an educational campaign which stresses the need for conservation of eggs and hatchlings would be desirable.

I hope these few comments are helpful. We look forward to your visit in February and further discussion on this matter.

Tōfā,

RICHARD C. WASS
Fishery Biologist

xc: Henry Sesepasara

RCW:fas.



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
NATIONAL MARINE FISHERIES SERVICE
Southwest Fisheries Center
Honolulu Laboratory
P. O. Box 3830
Honolulu, Hawaii 96812

November 30, 1981

F/SWC2;GHB

Mr. Henry Sesepasara
Director, Marine Resources
Government of American Samoa
P. O. Box G
Pago Pago, American Samoa 96799

Dear Henry,

I regret that William Pedro was unable to accompany me on the 10-day trip to Tokelau. I was able to gather a considerable amount of biological and ethnological information relating to sea turtles. I am sure that William would have benefitted, as a representative of your office.


I would like to obtain an estimation from you and your staff on the extent of subsistence fishing for green turtles that would occur in American Samoa if it were legalized in the manner that is now allowed in the Trust Territory. Could you give me a similar estimation for hawksbill turtles, and also, for Tutuila versus the native inhabitants of the Manua Group? For this purpose, I don't think it would be appropriate to include the Tongan nationals who, I understand, are skilled turtle catchers.

From my shipboard discussions with Wally Thompson last November, I am inclined to believe that a subsistence exemption for green turtles should certainly be granted for the 50 or so residents at Swains Island. If my facts are correct and the people at Swains do indeed have a need and desire to eat green turtles, I would be willing to file an exemption petition on their behalf. Please let me know your thoughts on this important subject.

The chartered supply boat to Tokelau from Apia will probably be making up to 10 trips during 1982. The route taken will at times be within sighting distance of Swains Island. I suggested to John Larkindale, the official Secretary for the Tokelau Office, that it would be nice if stops could occasionally be made at Swains so that relatives and friends could visit. As it turned out, this idea was already under consideration and plans are underway to transmit a request to American Samoa through the proper channels. I hope that it will, in fact, be carried out.

There is now a reasonably good chance that I will be in American Samoa for a few days in February using a U.S. Coast Guard flight. I would like to visit Aunu'u to learn more about the hawksbill nesting reported to take place at this location.

Sincerely,


George H. Balazs
Fishery Biologist

HELL SHIPS *of the* SOUTH PACIFIC

Life Aboard the Albacore Boats
by Margot Patterson Doss



A Korean tuna boat in Pago Pago Harbor, American Samoa. [Dr. John W. Doss]

YOU SEE THEM across the harbor in Pago Pago, the longliners that serve the two tuna canneries in American Samoa. Named for the ten miles or more of fishing lines they let out each morning before dawn, the longliners are the rustiest buckets a lover of the sea can imagine. Short, broad, about twenty-five feet abeam and thirty feet high, displacing at most 300 tons, they line up on the far shore like some forgotten rotten row. Except that there is life aboard. Once in awhile washing flutters from one. Or someone scales fish over the rail.

"What are they?" I asked a local Samoan the first time I saw them. "Korean boats

maybe," he said. "Maybe Taiwanese. Maybe Japanese."

All of these answers are partly right, for the little boats were built immediately after World War II by the Japanese for their own use. After ten years they were sold to Koreans and Taiwanese who have sailed and fished them for the last twenty-five years. The first longliner under Korean ownership, *Jinam I*, came to Samoa in 1958. As the market for tuna grew, so did the number of boats, until there were 254 longliners in the South Pacific, about two thirds in Korean ownership, the other third Taiwanese.

To the tourist coming into Pago Pago on

the *Oriana* or the *Pacific Princess*, the longliners look picturesque, fronted by three miles of blue water, backed by the lush green of Mount Pioa, the rainmaker. In the romantic South Pacific a little rust, a little seediness is to be expected, like wicker chairs, slow moving ceiling fans, wind-blown coco-palms, and geckoes in the rafters.

Closer at hand there are certainly handsomer tuna boats to admire these days. They are the big, sleek purse-seiners out of San Diego, fitted out with sonar, radar, three direction finders, two sounders (one digital), gyro-compass as well as magnetic, thermograph and thermofax, single sideband radio computing any frequency as well as fixed-frequency radio, all the safety equipment that has been invented, a satellite navigator to give continuous position and a helicopter on the uppermost deck for spotting fish. These luxurious purse-seiners are traditionally owned by Portuguese-American families, and there is also a chapel aboard, in case science should fail. Housing comfortably a crew of nineteen or twenty, usually they contain seventeen wells, three or four small powerboats, freezing capacity for 1,050 tons of fish, and big purse-seines that bring in yellowfin and skipjack tuna.

For all their comfort and fancy efficient equipment, the purse-seiners rarely get albacore, the choicest of the tunas. Ecologically speaking, they have another strike against them: in the past the nets they use to herd the tuna have also ensnared dolphins, those charming sea mammals we have reason to believe can think.

Aye, and there is the rub. Longlining is the way to catch albacore. Longline fishing is certainly more humane to dolphins and porpoises, but there is nothing humane about life aboard a longliner for the fishermen in her crew. Some of the longliners are almost prison ships. Some could be called slave ships. Some have certainly been unseaworthy. On all of them, down through the years, life must have been hell on earth.

Cramped quarters and subhuman living conditions are common to them all. There is also evidence that keelhauling, tricing (hanging by the heels) and other torture, beatings, even murder and mutiny have been the lot of unfortunate men who found themselves in service aboard the longliners. Think about that next time you open a can to make your albacore and avocado salad.

In his concern for the well-being of fishermen touching on his shores, Governor Peter Tali Coleman has circulated among representatives of the canneries and Asian boat owners a report prepared by Pastor Donald Baron of the Bible Institute of Hawaii, expressing official interest. It was given to me

by his son, William "Dyke" Coleman, special projects coordinator for the government of American Samoa. Dyke Coleman told me he had witnessed a longliner captain beat up on each of his crewmen individually because they would not unload. They would not unload because they had not been paid. The boat-owning company in turn was refusing to pay them because it was going bankrupt.

Reverend Baron's report describes the conditions of 2,000 fishermen working on 100 fishing boats from Taiwan. During the week of 6 December 1981, he went with a Korean pastor who ministers to approximately the same number of Korean fishermen in the longliner fleet. The two men visited aboard some of the longliners.

"On one of the boats, I went down to the place where the men sleep," Reverend Baron wrote. "It is located at the bottom of the hold and could not have measured more than twelve by fifteen feet. In this tiny, unventilated room sleep most of the eighteen or twenty men aboard. Several days later, I talked to the man who works for the federal government and is related to the American jurisdiction over the seas surrounding American Samoa. He told me two significant things. One, it is not an infrequent thing for one of these unsafe old boats to just disappear and never return—they are simply unseaworthy and the seas can often become quite rough. Secondly he told me of an incident where he himself was fishing in his private boat and was returning after dark into Pago Pago harbor where at a distance he noticed two large glass floats. He turned his boat to that direction to investigate, only to discover that there was a Chinese fisherman clinging to those floats so weak that he could not help himself up out of the water.

"We learned that this man had been afloat for twelve hours. He had been aboard one of the fishing boats that was going out to sea for another three months. When the boat got two or three miles offshore, this man, who could not swim, decided that he could not tolerate another three months on board that boat so he grabbed two floats and jumped into the water. He was in his underwear and had on his body two items: One, a New Testament, and in that New Testament, Two: a ten-dollar bill."

The first hint I got that subhuman treatment at sea could, and does happen in our time, was one pleasant morning on the way to Tula village in the east end of Tutuila island. My husband is presently director of maternal and child health for American Samoa. Among other duties, he has conducted well-baby clinics in the village and has sometimes taken me along. Together

with a Samoan doctor and five Samoan nurses, we were heading in a van along the coast highway which runs the length of the island when we approached Siliataligalu Point. Nearby on a coral reef was the hull of a longliner. It was disturbingly close to shore. "How on earth did that get there?" I asked my Samoan companions.

"Crew got captain drunk one night. He ran aground and all the men escaped."

"Escaped?"

"They steered inshore so they could get off that prison ship. One mean captain, that captain. He beat the men with whips and chains."

"Was this a long time ago?" I asked.

"Last year," they told me.

Shocked, I began to wonder about those escaped fishermen. Where could they hide? How could they really escape on an island? Later I asked a neighboring doctor's wife if she had heard about this ship sinking.

"Yes, we were here at the time," she told me. "Some of the men were caught very soon, but a few escaped into villages and were hidden by the villagers, who took them in and gave them food and new clothing. I remember driving along a road and seeing a Korean man dressed in a business suit, carrying a case, but running toward us along the road as if pursued by demons. He ran, not like a jogger, but as a man in fear of his life."

"In the next village we learned why. There we saw a truckload of men seeking him. Some were fishing company representatives, some were police with guns. They were going into every house and *fale* looking behind every wall, every bush."

"Did they catch him?"

"Yes. We didn't see the capture, but read in the newspaper that it had happened. Since they are under contract to the fishing companies, the men who escape are returned to the boats, whether they want to go or not."

The next indication that something was amiss aboard the longliners jumped out at me from a page in *The South Seas Dream*, written by London journalist John Dyson, published in 1982 by Little, Brown and Company. "Today knifed bodies are quite often found floating in the Pago Pago Harbour. . . . They tend to be Oriental fishermen."

I asked an emergency-room doctor if he knew of this. "Yes," he said. "There are reports in the local news every so often. We sometimes see worse. A doctor can tell when a man has been roughed up in a brawl and when he has been tortured or systematically beaten. The wounds are different. Both kinds have shown up in the hospital among Oriental fishermen."

The more I learned, the more it seemed like "The Red Record" all over again. I can

recall going aboard the museum ship *Balclutha* at the foot of Powell Street in San Francisco twenty years ago and reading on her 'tween decks exhibits reprints from *The Coast Seaman's Journal* of 1895: "Ecce! Tyrannus. The symbol of Discipline on the American Hellship. A brief resume of some of the cruelties perpetrated upon American seamen at the present time 1888 to 1895."

Felix Reisenberg has a good account of *The Red Record* in his book *Golden Gate*. (Alfred A. Knopf, 1940). He describes how union organizer Andrew Furuseth had appointed Walter Macarthur editor of the paper. "Macarthur had read the laws of the ancients, sea laws first written for the galleys out of Phoenician ports 900 years before the birth of Christ. A master might strike a seaman once if he did not obey, but on receiving a second blow, the man before the mast was allowed to defend himself. Civilization was young then, still unhampered by too many precedents; there was justice in the old law that time had not altered. A single blow was still in order to get action; but nowhere was there reason for reports that a seaman had been 'kicked until insensible' or beaten with a belaying pin until 'his body was covered with bruises, nose broken, several teeth knocked out and his internal organs ruined.'

"Because people no more believed such things possible than did another generation credit tales of flogging, keel-hauling and tricing up [he is referring to Melville's account of the early American Navy in *White Jacket*], Macarthur began publishing cases of cruelty as a supplement to the *Journal*. Finally he bound them and had a striking cover made: blood red, it showed a hand gripping a belaying pin. The brass belaying pin and the boot were to the merchant marine what the cat o' nine tails and gratings had been to the naval ships of Melville's time. The *Red Record* listed sixty-three cases of unpunished brutality at sea. . . ."

LIKE MACARTHUR'S readers, I did not want to believe such things possible either. Not in our time, 1983. So I went looking for some answers and explanations. First I tried to get aboard a longliner.

A mutual friend, equally concerned for the well-being of the fishermen, arranged for me to meet Mean Jhong Kim, Korean vice consul and fisheries officer in Samoa. Mr. Kim holds an advanced degree in marine biology. We went to Korea House, a red and gold landmark so distinctive in Pago Pago that it is featured on postcards. It was built in 1972 under a lease agreement between Samoa and the Korea Marine Industry Development Corporation after a visit to

Pago Pago of Park Chung Hee, then president of the Republic of Korea. It is part temple, part club, part restaurant, part shop, part hiring hall and part office.

Up a graceful spiral stairs we found Mr. Kim in his office, framed against a sweeping view of the mountains and the harbor. Wall-to-wall carpet covered the floor. An etagere with museum-quality Korean pottery figures adorned one corner. Three other messieurs Kim were also in the assembled group, the representatives of three of the fifteen companies which own longliners. Among them was the representative of the Korea Won Yang Fisheries Company, largest in Korea. Won Yang has twenty-three boats working out of Samoa.

When I asked how men were recruited as fishermen, Vice Consul Kim explained that a young Korean man can sign on for three years to a fishing boat in lieu of military service, and because the pay is slightly higher, some men may do this. Or, he said, a family may send a son, and his salary is paid over to them. (Later I learned that families in debt often do this, creating a form of bondage.) Few Koreans, it appeared, elect to become fishermen of their own volition. Usually the young man is "fresh off the farm", so they are rarely skilled at the outset. At the peak of tuna production, recruits were so hard to get, prisoners were reassigned from jail to ships to serve out their terms.

The salaries, he said, are about \$200 to \$300 per month. There is also the possibility for a bonus in proportion to the individual boat's catch. This added to what each fisherman can make from the sale of dried sharkfins, a seagoing cottage industry the men may do in their off-time, can bring the monthly take to \$800 for an industrious man. Captains, Kim said, make about \$2,000 per month. They are employed by the boat-owning companies, working under thirteen-month contracts, a matter of two or three voyages per year.

When I asked how the fishermen are treated aboard, he pointed out that the boats are old and small and of course, conditions are not luxurious. Kim thought conditions had improved. "There have been changes in the companies fishing here," he said without getting specific, adding that conditions ashore had also improved for the fishermen on leave. "Now there are both Chinese and Korean clinics for medical treatment on shore and a fisherman's club with nightly movies, ping pong and pool tables and handball courts."

"Would it be possible for me to go aboard a longliner to see what it is like?" I asked. From the windows of that office it was possi-

ble to see at least fourteen longliners in the harbor.

"Arrangements would have to be made with the individual captains," Mr. Kim said, although the men to whom those captains answered were seated in the room with us. Suddenly the other messieurs Kim, who had been attending every word of the interview to this point were very busy in private conversations in a language I do not speak. Several of the company representatives soon made their exits. The impression they gave was that no one wanted me aboard *his* company's ships. It was a feeling that was to grow stronger.

My friend and I left with the vague understanding that we would hear when arrangements to go aboard a longliner had been completed. After we had left the office and gone out on a balcony to admire the architecture of Korea House, the vice consul came running out to present me with a beautiful datebook illustrated in full color with reproductions of paintings from antique scrolls. It was an interesting consolation prize to contemplate later as I waited from week to week for those "arrangements" to be made. They never were. I never was able to make a complete and candid inspection of the ships.

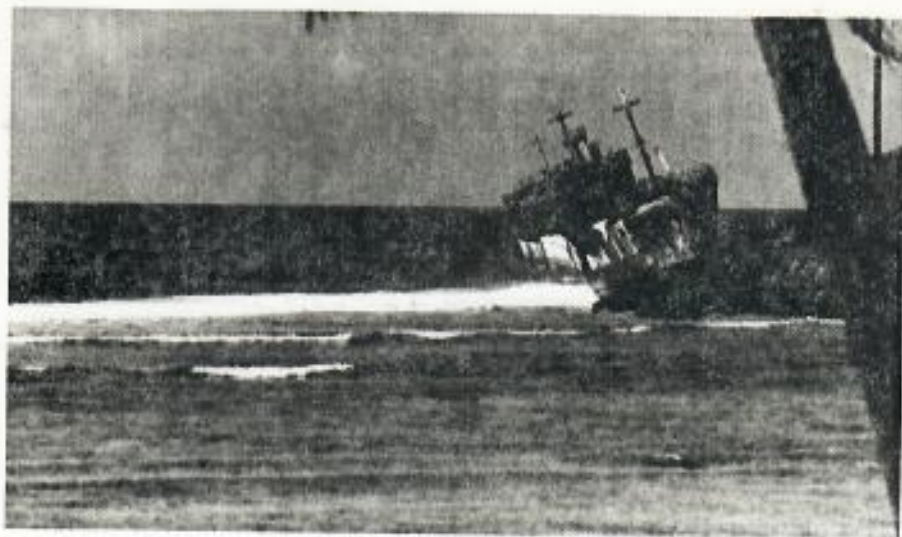
Meantime, piqued by the comment that "conditions ashore had improved", I sought out both cannery personnel and fishermen. Part of the hellship problems on the waterfront of West Coast cities during the 1880s and '90s involved boarding masters, shipping masters, retaining of wages by boarding houses and tailors, crimps and a few other greedy types with their hands in Jack Tar's pockets.

Something similar has happened in Samoa, too.

At the fishermen's club, one fisherman told me of being aboard a ship in which the captain had keelhailed the navigator. This ancient punishment is done by tying a man with ropes and dragging him under the keel of a ship where he is nearly drowned and his skin flayed by barnacles.

Another fisherman said it was common practice for captains to slug a man "many times". Speaking through an interpreter, he told of a captain who had a reputation for "hanging men up by their heels". This was called "tricing", when it happened a hundred years ago on British and American ships.

Conditions aboard one ship became so bad, other fishermen who crowded around us said, a captain was found dead. Who is to say if the broken cervix of another captain was an accident? These incidents happened at sea.



Life aboard the Korean and Taiwanese tuna boats that bring their catch to Pago Pago includes harsh discipline and low pay. The rusty hulk at top was rumored to have been intentionally grounded by a crew desperate to escape.

The prow jutting up from the water at bottom is in Pago Pago Harbor not far from the tuna canneries. In the center, crew members of a longliner the author was able to board eye the camera suspiciously. [Dr. John W. Doss]

Mr. Lee Gun Go, who had been a second officer (navigator) on longliners and now works in the fisherman's club, which also serves as a chandlery, told me in his halting English that conditions ashore had been equally bad. Fishermen on shore had nowhere to stay but in company-owned boarding houses. The boarding housekeepers made life ashore so unpleasant the fishermen would rather go to sea, bad as the shiplife was, than have shore leave. Two company men had killed fishermen.

As we talked, a car drove by on its way to one of the clinics. No one waved to the driver. Exiled from Korea for ten years for killing a man, he was keeper of one of the boarding houses where the fishermen are required to stay.

Conditions both ashore and at sea finally became so harsh that fishermen wrote a pleading letter to Kyuha Choy, then interim president of Korea in Seoul, complaining of ten years of torture, beatings, and mistreatment from representatives of the longliner companies the government of Korea subsidizes. It was only then that a Korean man of the cloth had been sent. Gradually, the fishermen said, the reforms began.

Are conditions better now? Lee Gun Go thinks they are. "Before the captain was king," he said. "Now the fisherman is king." That is his opinion, not mine.

WHILE BEING shown around a cannery by its general manager, I made another effort to get aboard a longliner. There were several unloading at the company dock while I was being conducted through. We stopped alongside the nearest one, the longliner *Sung Won*, while he asked his fish-buying foreman if I could go aboard. The foreman spoke to the captain. The scowls and growls of the captain and his crew were apparent 100 feet away.

Here the problem was not politics, but superstition. It seemed the captain and his crew would hold the cannery personally responsible if any misfortune overtook their vessel on its next voyage. It was unlucky to let a woman set foot on a ship, they said. I did not press it.

Instead I asked the plant manager about the economics of tuna. "In the mid-70s tuna sales were booming and there was a demand for all kinds," he said. "The longliners go after white tuna, the albacore that is the most prized and expensive kind. As inflation raised the prices we paid for fish, it topped out at \$1,950 a ton. At this peak, American Samoa's two tuna canneries were packing 60 to 65 percent of the albacore consumed in the United States. Then there was a turnaround in the economy, during a time in

which all fish were tested for mercury, for histamines and for salt. We pay to have a federal Department of Commerce inspector here at all times." (Testing for mercury is no longer required since the major polluting countries have cleaned up their act.)

The tuna canneries extend the longliners a line of credit to fuel and outfit the boats, get repairs and pay the crew wages. When the boats return after a fishing trip, the canneries buy their fish, deduct the advance and pay for the balance.

Canneries will not buy spoiled fish, of course. Some of the longliners are so old, their refrigerators break down. When this happens, it can mean a company doing a marginal business can easily go bankrupt.

This has happened with disastrous results. Henry Sesapasara, Samoa's director of marine resources, told me one crew went berserk and tore up the offices of Van Camp Cannery, wrecking desks and typewriters because they did not understand that it was the boat owners who were withholding their wages, not the cannery.

When I finally got aboard a longliner, at the last possible moment, on the very day I was to fly to San Francisco after six weeks of waiting, what I saw was anticlimactic. There was a galley any stateside health department would shut down instantly. It was about the size of an average American bathroom and not nearly as clean. Every surface showed the effects of years of unventilated stir fry cooking. There was a radio room smaller than a coat closet. I saw fish wells, engine room and miles of coiled sisal rope, floats and hooks. The equipment on the bridge was so rudimentary my admiration for the captain's seamanship instantly increased a thousandfold. No bunk among those lining the corridors on either side of the galley was long enough for me to lay out straight, much less a man. Ammonia gas so strong it would have required a gas mask to go down the ladder was being used in the lowest hold, the one Reverend Baron described. Was it timed for my visit to prevent inspection? Whether it was or not, the boat was so cramped, so confined, so small, had such low doors and decks it was hard to believe anyone could endure it more than an hour. I was ready to leave in half that time.

The captain, a lean, mean weathered man whom Central Casting would pick for a brigand on sight, almost spat in my face as I said goodbye—huffing out short sharp puffs of air to chase away demons.

Between my first and second trips to Samoa, another longliner ran aground. You can see it now, prow up like a great shark, in the harbor of Pago Pago. It had been towed there after missing the main channel, which

is not an easy thing to do in that well-marked, great, drowned volcanic crater.

OTHER EYES are homing in on the hellships.

The Apostleship of the Sea out of Tacoma forwarded Reverend Baron's report and an article about it from the *Flying Angel News*, a London missionary paper, to U.S. Congressman Mario Biaggi, chairman of the House of Representatives subcommittee on the merchant marine. He shared this report with Samoan Congressman Fofu Sumia. This correspondence was circulated by Governor Coleman to representatives of fishing companies and canneries.

"I am as concerned as you about the conditions under which the fishermen/sailors live on board the tuna boats," the accompanying letter said. "As you know, the boats are owned by Oriental companies and sponsored by their respective governments. All of the contracts and arrangements between the boat owners and the fishermen/sailors are made in Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. The almost subhuman conditions under which the seamen must live while fishing is indeed a fact. Like you, I find it very deplorable. It is difficult to see where or how we [Samoa] can do something about the on-board living conditions."

"The long-run preservation of our interests however lead me to urge the owners and operators to make improvements. The issues of human dignity and human rights are items which cannot continue to be kept at arm's length."

It is true. Changes will have to come from the Taiwanese and Koreans themselves. But the Plimsoll line is ours.

American Samoa is a United States territory. The tuna industry floats on American consumption, an all-too-obvious part of the American economic network. The American-owned canneries themselves could force changes overnight, weeding out the hellships by withholding the line of credit from any substandard tuna boat or abusive captain. Or American consumers, who were concerned enough with the suffering that purse-seining for yellowfin tuna caused dolphins to bring about reforms in marine mammal protection laws, could express that same concern for their own species.

Margot Patterson Doss is currently spending part of her time in Pago Pago while her husband, Dr. John Doss, serves as director of maternal and child health for American Samoa. She produces a weekly column for the San Francisco Chronicle, and has done segments for San Francisco's KPIX-TV Evening Magazine. She is the author of a number of books, the latest of which is A Walker's Yearbook.

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In Press
Pacific Science

To: George Balazs, NMFS

Status of Sea Turtles in Western Samoa in 1994

CEDRIC SCHUSTER¹, ANTHONY C. ROBINSON¹, ANTONIO MULIPOLA², DAVID J. BUTLER¹
AND SAVALI TIME²

ABSTRACT: Sea turtles have declined significantly in Western Samoa over the last Century. Interviews with village fishers revealed that this decline has continued over the last 20 years. In spite of this there is no legal protection for sea turtles and they are still hunted at sea and nesting females and their eggs are regularly taken. Counts of nests and tracks at the hawksbill nesting beaches of the Aleipata islands in 1993-94 however showed no decline when compared with similar counts from the 1971-72 nesting season. It is hoped to introduce protection for sea turtles in Western Samoa both at Government and village levels in late 1994. Thirty four green and hawksbill turtles have been tagged and released in the hope of discovering something of the movement patterns of these Western Samoan turtle populations

THE CURRENT status of sea turtles in American Samoa was described by Tuatoo-Bartley et al. (1993) and this paper presents data from a comparable survey in Western Samoa. Unlike the situation in American Samoa however, there is some earlier data available from Western Samoa which allows some assessment of changes in turtle populations from the 1970's to the present.

Two species are commonly found in Western Samoa lagoon and offshore waters, the green turtle (*Chelodina mydas*) and the hawksbill turtle (*Eretmochelys imbricata*). There have also been occasional sightings of the leatherback turtle (*Dermochelys coriacea*) and the flatback turtle (*Natator depressus*)

Only the hawksbill is known to breed in Western Samoa and the main breeding area is the beaches of the Aleipata islands off the south-east coast of Upolu (Figure 1). Between 1969 and 1972. In response to a perceived decline in turtle numbers in Western Samoa, a head-starting project (Travis 1979, Witzell 1972a,b, 1973, 1974, Witzell and Banner 1980 and Zann 1991) was conducted using hawksbill turtle eggs taken from the Aleipata island beaches. As part of this project, relatively systematic counts of turtle tracks on the nesting beaches were conducted from July 1971 to June 1972 and the results of these counts are presented as a graph in Witzell and Banner (1980).

Study Area

Western Samoa (Figure 1) is a small Pacific island nation which became independent in 1962 after a period of colonial administration by Germany and then by New Zealand as a Trust Territory of the United Nations. It consists of two main islands (Savaii and Upolu), seven smaller islands (Manono, Apolima, Nuutele, Nuulua, Namua and Fanuatapu) and some islets and rocks. The total land area is 2820 km². Only four of the islands are inhabited. The population in 1991 was 161,298 and this represents a greater than four fold increase since 1905.

METHODS

To gather historical and current information on sea turtle numbers and their exploitation in Western Samoa, two full day workshops were held for fishermen and other interested villagers from the Aleipata district of Upolu and from the Faasaleleaga and Palauli districts of Savaii in December 1993 and April 1994 respectively. A poster and fact sheet on turtle conservation were used at these meetings and for general publicity. One of the weekly radio programmes prepared by the Division was devoted to turtle conservation, particularly the tagging programme and our attempts to find out more about movements of Samoan turtles.

1. Division of Environment and Conservation, Department of Lands, Surveys and Environment, PO Private Bag, Apia, Western Samoa.

2. Fisheries Division, Department of Agriculture, Forests, Fisheries and Meteorology PO Private Bag, Apia, Western Samoa

A more detailed questionnaire survey was conducted in April 1994 in 107 households from the villages in the Aleipata District, from Amaile south to Laiomanu. Although this survey was designed to obtain information on overall exploitation of the natural resources of the area the following questions were asked about turtles. Has your family eaten turtles or turtle eggs in the last five years? How were the turtles caught? Do you support a turtle conservation programme? Households were also asked to nominate which of the four offshore islands, if any, they used for obtaining turtles or turtle eggs.

In an attempt to collect information on turtle nesting on the Aleipata islands over the 1993-94 nesting season to compare with that collected in 1971-72, turtle tracks and nests were counted on the islands of Nuutele and Nuulua over the peak laying period determined by Witzell and Banner (1980). The turtle nesting beaches on the Aleipata islands are shown in Figure 1. A giant clam farm was operating off Namua Island throughout the 1993-94 survey period and the resident caretaker did not record any visits to the beach by turtles over this period. The other islands are uninhabited although members of the family with ownership claims to Nuutele Island camped on the island for part of the 1993-94 season to develop a small plantation and provide some protection for nesting turtles. Vini Beach on Nuutele was easily accessible for the turtle track and nest survey, whereas access to Nuutele Beach either involved a two hour climb over the island or a 300m swim through the surf break over the reef to the beach. Access to Nuulua involved a swim to a low rock face and then a short climb and was dependent on swell conditions. Counts were carried out on 6 December 1993 (Vini), 24 January 1994 (Vini, Nuulua), 26 January 1994 (Nuutele), 3 February 1994 (Vini), 10 February 1994 (Vini, Nuulua, Namua), 17 February 1994 (Vini, Nuutele, Nuulua), 24 February 1994 (Vini, Nuutele, Nuulua), 14 March 1994 (Vini, Nuulua), 8 April 1994 (Vini, Nuulua). All tracks were recorded, whether they resulted in nests or not and all were marked to avoid re-counting on subsequent visits. Tracks through the cover of vines above the high tide mark remained visible for at least one month. Two nests were excavated and the eggs counted and records of hatching of two other nests were made.

Turtles were also tagged and released as part of the overall project. Tagging followed standards established for the Regional Marine Turtle Conservation Programme administered by the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (S.P.R.E.P.) (South Pacific Regional Environment Programme 1991a, b, 1993). For each turtle the curved carapace length (CCL) and tail were measured and the trailing edge of each front flipper was tagged with numbered titanium tags provided by SPREP. The method used to catch the turtle and the capture and release locations were recorded. The majority of the tagged turtles were released outside the reef off Apia, within Apia Harbour or in the Palolo Deep Marine Reserve just east of Apia. Some were tagged and released in the villages where they were captured. The main approach taken to acquire turtles for tagging was purchase from the fish market in Apia. In the village workshops the tagging programme was promoted and this also provided some captured turtles for tagging and release. Rewards have been in the form of Turtle Conservation t-shirts and limited funds provided under the project budget. The tagging programme began in November 1993 and, to August 1994, over forty turtles had been tagged and released.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Species Identification

The two species commonly found in the waters of Western Samoa are identified by Samoans by the presence of tortoiseshell (*laumei uga* (hawksbill)) and absence of tortoiseshell (*laumei le uga* (green turtle)). All the people asked in the meetings or who had turtles purchased from them made this distinction accurately. These two biological species however were generally considered to be the female (hawksbill) and the male (green) of a single type of turtle or *laumei*.

Nesting

Although the Aleipata islands are clearly the most important nesting area there are still reports of nesting around the coast of Savaii and Upolu. Within the last twenty years nesting was reported on Savaii along the Tafua Faala Pennisula, Falelima beach, Falealupo coastal area, Papa Sataua beach and Fo'a beach just east of Asau village. Around Upolu apart from the Aleipata coast and islands the only relatively recent (1980's) nesting was reported from between Saanapu and Salamumu villages. These

nesting locations are shown on Figure 1. Most elders knew of more nesting areas but said they had not seen nesting turtles in these areas for twenty to thirty years.

In the 1993-94 season, the first nestings on Vini Beach, Nuutele Island were in October and at least four nests were dug up and the eggs eaten by villagers in that month. Given that our 1993-94 nesting survey began on the Aleipata islands on 6 December 1993, the total activity for the months of October and November was calculated from our first track and nest count totals using the proportions derived from the 1971-72 data. This, together with the actual counts between December 1993 and March 1994, are shown in Figure 2 where they are compared with data from the 1971-72 season. It can be seen that nesting season peaks for both years in January-February and that there has been no measurable decline in nesting activity over this period of time with a total of 94 tracks/nests in 1971-72 and 109 tracks/nests in 1993-94 (Table 1). The major change however has been in the distribution of nesting activity over the four nesting beaches (Table 1). During the 1993-94 season the remote beach on Nuulua still supported the vast majority of nesting activity as it did in 1971-72. Nuutele Beach showed half as much activity while Vini Beach showed four times the activity compared with 1971-72. The recent severe cyclones, 'Ofa' in January 1990 and 'Val' in December 1991 may have altered the suitability of these beaches as turtle nesting sites. Although all beaches had large amounts of coral rubble deposited on them by the cyclones, Nuutele Beach seems to be the worst affected with only about one quarter of the beach now having sufficient sand for suitable turtle nesting.

Two nests were dug up on Nuulua Beach on 24 January 1994. In both the egg chamber extended from 10 to 30 cm below the surface which is within the range around the mean depths of 29.96 and 46.22 cm respectively reported by Witzell and Banner (1980). One nest was several weeks old and contained 165 eggs of which 22 were broken or rotten. The second nest had been laid within the last two nights as the 217 eggs were still sticky. Witzell and Banner (1980) report a mean of 149.57 eggs with a range of 60 to 219. A third nest had just completed hatching with one live and one dead hatchling remained. On 10 February 1994 another hatching nest was recorded on Nuulua Beach with 17 live and four dead hatchlings.

Tagging results

Between October 1993 and August 1994 22 hawksbill and 21 green turtles captured by fishers at the sites shown in Figure 3 have been tagged and released. There have been three recoveries of tagged turtles. Two of the recoveries involved the same turtle, a young hawksbill with a CCL of 24 cm. It was originally captured at Falealili on the south coast of Upolu on 18 February 1994, was tagged and released in Apia Harbour. It was re-captured on 15 April 1994 off the Mulinu Peninsula and again released back into the Harbour. On 29 June 1994 it was re-captured off Mulifanua at the eastern end of Upolu and was re-released into the Palolo Deep Marine Reserve. The third recaptured turtle was taken from the lagoon off the village of Malie on the central N coast of Upolu in June 1994. This turtle, an immature hawksbill with a CCL of 47cm, was eaten and one tag was returned to the Fisheries Division. It had been tagged and released off this same village in November 1993.

Utilisation

The Aleipata questionnaire survey revealed that 33% of households had meals of turtles or their eggs in the last five years and that they were still being taken over the 1993-94 nesting season. Turtles were caught by spearing or in nets and when the females came on shore at the nesting beaches. In spite of this high and continuing level of utilisation only 1.2% of households did not support turtle conservation.

Traditionally Samoans prized turtle meat and this is reflected in its formal name of *la sa* meaning the sacred fish. This placed a value on captured turtles which meant that only high chiefs or *alii* were allowed to eat them and so limited the harvest to some extent. This practise still continues in many villages but in recent years turtles have increasingly been hunted for sale at markets where they become available to ordinary consumers. Tortoiseshell of the hawksbill was traditionally used for making fishing lures for tuna fishing, combs and other decorative items. Two villages on Savaii and one on Upolu still have special turtle fishing trips when traditional ceremonial events occur such as matai title bestowment, dedications.

funeral and weddings. The catches range from five to forty turtles depending on the size of the event. In 1994 a full day turtle hunting trip by the village on Upolu caught only seven turtles.

Conservation Status

It is clear that turtle numbers in Western Samoa have greatly declined over this Century. They were said to be abundant around the coastlines of Savaii and Upolu last Century (Williams 1837). This decline is associated with the rapid increase in the human population and the general breakdown of traditional constraints on turtle hunting and consumption and the transition of turtles and their shells into saleable commodities. Although little is known about the source of the turtles hunted around the Samoan archipelago, there have been tag recoveries here of green turtles banded as nesting females at Scilly Atoll in French Polynesia (Balazs et al. 1993). It is not known at this stage if the Samoan hawksbill turtles are all produced from nesting sites around the archipelago or if they come from further afield. The track and nest counts on the Aleipata islands carried out during the 1993-94 nesting season show no change from those conducted in 1971-71, but this level of nesting activity was interpreted by Witzell (1972a) as representing no more than 45 individual females. Even this is probably an over-estimate as it is now known that female hawksbill turtles can lay 3-4 clutches in a season so the 100 visits to the Aleipata island beaches may in reality represent only 25-30 individuals. It is not known if the Western Samoa head-starting project of the 1970's did anything to increase recruitment into this hawksbill population, but as female hawksbill turtles probably do not lay their first clutch until they are between 20-30 years old any adult survivors of the head-starting programme may not yet have reached breeding age.

Turtles and their eggs are still being exploited in Western Samoa and with the general decline in sea turtles throughout the Pacific and the present absence of any Government or village-based controls on this turtle harvest, the fact that we did not demonstrate a decline in the small hawksbill nesting population on the Aleipata islands is no cause for complacency in turtle management in this country.

This project has, to some extent however, renewed the commitment to the conservation of turtles in Western Samoa begun with the head-starting programme. Firstly, the Fisheries Division now have a draft regulations on the utilization of marine turtles. These regulations will hopefully be passed by Cabinet before the 1995 Year of the Turtle campaign. The regulations will prohibit possession of turtles with a C.C.L. of less than 700mm. It also prohibits the consumption of turtle eggs and provides the Director of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries with the option of declaring all turtles totally protected for specified periods making it possible to protect nesting females and their mates during the breeding season in Western Samoa.

In the villages where the turtle workshops were held the village *fonas* (councils) have also instituted their own council decisions to ban the consumption of turtle meat except for traditional events. During the project, there were radio programmes, newspaper articles and posters publicising turtle conservation. Finally, traditional knowledge and taboos are still in place in some villages and building on these will indirectly conserve turtles while encouraging cultural awareness.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study was supported by a grant from the Regional Marine Turtle Conservation Programme administered by S.P.R.E.P. We would also like to thank the fishers of the villages of Samoa for sharing their knowledge of sea turtles with us and for bringing us captured turtles for the tagging programme. Special thanks also to Sagapolutele Utime and his family in Ulutogia, Aleipata for their assistance with a boat, camping equipment and general support for the turtle conservation project conducted on the islands of Nuutele and Nuulua. Patu Patu Luia assisted with the track and nest counts on the islands. Lavatai Liuia of Satitoo assisted with organising the Aleipata District workshop and with the turtle surveys on Nuutele and Nuulua islands. Papalii Afele of Siosiomaga Society and Namulaulu Filipino of Safotulafai helped organise the Palauli and Faasaleleaga Districts workshop. Thanks also to all the participants of the two workshops for sharing their wealth of traditional knowledge and for their expressed support for an improved turtle conservation programme for Western Samoa.

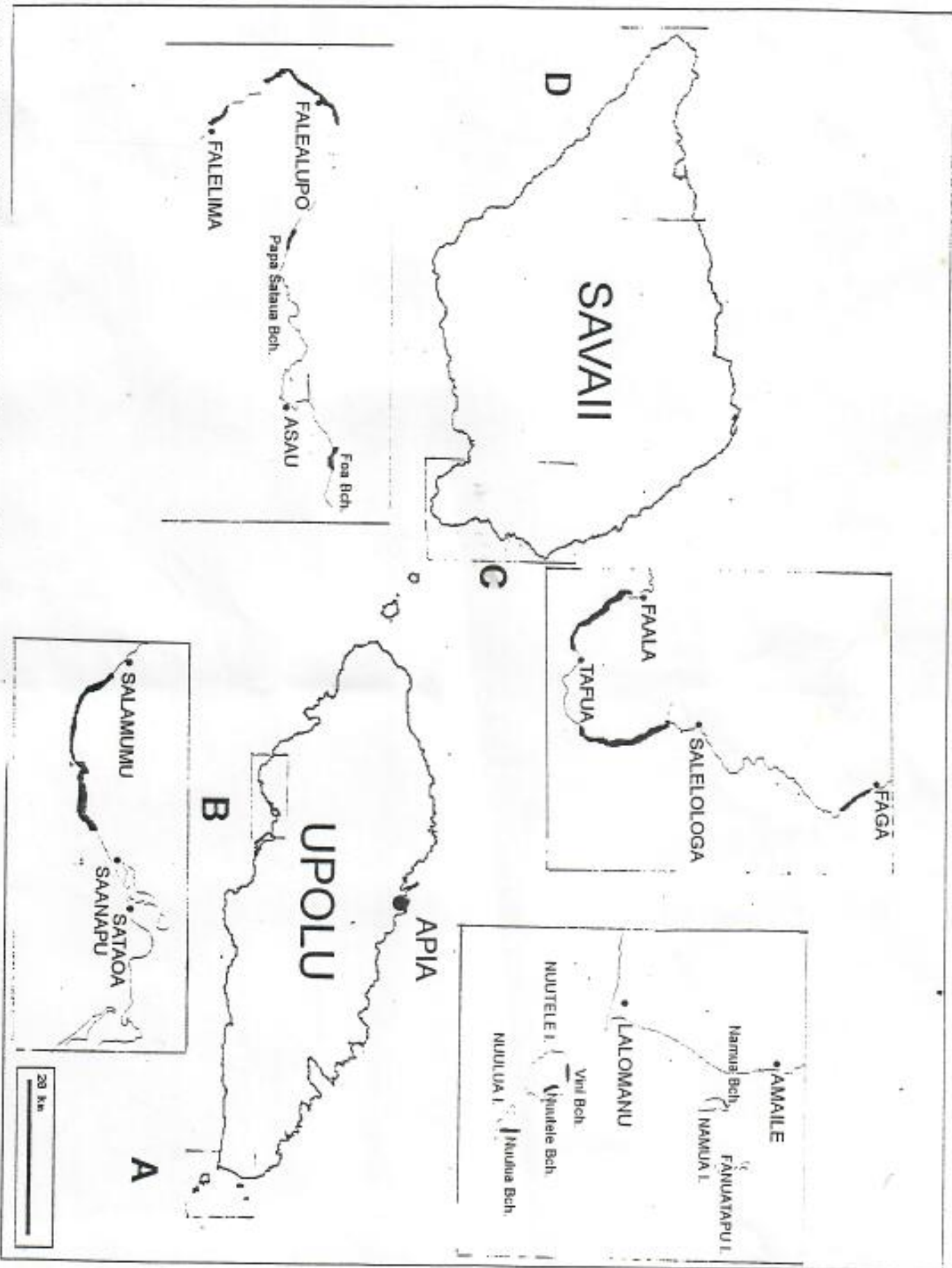


Figure 1. The islands of Western Samoa showing hawkbill turtle breeding sites over the last twenty years and other places mentioned in the text. Enlargements: A the Alepapa District, B the coast from Salamumu to Saanapu, C the Fasaletaga and Palauli Districts, D Western Savaii.

JUVENILE LEATHERBACK TURTLE CAUGHT BY LONGLINE FISHING IN AMERICAN SAMOA

The distribution of the highly pelagic leatherback turtle (*Dermochelys coriacea*) at sea, especially the juveniles, is largely unknown (e.g., Pritchard and Trebbau, 1984). Small leatherbacks (19 cm SCL, 11.5 cm SCL, and 29 cm CCL) have stranded in the Caribbean region in recent years (Horrocks, 1987; Johnson, 1989; Sparks, 1993), but only two specimens have been documented for the Pacific Ocean. One (69.4 cm) was photographed and tagged near Satawal, Yap District, Micronesia (McCoy, 1974; Pritchard, 1977) and the other (15.6 cm) was collected off Acapulco, Mexico (Brongersma, 1970). In this note I describe a small leatherback recovered from a longline fishing operation in the waters of American Samoa.

At 0930 hr on 17 August 1993, Captain Paul Pedro and the crew of the F/V *Sausauiamoana* pulled up a freshly dead leatherback about 5.6 km south of Swains Island (11°7.9'S, 171°04.0'W), American Samoa. Water depth in this area is about 1400 m. The turtle weighed 7 kg and measured 42.7 cm curved carapace length (CCL) and 39.3 cm straight carapace length (SCL). When the turtle was hauled out on the deck, four remoras (probably *Echeneis* sp.) detached themselves. The turtle was placed on ice and frozen upon arrival in Pago Pago three days later.

The turtle had been caught by a longline hook on the dorsal surface of its left front flipper, near the carpal bones. The hook was baited with sama (*Cololabias saira*). The longline was in the water for about 12 hours during the night before the turtle was discovered. Hooks used in this fishing operation measured 70 mm long and 36 mm wide. The 31 km longline contained 347 hooks and 168 light-sticks (on every other hook). The clear monofilament leader was 2 mm in diameter and 23 m long. Because the leader was attached some distance from the nearest float, the turtle may have been hooked as much as 40 m below the surface.

Leatherbacks have not been previously reported from American Samoa. This is the first leatherback seen by Captain Pedro in 32 years of fishing in the waters of American Samoa. Even though the Solomon Islands is the nearest known leatherback nesting area to Samoa (SPREP, 1993), the prevailing wind and currents are from the southeast. This leatherback may therefore have come from one of the major nesting beaches on the Pacific coast of Mexico or Costa Rica. Leatherbacks are the most pelagic of all turtles (Pritchard and Trebbau, 1984), and little is known about their distribution once the hatchlings depart from natal beaches.

Longline fisheries are known to catch leatherbacks in the northeastern Caribbean (Chambers and Lima, 1990; Tobias, 1991; Fuller et al., 1992), the southeastern Pacific (Frazier and Brito Montero, 1990), and near Hawaii (Skillman and Balazs, 1992). Incidental capture of sea turtles by longlining is of increasing concern to researchers and conservationists worldwide. In our case, the frozen turtle was transferred to the Marine Turtle Research Program of the U. S. National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) in Honolulu. An array of studies, including molding and casting, will be carried out to utilize this rare specimen to the fullest extent possible. I thank George Balazs (NMFS, Honolulu) for providing many helpful suggestions to improve this manuscript and for supplying copies of the pertinent literature on leatherbacks. I also thank Peter Craig (DMWR, Pago Pago) for reviewing an earlier draft of this manuscript.

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GILBERT S. GRANT, Department of Marine and Wildlife Resources, P. O. Box 3730, Pago Pago, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799.

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MODERN SAMOA
ITS GOVERNMENT AND CHANGING LIFE

For Manua
Manua

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by
FELIX M. KEESING, M.A., D.LITT.
Research Staff, Institute of Pacific Relations

*Author of
"The Changing Moori"*

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supply this lack, and also through the references and bibliography to lead any who might wish to inquire further to the sources of more minute information. The emphasis of the study will be on the present, but always looked at along the vistas of the past.

MODERN SAMOA

CHAPTER I

THE ISLANDS AND THEIR PEOPLE

THE native Samoans form the second largest unit of the Polynesian, that is, of the brown Mongoloid-Caucasoid-Negroid race occupying the scattered islands of the Pacific from Hawaii to New Zealand and from eastern Fiji to Easter Island. There are today nearly a quarter of a million Polynesians, including those of part white and part oriental blood, and this number is increasing. They are comprised of the following main groups: New Zealand Maori, approximately 27 per cent; Samoans, 22 per cent; Hawaiians, nearly 20 per cent; Tongans and the peoples of French Oceania, each 10 per cent; and Cook Islanders, 5 per cent.

An attempt to reconstruct the story of Polynesian migrations from Asia, through the islands of the Western Pacific to their present widely scattered homelands would lead into still very tentative and much disputed theories of their racial origins. It is sufficient for this study to visualise their long canoes ranging the ocean eastwards in search of new lands, and coming at last to the shores of the islands now called Samoa. The first arrivals settled in villages along the hospitable coasts. Further waves of migrants followed, battling and marrying their way to a position of security. Canoe loads of emigrants embarked to seek fortune and territory still beyond. In time, as the Polynesians adjusted themselves to conditions in the various island groups, the roving urge lessened. Those families occupying the Samoan archipelago achieved a degree of unity among themselves and evolved a special type of Polynesian culture peculiar to their own group; Samoans and Samoan life came into being as distinct from peoples and cultures elsewhere in Polynesia.

Yet communication with other islands did not cease entirely. The Samoans visited and were visited by the Fijians and Tongans. Their princely families intermarried. Indeed, as the oral histories show, hostilities took place as a result of which Samoa was actually conquered and made tributary for a time by each of these peoples. In 1787 La Perouse, the first white man to set foot in the group, noted among the Samoans a distinctly darker strain, and this may also be seen to-day; it is due to the infusion of Melanesian blood mainly from Fiji. Apparently contacts were maintained also with the Wallis and Tokelau islanders, even with Polynesians farther away. (1)

The modern observer might well wonder how the Samoan islands looked through the eyes of the venturesome, perhaps storm-tossed and hungry canocmen who first sighted it, and, giving thanks to their Polynesian deities who had served them so well, drove their prows within the welcome shelter of its reef. Instead he must turn for the picture to terms and measures familiar to western minds.

The Samoan archipelago, situated some 13.5 to 14.5 degrees south of the Equator, lies almost centrally both in the Pacific Ocean and among the South Sea islands. Of the countries having regular steamship routes to Samoa, New Zealand is approximately 1,580 miles away, or 1,775 via Fiji; Australia is 2,355 miles; and Hawaii and the United States 2,275 and 4,150 miles respectively.

The climate is tropical with a humid atmosphere, a heavy rainfall, and no great temperature variation: conditions not very favourable to continuous residence by whites. A wet summer season from November to April is spoken of as the "hurricane

(1) For theories on Polynesian migrations see S. P. Smith, *Hawaii*, 1921 edition; P. H. Buck, *Races of the Pacific*, in *Problems of the Pacific*, 1927 (*Proceedings of the Institute of Pacific Relations*), pp. 312-36; E. S. C. Handy, *The Problem of Polynesian Origins*, *Occasional Papers, B. P. Bishop Museum*, vol. 9, No. 8, 1930; R. B. Dixon, *Racial History of Man*, New York, 1924. Legends and oral history of Samoa dealing with early settlement and the relationships with Fiji and Tonga are found in A. K. Kraemer, *Die Samoa-Inseln* (the Samoan Islands), Stuttgart, 1902, vol. 1. See also *The Voyage of La Perouse*, 2 vols., London, 1798, pp. 197-98.

season" because of the prevalence of storms, but the group lies somewhat north of the usual path of hurricanes; hence they occur but rarely.

The chain of islands comprising the archipelago stretches about east and west. The two largest, Savai'i (approximately 700 square miles) and Upolu (400 square miles), together with some smaller islands, of which two, Manono and Apolima (totalling 1.5 square miles), are inhabited, comprised German Samoa, and later the mandated territory of Western Samoa under New Zealand control. Eastern or American Samoa is made up of the island of Tutuila, on which is situated a United States naval station, with a small outlier Aunu'u (49.6 square miles in all), a group of three islands, Ta'u, Ofu, and Olosenga (19.1, 1.8, and 0.6 square miles respectively), known collectively as Manu'a, and a tiny uninhabited atoll in the extreme east, Rose island. In 1925 American sovereignty was extended also to the most southerly of the Tokelau group, known as Swain's island (1 square mile), up till then privately owned by an American citizen, but now administered from the naval station. (2) The three other islands of the Tokelau group are administered by the New Zealand authorities in Western Samoa, but are not included as part of the territory. Western Samoa, in all 1,102 square miles, is thus some fifteen times the size of American Samoa, which, including Swain's island, is 73 square miles.

With the exception of Manono all these islands rise high out of the sea, the product of a volcanic activity not yet ended, since eruptions have occurred during recent times in the largest, Savai'i, and small earthquake shocks are familiar throughout the group. Savai'i and the Manu'a islands are all roughly circular with conical peaks, the former having a high moun-

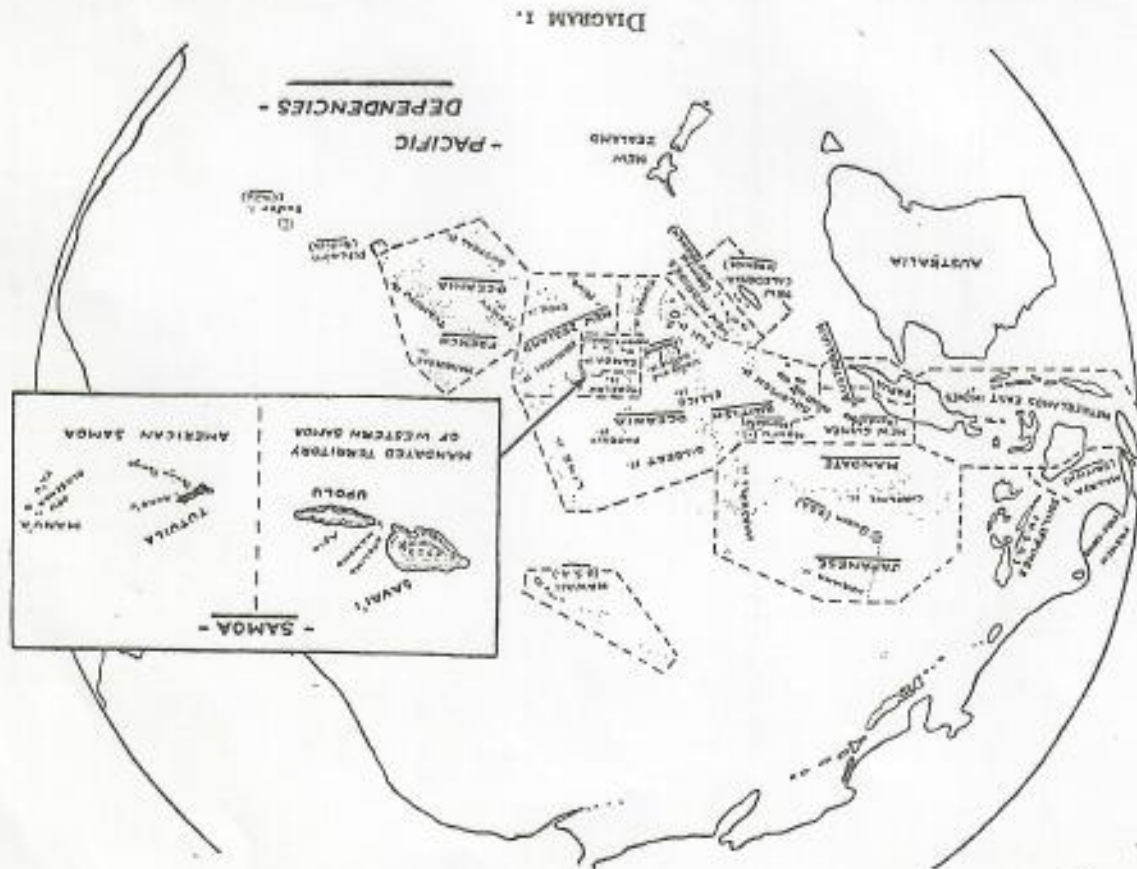
(2) All these estimates of area must be taken as approximate only, as figures from different sources vary considerably. Thus those given for the Manu'a group, taken from the United States Hydrographic Office survey, may be contrasted with the estimates of Dr. K. Wegener, who calculated the area of Ta'u as 8.6 square miles, of Ofu as 2.8, and Olosenga as 2.2—see *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, July 1912. The geographic distribution of the islands may be seen in diagram 1.

tainous plateau reaching about six thousand feet above sea-level. Upolu and Tutuila are long and narrow with ridges running their full length, making access difficult from north to south coasts. Except on cliff faces and in the plantation clearings all are clothed to the beach or water's edge with dense tropical forest.

Upolu was in early days and continues to be the most populous island. Its coasts were favourable to habitation in the Samoan style, having gently sloping hill-sides, valleys and swamps suitable for cultivation, sandy beaches and extensive lagoons sheltered by coral reefs with convenient passages and landing places for canoes. Particularly was this so on the north coast, and as a result not only was this area the most closely settled, but also it was under the old Samoan system the seat of the main political control. In contrast the larger Savai'i is rugged; immense lava flows have poured from its craters periodically, swallowing the fertile lands and reefs, and leaving desolate great areas in the central and western portions; most of the population has therefore been concentrated in the eastern districts. Tutuila also is very rugged, and was relatively sparsely settled, while the three small islands of the Manu'a group, isolated to the eastward, had a small but self-contained population. From early times these latter folk appear to have kept politically apart from the rest of Samoa, alone disputing the dominance of Upolu.

The importance of Upolu, especially of the north coast region, was enhanced by the coming of whites. At Apia, a bay situated centrally on this coast, the early ships found a good roadstead anchorage within a break in the reef; there the newcomers chose to refit and provision their vessels, and in time to erect their mission headquarters, their stores, and their consulates. Soon prospective settlers saw visions of rich plantations on the fertile flats and slopes behind the growing township. Large areas of land passed into white hands, and indentured labour was introduced to develop them.

Savai'i dwindled somewhat in importance, for it had poor



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supporting the other outstanding kin group, the Malietoa family. From this grouping the Manu'a people stood apart, maintaining under the leadership of their high chief, the Tui-manu'a, an exclusive political organisation of their own. In all the rest of Samoa usually one district or group of districts was for the time being in the ascendancy, being called the *malo* or dominant party.

The *malo* maintained its position by intrigue and force of arms, and indulged in "oppression, exactions, and plundering" of those for the time being subservient—it was perhaps ironical that in later days the white governments dominating Samoa came to be known as the *Malo*. Apparently centuries back there were occasions on which all Samoa stood together as over against a common invader from Fiji or Tonga, but this involved no permanent cooperation. Nevertheless, as will be seen shortly, Samoa had a ceremonial unity based on the paramountcy of certain chiefly titles which in a sense took the place of a national political system.

The institutions of government within this organisation comprised various grades of ceremonial council (*fono*): village councils, district councils, those of allied districts, especially of the *malo* party, and on occasions a council of all Samoa. The village council was made up of the men holding titles of rank (the *matat*) of the community. Their meetings were usually dominated by the will of the most influential families and individuals, or by certain title holders whose opinion was traditionally supreme. The larger councils, held in the appropriate capitals, were attended by selected representatives of the lesser councils, and strict precedence was observed as to which villages or districts had the right to make or influence decisions. The more important meetings took place, weather permitting, on the open square of the village or district, and were compassed about with elaborate and long-drawn ritual and religious observances. "No political movements or events," wrote an early visitor, "are initiated without large meetings, boastful speeches, and plenty of feasting."

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In each village the council of titled men was supplemented by three other organisations which aided it in carrying on community life and activities: (a) a council of the wives of these men (*faletua*, wives of chiefs, and *tausi*, wives of orators) modelled directly on the male council and having its own ceremonial and practical functions, (b) a society of the untitled youths and men (*aumanga*) that formed the main work force of the village and customarily ate and slept together, having likewise its own council modelled on that of the titled people, and (c) a society of the unmarried and unattached girls and women (*auahama*) headed by a village virgin (*taupo*), also with its part in the work and ritual activities, and for some purposes segregated. (2).

Already a reference has been made to the complex hierarchy of Samoan leadership, with its main division into chiefs (*afii*) and orators (*tulafale*). There were various grades of chiefs, from inferior *matat* who had a seat in the village council by virtue of some minor family name bestowed upon them, but whose prestige was extremely local and limited, to the high chiefs (*pa'ia*) whose titles (*ae*) carried influence extending over whole districts, and among a far-spread relationship group, and who, because of the directness of their descent from the gods, to whom the great families traced their origin, were regarded as supernatural beings. The marriage of an important chief to the highborn daughter of another chief was a potent way of securing political alliance; in addition such a union brought wealth in the form of finely woven mats as the dowry of the bride. The family and dependents and particularly the orators of an important village or district chief therefore saw to it that he made as many strategic marriages as possible, while a maiden of high rank was a valuable political asset to any family or community. The great families of Samoa became criss-crossed by a maze of marriage and other relationship ties that blurred the

(a) For an account of these organisations see R. W. Williamson, *The Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia*, vol. iii, Index; also M. Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*.

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In general the terms *Tumua* and *Pule* and *Ainga-i-le-tai*, or just *Tumua* and *Pule*, sufficed to indicate the whole of politico-ceremonial Samoa, as referring to the all-powerful orator groups in whom the national organisation was vested. Applying this formalised orator system to the district and family rivalry mentioned on page 49, the opposition of Aana-Atua to Tuamasanga-Savai'i-Manono and the jealousy between the Tupua and Malietoa factions, can be seen as also a historic contest for supremacy between *Tumua* and *Pule*.

It can now be realised why the north coast region of Upolu was the leading area of the group. Along its fertile reef-fringed coast were concentrated the capital villages of Aana, Atua, and Tuamasanga, also the seats of the Tupua and Malietoa families, and of the *Tafa'ifa* (ceremonial paramount chief), with the councils and leaders of the *malo* or temporarily victorious faction he represented. In terms of prestige only the great Tuimanu'a, head of the independent Manu'a people, could rival its outstanding title holders. Savai'i, even though its districts and communities had control of a number of very powerful titles such as Tangaloa, Tonumape'a, and Lilomaiva, also the Fa'asaleleanga district orators voiced the will of *Pule* and had a say in the bestowal of the Malietoa name, was distinctly less important. In general it tended to follow the Tuamasanga district of Upolu, just as Tutuila followed its overlord, Atua. The little islands of Manono and Apolima (*Ainga-i-le-tat*), however, strategically situated between Upolu and Savai'i, wielded an influence far out of proportion to their size. Apolima was an impregnable fortress, a crater rising out of the sea having one easily guarded entrance with the fertile Manono close by; the war fleet could control the inter-island channel; its council had a say in the bestowal of the Malietoa title; and its warlike people were always only too ready to ravage the neighbouring Aana district in Upolu.

Summing up this brief outline, necessarily inadequate, since it fails to picture the minute variations in customs and institutions within the general pattern of district and community

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organisation, (7) it is clear that the authority in practical matters was vested in the local groups, and that the wider district units together with the national system (*Tumua* and *Pule*, with the *Tafa'ifa*) were concerned with little other than ceremonial and warfare.

Where village government was stable and definite, this wider system of the old Samoa had intrinsic elements making for disunity and disruption. The cooperation of the local units in some sort of effective national organisation, apart from absolute dominance by a *malo* party, was practically impossible. Village, district, and inter-district rivalries, the struggle of the great families and their title holders for enhanced prestige, the grasping of orators and orator groups for political power and for the overthrow of any established *malo* in order to gain by a fresh distribution of Samoan wealth on the part of new aspirants all made for "selfishness," sectionalism, and jealous competition. The weakening of the *malo*, the death or deposition of the incumbent of some high title, differences regarding the interpretation of precedence, the conflicting interests of orators (this in its widest terms being represented by the traditional struggle between *Tumua* and *Pule*), all provided opportunities for intrigue and warfare. Even where some powerful individual, a holder of the paramount titles, a Tupua leader or a Malietoa, managed to usurp more than his ceremonial authority and reared a political structure with some semblance of stability it crumbled with his passing or with the weakening of his arm. In later days the great nations showed themselves powerless, even when unanimous in policy, to control these disintegrating forces, and any permanent welding together of the Samoan body politic under a personally capable leader such as occurred

(7) Incidentally, these local politico-ceremonial variations, which after all are really important facts in the practical setting, are very inadequately recorded. The existing material is assembled from older writers in Williams, *op. cit.*, especially vol. i; the accounts, however, suffer from lack of detail, also in a number of instances from a bias due to the fact that the native informants gave their own local versions and the writers did not check up from others living elsewhere. A valuable account of the position in Manu'a is given in M. Nead, *Social Organisation of Manu'a*.

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Samoa population now rapidly becoming the dominant European element, and other topics to be dealt with in the further chapters. Meantime the parallel story of modern American Samoa can be examined, especially regarding the extent to which the same basic forces have been at work and have produced similar difficulties and conflicts.

The Politics of American Samoa

"The United States Government came here at the request of the Samoan people in Tutuila and Manu'a so as to protect them against Germany, which then wanted to take all of the Samoan islands. . . . The chiefs of Tutuila . . . had indicated years before their desire that we should come to Pango Pango Harbour"—An American Member of Congress.

This rather idealised version of the history of American dealings in the Samoan group recalls the Conventions of 1899, by which the United States took over the smaller eastern islands where she had already acquired by the 1878 treaty the right to build a coaling station.

In 1899 Captain Tilley of the United States Navy arrived at Pango Pango to supervise the establishment of such a base on a site decided upon a decade earlier, at which time the necessary land had been purchased. The authority for this move was given in an executive order dated February 19th, by which Tutuila and Manu'a were "placed under the control of the Department of the Navy for a naval station," and the Secretary of the Navy was authorised to "take such steps as are necessary to establish the authority of the United States and to give to the islands the necessary protection." An idea of the situation can be gained from the first annual report on native affairs, 1901:

"Previous to the assumption of the government by the United States of America these divisions (the traditional sub-districts) were continually in a state of unrest, owing to the pretensions of the rival high chiefs . . . (who were) responsible to no one for their actions, although the district of Tutuila nominally acknowledged the reigning sovereign of Samoa. . . . In Manu'a the Samoans claimed the right

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to have their own king, Tuimanu'a, (yet) . . . civil war was only after great difficulty prevented in Manu'a a few months before the acquisition of the islands by the United States on account of two claimants. . . . The policy adopted by Captain Tilley, U.S.N., was one of conciliation. It was considered by him to be fatal to the interests of the United States Government should he be compelled to force upon the Samoans the agreement of the Powers . . . or should any one chief act obstructively and force Captain Tilley to adopt severe measures, for the benefit of the whole place, against him. Captain Tilley went among the people, ingratiating himself with them, accustoming himself to their habits, and studying the characters of the most prominent people. . . . The haughty and warlike chiefs . . . were at first inclined to dictate and to assume an aggressive attitude."

The report goes on to tell how he got the chiefs "by tact and persuasion" to agree to the action of the international powers by ceding the islands to the United States—rather a different version from the idea current among Americans to-day as to how the first agreement was achieved. The people of Manu'a particularly were "suspicious and somewhat sullen," resenting any infringement of their historic independence. On March 13th, however, the Tuimanu'a gave to the naval commandant a letter accepting "the sovereignty and protection" of the United States. This was supplemented on April 1st and 17th by formal statements from the Tutuila chiefs to the same effect. Amid a large concourse of native representatives the American flag was raised at Pango Pango on April 17th, a ceremony which was repeated in the Manu'a group on June 6th. Under authority from the naval department the commandant proceeded tentatively to frame regulations and organise a system of native administration for the government of the area.

No action was taken by Congress on these cessions. In 1902, in response to anxious inquiry by the Tutuila chiefs, President Roosevelt sent a letter of gratitude on behalf of the government and people of the United States for such a token of "their friendship and their confidence in the just and friendly intentions of the United States," and assuring them that the "local rights and privileges" would be respected. This was accompanied by presents to them.

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Meantime local affairs were not proceeding without difficulty either in native matters or in the relationships of the naval authorities with the white trading community. In 1901 a letter appeared in a San Francisco paper calling attention to the need for an immediate decision by the United States government as to the status of the islands: "natives and whites live in a quandary, not knowing which way to move or turn for fear of getting into trouble . . . the Samoans contrast this alleged neglect with the liberality of the Germans at Apia, who are opening up the country, building roads, and making other improvements." "Accusations of personal misconduct were advanced publicly in the United States against the Commandant and the Secretary of Native Affairs (a British subject) by representatives of a minor mission body; these, however, were refuted after official investigation. A year later some of the white people then living in Tutuila were expressing a keen desire to have some voice in the government:

"The Commandant of the Station has now absolute power over everything in the civil government, and it is the opinion of many that the time has come when he ought to share his authority with representatives of the taxpayers."

This desire to end "taxation without representation" also emerged in a petition to Washington during 1904, and the local resident who carried it found expression for the grievances of his fellows and of the native Samoans under such newspaper captions as "Samoan Natives are Sick of the Rule of the Navy."

Parallel to this discontent of whites against the "bluff and sea-doggy" naval control, trouble broke out in Manu'a that is referred to in contemporary papers as a small rebellion. This arose from a dispute over the ceremonial *kava* drinking custom between the Manu'ans and visiting Tutuilan chiefs, in which the authorities upheld the latter in a court decision. The Tutuila then informed the Commandant that he would not be "ruled by the people of Tutuila," and claimed openly that he could do as he liked, since he held the kingship of Manu'a in his right hand and the governorship given over the Manu'a district

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by the naval authorities in his left. The native judge of the district, of very high rank, was promptly imprisoned, and the Tutuila people cheerfully volunteered to fight their unruly neighbours on behalf of the Commandant. Two years elapsed before the Manu'a leaders consented to surrender their right to complete autonomy. On July 14, 1904, however, reassured as to the intentions of the authorities regarding non-alienation of their land and other matters, and with the promise of financial aid from the United States to complete a schoolhouse, they signed a deed of cession similar to that made by the Tutuila leaders. They, too, received an acknowledgment and presents from the President. (43)

In 1909 the holder of the Tuimanu'a title died. Dissensions broke out in typical Samoan fashion as to his successor. The authorities seized the opportunity to discourage the appointment of a new Tuimanu'a, a move which was successful, and corresponded closely to the suppression by the Germans of the dangerous high titles of Upolu. Instead, an appointed native governor wielded the highest authority, and the elaborate ceremonies surrounding the title fell into abeyance.

Such earlier strains, however, were gradually adjusted and matters continued relatively undisturbed until the post-war period. A rigid discouragement of private enterprise by the naval authorities and strict surveillance of the activities of unofficial whites other than the missionaries in the area, meant that the earlier hopes of its being opened up for economic exploitation faded, and the non-native commercial community dwindled accordingly. A vigorous native policy along lines to be examined in the next chapter brought order and prosperity to the native Samoans. The naval commandant assumed the title of Governor of American Samoa, and the various admini-

(43) The events and quotations recorded can be found in *Sam. Zeit.*, August 29th, October 26th, November 23, 1901; July 5th, November 8, 1902; April 17, 1903; July 23, 1904; *San Francisco Examiner*, January 27, 1903; December 18, 1904; for a political survey of American Samoa from 1900 to 1926, see *American Samoa: A General Report by the Governor*, Washington, 1927, pp. 44-59.

strative posts in the "Island Government" were allotted to officers and enlisted men of the Navy in addition to their regular service duties at the station, assisted by a few civilians in special posts such as those of Secretary of Native Affairs and Judge, Clerk of the Court, and Postmaster.

As Congress continued indifferent to appeals for annexation the islands remained with an indeterminate status. Presumably they were independent, no legal move having been made to counter the 1889 Act by which they were rendered neutral. Nevertheless, certain acts and decisions of the United States government were made to apply to them as if they were American territory: the inhabitants were regarded as owing allegiance to the flag, the islands were classed as a "possession," and coastwise shipping laws were extended to their harbours. According to a ruling of the Attorney-General:

"Neither the Constitution nor the laws of the United States have been extended to them, and the only administrative authority existing in them is that derived mediately or immediately from the President as commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States." (44)

The successive Governors were appointed directly by the President by letters patent under the seal of the United States, each to hold office during his pleasure. As no system of outside supervision was created, they had concentrated in their persons an absolute authority over all legislative, executive, and judicial matters. Tempered as this was by benevolent paternalism and a complete disinterestedness on the part of the commandants and their subordinates—the eighteen-month period of service at the Tutuila station during which they assumed duties in the island government was but an incident in their naval careers—it formed a personal rule eminently satisfactory to Polynesian conditions at the time. The legal anomaly of the island status did not worry the Samoans: to their minds the concessions were complete, confirmed as they were by letters and photographs received from time to time from the Presidents,

(44) *American Samoa: a General Report*, 1927, op. cit., p. 55.

by the presence of the naval establishment in their midst, by the Stars and Stripes flying overhead, and at frequent formal occasions—Flag-raising Days, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, the opening of the annual native council, of hospital and school buildings, and similar ceremonies—when they heard from their Governors how vastly "Uncle Sam" was interested in and concerned about them.

A special feature of the liaison between the Navy and the Samoans was the formation in early years of a native naval unit comprising 75 picked younger men, the *Fitigila* Guard, enlisted for local service only, but under much the same terms as the regular personnel. These performed duties as scamen and bandsmen, and the example of their life has been a major shaping force upon the local native youth.

Into this tiny isolated, protected, and all but-forgotten island group there began to filter, especially during 1920, ideas of democracy and the right of self-determination. These came partly no doubt from their relatives in Western Samoa, then under the influence of European sentiment, and from Samoans of their own islands who had visited Hawaii, but mainly by way of certain white and part-Samoan people, both private citizens and members of the naval personnel. The records for the preceding few years would indicate that the peak of order and prosperity (according to the Samoan perspective) had been reached by about 1918-19. High prices were received for the one exported product, copra, due to the exceptional demand in the war years. A considerable fervour of American patriotism had been aroused as a result of which Samoan funds were invested in Liberty loans, while offers were made by Samoans to enlist for active service. The system of native government was working smoothly. In April of the year mentioned, charges were levelled against the Governor and his officials regarding the finances of administration, and the leading Tutuilan chiefs in typical Samoan fashion readily took up the matter:

"The disloyal chiefs established a so-called 'committee' (*Mau*) with headquarters at Pango Pango, through which they planned to

run the Government. This committee, consisting of a majority of the native chiefs, was almost continuously in session with the result that no work was accomplished anywhere throughout the islands . . . which caused a severe financial depression."

The Governor tried to temporise, but this was assumed to be weakness. In November a court of inquiry arrived to investigate on behalf of the Navy Department, only to find that the Governor had just committed suicide. Measures were taken promptly to disband the native committee, and a thorough examination made of legal, political, and financial affairs. The charges were refuted but the failure of the Governor to "correct the growing feeling of unrest and discontent by immediate and effective action" deprecated; one naval officer was court-martialled and dismissed, another relieved from duty at the station, while a civilian American was deported. The native leaders concerned were exonerated as having been "misled." With difficulty a reconciliation was effected between them and "loyal" chiefs. In July 1921 a letter signed by the most important chiefs was sent to the Navy Department and the President expressing satisfaction with the existing government. In order to prevent future disturbances of the kind an Auditing Board was established with native representation to supervise the finances of the island government, and a regulation passed empowering the authorities to impose drastic punishments for acts or utterances calculated to incite disloyalty, create disorder, or weaken the authority of the lawful officials, white and native, in the discharge of their duties. In 1925 another regulation provided severe penalties for persons spreading false statements concerning official finance. (45)

"It will take time," concludes an official report, "for all the animosities that have been engendered to die out." This indeed proved true. Though councils and journeyings which might have political significance were restricted, and even a censor-

(45) *Codification of the Regulations and Orders of American Samoa*, 1931, section 10. For the official reports on the incidents, see *Hearings of the Congressional Commission on American Samoa*, 1930, pp. 351-56. The finances of the island government are summarised in the Appendix (page 490).

ship instituted over incoming mail, trouble was not prevented from breaking out again. In August 1921 a part-Samoan, Mr. S. S. Ripley, who was related to the deported civilian, arrived at Tutuila but was not permitted to land. Shortly after this, seventeen chiefs and orators were apprehended and found guilty of conspiracy to kill the high chiefs who had signified their loyalty to the Governor, and start an uprising; they were given varying terms of imprisonment with hard labour and deprived of their native titles. In 1924 the Governor offered to release them on parole, and after a period of negotiation, during which they refused to admit their allegiance to the government, they agreed; some months later they were pardoned and their names restored.

In America court proceedings were instituted by the deportee against the Governor, and these dragged on until in 1927 they lapsed in the United States Court of Appeals, when the attorneys of the plaintiff failed to comply with requirements. Naturally the case aroused a considerable publicity, and was followed with interest and emotion by native relatives and sympathisers in Tutuila who collected money to help in the "fight." A report on native affairs says:

"As long as fascinating and mysterious propaganda finds its way to the native just so long will some of the natives feel that conditions in American Samoa are not satisfactory . . . the Samoan mind reveals in mystery."

The *Mau* organisation continued, surreptitiously at first, but later coming out into the open when it was found that no violent opposition came from the officials. Headquarters were set up in the village of Nu'uuli to the west of Pango Pango harbour, and thither went the Governors on occasions to meet its leaders: in 1927 for a feast, in 1928 to attend the opening of a large "Club House," at which time the naval commandant personally presented an American flag to the *Mau*, and again in 1930, when this was replaced by a new flag. "The *Mau* is entirely loyal to the United States," said the welcoming orator on the first of these visits; but he added with delightful frankness: "We feel

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that the time has now arrived when the government under the Department of the Navy should be supplanted by a civil government."

This latter remark sums up concisely the new emphasis that agitation both in American Samoa and outside was assuming. In Honolulu, California, and Washington the deportees had their criticisms supplemented by the opinions of several scientific, business, and other visitors to the area. American Samoa began to emerge from its long obscurity and a growing public opinion condemned both the indefinite political status of the islands and the domination by naval authorities. As in New Zealand, sympathy was easily aroused among people who, though not always familiar with conditions in Samoa, were convinced that such an autocracy, no matter how benevolent, was so much a violation of the American ideals and constitution as to require immediate change. Meanwhile the slogan sounded by these champions of native rights, "citizenship and civil government for the Samoans," was reflected into Samoan and especially *Mau* opinion.

By this time the Samoans were becoming aware that the sessions of 1900 and 1904 had not been quite in order, for several of their number had met with difficulties overseas on account of their lack of status. The idea of demanding citizenship which would enable them to rank with white Americans made a universal appeal. That of civil government, however, was less comprehensible other than that it involved the ousting of the Navy; nevertheless, it awoke a spirit of pride, a desire for self-rule, and an expectation that great benefits, financial and otherwise, would accrue from Uncle Sam.

It also appealed greatly to the growing and influential mixed-blood community who under the naval rule, without any written legislation, but apparently following informally on the principle of non-native and native classification in vogue in Western Samoa, were more or less excluded from the benefits of land and titles in the Samoan society and allowed no say in the government.

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But the wheels of legislation moved slowly. In April 1926 a bill was introduced to Congress accepting the cessions and providing a temporary form of civil government. A committee was set up to study the position, but again the matter fell into abeyance. During 1928-29 it was revived, and after preliminary hearings by a committee a resolution was passed and sent by Congress to the President confirming the cessions, proposing a Congressional Commission on which Samoan leaders were to be represented, and authorising the President to provide for the government of the islands pending recommendations by the Commission as to what status should be given to them and their people. On February 20, 1929, this was signed. A year and a half later the appointed commissioners opened their hearings in Honolulu and American Samoa, occupying in all eleven days and receiving extensive verbal evidence to supplement a great amount of information and opinion received earlier from official and unofficial sources. Early in 1931 their proposals, drafted in the form of an Organic Act, reached the President for transmission to Congress. This was approved with little question by the Senate, but was held up in the House of Representatives; after further committee hearings the latter body rejected it in February 1933. The political status of the islands thus remains indeterminate and naval control continues as before.

The Organic Act recommended a "provincial government" for American Samoa, with a capital at Pango Pango. All inhabitants of the islands of full- or part-Polynesian blood at the date on which the cessions were confirmed and their children born subsequently were to be declared citizens of the United States, and any then residing outside allowed to apply for registration as such; the people, through the legislative authority provided, were to be authorised to determine the qualifications necessary for local "American Samoan citizenship," but no person not an American was to be admitted and no person of Polynesian blood otherwise qualifying denied—meantime American Samoan citizens were to comprise those of

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Polynesian blood resident for the five years preceding the coming into effect of the Act, with any others who comply with this residence requirement in the future. A "Bill of Rights" was to be granted allowing people security and privileges as known in civilised countries, and with exceptions provided for, the laws of the United States were to apply in the province. Machinery was designed for executive, legislative, and judicial government, and provisions made relative to land, health, naturalisation, finance, and other matters. The salaries of the Governor, Attorney-General (formerly Secretary of Native Affairs), Chief Justice, Secretary to the Governor, and an interpreter were to be paid by the United States instead of by the island government. In due course these proposals in their different aspects will receive further consideration. It may be remarked, however, that the naval authorities have since acted on several aspects of these recommendations without waiting for confirmation from Congress: thus regulation number one of 1931 granted the Bill of Rights in the form drafted, and number two separated the executive and judicial offices of Secretary of Native Affairs and Chief Judge, hitherto concentrated in one person.

The verbal and documentary evidence brought before the 1930 Commission provides most interesting material for analysis as showing the pro-government and anti-government attitudes of Samoans, mixed bloods, and whites. Significantly enough the non-native community—the part-Samoans together with the small number of whites other than in the naval service—show almost exactly the pattern of grievance already seen in Western Samoa, while the same emotional tone and extravagant adjectives are forthcoming from overseas sympathisers with the "oppressed" Samoan as is found in New Zealand. The naval officials are said to be "domineering" and their actions "arbitrary and unwarranted"; they are "high-powered and high-salaried," motivated by a "military spirit"; frequent changes and lack of interest in local problems keep them ignorant of the customs and true needs of the place, so that policies are "unstable and vacillating"; there are alleged cases

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of personal misconduct and of partiality, while those of lower naval rank do not dare to correct or criticise the actions of their superior officers; personal liberties are curbed and there is a "high-handed subversion of justice"; legislation is arbitrary without any trend toward self-government; the Samoan leaders, being officials, do just what the Governor tells them, the advisory native *fono* (council) is "secret," and non-natives "have no say in the *fono* or in anything at all"; there is "taxation without representation," financial irregularities take place, private enterprise is discouraged and even trespassed upon by State control of the copra industry, next to nothing has been done to encourage agricultural development, legitimate native grievances are ignored—in fact, "administrative affairs in Samoa are rotten to the core." Overseas there are critics ranging from those who "vibrate" with the "simple, trusting, child-like Samoans" in their "crucial hour" to others who tacitly or openly suggest that with proper safeguards certain plantation and trading interests which in the past have made unsuccessful overtures toward entering business in the group "might be disposed to do so under changed conditions."

Over against this, however, a large number of people consider that it is entirely premature to attempt any transplanting of democratic ideas and institutions to such an area as American Samoa. The present system, with due modifications and safeguards, must continue for a long time whether a violation of American sentiment or not, as being the only satisfactory way in which such a people can be governed. Official domination is merely the corollary of Polynesian personalism. Those supporting the naval administration say that it is ideal to have controlling such a tiny area with limited finance a personnel both disinterested and costing nothing; that a dual authority, civil and naval, would be an unnecessary duplication and, in fact, would get in each other's way as well as involving either an unbearable financial load for the island government or an unjustified expenditure for the United States. The population, says a report by two ex-Governors and a secretary of native

affairs, "is contented, happy, and satisfied with existing conditions. . . . The discontented group is but the mouthpiece of a group of non-natives living in Samos, Honolulu, and the United States whose main objective is the exploitation of American Samoa at the expense of the aboriginal natives. The discontented group of natives does not understand the meaning of the effect of the things they are urged to demand, and are totally unable to visualise the future, because of the lack of a necessary background."

Here in American Samoa, on a less-developed scale, yet nevertheless clearly defined, there is thus essentially the same underlying conflict and friction as in Western Samoa. Its significance will emerge in succeeding chapters, particularly as the problems involved for both territories in conducting native affairs are examined in more detail.

THE MODERN PROBLEM OF NATIVE GOVERNMENT

NATIVE Samoa to-day in political and ceremonial affairs has the dual characteristics of great conservatism and of extraordinary disintegration and uncertainty; as such it is by no means easy to describe. The clear-cut pictures that are given by numerous writers in their interpretations of the modern political troubles are almost without exception inadequate, either as based on the older system which no longer exists in any fulness or as far too great a simplification to form any trustworthy basis by which to test the wisdom or otherwise of the New Zealand and American experiments, let alone upon which to suggest a practical system of native self-government.

In the first place the traditional lore and ceremony still have paramount importance in Samoan life. "A certain sea-bird has a long feather in its tail," said a chief, "and whenever he loses it he loses his balance: so is tradition to the Samoan." On all political and ceremonial occasions the chiefs and orators take their place and carry through their functions with full respect for precedence and custom; the council (*fono*), *keva* drinking, the special chiefly language and ritual forms of address, the use of fly-flap and orator's staff, the wearing of the ceremonial head-dress (*tuivaga*), all the etiquette with which rank is surrounded are still in vogue. To the European mind it is an impressive, aristocratic, and leisurely drama, which, though much akin to elements in oriental culture, has few counterparts in the bustling democracies of the modern west.

Yet behind the ceremonial curtain the close observer finds an amazing lack of knowledge and unanimity concerning what is "correct." Much lore is forgotten or has become mixed with modern, especially mission, ideas. Older Samoan leaders themselves freely acknowledge their ignorance of the

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real *fa'a Samoa*, and assert that the younger generation knows even less. The elaborate rituals connected with the old national organisation suppressed by the German authorities have fallen into disuse. The *taupo* system, by which the ceremonial life of each community revolves around the person of a village virgin, is passing: chiefs who are entitled by tradition to the honour of having a *taupo* find the entertainments connected with the position too costly; again, due to the breakdown of the old order, the marriage of such maidens has lost its former value in securing political alliances and economic and ceremonial advantages; the missions have discouraged the custom as heathen, preferring the unmarried girls and unattached women who formed in old days the *taupo's* entourage (*auahinga*) and slept together in her house, to live at home or in the pastor's house; the old women find guarding and caring for her a burden. Even the *kava* ceremony is often carelessly conducted; indeed, for great occasions there has been found difficulty in getting an orator sufficiently well informed concerning the old lore and precedence to carry it through satisfactorily. The chief's language, though tenaciously maintained on formal occasions among the titled people themselves, is being ignored and will soon be out of use among the ordinary folk in speaking to their superiors. The sanctity of such people and the taboos surrounding them have dwindled into little more than a ceremonial honour, and this is sometimes disregarded, especially by young people who through school or living around Apia and Pango Pango have a lessened respect for the old customs. Even in an isolated Savai'ian village a chief spoke of the loosening of the children from the old ways in spite of "a never-ceasing effort to bring them back into the *fa'a Samoa*" on the part of their elders.

On a national scale the old system is undoubtedly broken, for its former unities, always scant and unstable enough, are tending to become ineffective. Yet influential undercurrents—the voice of *Tamua* and *Pule*, the old rivalries and feuds among the districts and the great kin groups, a desire to restore

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the Tuimanu'a title—are still at work, even if more subtly than in the turbulent earlier days. A high chief said:

"Aana, Tuamasanga, and Atua may be friendly enough, but when it comes to business or precedence each district will stand up for its own rights; one will not submit to the other. I think it is impossible that there will ever be a united Samoa—it will never happen. But this is a very delicate matter. It is now over one hundred years since the coming here of religion, yet not much has been done about it."

This persistence of old enmities and traditional attitudes, marked likewise among other peoples under similar circumstances, is especially serious in Samoa where under the protection of the white governments each local group can fend for itself so far as practical needs are concerned, hence there is little basis for wider cooperation and national solidarity.

On the local scale disintegrating forces are similarly at work. Here a sub-district, there a village section, and again a family branch or individual household asserts a greater autonomy than was allowed under the traditional system. In Western Samoa, to give one instance here, a large family with eight branches decided recently to disband "for ever," each choosing its own holders of the family names and dividing up the common land holdings. Such changes are produced partly through a stirring of the individualistic spirit, partly through the blurring of the old lore and knowledge; they emerge in a growing disputation, rivalry, jealousy, and even open enmity over matters of land ownership, succession to titles, or precedence which are connected with old Samoan life, together with newer matters such as sectarian allegiance, appointment to official positions, attitudes to the governing authorities, and assertion on the part of non-titled people including womenfolk.

This is a much more fundamental process than the breaking of the wider politico-ceremonial associations. Undoubtedly it had its beginnings in the cultural transformations of earlier days, even though these appeared to leave unshaken such regional autonomous groups. The effects, however, did not show greatly until post-war years. Here again there are conser-

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before ability and education is still very strong. The tradition will die out in time and the time will be measured by the lives of the older hereditary chiefs."

What was said concerning the position of native officials in Western Samoa (pages 160-63) applies almost identically in American Samoa, and need not be repeated. Where, for instance, in the first years the highest chief acted as *Pule'u'u*, this position soon became relegated to one of the lesser chiefs who could be dominated and would not press his community overhard. The first enthusiasm of enacting village legislation died out, so that the mechanism just referred to under (a) is now rarely invoked. In a few instances native officials were dismissed for flagrant misconduct, but mostly the disabilities inherent in using their services were recognised and allowed for. The whole system of native administration has relaxed to the pace of the *fa'a Samoa*, in spite of the urgings of each new set of naval officials to obtain greater efficiency. "My dealings with the native officials," said one new Governor in an address to the chiefs, "have convinced me that many of them fail utterly to realise their responsibility and will not cooperate with the heads of the different departments, in seeing that the laws and orders are properly enforced." He went on to deprecate the tendency of the Samoans to believe that they had to obey the laws to please the authorities instead of for their own benefit, also commenting upon their distrust for one another and the way native officials and other chiefs had of hiding their real purpose in making requests. On the whole, however, the naval policy of enforcing as strictly as possible the few measures regarded as essential such as health requirements and the registration of *matas* titles, and of allowing the rest more or less to drift with only occasional interference has proved successful from the viewpoint of keeping the communities and their leaders orderly and fairly contented. "American Samoa," remarked a white official, "can be called the islands of 'what of it?'"

Under these conditions the emergence of criticism and oppo-

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sition since 1920 (pages 133-36) is the more significant. True, there were weaknesses in this form of government. The wisdom, for instance, of minimising the annual council and supporting it as mainly a ceremonial Samoan institution may be questioned. It might have been better to force upon it at this, its advisory stage, more practical functions and extended sittings in order to provide a training through which it could in time evolve into an assembly capable of undertaking more responsibility for Samoan affairs. Similarly there might have been a clearer separation of executive and judicial functions of the government, and some higher authority to which appeal might be made from decisions of the Governor in certain matters. Furthermore, the policy of extreme tolerance—Samoa being what it is—inevitably produced a lessening respect for the white authorities. This last is interesting as a by-product of paternalism. A student of the records and of present administration gets an undeniable impression that the Americans have been so conciliatory, have given way at so many points to the Samoan leaders, and have showered such praise upon the Samoan people, making them feel so vastly important in the eyes of the United States and of the successive Presidents, that the native leaders have developed an unwarranted assertiveness and a false idea of their attainment in western ways.

Nevertheless, the writer feels that underlying the external manifestations of criticism from 1920 on and the emergence of the American Samoan *Mau* movement were the same cultural pathological conditions analysed in the study of the *Mau* of Western Samoa (pages 177-80). Neither force nor attempted cooperation ended them; as a chief said before the 1930 Commission: "although the Navy tried to cover the little chicken under a bowl, there is a chicken still chirping there." The movement crystallised into an indigenous organisation with a central headquarters and a committee on which sat representatives of local councils. Gradually its activities became centred around the two objectives made specific by non-native sympathisers: citizenship, and ousting the Navy administration.

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The somewhat academic nature of the "grievances" formally cited and the restraint shown by the naval officials has tended, however, to shape the whole along patriotic and non-violent lines. Since, too, under the system of native administration that has been evolved almost every leader of outstanding importance was holding a salaried official post, while, as having a Tutuilian origin, the movement found little support among the still exclusive Manu'an folk, it has lacked somewhat the prestige and wide popularity of the neighbouring *Mau* organisation.

Among most of the Samoan people opposing the naval control the words "civil government" seem to have acquired a sort of esoteric meaning; few, indeed, have had any realisation of what constructive measures were involved in a civil system apart from getting rid of the Navy. The idea was abroad that under such a regime the United States would spend large amounts of money for its new citizens, that responsible posts held by whites would pass into the hands of Samoans or of part-Samoans who were in many instances enthusiastic supporters of their cause, and that in place of the "tyrannical" rule of the naval Governor the powers of government would fall more or less entirely into native hands. The hearings of the Congressional Commission show many Samoans keen to have the system changed but little appreciative indeed of what was to come after—that could be safely left to the commissioners and to Uncle Sam. In terms of the native evidence these hearings form a psychological, even a pathological rather than a logical document: on the one hand extravagant outbursts against the terrible Navy control, on the other enthusiastic praises; repetitions of the ideas formulated by non-natives; trivial and irrelevant matters; remarks by people who had personal "axes to grind"; sudden changes of opinion that indicate inadequate knowledge of the issues involved; and a strong under-current of ideas that while spoken by native lips really came from part-Samoans or others who would not face the Commission directly. To anyone familiar with the local circumstances the whole represents the interplay of personal

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and largely veiled interests and emotions, and hence is extremely informative, though to the uninitiated it is liable to be correspondingly deceptive.

The people of Manu'a, while asking for citizenship, expressed themselves as unanimously in favour of continuing the Navy rule, showing how to the more isolated communities the current criticisms meant little compared with the visible benefits they were receiving. Nevertheless, they introduced a grievance of great interest for the study, namely that the government was thwarting the desire of at least certain groups to restore the dormant high title of Tuimanu'a (pages 130-31).

When in 1909 the last incumbent died, the officials of the time were able to get the several factions who could not agree concerning a successor to leave the title in abeyance, as being superseded by the rule of the United States. During 1924, however, the matter, never quite dormant, was revived owing to the death of the district governor Tufele into whose hands the official authority had been transferred. In spite of opposition and against the wishes of the authorities the council of Manu'a appointed an incumbent to the title. There was thus a potential rival to the official nominee to the district governorship, the son of Tufele, while the way was opened for reviving the elaborate customs and powers connected with the formerly paramount name. The Governor immediately ordered the banishment of the newly selected Tuimanu'a to Tutuila, and issued a declaration to the effect that there was not and could not be such a title holder, and if any more trouble ensued the banished nominee would be legally dealt with. While this order was obeyed and in Manu'a itself no other candidates were forthcoming, the authorities were faced with numerous petitions that showed the difficulty to be still unsettled. In 1930 the whole question was raised once more, and after conferences between the Governor and representatives of the Tuimanu'a family an apparent agreement was reached according to which the title could be registered and used, but only as a family *matai* name shorn of its former political connotation; at the

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same time the banishment order was cancelled. The terms of the document (11) confirmed the complete superseding of the Tuimanu's powers by the post of district governor, even though seemingly this contravened the written law set out in the original form of government (section 3, par. 2, 1900) and yet unrevoked, where the Tuimanu's title was specifically recognised. But the issue was raised again before the Commission, who were told that the title was "very precious" to all Manu'ans and its suppression a grievous wrong. Obviously the matter represents a fundamental conflict between the old order and the new, and no final solution can be reached so long as the traditional Manu'an organisation continues. In view of the factionalism that has surrounded the issue of succession since 1909 the government might well be risking the stability of the district governorship should this and the Tuimanu's title ever again be combined. Manu' thus still tends to look back to the old, while Tutuila, with its greater contact and change and its influential non-native population, turns towards the new.

The United States in attempting to give a new polity to American Samoa is facing essentially the same problems of adjustment between indigenous and western ideas and institutions, the same discrepancy between the desire and the ability for autonomy as were seen in the study of Western Samoa. Small as the area and population are, the task must not be minimised; in fact, whatever is done has in it a potential of future trouble. As a basis for discussing the modern situation the recommendations of the Commission, presented to Congress, may be considered.

These proposed a central legislature consisting of one "house" to be styled the *Fono*. "It shall be the judge of the selection and qualifications of its own members," choose its own officers, and determine the rules of its procedure. The Governor was not to be a member, and none but citizens of American Samoa thirty years of age or over who are mentally fit and free from

(11) Set out in the *Hearings of the Cong. Comm.*, pp. 375-76, where a full official history of the conflict is given.

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convictions of bribery or other criminal offences could be eligible for selection. Such representatives were to receive travelling expenses but no pay, the sessions to be public, free speech allowed, and legislation passed at the will of the majority. Except as limited by provisions of the Organic Act (the various matters defined will be dealt with in other sections of the study), this body was to have full power of making the laws and passing on all financial appropriations, subject to the veto of the Governor. Should any bill sent to the Governor for approval be so vetoed and the *Fono* again pass it with a two-thirds majority, it might be sent for decision by the President of the United States. The executive power was to be vested in a Governor appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate and holding office at his pleasure. An Attorney-General similarly appointed was to take over the work hitherto done by the Secretary of Native Affairs in his non-judicial capacity. Other than these and several other offices filled directly from the United States, the right of determining the tenure and salary of executive officials was to lie with the *Fono*.

In the Samoan setting the success or otherwise of such a plan would depend to a large extent upon the personality of the Governor and the relationships developed between him and the native leaders. Nevertheless, a number of well-informed observers are emphatically of the opinion that the new constitution places powers and responsibilities into Samoan hands which as yet they are untrained to exercise. They picture an inevitable conflict arising between the *Fono* and the Governor because of extensive use of the veto, and the millennium now eagerly looked for lapsing into a period of discontent and perhaps disaffection, as a result of which the stability of American Samoa developed none too easily over more than three decades would be seriously endangered.

The student can easily ascertain the fact today that the native leaders of American Samoa, like their fellows in the mandated territory, are competent enough in their own Samoan politi-

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cal, ceremonial, and social matters but have little grasp of, let alone competence in, the business and legislative matters that are involved in modern administration. This is not said to discredit the Samoans; the white man who tries to penetrate and imitate the far less complex native custom will to Samoan eyes be equally much a tyro. Apparently with the idea of introducing the American philosophy of completely separating the executive from the legislature, the proposed constitution specifies that the Governor is to be excluded from the *Fono* meetings, having merely a veto power. The one person therefore who is in a position to advise and guide the assembly is not allowed to be present, and presumably he will have to use his influence in the direction of wise government by indirect means. The writer pointed out to certain leading Samoans and part-Samoans the implications of this exclusion of the Governor, and they expressed surprise that such a clause existed in the Act; one high chief remarked: "If we cannot agree, or do not understand something, of course we shall call in the Governor to help us."

This incompetence can be readily illustrated from the proceedings of annual council meetings where resolutions coming spontaneously from the districts are set out. While many are reasonable, there appear requests such as the following:

"That the hours for beetle searching be reduced.

"That licence fees on guns, dogs, bulls, and stallions be reduced.

"That the number of schools be reduced, also the school tax.

"That a fund be established to provide food for chiefs while on government business, and travelling on the *Ontario* (the naval station ship, on which Samoans now receive transport free).

"That the salary of the district governor be raised.

"That . . . be discharged from the post of official interpreter.

"That the salary of the (American) Director of Education be reduced to \$75 a month.

"That boys from Western Samoa should not be allowed to attend school in American Samoa.

"That native officials receive a month's leave of absence annually with full pay.

"That native officials receive pensions after they retire.

"That the bus fares be reduced.

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"That two nurses be detailed to care for each patient seriously ill at the Samoan hospital.

"That sports prizes (as on Flag-raising Day) be raised a little higher.

"That the salaries of (numerous officials) be raised.

"That a concrete highway be built.

"That the Governor get the freight rates to Samoa reduced.

"That a law be passed upholding the authority of the *matai* when he ordered someone out of the family.

"That the \$10 paid by an objector in a land and *matai* name case be returned."

Some of these have recurred at meeting after meeting in spite of patient explanations by the Governor. They give without any further comment an idea of the type of legal action that may be expected from an independent Samoan legislature along with measures of a less drastic or naive nature. Other matters liable to arise almost immediately, judging from the existing sentiment among leaders who will undoubtedly be represented, are: returning to the *matais* individually and in council their old power of punishing transgressors in the family or community, abolishing the "oppressive" system of registering *matai* titles, and the restoration of the powers of the Tuimamua.

Indeed, from the very first *Fono* it seems inevitable that a Samoan legislature will enact a number of bills requiring the Governor's veto. If his explanations are unsatisfactory these will be referred to the President—the native leaders will be keen to experiment with their new powers—and even though the official veto is upheld the foundations of unpopularity for the Governor and of conflict between him and the *Fono* will be laid. Should by chance the President override the opinion of the Governor, the latter might just as well leave, as his prestige in native eyes will be thoroughly impaired. Those who know Samoa may well anticipate that before long an opposition party will develop in any case, and petitions will commence to arrive in the Presidential office for a change of Governors. Already one of the highest chiefs took occasion to ask the writer apropos of the Commission's report: "the question is, if we do not like our new Governor, how will we be able to get rid of him?"

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The Roman Catholic mission commenced in 1845 and has built up twelve stations distributed throughout the group, with headquarters at Moamoa, inland from Apia. There are now some 16 resident white priests, 10 Marist brothers teaching in boys' schools, and 31 Marist sisters in girls' schools; in addition to this personnel, which is almost exclusively French, there are two Samoan priests, 19 Samoan sisters, and 110 Samoan catechists, the last named stationed in the villages and corresponding to the Protestant pastors. The whole organisation is presided over by a resident bishop, who has charge of the "Vicariate of Samoa," in which is included the Tokelau islands. The financing of this large religious establishment is made possible by the fact that the staff works on a celibate basis, and the church owns a considerable amount of non-native land, especially around Apia, from which revenue is derived.

The contemporary records show that in early days about two-thirds of the Samoan people attached themselves to the L.M.S. and the remainder were fairly evenly divided between the Methodists and the Roman Catholics. This distribution of numbers between the major mission bodies has remained about constant to the present. In 1838 the Mormon church sent missionaries to Samoa and succeeded in getting a small following; three residential centres are maintained by a staff of some 8 white elders. The Seventh-Day Adventists also sent workers, but after some initial success their following has become almost negligible. Recent figures on religious affiliation (year 1926) show as follows:

Religion	Western Samoa	American Samoa
London Missionary Society ..	23,474	6,985
Wesleyan Methodist Mission ..	6,447	295
Roman Catholic Mission ..	5,842	1,047
Mormon Mission ..	898	353
Seventh-Day Adventist Mission	27	—

The Samoan and Religion

In general the Roman Catholics and the Mormons tend to do intensive work around their chosen centres, the L.M.S. and Methodists to fit into the village life by using native leadership. It is noteworthy that the L.M.S. has complete control over Manu'a; the last holder of the Tuimanu'a title was himself a pastor, and no other organisation has been allowed a foothold there. The denominational distribution is very different among the mixed-blood community, where there are nearly four times as many Roman Catholics as any other denomination; the explanation is that the Marist brothers and sisters have for many years conducted schools attended by mixed-blood children at Apia and in Tutuila, thus winning their appreciation and allegiance.

The old religion of the Samoan people, from the inadequate glimpses obtained of it through the writings of the first missionaries and the sparse comments of various early visitors, was in type similar to that of other Polynesian areas. All experience was interpreted in relation to a traditional lore which told of primeval forces and of a hierarchy of gods and demons which, together with the spirits of the dead, played their part in determining the round of life. Districts, villages, families, and persons had their presences which often took on animal shape and affected human welfare benignantly or otherwise. Appropriate ceremonies, feasting, and offerings were made, while "thou shalt" and especially "thou shalt not" (referred to usually as *taboos*, or in Samoan *tapu*, *sa*) provided a working code of behaviour.

The first observers noted a striking absence in Samoa of a powerful priesthood and institutionalised religion such as marked most other parts of Polynesia. True, there was a separate class of priests (*taula aitu*) who acted as prophets, family attendants, and servants of the gods of war. Yet it is symbolic that in Samoa the *malae*, in most islands a place for religious activities, was the political and social centre of the village. The Samoans were no less religious than their fellow-Polynesians, but their religion was closely integrated