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NATIVE ADMINISTRATION IN WESTERN SAMOA

by

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HAWAI'I ADMINISTRATION IN WESTERN SAMOA

by

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PREFACE

The aim of this study has been to make a brief and accurate survey of the political and historical development of Western Samoa, for the purpose of finding out what political institutions existed when the white men first came in contact with the natives, and then determining to what extent these institutions have been used by the "tripartite Powers," Germany and New Zealand, in the administration of native affairs.

The introductory chapter sets the stage for the reader, giving him an accurate and clear cut picture of the land and the people at the present time. Then follows a detailed study of the early tribal government of the Samoans. The historical and political development of the country is approached from the angle of "international relations." The reader is often taken behind the scenes and shown the reason for certain policies and actions on the part of interested Powers, and the importance of these tiny islands in the development of the colonial policies of Germany, Great Britain and the United States. At the present time, Western Samoa, as a mandate, conferred upon New Zealand, through Great Britain, by the Treaty Powers and administered under the strict surveillance of the League of Nations, presents an international problem worthy of consideration.
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The Samoan Islands have never been considered geographically, economically, or politically important. Yet these tiny dots in the Pacific have written chapters in the colonial history of three world powers - Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. The influence of geography upon history can hardly be over-estimated; but a mere glance at a map of the Pacific area gives no key to the history of this small group of islands in Central Polynesia.

The Samoan group, formerly known as the Navigator Islands, are 2,000 miles south of the Hawaiian Islands in an almost direct line between San Francisco and Australia. The group, comprising fourteen islands, lies about 2,410 miles north of Auckland, New Zealand, and about 4,200 miles southwest of San Francisco; it extends from latitude 13° to 18° south and from longitude 168° to 173° west. British or Eastern Samoan - now a mandate of New Zealand - includes the islands of Savaii, Manono, Apolima, Upolu, Funafatapu, Manua, Huattele, and Kuulud. The islands of American Samoa from east to west are: Rose Island, Tan, Olosega, Ofu, Aunuu, and Tutuila. The islands of Tan, Olosega, and Ofu are generally known as "the Manu Group" and the tiny island of Aunuu is embraced in the name "Tutuila."
Rose Island is a coral atoll, uninhabited, and of practically no value.

The total area is estimated at 1,700 square miles. All of the islands, except Rose Island, are peaks of a submarine chain of volcanic mountains. Barrier reefs more or less encircle the large islands and between these reefs and the shore stretches a lagoon of calm water which provides good fishing grounds and a highway for the canoes traveling between different points of the islands.

Lofty mountains rise in the interior of the islands, leaving broad stretches of comparatively level land bordering the shore and reaching up to the low-lying foothills. The soil of all the inhabited islands is rich and is formed chiefly from the decomposition of volcanic rocks and vegetation.

The climate of the Samoan group is tropical with abundant rainfall and a mean temperature of $80^\circ$ in December and $70^\circ$ in July. This rainy, low latitude type of climate affords little variation of temperature from day to day. There is much bad weather in the islands, particularly from November to March when long and heavy rains, attended at times with high winds and fierce hurricanes, are frequent.

The people, a handsome branch of the Malay race, are Polynesians and are related to the Maoris, Tahitians, and Hawaiians. There is nothing in Samoa to indicate a race
prior to the present people. It is quite clear that this off shoot of the Malay race has long resided in the islands, for to them, Samoa is the earth. To prove this, Watson prints one of their legends.

The god Tagloa, who dwelt in space and made the Heavens and of whom it is not known how or whence he came, had a grandson named Lu. On one occasion Tagloa, being annoyed with the boy, seized and beat him with the handle of the great god's fly switch. Lu escaped, ran down to the earth and named it Samoa. 1

The Samoans are the most perfect type of Polynesians, of a light brown color, splendid physique and handsome regular features. The face of the Samoan has many of the distinctive marks of the European and there is nothing to suggest the Negro. The nose is straight, short, and wide at the base. The chin is firm and strong, the cheek bones rather prominent, and the forehead unusually narrow. The mouth is large and well filled with strong white teeth, with full and well shaped lips. The large soft eyes and black hair, sometimes wavy, suggest the South American Spaniard. The countenance is pleasing and suggests that indefinable quality known as "personality".

Their mental and social standard is high among Polynesian people. They are simple, honorable, generous and hospitable, but brave fighters. Their religion, a poly-

theistic idolatry, was unaccompanied by human sacrifice.

The whole of the native population now lives on or near the coast in villages of mushroom shaped houses covered in banana groves and clumps of bread-fruit and towering coconut palms. The Samoan house is merely a circle or slight oval of posts topped by rafters and crossbeams, thatched with sugar cane and pandanus leaves, and carpeted by water worn fragments. Woven mats, fastened between the posts form the sides of the house; however, they are kept rolled up unless needed for protection against the weather. The furnishings of the home, almost entirely supplied by nature, include pandanus mats spread on the floor for guests or used for both bed and cover at night, the many legged kave bowl carved from a single piece of live, hard redwood, a stove made from rocks, utensils fashioned from wood and coconut shells, and palm leaf baskets.

One house shelters a family of from ten to thirty members bound together by ties of blood or adoption, and ruled over by a matal, the official title of the head of a family group. The people live in groups because all land is communal and the land as well as the products belong to the village or family. Each person contributes the profits of his industry to the family fund, thus there is no desire for wealth in this social system that makes no provision for private ownership of property. However, the head of
the family, by an example of energy and ambition, may bring increased prosperity for the whole group.

Good means of communication and transportation, both necessary to the development of any region, are lacking in the group. Pago Pago, connected to other ports by a three weeks schedule by the Matson Navigation Company, is thirteen days from San Francisco, seven from Honolulu, two from Suva, and six from Sidney. Many freighters make regular calls at the ports of Western Samoa. Over one hundred foreign vessels stopped for cargo in 1931. Small freighters make irregular runs between islands and some of the larger outrigger canoes make occasional trips to other islands during the calmer part of the year. Transportation by land is limited and difficult. Roads or tracks follow the shores of the three larger islands. The interior is accessible only through foot paths and trails which are soon blotted out by undergrowth.

There is no cable communication with the islands but the United States Naval radio station maintains direct schedules with Honolulu, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. The wireless station at Apia, opened by the Germans before the World War, is operated by the government of New Zealand.

Since the coming of the white men, the natives have been faithful workers in the development of the copra industry and all are directly or indirectly engaged in that
work. Copra, the dried meat of the coconut, is the only product exported from American Samoa and is the chief article in export trade from Western Samoa. In American Samoa, all of the plantations are privately owned but the government handles the crop for the natives. A certain percentage of the value of the crop is advanced to the natives for its production; then following the sale of the copra, taxes are deducted and the remainder of the money divided proportionately among the plantation owners.

In Western Samoa, the land is owned by the government, natives, Missions, European companies and private planters. About one fifth of the land was alienated from the natives under German occupation. Some of these lands, known as "crown lands," are now under the control of the government of New Zealand, and other lands, chiefly private rubber plantations, are being abandoned and are gradually reverting to the natives. At least four fifths of the land is now in the hands of the natives. The export crops, ranked in the order of their importance, are: coconuts, cocoa beans, bananas and rubber. In both parts of Samoa the exports approximately balance the imports. Trade is carried on chiefly with the United States, New Zealand, Australia, and the United Kingdom. 2

2 For a full account of export trade see New Zealand Official Year-Book 1933, and American Samoa: Governor's Report 1933.
There are no factories in Samoa due to a lack of natural resources, lack of modern methods and machinery, limited communication and transportation, a poor system of education, and a scant population, quite unwilling to work for anyone else. The nearest approach to industrialization is making of fanciful war clubs, fans, baskets, hats, grass skirts, tapas, kava bowls, etc., to sell to tourists on steamer days.

Religion plays an important part in the lives of the people for all are sincere Christians and although many are not church members they all attend services regularly. The matai reads the Bible to his household and family prayers are said each morning and evening. The Sabbath is strictly observed in all of the islands.

In Western Samoa, education is almost entirely in the hands of the native missionaries, who have done splendid work in teaching practically every native to read and write in the vernacular. The higher schools, taught in English, are supervised by the Education Department of New Zealand. The public schools in American Samoa, like the government, are controlled by the Navy; the Chaplain acts as Superintendent of Schools. There are also numerous Catholic, Protestant, and Mormon Mission schools, many of them being boarding schools. English is the language taught in all schools, public and parochial.
Some mention should be made of the foreigners in Samoa. Contact with the white men was made in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. The first permanent white settlers were, with few exceptions, convicts who had escaped from the penal institutions of Australia and who, steeped in the deepest crimes, cared nothing for their own lives, and feared neither God nor men.

Then came the migration of other groups to the islands in the usual order of conquest - first the missionaries, then the traders, and eventually the soldiers. These groups were attracted to Samoa at the time when Germany, Great Britain, and the United States each feared that one of the others would gain control of the islands.

The most recent immigrants have been indentured laborers from China, Melanesia, and Polynesia. The estimated population of Western Samoa in 1932 was as follows: Native Samoans, 42,736; European and half-caste, 2,547; Chinese laborers and dependents, 746; Melanesian and Polynesian laborers and dependents, 121; total, 46,150. The population of American Samoa in 1930 was 10,055 including 300 people attached to the Navy and several hundred half-castes. The total population of the whole group at the present time (1933) is not more than sixty thousand people, of which number about fifty five thousand are natives of pure blood.
In the usual meaning of the word, "government" is the system of directing and controlling the affairs of state of a group of people. However, the political and social features of the tribal institutions of primitive people are so interwoven, that, in this study, government is to be interpreted to mean a system of control embracing both the political and social organizations of the Samoans, and the words "political" and "social" are used interchangeably in this chapter.

A hurried glance, from a European standpoint, causes many passing visitors to conclude that the Samoans have nothing whatever in the shape of government or laws. In sailing along the coast of any island of the group, you can hardly discern anything but one uninterrupted mass of bush and vegetation; but, on landing, and minutely inspecting place after place, you find villages, plantations, roads, and boundary walls in all directions. It is the same with the political aspect. It is not until you have landed, lived among the people, and for years closely inspected their movements, that you can form correct opinion of the exact state of affairs. To any one ..., the simple fact that the Samoans have but one dialect and free intercourse with each other all over the group, is proof positive that there must have existed, even in heathenism some system of government.1

In the days of heathenism a great deal of order was maintained by a union of civil power and superstitions

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fear. But their government always had more of the patriarchal and democratic in it, than the monarchical.

The early Samoan social and political organisation is an amalgamation and combination of several distinct principles: the existence of well defined social groupings, family, village, village-district, and district; certain recognized classes of people; the principle involving the rights of descent, succession and inheritance; the functions and privileges of relationship groups; recognized political groups; and the operation of the fono as an executive, legislative and judicial body.

**Social Groupings**

**Historical Introduction**

Early legends center about a group of chiefs, closely related by ties of blood and adoption, who trace their ancestry back to the time of migration from India by way of the Malay Archipelago. Samoa means "family of Noa."

The earliest known social and political organization might be compared to the feudal system of Europe. The grouping was probably at first geographical, each chief claiming a desirable section of land and settling there with his followers. The chiefs controlled all of the lands and the common people worked and fought for them, receiving in turn a livelihood and a certain amount of protection. A sacred significance was attached to the
chief as he was the natural priest of his group. His person and his possessions were sacred and a special dialect of the language was used when speaking about a chief, his family, his home, etc. The common people prostrated themselves in his presence. He ruled partly by means of taboo, controlling through fear as well as force.

The statue of the common people was little better than that of serfs, although there is no record of slavery or conquered groups being enslaved. The defeated people were killed in great numbers, their homes burned, and their lands plundered but the land remained in their possession and the group retained its social and political unity. Even within the period of recorded history, following a long and bloody war between two districts on Upolu, the people of Aena were expelled from their district by the people of Manono who forbade their return to it on pain of death. This fertile region was entirely destitute of human inhabitants until the arrival of the missionaries who caused the decree to be annulled, and the few of its former inhabitants who had escaped slaughter were permitted to return to their ancient homes. Thus the land could

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2 A sacred interdiction on the use of certain things or the performance of certain actions, commonly imposed by chiefs or priests, as among races of low culture. This system of interdicting by taboos was highly developed among Polynesians.
not be taken away from a social group and, furthermore, the members of that group could not lose their identity as a part of a recognized social and political unit.

But in time the Samoans changed to a domestic people; the family became the basis of the state, and the general political organization that of a family state. All grouping was fundamentally and mainly of a social character. Social groupings were divided into two classes; people bound together by ties of kinship, either real or fictitious, and people bound together by ties of some other kind such as a common totem, emblem, or god, or common descent from some mythical or historical ancestor. Local groupings were dependent upon common habitation of a house, village, or district. Although the social and local groups usually coincided, geographical combinations for governmental purposes were due not to local grouping but to a definite social relationship between recognized groups.

The earliest studies made of the tribal organizations of the Samoans were incidental and represent the observations of a missionary, the viewpoint of a discoverer or explorer, or the conclusions of a writer interested in the culture and standard of living of the people. Consequently, these records from the political science angle are incomplete and often very confusing as the

A village-district is a lesser political division
writers lacked the necessary background for a scientific study of government. Furthermore, their observations are written in terms that have no accepted standard meaning. Nevertheless, it is evident that all have in mind well defined social groupings which for the sake of unity I shall refer to as the family, village, village-district and district.

Family

By a family, I mean a combined group of sons, daughters, grandchildren, uncles, cousins, etc., that may include fifty individuals. They have one large house used as a common social hall and for the reception and entertainment of visitors, and four or five other houses all near each other. The matai is the official head of a family group and may be either an ali'i (chief) or tulafale (orator).

Village

A village comprises a group of several families, often all related in some degree. It may number from three to five hundred persons and include from ten to twenty titled heads of families. The village chief, chosen from the matai, takes the title of pulemum. His office might be likened to our mayor of a village.

Village-district

A village-district is a larger political division
embracing several villages and comparable to a county. The leading village-district was called tuma (meaning "stand forward" or "first") and the one next in importance held the title of lamma. The village-district was headed by a powerful chief chosen from the pulenmu. This political division of village-district was found only in the larger and more important districts.

District

A district is the largest political division on any island; for example, Upolu was divided into three districts, viz., Atua, Tuamasangau, and Aama, each of which was formerly governed by a separate and independent chief styled a tul ("lord" or "king"). Tutuila had nine districts, all quite small, with the power concentrated in four of them. A district was not always a governmental area but was often a union of six or more village-districts for offensive and defensive purposes.

...these villages, in numbers of eight or ten, united by common consent, and formed a district, or state, for mutual protection...

When war was threatened by another district, no single village acted alone; the whole district, or state assembled at their capital, and had a special parliament to deliberate as to what should be done. 3

Due to these offensive and defensive alliances, the number and size of districts were constantly changing.

**Recognized Classes of People**

**Alii**

Recognized classes of people are the ali'i, tulafale, and commoners. Ali'i was the general term used for chiefs of all classes and meant a person of relatively high rank who was the official head of a social group. Within the general class there were three rankings: first, tangai or chiefs of the highest class; second, near relatives of chiefs of the first class, and others who had large possessions; third, petty chiefs of villages.

**Tulafale**

The class next in rank after the ali'i was the tulafale, a powerful, influential, land owning class from which the orators and advisors of the chiefs were selected. This class was a group of men old in wisdom as orators and councillors but not necessarily old in years. The term tulafale literally means "the chief's mouthpiece or orator," and it is probably derived from a Samoan word meaning law. Some writers use the term fala-Upolu (house of Upolu) when speaking of the body as a group, and tulafale when alluding to one orator. In the modern sense tulafale is applied more to the individual than to the class.
The Common People

The common people as a class had no distinct name, but the chiefs in speaking of them always supplied some term of contempt. This class, never large, was in time almost entirely absorbed by the ali'i and tui'ilae.' "The son of a low-born woman by a chief ranks as a chief, although he has no authority, and the son of a noble woman by a man of mean birth may be either a chief or commoner." Likewise, children adopted into the homes of ali'i were recognized as chiefs. "Hence,... the difficulty in Samoa is not to find who is a chief, but to find out who is a common man." 5

Rights of Descent, Succession and Inheritance

In discussing the rights of descent, succession and inheritance, discrimination in meaning will be made as follows: descent is the transmission of membership in a social group, from the ancestors to the descendants and implies a common ancestor and common ties of blood; succession is the transmission of official rank, family title, group name, etc.; inheritance is the transmission of


5 Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 281.
property, either personal or real.

**Descent**

There are indications that a system of matrilineal descent prevailed in the past. "At the time Samoa came under the observation of the white man the system was undergoing a transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent and succession." An individual family (father, mother and children) might identify itself with the family group of either the mother or father. It was not unusual for the sons of a family to live with an uncle (often the mother's brother) who often adopted them. Even at the present time, the sister of a chief is shown preference in the division of personal property or favors at the time of his death; also, the head of a group, may not sell property without the consent of his own children and the children of his sister. There is an abundance of evidence to indicate the prevalence of matrilineal descent in prehistoric times, but within the period of contact with the white man, the system of patrilineal descent has predominated.

The tulafalea, like the chiefs derive their power from descent. In olden days the clans were held together

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under one head, but in later years as the old chiefs died the titles were divided. It is generally accepted that the titles of chief and tulafale were passed on through descent but the facts surrounding the title of tulafale-ali (orator chief or talking chief) are not clear. Tulafale-ali might have been a combination of titles derived from both the father and mother, or another explanation is that a chief (ali) often assumed the title tulafale when he wished to come forward as an orator in government and district matters. Some writers state that he might change from an ali to a tulafale-ali and back and forth to suit his convenience. However, all agree that important chiefs did not do this. These chiefs had their own names as chiefs and when they became orators usually assumed the name of the most important orator in their political division. But, aside from these suppositions, we know that the tulafale-ali had to be heads of families and that the heads of some villages were called by the name meaning orator, (tulafale), and others chief (ali), and others orator-chief (tulafale-ali).

**Succession**

"In Samoa the authority and title always remained in the same family, but the rule of primogeniture was not strictly followed."7 They succeeded to the cleverest and

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best fitted person who was elected or selected by recognized heads of family groups. Turner shows clearly the right of succession within the social groups.

Take a village containing a population, say, of three to five hundred and there will probably be found there, from ten to twenty titled heads of families (matai), and one of the higher rank called chief. The titles of the heads of a family are not hereditary. The son may succeed to the title which his father had, but it may be given to an uncle, cousin...

The chiefs, on the other hand are a more select class, whose pedigree is traced most carefully to the ancient head of some particular clan. One is chosen to bear the title, but there may be twenty other individuals, who trace their origin to the same stock, call themselves chiefs too, and any of whom may succeed to the title on the death of one who bears it. A chief, before he dies may name some one to succeed him, but the final decision rests with the heads of families, as to which of the members of the chief's family shall have the title and be regarded as the village chief. In some cases, the greater part of a village is composed of parties who rank as chief, but as a general rule, it consists of certain families of the more common order... and some titled chief, to whom the village looks up as their political head and protector.

Inheritance

Robert Louis Stevenson says that property in Samoa was vested in the family, not the individual. Property was the test of power and rank, for the land descended with the title to the accepted leader of the

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8 Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp. 280-281
9 Robert Louis Stevenson, A Foot-note to History (C. Scribner's Sons, N.Y., 1892).
group. The matai or ali'i held the land in trust for the individuals of his social unit who cultivated the fields in common and shared alike in the good things of life derived from their labor. The head of the family or village might dispose of the land by the mutual consent of all concerned, but this was seldom done.

Although the power of selling land, and doing other things of importance affecting all the members of the family, is vested in the titled head of the family, yet the said responsible party dare not do anything without consulting all concerned. Were he to persist in attempting to do otherwise, they would take the title from him and give it to another... who, they think will act more in accordance with their wishes.¹⁰

The land belonging to each family was well known and the boundaries were clearly defined. The uncultivated bush and mountainous areas were claimed by those who owned the tillable land on its borders. The lagoon as far as the reef was claimed by those off whose property it was situated.

Functions and Privileges of Relationship Groups

Social Groups

The unit of the whole social and political structure was the family. The same general plan of organization, with its attending functions and privileges, was found in all social groups; family, village, village-district, and district.

¹⁰ Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 284.
In the family, the mental (a tulafoa, ali'i or tulafoa-ali'i) functioned as an executive (more nominal than real), leader in war, and priest. He took an active part in all daily tasks. His group was probably a branch of a larger family group so in times of need all chiefs and groups bound to him by kinship would come to his aid. He might withdraw his membership (acting for all of the members of his family), from one village and form a political alliance with another. This recognized procedure was carried out by means of an open ceremony.

The village chief likewise had a triple division of rule; prayer, secular rule including warfare, and food supply.

As the chief can call to his aid, in any emergency, other chiefs connected with the same ancient stock from which he sprung, and as he looks upon the entire village as his children, and feels bound to avenge their wrongs, it is thought essential to have some such character in every settlement (village)... With few exceptions, he moves about, and shares in every day employments, much like a common man.11 Certain foods were sacred to the chief; he also received the first cup of eve, the best joint, and anything choice served at a meal.

The heads of families (mental) might be considered the bankers of the chief as they kept most of his fine

11 Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p.281.
mats and other property.\textsuperscript{12} And on the other hand they were always ready with food, mats and other property when he wished to draw from them. Most of the mats came into their possession through the chief's marriage as many fine mats formed a part of the bride's dowry. Consequently, the chief was urged to marry well and often in order to increase the wealth of his bankers. \textsuperscript{15}

The chief's retinue included \textit{atamai-o-ali\textsubscript{i}}, \textit{fr.\textit{atamai}}, \textit{saleleli\textsubscript{i}}, \textit{songa} and \textit{tanapi}. The \textit{atamai-o-ali\textsubscript{i}}, or "spirit of wisdom of the chief," occupied the position of councillor or prime minister, and was continually consulted when the chief required advice. The \textit{fr.\textit{atamai}} ("to be as a father") was a sort of chief steward or custodian of the household. The \textit{saleleli\textsubscript{i}}, literally the "quick flyer," was the jester or court fool. The \textit{songa} acted as barber, cup bearer, trumpeter, special messenger, entertainer, etc. The \textit{tanapi}, a young maiden of high birth, acted as the official hostess for the village. Others serving in purely a governmental capacity were the \textit{fa\textsubscript{i}etui} ("chief's houses"), councils.

\textsuperscript{12} Wealth was reckoned by the number of fine mats a group possessed. These were given or received in the event of a marriage, birth, death, Samoan apology, or other ceremonious occasion. The Samoans had neither money nor a system of taxation.

\textsuperscript{13} Polygamy was stopped by the missionaries after their arrival in 1830.
of chiefs who gave advice especially in matters of war, and fele-upolu or councils of orators. Most villages and districts also had a semi-divine orator chief called an alatana.

The term, alatana, was likewise applied to certain village districts where prayers were made during wars. Ituaj was the term applied to certain village districts which were strong in war, and were connected to the alatana. All districts did not have this division of village-district but their chief council places were usually places of refuge and prayer and in time of war the people living there did not as a rule take part in battle but remained at home and prayed for victory. In some places a certain section of land was reverenced as a sort of "city of refuge" and its people never engaged in the wars of their neighbors. Here the god of war, Papo, was kept and here the semi-divine alatana prayed to the powerful gods. These districts or cities of refuge are referred to by various authors as lands that did not engage in war but served as a refuge to those who fled, lands where the people abstained from work and sat watching

14 "...destruction of Papo, which was nothing more than a piece of old rotten matting about three yards long and four inches in width; but as this was the god of war, and always attached to the canoe of their leader when they went forth to battle it was regarded with veneration." John Williams, Missionary Enterprises of the South Sea Islands (D. Appleton and Co., N. Y., 1875), p.396.
for success in war or protection against a dangerous disease, or lands especially sacred by reason of their connection with a powerful god - places of prayer and intercession where the followers of that god were protected against an enemy who did not worship or was especially afraid of that god.

Samoa does not present an example of dual kingship, in which sacred and secular rule were separated... but it evidently had some differentiation in time of war between those whose duty it was to go out and fight and those who stayed at home and prayed:...

Something further might be said at this point about the religion of the people as it was an important factor in political control.

Other islanders often referred to them as "godless." But this is unapplicable, for if they did not worship idols of wood and stone, they deified and reverenced many of the beasts, and birds and creeping things by which they were surrounded.

Their host of gods included the all powerful Tagaloa, King of the gods, original gods of nature and the elements, and incarnations of the numerous district, village, family, and personal deities.

The national gods..., regarded as the original gods who made the universe, had no incarnations but the district gods presiding over the various political divisions of the islands were incarnate in birds, fish, plants, rainbow, meter, etc. Each district had its

tutelary deity and each family its totem or divinity called aitu. Besides the chief gods who personified the powers of nature, the Samoans worshipped and feared a number of lesser divinities—aitu. The chiefs also had their aitu or spirits which they worshipped or obeyed;...

...a man would eat freely of what was regarded as the incarnation of the god of another man, but would consider it death to injure or eat the incarnation of his own god,...

**Political Parties**

Samoa seems to have always been divided into two parties, hence, the frequent wars in the inevitable struggle for supremacy. "This two fold hostile division is preferred to by the names, Malo and vaivai;..." 18

"The malo was in fact the conquering party who by right of conquest might... appropriate the chattels and plantations... of the conquered districts." 19 The vaivai was the party of the opposition, the weak party not in power. The conquered party might become powerful and defeat the malo party and thus in turn gain the right to be known as the malo. As war usually had an aristocratic origin, the disputes being between chiefs rather than between groups of people, the two parties were headed and controlled by chiefs.

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17 Williamson, Vol. II pp. 219-222.
18 Ibid., p. 425.
19 Ibid., p. 86.
Recognition of Organized Groups

The recognition of organized groups was the fourth principle on which the political organization was based. **Local Self-government.**

Local self-government seems to have been a fundamental feature of the political systems of Samoa. According to Williams, "At the Samoas every settlement is a little individual state, governed by its own chief or chiefs, who did not appear to possess very extensive authority." 20

This idea is repeated by Rev. Mr. Mills in a letter to the editor of The Friend:

There is not properly constituted government in Samoa. Every land has its chief and each is unwilling that another should dictate to him. Still, in matters which concern the public welfare, they are ready to agree and enact laws. After all, as it remains within each party (group) to act upon these regulations or not, as they please, it is of course very difficult for the well disposed part of the community to stand out against an evil that demands punishment. 21

The following statement in regard to the political organization of Upolu is found in Walpole's record of an exploratory trip around the world from 1844-1849.

The whole island is divided into districts, whose boundaries are accurately defined; those are governed by great chiefs - who have all power over

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20 Williams, p. 474.
21 The Friend (Honolulu, April 2, 1849), pp. 25, 26.
their immediate vassals and a species of sovereignty over the district too. But its several divisions are governed by superior chiefs (of village-districts) who govern the chiefs of the villages.

The highest chiefs have rather a nominal than a real power; and in war only, districts unite for aggression and resistance. 22

About the same time a merchant long resident in Tahiti wrote, "These islands instead of being under one sovereign, or head chief, are cut up into countless chief-tainships, each possessing absolute power over his own district." 23

To quote Commander Wilkes, "Although there is no supreme authority acknowledged in any one individual, yet there are instances of chiefs of districts assuming and maintaining it." 24 The power of the chiefs varied and was often much limited, but in all cases depended upon their personal character and leadership ability.

I think we must conclude that, notwithstanding the great power possessed by the chiefs in certain districts... evidence indicates that their administrative and parliamentary power was often curtailed largely by the necessity of acting in accordance with the views of their subjects expressed in private discussions with their immediate advisors, and at the fono. 25


In concluding a study of this principle, it might be well to mention the tafa'ifa, or official head of all Samoa, excepting the Manua Group which always maintained an independent government. There was no original king or head chief of all Samoa and the title merely points to a concentration of titles and power in the official headship. In order to qualify for tafa'ifa the person had to hold the titles of malietoa (official head chief of Molia), tulisana (official head chief of Aena), tuiaatu (official head chief of Atua), and Nentoaitale and tamasolii (head chiefs of the district of Tamasanga). No Savaii title was requisite, though the rule of the tafa'ifa extended over the island, nor a Tutuilaen title, but that island was politically unimportant. The right of the tafa'ifa to rule a district depended upon his holding the title of the head chief of that district, without reference to his holding other titles. The title was gained by marriage, alliance, intrigue, and the approval of the male party. The office was not hereditary or continuous; sometimes there was no tafa'ifa in early times, and, there has not been one recognized by all of the natives within the period of recorded history.

Thus, local self-governing groups were the source from which all more centralized power and authority emanated.
Functions of the Fono

A *fono* is a council meeting or parliamentary gathering, of the family, village, village-district, or district, attended by the chiefs and orators, and the heads of land owning families. The "Great Fono" is the name given to the ideal political structure embracing all the Samoan Islands. It has not met within historical times; however, its form is carefully preserved in tradition and forms the basis of the plans upon which the lesser fonos actually meet. District fonos convene when war of invasion threaten and upon great ceremonial occasions. The village-district *fono* is held occasionally for the purpose of deciding matters which affect the group as a whole. The *fono* of practical importance is that of the village. As the term carries with it the sense of a formal gathering, it can hardly be applied to the family conferences, nevertheless, certain important meetings of the family group conform to the native theory on which all fonos meet.

Description of Typical Fonos

Each district and town has its own government. An elderly chief generally presides, or is considered as the head of the village, town or district. In these primary *fonos* or meetings, the affairs are generally discussed by the *ali'i* (chiefs) and *tulafalea* (landholders), and what they determine on is usually followed. The *great fono*, or general assembly, is seldom called, except in matters affecting the whole of the island or district. The subject is calmly debated, and most thoroughly
discussed; the final decision, however, is not by vote, but is adopted after consultation, and is governed by the opinions of the most influential chiefs. It thus appears that these assemblies have little influence upon the course the chiefs may have determined to pursue, and serve chiefly to insure the united action of the district in carrying the designs of the chiefs into effect. The tulu-fono (tulafono) or degree, promulgated by the council, is to be obeyed, and those who fail are punished by the poalo, being plundered by them of their lands, etc....

It is the custom at these fonoas to compliment the chief chiefs, and invoke blessings on them in prayers, that their lives may be prolonged and prosperous. I was informed that these assemblies were conducted with much ceremony, but I was disappointed in the one I witnessed. The forms of proceeding may, however, be different when strangers are not present. The fonoas usually begin at an early hour in the morning, and last until late in the afternoon. One of the most pleasing of the ceremonies is that by which the chiefs are supplied with food during the time the meeting is in session. After the food is prepared and dished in fresh banana-leaves, the wives and daughters of the chiefs attire themselves in their best dress. They then enter the falo-tala, and approach their fathers, husbands, brothers, etc., before whom they stop, awaiting their instructions as to whom they should hand the viands. When they have obeyed their directions, they should retire. The whole duty is conducted with the utmost decorum, and while it is going on, no conversation is permitted except in a low voice. I learned from the missionaries who had attended some of their meetings, that the manner of speaking was good, and the self-possession of the orators remarkable. The speakers generally have persons near them who act as a sort of prompters, and remind them of the subjects it is desirable they should speak of. The whole proceedings are conducted with the utmost quiet, and no disturbance is allowed. 26

Turner gives a similar account of a district fono.

These meetings are held out of doors. The heads of families are the orators and members of parliament, the kings (district tuia) and chiefs rarely speak. The representatives of each village have their known places, where they sit, under the shade of the bread-fruit trees, and form groups all around the margin of an open space, called the males (or forum, or mesa).... Strangers from all parts may attend; and on some occasions there may be two thousand people and upwards at these parliamentary gatherings...It is the province of the head of the village to have the opening or king's speech, and to keep order in the meeting; and it is the particular province of another to reply to it, and so they go on. When the first speaker rises, other heads of families belonging to his village, to the number of ten or twenty, rise up, too, as if they all wished to speak. This is to show to the assembly that the heads of families are all at their posts, and who they are... It is quite well known, in most cases, who is to speak, but they must have this preliminary formality about it. At last, after an hour or more, all have sat down but the one with the responsibility of speaking; he commences... After the first speech it is probably mid-day, and then food is brought in... As the debate advances the interest increases. They generally break up about sundown; but if it is something of unusual interest and urgency, they go on and may not adjourn till long after midnight. Unless all are pretty much agreed, nothing is done. They are afraid to thwart a small minority.27

Williamson, in his work which summarizes studies of the Polynesians made by many English, German, and American writers, makes the following generalizations about the fonos.

...I believe that the general basis of what I may call the parliamentary system of Samoa is both social and representative, each speaker

27 Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp. 287-290.
addressing the meeting as the representative and on the behalf of the social group of whom he was the official head.28

...Only the official heads, whether chiefs of middle class people—the bearers of family titles or names—of families or other social groups were entitled to take part in a fono. I believe that the recognition of the position, the rights, and the duties of these heads of social groups was a fundamental feature of the political, and to a large extent the social organization of 'amao. 29

A village fono appears to have been a comparatively simple performance. Its members were the chief of the village and the heads of families, one of whom was a sort of prime minister to the chief. It was this prime minister’s business to call a meeting to discuss matters:... All affairs of the village came before this body, and from its decision there was no appeal,... If two families of a village quarreled, and wished to fight, the members of the village council stepped in and forbade it; it was dangerous for either party to try to continue the strife after this. The fono was, apparently held inside the feletelo, the assembly and guest house, and not in the open marae or village green; but sometimes in the house of the chief or an orator. Silence was required; no woman or child was allowed to be there, and the young men, though allowed to sit before the house, might not enter it. The proceedings commenced with the offering of thanks to the village god; after which the business of the meeting began. Directions were given to the people of the village on such matters as the laying out of plantations and the planting of kava, taro, yams, bananas, coconuts, etc., looking after pigs, fowls, etc., and perhaps the building of a canoe; a taboo was placed upon fowls, pigs, coconuts or other articles of diet which, for some reason, such as a prospective feast, were required, and so must not be eaten; the village laws were

29. Ibid., p. 446.
repeated, do not steal, do not lie, do not murder, do not be greedy or covetous or remove landmarks, etc.; speeches were made indicating the importance of following laws; and declaring the intention of doing so, and punishments were fixed for the non-observance of any of the orders of the council or of the laws. The fono was also a court of village justice, and the court of appeals in all matters of difficulty. The business of the meeting being concluded, kava was drunk, the young men brought in food which was given to all present, and a speech was made announcing the conclusions of the assembly.

...A great fono; that is the fono of a large or important district, or of all Samoa, was a much more important and ceremonious affair. It was held for the discussion of weighty matters affecting the whole district or area which it represented, dealing among other things, with the appointment and installation of chiefs, and the declaring of war and making of peace:... A great fono was held in, and in front of, the falotale, or great house, those engaged in it spreading out over the marae or village green. 30

The decisions of a fono were called tulafono, or "acts of council." They were not arrived at by voting, but by a general consent, the discussion over any question being prolonged until some conclusion, satisfactory to the greater part, and particularly the most influential members of the council was arrived at. 31

The fono in addition to functioning as a legislative or executive department, often acted in the administration of justice. In the administration of justice a father's jurisdiction over the members of his domestic household would not be interfered with by the village fono, unless it was thought necessary to do so for the safety and well-being of the village; and the fono of

31 Ibid., p. 472.
the village-district would not interfere with the judicial decisions of the fono of the village, unless necessary to do so, and so on. There was no universal, recognized procedure of a fono in acting as a court of justice. The verdict of the fono was arrived at after a consideration of the verbal evidence of guilt or after the accused had "taken the oath" while touching a sacred religious object.

If the chief and heads of families, in their court of inquiry into any case of stealing, or other concealed matter, had a difficulty in finding out the culprit, they would make all involved swear that they were innocent. In swearing before the chiefs, the suspected laid a handful of grass on the stone, or whatever it was, which was supposed to be the representative of the village god, and, laying their hand on it, would say, "In the presence of our chiefs now assembled, I lay my hand on the stone. If I stole the thing may I speedily die." This was a common mode of swearing. The meaning of the grass was a silent additional imprecation, that his family might all die, and that grass might grow over their habitation. If all swore, and the culprit was still undiscovered, the chiefs then wound up the affair by committing the case to the village god, and solemnly invoking him to mark out for speedy destruction the guilty mischiefmaker. 32

Punishments were carried out immediately after sentence had been pronounced in the presence of the assembly. Methods of punishment were divided into two classes, namely; o le sala, destruction of houses, live stock, and plantations, with, at times the seizure of personal property and banishment; and o le tō, or personal punishment.

32 Turner, NINETEEN YEARS IN POLYNESIA, pp. 292,293. Turner, EMONI; ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO...., pp. 182,184.
...; the further back we go in history, we find that their penalties were all the more severe. Death was the usual punishment for murder and adultery; and, as the injured party was at liberty to seek revenge on the brother, son, or any member of the family to which the guilty party belonged, these crimes were all the more dreaded and rare. In case of murder, the culprit, and all belonging to him, fled to some other village of the district, or perhaps to another district; in either case, it was a city of refuge.

... Fines of large quantities of food which provided a feast for the entire village, were common; but there were frequently cases in which it was considered right to make the punishment fall exclusively on the culprit himself. 33

Williams says, "Thieving is punished so severely at the Samoas that it is seldom practiced among themselves; but they have no scruples or fears in pilfering from ships and foreigners." 34

Commander Wilkes made the following statements about their punishment of crimes:

For crimes, they have many forms of punishment, among them are: expulsion from the village in which the offender resides; exposure of the naked body to the sun; flogging; cutting off the ears and nose; confiscation of property; and the compulsory eating of noxious herbs.

When murder had been committed, the friends of the person slain unite to avenge his death; and the punishment does not fall upon the guilty party alone, but on his friends and relatives, who with their property are made the subjects of retaliation. If any delay in seeking redress in manner occurs, it is received as an intimation

33 Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp. 285, 286.
34 Williams, p. 474.
that the injured party, whether the family, friends, the village, or the whole district to which the murdered person belonged, are willing to accept an equivalent for the wrong that they have sustained. The friends of the murderer then collect what they hope may be sufficient to avert retribution, and a negotiation is entered into to fix the amount of compensation. When this is agreed upon, it is offered to the nearest relative of the deceased, and the parties who present it perform at the same time an act of submission, by prostrating themselves before him. This closes the affair.

For some crimes nothing but the death of the offender could atone. Among these was adultery; and when the wives of chiefs eloped with men of another district, it generally produced war. There existed, however, means by which the code was rendered less bloody, in places of refuge for offenders, such as the tombs of chiefs, which were held sacred and inviolate. 35

Cooper also comments on these places of refuge.

The Samoans were never by disposition cruel or fond of shedding blood; on the contrary, all their traditions contain evidence of most excellent and merciful laws, such as providing of sanctuaries or places of refuge where a man could be secure from the vengeance of those whom he might have offended, ... 36

35 Wilkes, Vol. II, pp. 149, 150.

The purpose of this chapter, purely an assimilation of accepted historical facts, is to show how the Germans, British, and Americans were drawn into the native affairs of the Samoans with the result that the islands were brought directly under foreign control. We shall see how the wars—seven in number between the years of 1829 and 1900, and all arising from disputed succession to titles—at first concerned only the natives but later, due to religious and commercial interests, drew into partisanship certain white residents and eventually their respective governments.

The United States did much to shape the affairs of Samoa from 1839, when the Wilkes Expedition explored and surveyed the islands, to the troublesome "eighties." England in 1877 and American in 1878 refused the offer of the natives to annex the islands but none of the three Powers wanted either of the others to have the islands.

The "seventies" were filled with unauthorized acts of Americans and Englishmen. At the same time, German political and commercial representatives determined not only to protect their property and trade rights but to also gain political control of the group which they did in a high-handed manner in the early "eighties."
disaster at Apia closed this period of contended political supremacy and united the Powers in a joint policy for the administration of Samoan affairs.

Early Samoan history can be divided into two periods; the period of discovery and exploration from 1722 to about 1860, and the period of Foreign commercial expansion from the time consular agents were established at Apia to the Berlin Act of 1889.

**Discovery and Exploration**

Historic times date from the first visit by white men in 1722. Jacob Roggeveen, in command of the Dutch "Three Ship Expedition," while making a voyage to Java, via Cape Horn, sighted the islands and named them the "Bhumann Islands." He did not land and so located the islands inaccurately. The French explorer De Bougainville landed in 1768 and named the group Les Iles des Navigateurs (Navigator Islands); thus the honor of discovery went to France.

In 1787 John F. G. de la Perouse (French La Perouse Expedition) spent several weeks in and around the islands; his experiences were very unpleasant for Captain de Langle and several sailors were massacred on Tuitia. The English ship H. M. S. Pandora, commanded by Captain Edwards, touched the islands in 1791. Captain Louis de Freycinet, in a voyage around the world in 1817-1820, discovered
Hoa Island and named it for his wife who accompanied him.

The London Missionary Society established a mission in 1830 and started extensive operations in all of the islands. The advent of the Missionaries marks the beginning of a continuous record of Samoan history.

In 1839, the famous expedition of Commodore Charles Wilkes of the United States Navy, made the first thorough survey and exploration of the principle islands of the group. These surveys, although necessarily hurried ones, are the basis of our charts today. Wilkes also negotiated a commercial agreement\(^1\) with the principal chiefs, an agreement similar to the one made with them the previous year by Captain Bethune of H. M. S. Conway. Foreign interests were to be protected in consideration of payment of harbor dues by vessels using the ports. These agreements were the beginning of treaty connections between the Samoans and the outside world and the first formal recognition of the whites among the Samoans.

**Expansion of Foreign Commercial Interests**

**Consular Agents Established at Apia**

Notwithstanding the steady development of commercial interests in the islands no serious attempts were made by any nation to obtain a footing in Samoa until

\(^1\) For the complete text of this agreement, refer to Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* (Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia, 1845), Vol. II, pp. 428-430.
after consular agents were established at Apia: British, 1847; United States, 1853; Germany, 1861. During the next twenty years the Germans, British and Americans established trading posts, acquired lands, developed intimate relations with the natives and even went so far as to encourage changes in the native Samoan government.

Consuls, captains of ships of war, merchants and missionaries have done all they could to get these separate states of Samoa induced to form a union with a house of representatives, having the greater chiefs in turn as president, or something of that kind, but, hitherto, all efforts have been in vain. Many wish a change, many more prefer remaining as they are, and it is impossible to say how long the Samoans will remain in their present political position, viz., each little community, of two to five hundred, having its own laws and form of government—uniting in districts of eight or ten villages for mutual protection—and these districts, again, combining in twos or threes, as occasion may require, in the event of insult, aggression or other cause of war. 2

Commander Richard W. Meade, of the U. S. S. Narragansett, visited Pago Pago in 1872 and on his own initiative concluded an agreement with Haaga, high chief of Tutuila, whereby the United States was granted the exclusive privilege of establishing a naval station in Pago Pago harbor, granting in return the friendly protection of the United States. The agreement was communicated to the United States government where it received the approval of President Grant but inasmuch as it was

In 1872, the American Department of State sent Colonel A. B. Steinberger as a special agent to the Samoan Islands to secure more information and report upon their condition. "In August, 1872, a constitution and code of laws, probably the first written ones, were adopted after consultation between Colonel Steinberger, the foreign consuls, and the missionaries." The constitution and code of laws referred to are in fact "The Organic Law and Bill of Rights," which was agreed upon at Mulimu on August 21, 1873.

Concerning the sources of government, this document holds that "The origin of the Government springs from the Matais and is established by the chiefs and rulers of Samoa..." The power of governing was centered in the Ta'ima, or nobles, seven men who were to be chosen in a manner not specified and evidently, upon acceptable behavior, were to hold office for life.

The seven Ta'ima shall be the highest officers of the Government and shall have authority to make

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4 The Original Organic Law and Bill of Rights 1873 and Constitution of Samoa 1875, translated from the original documents by Edwin W. Currie, former Chief Justice of the High Court of American Samoa, p. 3.
Treaties and agreements with foreign powers, and to receive ambassadors and commissioners from them... All Samoans must respect and obey the Ta'ima as they are the chief rulers in Samoa...5

The Ta'ima were given the power to draw up a constitution, elect an adviser, provide for elections, and intervene, adjust and settle disputes in any part of Samoa. They were to make the laws in conjunction with the Faipule, House of Commons.

The most important section in the Bill of Rights reads, "The customary rights and privileges of the mataio at the meetings (fanoa) of the village or district shall not be abridged (disturbed)."...6

A list of laws passed by the Samoan Government (Ta'ima and Faipule) in the year 1873 includes laws concerning: murder and manslaughter; theft; marriage and divorce; adultery; slander; rebellion; sale of arms; tattooing; government officials; observance of the Sabbath; animals; trespass; assault; carrying of weapons and firearms; compulsory attendance of children at school; public roads; journeying parties (malama); night dances according to heathen customs; vessels and navigation; and trade.

Steinberger returned to Washington, D. C. the same

5 Gurr, p.4.
6 Idem.
year (1873) and submitted a report which included several letters from chiefs praying for the help of the United States. In 1875, Steinberger was again sent out with communications from his government and presents for the chiefs. It was proposed that Steinberger should help the natives establish a stable government.

In the meantime (1873-1875) the foreign residents helped form a government consisting of a house of nobles, a house of representatives and two kings - Malietoa Laupepa representing the ruling family of Malietoa, and Tupua Pulepule of the Tupua family. Cooper explains the origin of these families as follows:

There are two royal families in Samoa - the old royal family of Tupua and the more modern family of Malietoa. The family of Tupua was the reigning family... as far back as Samoan history goes. The name Malietoa... is of recent origin and is due to a war between the Samoans and the Tongans. 7

The name Malietoa means "good Warrior".

A temporary constitution was agreed upon in January, 1875. It was similar to the Organic Law and Bill of Rights of 1873 with the exception of the judiciary which was enlarged upon. The Faamasino (Judiciary) was to consist of "one chief judge and two assistant judges who shall hold a Supreme Court, try all capital offenses and all cases of appeal from any district judges," 8 and

8 Gurr, p. 7.
The district judges shall keep records of all cases brought before them and of the sentence passed by them... The district judges shall proclaim all new laws, or alterations of the laws or constitution, and collect all taxes imposed by the Government, forwarding them to the Treasurer.

Provision was also made for the Taumata to appoint the policemen, twenty for the seat of government at Mulini- num, and twenty for each of the seven provinces.

The government was to operate on an estimated annual income of $25,000 to be derived as follows: $20,000 from the poll-tax ($2 per annum for every male), and $5,000 from fees, fines, etc. A tentative budget of expenses totaled $9,820. The balance was to be expended in public works and to provide for all expenses not included in the estimated budget.

An item in this proposed constitution, of special interest to foreigners, reads:

No law shall be enacted or any alteration of the constitution made affecting the interests of foreign residents, unless having duly consulted their representatives and obtained their consent.

This consideration paved the way for the establishment of an independent government for the Municipality of Apia a few years later.
The foreign consul and a committee of chiefs held several meetings for the purpose of making this plan into a permanent constitution but before it was officially accepted, Steinberger returned, took matters into his own hands, and installed himself as Premier of the Government of Samoa. He persuaded the chiefs to select one king as two were impracticable, so Malietoa Laupepa became King of all Samoa with the ruling name of Malietoa I. The Constitution of 1873 was superseded by a new constitution adopted on May 18, 1875. It provided for a hereditary monarchy in which the two great houses were to rule in turn, each king to reign for a term of four years.

Parliament consisted of two houses, Taimu (chiefs and nobles, "those who go before to show the way") and Faipule ("representatives of the people").

Steinberger's government succeeded with the natives but he soon fell into difficulties with the consuls with the result that, at the instigation of the American consul, he was deported to Fiji on a British warship. His government collapsed on his deportation and much bloodshed ensued between rival native factions.

Growing Jealousy

During this period, fear was growing among the Germans and British that the Americans would attempt to establish a protectorate over the island. In 1877, the
natives sought peace in a request for annexation by Great Britain and later by the United States, but the appeals were unsuccessful. The American flag was raised over the Samoan flag on the government flag staff in 1877 and again in 1878. This was to prevent British annexation. The same thing was done in 1886 to prevent a supposed German annexation.

In January, 1878, Eamea concluded a treaty of friendship and commerce at Washington, the first treaty ever entered into by Samoa, and which contained formal definition of the relations of the United States to the Samoan group.

Following are some important articles in the treaty.

Naval vessels of the United States shall have the privilege of entering and using the port of Pago Pago and establishing therein and on the shores thereof a station for coal and other naval supplies for their naval and commercial marine, and the Samoan Government will hereafter neither exercise nor authorize any jurisdiction within said port adverse to such rights of the United States or restrictive thereof.

The fifth article provided that should any difference arise between Samoa and another Government at peace with the United States, "the government of the latter will employ its good offices for

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12 An ambassador, representing all of the chiefs of Samoa.

13 Stewart's Handbook of the Pacific Islands (Carron, Steward and Co., Ltd., Sydney, N.S.W., 1921), p. 353.

the purpose of adjusting those differences upon a satisfactory and solid foundation." 16

This treaty, unimportant as it seemed at the time, marked a change in the international policy of the United States.

From the American point of view this treaty is significant in that it marks the first step over the confines of the Monroe Doctrine, which forbade the assumption of outside responsibilities liable to bring the United States into conflict with a foreign power. 16

This treaty was made by the United States more in the desire not to appear wholly indifferent to the friendly advance of the Samoans than for any importance attached to Samoa, or advantage to be gained by close political or commercial relations for her. It was indeed felt by many that the mere offer to use friendly offices in case of difficulty was a rash promise that might some day call for fulfilment, especially as Germany, with her preponderance of commercial interests in the islands, would probably sooner or later seek forcibly to acquire the group. 17

This treaty was followed the next year by similar treaties granting a coaling station at Sataufete, Upolu to Germany, and one to Great Britain18 at a place to be later determined. It also granted to Germany, commercial privileges and exceptional power in adjustment of affairs between the German residents of Apia and the Samoans.

16 Stewart’s Handbook of the Pacific Islands (Sydney,1921), p. 553
After 1850, the white settlement at Apia steadily increased. The little community, consisting of all sorts and descriptions of people of many nationalities, got along as best it could. In the seventies the chiefs consented to self-government for Apia. The people were organized into a small republic and order was enforced by means of a code of laws. There was no change made in the old system of native government outside of Apia.

In August 1879, Sir Arthur Gordon, British Commissioner for the negotiation of a treaty regarding coal-estate rights, effected the creation of the Municipality of Apia which was declared neutral ground as far as native wars were concerned. All property and persons within this well-defined area were to be controlled by a Board consisting of the three consuls and one assessor appointed by each. Regulations were made, taxes levied and collected, licenses issued, and public works constructed much after the manner of any municipal government. Among the first important regulations were those prohibiting the supply of liquor and the sale of fire arms to natives. A magistrate was appointed and the extent of his jurisdiction defined. This municipal arrangement worked well for nearly twenty years and did much to remove the stigma of lawlessness which had always been Apia's.
A former British Consul gives the part taken by the different governments in establishing the Municipality of Apia.

The establishment of the Municipality of Apia is a British institution, due almost entirely to Sir A. H. Gordon,...

In effecting the Municipal Convention he was cordially assisted by the German Consul, who saw equally the necessity of such an institution.

The Americans were but lukewarm in the matter; in fact, objected to it. Their Consul, however, provisionally agreed to it; but up to this day (1887) the Senate have not confirmed his action. 19

Civil War

Following the deportation of Steinberger, native warfare was resumed between the chiefs represented in the Taimu and Faivule of Steinberger's government and the Puleua, organized opposition or the dissatisfied element. The king, Malietoa Laupape, was deposed by his own group and subsequently joined the forces of the opposition and became one of their leaders.

From accounts of this period, it appears that the Puleua forces were secretly and at times openly helped by the Germans and British who feared the influence of the United States over the organized Samoan government. The government forces, despite the quelling of rebellion, became weaker and weaker and finally Malietoa Talavou,

an uncle of Malietoa Leupepa, went over to the side of the Palatua and likewise became a leader. On May 2, 1879, Malietoa Talavou was crowned king of the opposition at Malinua.

The consuls helped fix neutral territory and later, on July 2, issued a proclamation to the effect that neither party would be assisted in a civil war and that neutral territory and lands of foreigners would be protected by foreign force. Another joint proclamation issued by all the foreign representatives announced that they resumed relations with the government of Malietoa Talavou.

However, warfare continued for several months and was finally ended by the intervention of Captain Reinhard, of the German men-of-war Bismark. On March 12, 1880, Malietoa Talavou was anointed king, and Malietoa Leupepa was accepted as vice-king to succeed his uncle. An agreement was made whereby the consuls were to support the king, Malietoa, during his life-time and to appoint an executive council to assist him with the administration.

Following the death of the king in November, war broke out in full force. Malietoa Leupepa was duly anointed king and recognized by the three consuls. The opposition, supporting the claims of Tupa Tamasese and Mataafa, was reconciled when Tamasese was accepted as vice-king. Peace continued unbroken until January, 1885.
The dominant native factor in this period of civil war was a rivalry between districts. A chief, in order to be acknowledged king by the Samoan people, had to hold all of the five high titles or names bestowed by the larger political divisions. According to Robert Louis Stevenson, who was then living on Upolu:

There are rival provinces, far more concerned in the prosecution of their rivalry than in the choice of the right men for king. If one of these shall have bestowed its name on competitor A, it will be the signal and the sufficient reason for the other to bestow its name on competitor B or C... In 1881, Laosopa the present king, held the three names of Malietoa, Natovaitelo, and Tamasoeali; Tamasoe held that of Tuaamoa; and Mataafa that of Tuiatua.

The election of a candidate to the kingship gives him a new title without any additional power.

The successful candidate is now the Tupu 0 Samoa... He can sign himself so on proclamations, which it does not follow that anyone will heed. He can summon parliaments; it does not follow that they will assemble.

And unfortunately, although the credit side of the account proves thus imaginary, the debit side is actual and heavy. For he is now set up to be the mark of Consuls; he will be badgered to raise taxes, to make roads, to punish crimes, to quell rebellion; and how he is to do it is not asked... Scarcely a year goes by but what some province is in arms, or sits sulky and menacing, holding parliaments and planting food in the bush, the first step of military preparation.

21 Ibid. pp. 7, 8.
The factor of discord supplied by the foreigners was the commercial rivalry between countries having or claiming an interest in Samoa. The small independent traders of many countries, especially those of Great Britain and the United States, found themselves competing with the powerful firm founded by John Caesar Godoffroy and backed by the Imperial Government. Stevenson says, "the true center of trouble... is the German firm." 22

The German Consulate was very apt to play the twofold game of the German firm.

On the one part, they desired an efficient native administration, to open up the country and punish crime; they wished, on the other, to extend their own provinces and to curtail the dealings of their rivals...

...and, largely from the national touchiness and the intemperate speech of German clerks, this scramble among dollar hunters assumed the appearance of an inter-racial war...

In the Germans alone, no trace of humor is to be observed, and their solemnity is accompanied by a touchiness often beyond belief. Patriotism flies in arms about a hen; and if you comment upon the color of a Dutch umbrella, you have cast a stone against the German Emperor. 23

Rivalry Between Nations (Germany, Great Britain, and the United States).

The people of New Zealand had for some time urged the matter of annexing Samoa upon Great Britain without

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22 Stevenson, p. 28.
23 Ibid., pp. 22-32.
success and often with much embarrassment to the mother country.

New Zealand was very anxious to annex the islands; the islanders themselves were apparently in favor of such a step, but Lord Grenville, British Foreign Secretary, had already given an assurance to Germany that the British had no intention of annexing the islands. 24

Nevertheless, New Zealand continued the agitation which eventually caused Malietoa to send petitions to Great Britain in November, 1883, and again in November, 1884, applying for annexation. Malietoa suggested that the islands be administered directly by Great Britain or else as a dependency of New Zealand. This series of negotiations between the New Zealand Government and the British Foreign Office respecting the annexation of Samoa, led to drastic action on the part of the German Consul.

Thefts on German plantations and other petty occurrences were used as an excuse to demand and secure a treaty granting German settlers extraordinary concessions and discriminations. Malietoa then wrote to Great Britain and the United States asking aid against the aggression of Germany and protesting that he had signed the treaty against his will, fearing that Germany would seize the islands if he did not accept their terms.

In January, 1885, the German Consul hoisted the Imperial flag over Mulimuu and took possession of all the land within the Municipality of Apia, in the name of his government. As soon as information reached the German Government, the acts of Doctor Stuebel were repudiated by Bismark but the status quo ante was not fully restored. In Germany, Bismark's policy gave evidence of double-dealing. Openly he repudiated a colonial policy, but everything goes to prove that he secretly supported the colonial movement in Samoa.

The situation was further complicated by the American Consul who raised his country's flag over that of the Samoan Government in 1886. Cleveland did not uphold this action as he favored an independent government by the natives. He wished, however, to retain the coal station at Pago Pago.

The Samoan policy of Cleveland was instinctively correct in its support of weaker people and perhaps in its recognition of strategic values in Samoa and ultimate American preponderance in the Pacific. 25

The United States, in conformity with the American Treaty with Samoa, offered its good offices for settling the matter. Pending the holding of this conference, Germany continued her encouragement of Tamasese, the Samoan

chief in rebellion against Malietoa.

German machinations in the islands were greatly strengthened by a sudden reversal of British policy. Up to this time England and the United States were united in opposing German imperialism in Samoa. But Germany now concentrated in Australian waters a fleet more powerful than that of Britain. This circumstance, combined with a recent agreement between Germany and Great Britain which divided the islands of the Western Pacific between the two nations, and, also with a possible realisation that too sanctimonious an opposition to imperialism in other nations was hardly becoming to Great Britain, caused England to withdraw her disapproval of Germany’s designs and left the United States to wage the contest single-handed. 26

**German Aggression**

A short conference was held at Washington but as soon as it was adjourned to allow the representatives to consult with their home governments, the German government declared war on the Samoan king. Malietoa Leupape was deposed on the claim of unjust treatment of German subjects, and was deported, first to German New Guinea and then to Kamerun in Africa and finally, in 1888, to Hamburg. Tamasee, formerly vice-king, was declared king with Brandeis, a German, as adviser. Mataafa, whom Malietoa had commissioned as regent to lead the people during his exile, instigated a revolt which successfully drove Tamasee and Brandeis from Muliniu and held their forces at Solosolo and Saluaafata until the hurricane of 1889 occurred.

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26 Sears, p. 395.
The British and American nations, through their consuls, protested repeatedly against German actions but to no avail. The German Consul even went so far as to declare martial law in Samoa in January, 1889. In the same month, it was terminated by Bismark, who disapproved the consul's actions.

The Disaster at Apia

Considerable feeling was aroused in England and the United States regarding Germany's irregular actions. Warships began to arrive at Apia until by March there were seven ships of war, two merchant vessels and eleven coasters crowded into the tiny harbor of Apia. And then, suddenly, on the fifteenth, a hurricane descended on the harbor and wrecked the three American ships and the three German ships; the British "Calliope" alone escaped the disaster. This mutual tragedy brought the nations together on a desire to settle differences and bring peace to the troublesome islands. A truce was effected between the forces of Mataafa (acting for Malietoa) and Tamasese. Malietoa Leupapa was then returned to the islands.

Berlin Conference

The three Powers, having had more than enough of Samoan troubles, were glad to accept the invitation of Germany to continue at Berlin the conference begun at
Washington in June, 1887. The conference resulted in an important treaty which is titled "The Final Act of The Berlin Conference on Samoan Affairs" and is usually known as "The Berlin General Act." This Act was concluded on June 14, 1889, and was later agreed to by the Samoans.

Native Administration

During this period of civil war, all attempts to introduce a system of government based on foreign methods were failures. Chief among these were the Steinberger government of the Americans and the Brandeis government of the Germans. They failed because they were artificial systems imposed from above, and did not provide adequately for the continuance of native institutions.

Commercial expansion on the part of the Germans, British and Americans led to a desire for political control.

When competition is fierce between citizens of several nationalities, in a neutral land and under a weak government, the temptation to secure a controlling influence in the councils of the nation becomes too great to withstand. 27

On the other hand, desires and interests shared by the three Powers kept any one of them from dominating the situation and thus gaining political control of the native government. Henderson compares Samoa to a tea-pot

"in which a tempest raged while three great nations jostled each other in fussy endeavors to keep the little pot from boiling over." 28

The unfortunate natives were only saved from immediate extermination through the jealous watchfulness of three protectors. The duty in Samoa of each protector was ostensibly to shield the natives from the rapacity of the other two. In the meantime, the Samoans lost all control over their own affairs,... 29

28 Henderson, p. 205.
29 Ibid., p. 206
GOVERNMENT UNDER A TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT

The Berlin General Act, proclaimed in Samoa on May 21, 1890, is extensive in its scope, for it was meant to solve the existing difficulties for all time.

The first paragraph of Article I reads as follows:

It is declared that the Islands of Samoa are neutral territory in which the citizens and subjects of the Three Signatory Powers have equal rights of residence, trade and personal protection. The Three Powers recognize the independence of the Samoan Government and the free right of the natives to elect their Chief or King and choose their form of Government according to their own laws and customs. Neither of the Powers shall exercise any separate control over the Islands or the Government thereof.1

The Act further declared that Malietoa Laupepa should act as king, unless the three Powers otherwise declared; and then "his successor should be duly elected according to the laws and customs of Samoa." 2

Organization of the Government

An excellent summary of the somewhat unusual form of government has been made by Robert Mackenzie Watson, for sometime judge of the district court of Samoa.

It established a Supreme Court with a jurisdiction of all future questions, civil or criminal,


2 The Berlin General Act is printed in full in Mallory, pp. 1576-1589.
arising under the detailed jurisdiction conferred by the Act, which particularly included disputes respecting the rightful election or appointment of the king and differences between a treaty power and the government of Samoa. The court was to be under the presidency of a Chief Justice, this officer to be named by agreement, by the King of Sweden and Norway. His decision on questions within his jurisdiction was to be final. He also had power recommending laws to the Government for the promotion of good order and collection of taxes outside the Municipal District.

It wisely endeavoured to reasonably preserve to the natives the lands to which they were rightly entitled. To this end it prohibited all future alienations of land to foreigners except the sale or lease of lands within the Municipal District when approved by the Chief Justice and the proper lease for a term not exceeding forty years of surplus agricultural lands when approved by the chief executive authority and by the Chief Justice.

There being many outstanding land claims by foreigners, the Act provided machinery for the settlement of these and of all titles to lands of foreigners...

The Act also provided for the creation of a Municipal District of Apia and its local administration by a Municipal Council consisting of six elected members and a foreign President appointed under the provisions of the Act. The President had large administrative powers. A municipal magistrate with a limited jurisdiction was also provided for...

Finally the Act made provisions for taxation and revenue, and expressly prohibited the sale of arms, ammunition and intoxicating liquor to the natives.

The arrival of instructions in November found everyone eager to carry out the provisions of the Act. Then followed months of watchful waiting.

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The Berlin convention had long closed its sittings; the text of the Act had been long in our hands; commissioners were announced to right the wrongs of the land question, and two high officials, a chief justice and a president, to guide policy and administer law in Samoa. Their coming was expected with an impatience, with a childishness of trust, that can hardly be exaggerated. Months passed, these angel-deliverers still delayed to arrive, and the impatience of the natives became changed to an ominous irritation. They have had much experience... of being deceived again. 4

On October 3, 1890, the King of Sweden and Norway named Otto Conrad Waldemar Cedererantz, a Swedish subject and associate justice of the Swedish Court of Appeals, to be Chief Justice of Samoa. 5

The chief justice, upon his arrival in January, 1891, found himself in conflict with: the three consuls, the king, a pretender of growing strength, and the captains of the men-of-war present in the harbors. Consequently he delayed opening the court for half a year.

The natives desired to see activity; they desired to see many fair speeches take on a body of deeds and works of benefit... A reaction, a chill sense of disappointment, passed about the island; and intrigue, one moment suspended, was resumed. 6

The first President of the Municipal Council, Baron Senfft von Pilsen, arrived in May but resigned in October, "owing to a dispute with the German member of

6 Stevenson, p. 277.
the Council on the currency question." His resignation was not accepted.

The three land commissioners commenced their very important work in 1891 and within the next year dealt with nearly four thousand claims. Their work, well done, was of great value to Samoa for it standardized all foreign land titles throughout the group. The three Powers bore the expense of the land commission.

Problems of the Administration

Native

Difficulties were immediately encountered in the administration of the new Government. As before, the natives were reluctant to submit to any government, as government is understood among civilized nations. They refused to obey the warrants of the supreme court, and they continued to object to the payment of capitation taxes; and they had to be coerced into compliance. On May 31, Mataafa had established himself at Malie, the ancient home of the Malietoa family; and became an opponent of the Government.

Friction Between European Officials

There was continued irritation between the administrative officers and the various representatives of the three Powers in Samoa. In the Governor's Report we find incidents such as those listed for the year of 1892:

The chief justice was reported (January) to the three Powers for absenting himself without leave; disagreements arose over the refusal of

7 American Samoa: Governor's Report, p. 35.
the chief justice to pay taxes,...; The President of the Municipality resigned again (September) on the ground that the undesirable friction previously existing between high officers of the Government still continued (resignation again disapproved); November 15, the German Government proposed the recall of both Baron Schift von Pileash, and Chief Justice Cedorrantz...; December 6, the United States Vice Counsel General at Apia... reported:—that as long as Mataafa lived, he would never give up the idea of being King of Samoa; the best way to weaken his support was to strengthen the Malietoa Government by getting rid of useless officials, and appointing a chief justice familiar with semi-barbarous peoples, and qualified as a judge; the office of the president should be abolished, and the few parts of the treaty known to be bad amended; the treaty Powers should each send two ships ready to go to extremes; disarmament was practicable if the people saw any signs of a good government; taxes all went to officials, not a cent was spent on improvements; the Samoans required protection against themselves, and to take away their arms would be doing them a good service.

In regard to the pay of the officials, on the one hand the total monthly salary of the four whites (Chief Justice Cedorrantz, $500.; President von Pileash, about $415.; Lieutenant Ulsparre, Chief of Police, $140.; Dr. Haygood, Private Secretary of the Chief Justice, $100.) was about $1,155. while on the other hand the total monthly payment to and for His Majesty, the King (Malietoa Laupepa), including allowance and hire of three clerks, was $95. per month.

8 American Samoa; Governor's Report, pp. 35, 36.
9 Stevenson, pp. 305, 306.
Stevenson further predicts that "Even if the three Powers do not remove these gentlemen, their absurd and disastrous government must perish by itself from ineptitude." 10

Continued Unrest

**Attitude of the Natives**

From the Samoan standpoint the new Government was not a success from the start... The strained relations between the German residents and the British and American residents of Upolu continued. The Mataafa party was never reconciled to the recognition of Malietoa as King. War broke out in 1893; Mataafa rebelling against the authority of King Malietoa, and many lives were sacrificed. Mataafa, with twelve of his chiefs, was deported to the Marshall Islands, the three Powers concurring and sharing in the expense of maintenance. The Mataafa followers still maintained an organization, however, and were ready to rebel again when opportunity offered. 11

In justice to Mataafa let it be said that he conducted himself at all times as a law-abiding citizen according to the laws and customs of the native Samoans. Furthermore, he paid taxes to Malietoa's government and also sent offenders from his district to Malinuu to be tried by the chief justice there according to the provisions of the Berlin Act. By Samoan custom, he was just as much a sovereign person as Malietoa Laupepa. True it is that Malietoa held four of the royal names.

10 Stevenson, p. 309.
11 Stewart's Handbook of the Pacific Islands (McCarron, Sydney, 1921), p. 354.
while Mataafa held only that of Tuistua, but with such he was likewise independent and a sovereign prince.

Mataafa is described as a man of commanding appearance, with dignified manners and an air of authority. His conduct toward the Powers and the Malietoa Government was calm, peaceable, and amicable but at all times tempered by a self-assurance which comes from knowing that one is sponsoring a right cause. It is possible that missionary forces were active in this matter of kingship, for Mataafa was an ardent Catholic and had the following of the small but compact and fervent group of Catholics, while Malietoa had the sympathies of a large part of the Protestant majority.

Germam Domination

New Officials

Removing Mataafa did not bring peace to the islands for irritation between the foreign administrators and the consuls continued. The German Government nominated Mr. Schmidt, formerly vice-consul at Apia, to be President of the Municipal Council and Mr. C. Ide, formerly the American member of the Samoan Land Commission, as chief justice. The German Government also requested the removal of Mr. Maben, Secretary of State to the Samoan Government, because of his friendly interest in Malietoa Laupopa and his unfriendly attitude toward
Mr. Schmidt, Mr. Haben was removed.

Chief Justice Ide was replaced by Mr. W. L. Chambers, also formerly an American land commissioner, in May, 1897.

The Germans were also full of complaints regarding the behavior of the Chief Justice of Samoa, Mr. Chambers, ... At the same time the Germans were inclined to lay most of the blame for the situation in the island on the British Consul General... 12

Continued Rebellion

Captain Bickford (of H.B.M.S. Katoomba) and Captain Flechenthemer (German senior naval officer) held several conferences with chiefs of rival factions, informing them that the three Powers had put an end to civil war. They all agreed to stop fighting. Within a few months all was quiet and taxes were being paid.

In March, 1894, the forces of the Younger Tamasese rebelled but were soon put down.

In April, (for the third time in her history) New Zealand proposed to the Imperial authorities that she should assume control of the group, and she now offered to undertake this control whether Samoa should be a British Protectorate or on behalf of the Treaty Powers. The offer was not accepted.13

In May, the German and British forces put down a rebellion in the Atua district and immediately a fresh war broke out in the Aana district. The apparent inaction

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13 Watson, p. 103.
of the British and American governments caused the imperial Government to feel that, if peace was restored, she would have to settle the affair alone, "...amelioration was not to be expected under a joint control of the Powers." 14

Return of Mataafa

The Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. W. . Gresham, on February 16, 1895, said that his government thought that ample punishment had already been inflicted on Mataafa and the chiefs exiled on the island of Jaluit. He said further that the United States was unwilling to share in the expense of maintaining their wives and children in Samoa. The exiles were then returned.

Malietoa Tanu Selected King

King Malietoa Tanu Leuopiia died on August 22, 1898, shortly after the return of Mataafa.

The Berlin General Act had made provision that the successor to the king should be selected by the Samoans according to their customs, and, failing a selection, that the chief justice of Samoa should decide which claimant should be king, this decision to be final. 15

The method of selecting a king was not stated, and as has been previously explained, there was no Samoan

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14 American Samoa: Governor's Report, p. 38.
15 Ibid., p. 40.
custom which provided that the majority should rule. Thus civil war was inevitable. The claimants, Malietoa Tanumafili, son of Leupape and his natural successor, and Mataafa immediately armed and were ready for war. However, they were persuaded to wait for the decision of the chief justice, who finally, on December 31, 1898, decided in favor of Malietoa Tanumafili (Malietoa Tanu).

The German Consul General, F. Rose, favored Mataafa and he refused to abide by the decision of Chief Justice Chambers.

The Malietoa party was defeated in the civil war which followed. To avoid further bloodshed, the three consuls issued a Proclamation (January 4, 1899) in which they accepted Mataafa as the temporary ruler, and his government, headed by the Municipal President, Raffel, as the provisional government of Samoa.

Civil War - 1899

During the trouble, Malietoa Tanu, Tamasese, the American Consul General, and the chief justice (also an American) took refuge aboard the British ship Porpoise. The German President, Raffel, took advantage of the following clause in the Berlin Act, seized the office and closed the supreme court. "The powers of the chief justice, in any case of a vacancy of that office from any cause, shall be exercised by the President of the
Municipal Council, until a successor shall be duly appointed and qualified." 14 British marines opened the court and trouble continued.

On the sixth of March, Rear Admiral Albert Kautz arrived on the U.S.S. Philadelphia. He proposed that the consul unite to bring about peace but the German Consul refused to act without instructions from his government.

Admiral Kautz, March 11, issued a general proclamation announcing the majority (Great Britain and the United States) decisions of the conference. The provisional government had no legal status under the Berlin treaty; Mata'afa and his followers were ordered to go quietly to their homes and obey the laws of Samoa and respect the Berlin Treaty. March 12, the German Consul General issued a counter proclamation of denial, stating that he would uphold the provisional government until he got notice from his government. Admiral Kautz reported;"... were it not for the German Consul General we would have peace in Samoa." 15

The blame for continued trouble is also placed on the Germans in a Department of State paper to the German Embassy. In part, the paper reads as follows:

...That in the scenes of riot and violence which followed his decision, the Mata'afa party was apparently countenanced and abetted by Mr. Raffel and Mr. Rose.

...That the counter proclamation of Mr. Rose accusing Admiral Kautz of falsehood, and circulated in the Samoan language, was a direct incitement

14 Berlin General Act - Article III, Section 2.
15 American Samoa: Governor's Report, pp. 40, 41.
to violence and disorder and resulted in the deplorable occurrences which have ensued. 16

Germany backed the Mataafa forces and war naturally followed. Bombardment around Apia continued for eight days. Malietoa Tanumafili was crowned king in Muliniu on March 23, but Mataafa refused to acknowledge the kingship until the three Powers were in agreement. Fighting continued; feeling ran high in America and Europe but all agreed that the matter was not worth going to war over. The United States and Great Britain were drawn together by Germany's attitude during the Spanish-American war. "This is the first time in the history of Great Britain and the United States that forces of the two nations were combined in a fight against other people." 17

The Islands Divided

It was decided by the home governments to settle the affair by peaceful means. A Joint Commission, one member from each Power, was sent from the United States with instructions and power to deal with the situation and make recommendations regarding the Berlin General Act. The work of the Commission was effective.

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16 Department of State to the German Embassy, Vol. 12, p. 368, Memorandum, April 15, 1899. Dennis, p. 113.
The forces of Malietoa Tanu, Tamasese and Mataafa ceased activities and the leaders formally agreed to abide by the decisions of the Commission.

At the request of the Commission Malietoa re- signed the kingship, and it was decided that there should be no king until the Powers made some further agreement. A successful provisional government was formed and peace was restored. The three Powers then decided that the only way to govern the Samoan Islands was to divide them among the Powers...

Great Britain and Germany made a separate agreement, by which Great Britain renounced all rights over the islands in favor of Germany as regards Savaii and Upolu, and in favor of the United States as regards Tutuila and other Islands, upon Germany surrendering to Great Britain her rights in regard to Choiseul, Yeabell, and also the Shortland Islands, in the Solomon Group. The announcement that Great Britain had agreed to forego her claims and make this arrangement was a great surprise to Samoa and the Australasian colonies.

The reason for Great Britain's withdrawal was that the Boer war had commenced and she was especially anxious to conciliate Germany. Germany's desire for Samoan territory had long been evident. "The British abandonment of Samoa was of course a source of complaint by New Zealand. Indeed Samoa became a sort of island irredentia in New Zealand opinion."

A convention between Germany, Great Britain, and the United States was signed on December 2, 1899, and proclaimed as follows:

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19 Dennis, p. 111.
ARTICLE I

The General Act concluded and signed by the aforesaid Powers at Berlin on the 14th day of June A.D. 1889, and all previous treaties, conventions and agreements relating to Samoa are annulled.

ARTICLE II

Germany renounces in favor of the United States of America all her rights and claims over and in respect to the Island of Tutuila and all other islands of the Samoan group east of Longitude 171 degrees west of Greenwich.

Great Britain in like manner renounces in favor of the United States of America all her rights and claims over and in respect to the Island of Tutuila and all other islands of the Samoan group east of Longitude 171 degrees west of Greenwich.

Reciprocally, the United States of America renounce in favor of Germany all their rights and claims over and respect to the Islands of Upolu and Savaii and all other islands of the Samoan group west of the Longitude 171 degrees west of Greenwich.

ARTICLE III

It is understood and agreed that each of the signatory Powers shall continue to enjoy, in respect to their commerce and commercial vessels, and all the islands of the Samoan group privileges and conditions equal to those enjoyed by the sovereign Power, in all ports which may be open to the commerce of either of them.

ARTICLE IV

...Done in triplicate, at Washington, the second day of December, in the year of Our Lord, on thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine.

John Hay
Holleben
Pauncefote

20 Mallory.
The Powers further agreed to refer for decision the question of liability for damage to the properties of foreign residents in Samoa during the war to King Oscar II of Sweden. This was done and the decision placed the liability on Great Britain and America.  

Native Administration

Government of Samoa under a tripartite agreement proved to be unsatisfactory. This was to be expected as "Systems of condominium have not, as a whole, been entirely satisfactory. They divide control and responsibility, and invite intrigue among the governing states, each of which is chiefly concerned over its own interests."  

Meanwhile the natives lose control over their own government and eventually lose control of their territory, as was the case in Samoa.

21 Watson, 118.

Development of German Colonial Policy

Commercial Expansion

For an accurate appreciation of the German position in Samoa, one must understand something of the history of the great commercial house which larded it over the South Seas in the sixties and seventies of the last century, the firm of Godeffroy and Company of Hamburg.1

The House of Godeffroy became important on the island as early as 1857. It evidently realized that Samoa was, as Wakeham describes it, the Garden of the Pacific as well as a strategic commercial center. The firm began to buy land in 1857, and by 1859 monopolized all the trade. Its agent, Theodore Weber, entered the service as a lad, went to Samoa in 1861 and gradually assumed complete control. The North German Confederation assisted him by appointing him its official representative. It was due to his management that numerous trading depots in Oceania were created; that New Britain was added to the sphere of the firms in commerce in 1871; and that the traffic in oil of copra was organized on a vast scale.

...At the time of the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) its trade was tremendous; it controlled stations all over the South Seas, and the English referred to its head as the "South Sea King." Rapidly the House of Godeffroy was outstripping the English, for whereas in 1868 there were thirty-four English ships in Samoan waters and twenty-four German, in 1871 there were twenty-six English and thirty-six German.2


Bismarck's Colonial Policy

Following the organization of the German Government in 1871, Bismarck, Chancellor from 1871 to March, 1890, opposed expansion and a colonial empire for the following reasons: weakness and unpreparedness of the new empire; lack of support for a colonialism movement by the German people; fear of making enemies of foreign Powers. "He admonished the Consul in Samoa, declining his advice to colonize there, to, 'avoid any friction with the United States, to be most tactful, and to promote no independent policy.'" 3

The Samoan Treaty in 1879 aimed to protect Germany's commercial interests which were jeopardized by the interests of the British and Americans and by civil war carried on continually by rival claimants to the native throne. Germany gained a coaling station on the island of Upolu and unusual trade advantages.

The Samoan Subsidy bill, designed to prevent the bankrupt Godoffroy interests from being taken over by the Baring Brothers of London was defeated in the Reichstag, thus convincing the Government that in spite of pressure from overseas traders, it was unwise to inaugurate an official colonial policy at that time (1880).

3 Townsend, p. 65.
"The Samoan Subsidy was a prelude to German Colonial policy and the first practical expression of it." 4

However, Bismarck was soon forced by public opinion to take action to protect the individual merchants in foreign places although he never openly committed himself to a policy of expansion. This protective program, expanded and intensified, was in a large measure responsible for acquiring the following possessions for Germany: Togo, 1884; Cameroon, 1884; German Southwest Africa, 1884-1890; German East Africa, 1885-1890; German New Guinea, 1885-1886; Solomon Islands, 1886; Kiaochow, 1897; Tsingtao, 1897; Mariana's Islands, 1897; Caroline Islands, 1899; Pelow Islands, 1899; and German Samoa, 1899.

**Anglo-German Relations**

An Imperial colonial office was created in 1890 with Dr. Paul Kayser as the first director. Dr. Kayser made the mistake of granting concessions to private capitalists in return for the economic development of the colonies, and of over-emphasizing the official bureaucratic character of the colonial administration. Bismarck's successor, Caprivi, a soldier and a politician but not

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4 Townsend, p. 74.
a colonial enthusiast, continued the former policy of subordinating colonial affairs to foreign diplomacy. The Anglo-German Treaty of 1890, which brought about an exchange of favors and spheres of influence, was thought to favor Great Britain.

The partition of the Samoan Islands in 1899 indicates a reversal of positions motivated by Great Britain's desire to please the strongest military power in Europe.

The negotiations concerning it dragged on for over a year, so complicated were they by all kinds of conflicting influences: the British and American community of interest on the one hand, and England's need of Germany's good-will on the other; Germany's sentimental attachment to Samoa as the scene of her first colonial ventures, and Australia's antagonism to any increase of Germany's power in the South Pacific; America's desire to maintain Samoan independence, and Germany's and England's desire to subordinate Samoa to their commercial interests; and, finally, the Kaiser's deep dislike of Salisbury, which was shared by von Holstein, and his childish grievance at not having been invited to his grand-mother's birthday party.5

The determining factor, however, in England's capitulation in Samoa was her isolation. She could not afford to alienate Germany, who was becoming even more menacing on the sea, and for that reason was obliged to submit to the Kaiser's rudeness, peevishness and childish blustering. When he recklessly threatened that cooperation with England in international politics was only possible if Samoa was secured, and that he would not go to England as long as Lord Salisbury was in power, England gave way and even apologized for not inviting him to the

5 Townsend, pp. 198, 199.
queen's eightieth birthday celebration. So far had the desire for colonial gains advanced Germany on the road of world power, an advance, however, not unattended by British ill-will. 6

**German Administration in Samoa**

In February, 1900, Dr. Solf, who was at that time President of the Municipality of Apia, was appointed Governor of Western Samoa (German Samoa). The Imperial flag was hoisted at a special ceremony at Muliniu on March 2, in the presence of a large and interested group representing many nationalities. "The Kaiser's proclamation, read at the ceremony stated: 'Ve hereby, in the name of the Empire take these islands under our imperial protection.' The Governor declared the islands to be German Territory..." 7

...Dr. Solf stated his policy in practically these terms, 'Samoa is so small and so remote that it has fortunately no commercial future; we German officials do not have to see - and to help- our so-called progress destroy one of the most attractive races in the world. If every acre in Western Samoa were put under cultivation, the result would still be utterly negligible as far as the German Empire were concerned. My congenial duty, therefore, is merely to do my best to keep any passing serpent out of our Garden of Eden. 8

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6 Townsend, p. 201.

7 *American Samoa; Governor's Report* (1927), p. 43.

8 N.A. Rowe, *Samoa, Under the Sailing Gods* (London and New York, 1930), Introduction by Lloyd Osbourne, p. xii. (Lloyd Osbourne is a step-son of Robert Louis Stevenson.)
Favorable Criticism

Dr. Solf proved to be a capable and careful administrator.

Solf first visited Fiji and studied British methods of colonization there. He proceeded slowly to establish an efficient and stable government, knowing well that only thus could satisfaction be. Existing regulations were modified to suit the new requirements. In May he created, in lieu of the Council of the Municipality, a Governors Council of six members, two of whom were British. German government officials came from Germany and a wholesale if somewhat costly, system of civil service was established. For the first time in history Samoa saw and felt the benefit of a good and united government. Taxation was not sensibly increased, yet useful roads were slowly pushed out from Apia and public buildings rose one after another.

...and equality of justice was impartially extended to all foreigners. Nor was Solf's policy with the Natives less considerate and successful. In August he made pronouncement at Mulimau of an elaborate system of creation of government native officials. By thus appointing chiefs to positions of local control of their villages and people as government servants he brought the whole of the natives directly under government authority without any change being felt by them. He created Mataafa, Alii Sili, or nominal head of the native government officials, a title which was abolished on the death of Mataafa... in 1912. The native parliament was continued, purely to assuage native feeling, until 1906, when Solf finally dissolved it. The free and primitive customs of the Samoans, notably in regard to marriage, were treated with consideration and for the most part allowed to continue. Rules were made providing for annual augmentation of native coconut plantations. The sale of alcoholic liquor to natives was forbidden under severe penalties. Other beneficial ordinances followed. A permanent commission was appointed to settle the family ownership of native land. 9

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9 Robert Mackenzie Watson, History of Samoa (Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd., Wellington, N.Z., 1918), pp. 124,125.
You could count his white staff on the fingers of one hand; he was always approachable; any incipient trouble was discussed over the lava bowl. He was just, kind, firm and wise, and earned the affection as well as the respect of everyone. Like all primitive people, Samoans have a strong sense of justice; they like, too, if they have a grievance, an enormous time in which to discuss it. Dr. Solf accorded them that time, and with it courtesy and patience. He observed, besides, all the little niceties of Samoan etiquette. As the saying goes, he soon held them in the hollow of his hand. 10

Dr. Solf found the German islands the center of much dissatisfaction, both native and foreign, and when he left, eleven years later, all sections apparently were in harmony and trade was flourishing. His administration earned a well deserved promotion, Imperial Colonial Minister of Germany. He was succeeded in 1912 by Erich Schultz, who had been chief justice under him. Dr. Schultz remained in office until the New Zealand occupation in August, 1914.

In praise of the fourteen years of German administration it can be said that during that time, "The story of the colony became one of development, the surest sign, in times of peace, of a stable government." 11

Large companies were formed in Germany, Great Britain and Australia for the opening up of cacao and rubber plantations on the foothills of Upolu. 12

10 Rowe, Introduction by Osbourne, p. xii.
11 Watson, p. 126.
coolies were imported from China for the natives would not work regularly on the large plantations. Exports and imports increased. In the fiscal year 1913-1914 the total value of exports was $5,100,000 or about $1,213,000 while the imports totalled $4,900,000 or about $1,166,200, thus showing a balance of trade in favor of the Samoans.

Unfavorable Criticism

On the other hand there were matters not quite so favorable. The system of government itself was bureaucratic and the taxpayers had no direct representation. The practice most objected to in the German Administration was the practice of keeping secret all matters pertaining to finances. The natives thought that Samoa was a paying colony and Germany was quietly pocketing the surplus. This view is also shared by some recent writers.

Other troubles of the administration were such as have come to other countries in a like situation. Among these was the Lauati incident. Lauati, a pro-British chief, caused a disturbance in 1908 which was dealt with rigorously. The leader, several other chiefs, and their families were deported to the Marianne Group in the Ladronne Islands where they remained until 1915. Lauati died on the return journey.

12 Townsend, p. 266.
Use of Native Institutions

The native policy of the German period was drastic but effective. It may be summed up in two propositions, first to break the power of the old political system and suppress the always potentially dangerous existing leadership, second to build up in their place a new type of local government under official auspices.

In August 1900 the German governor created a system of native administration with a Samoan personnel of some two hundred district and village officials; the native Kingship was abolished with the consent of the outstanding claimant at the time, Mataafa, who received instead a title Alii Eali, the Paramount Chief; the Talma and Faipule continued as advisors to the authorities. 13

The German method was to work from the top of the native government down to the local groups in eliminating positions and reorganizing the government along highly centralized lines. The first step, the abolition of the native kingship likewise abolished civil war as a means of securing that title.

The Talma and Faipule—Nobles and Representatives—were wiped out of existence due to serious conflicts between these advisory groups and the Government during 1904-1905. The Governor gave as reason for this act the two faced action of the chiefs in the group, on the one hand showing obedience to the Imperial government and on the other referring to themselves as the

rulers of Samoa and the leaders of a native government separate and apart from the German system. A previous incident showing this attitude of the Samoan toward the white man's government is related by Stevenson:

On the 6th November, 1886, accordingly Laupopu, Tamasese, and forty-eight high chiefs met in secret, and the supremacy of Samoa was secretly offered to Great Britain for the second time in history. Laupopu and Tamasese still figured as king and vice-king in the eyes of Dr. Stuebel (the German Consul); in their own, they had secretly abdicated, were become private persons, and might do as they pleased without binding or dishonoring their country. 14

At the time the Taimua and Faipule groups were broken up, the orator groups were officially destroyed and the ceremonial form of greeting of all Samoa was invalidated. The orator groups collectively were known as Tumua and Pule, Tuma being the name for the orators of Upolu and Tutuila, and Pule the name for those of Savaii. These two names included the five names (Keesing speaks of only four) which, when concentrated on one individual, meant his recognition not as, "King of Samoa as is often said but as ceremonial paramount." 15 This probably explains why the kings set up by the foreigners after 1873 were the source of much misunderstanding and irritation. In the eyes of the natives the king was merely the

14 R.L. Stevenson, A Footnote to History (N.Y., 1892), p. 47.
15 Keesing, p. 10.
ceremonial head of the government and as such was to officiate at the "Great Fono" (which has not met within historical times) but his executive and legislative power extended over only those districts which he controlled in his own right as chief. In the eyes of the foreigners he was responsible for the good conduct of his people, the collection of taxes, etc.

Also, at the same time - August, 1905, the governor created a "Council of Deputies" known as the Fono of Faipules which was continued under New Zealand rule; the 27 district representatives appointed by him were to be paid government officials holding office at his pleasure. These were mainly chiefs, for it was a definite German policy to take authority out of the hands of the orator cliques and to place it into those of the chiefs from whom under the faatasomoa system it had apparently tended to pass.16

The official destruction of the orator groups caused a reactionary movement which was crystallized in the Lauati rebellion. The movement or rebellion, known as the Mau-a-Rule, the Mau, or "Opinion of Savaii" was probably the forerunner of the Mau movement in Western Samoa in 1927, against the New Zealand officials, and the Mau in American Samoa which played such a prominent part in the Senate Investigation Committee proceedings in 1929 and 1930. So that as it may, the original movement was launched principally by the orators as a demand

16 Keesing, p. 13.
for greater self-government. "It was publicly stated afterwards by the governor that the outbreak, though purely Samoan in action, had been fostered by whites and mixed bloods." 17

We thus glimpse how Germany dealt with the situation. The whole upper stratum of the old political and social organisation was officially disbanded. In its place was set up a system of district and village officials paid by and responsible to the governor. Two outbreaks were severely dealt with... life was dictated... by the will of an alien authority. 18

18 Idem.
In dealing with Western Samoa as a mandate of New Zealand, it is the purpose of the writer to present much of the available material regarding native dissatisfaction with the administration, come to some conclusion as to the causes of this dissatisfaction, and recommend a future policy for the administration of native affairs. In order that there may be a fair presentation of both sides of the case, it is necessary to use numerous and often lengthy quotations.

**Military Occupation**

The military occupation of Western Samoa was effected without the loss of life. The Samoans, always anxious for a war, wanted to aid the Germans in repulsing the New Zealand forces but they were advised by the German acting executive to remain neutral as the occupation was a matter of consideration between governments—those of Germany and Great Britain. A dispatch from the Deputy-General of Western Samoa to the Commander-in-Chief of the allied fleets reads as follows:

*Your Excellency:*

I have the honor to reply as follows, on behalf of the Imperial Government:

According to the principles of the rights of nations, especially the agreements of the Second Hague Peace Conference, the bombardment of our (said) harbors and Protectorates is forbidden, also the threat to do so.
I therefore respectfully protest against Your Excellency's proposal. For the rest, to avoid the military measures which you propose, I have given orders for the wireless station to be packed up, and that no resistance is to be offered.

I leave it to Your Excellency to take possession of the Protectorate of Samoa, and respectfully remark that the responsibility for the life and property of the European population must rest with you. I have etc., S. N. Rimburg, Acting Governor. 1

The occupying force immediately set up an effective military-civil administration which carried on the necessary governmental affairs under the laws left by the Germans. During the military occupation, which lasted from August, 1914 to April 30, 1920, every one suffered from the disruptive shock and from the feeling of insecurity.

The garrison knew that its duty was only temporary, and sooner or later it would go... up to the time that the Armistice was declared, in 1918, a steady deterioration was only to be expected. This deterioration was accentuated by the repatriation of the majority of the Chinese laborers, who were essential to the maintenance and cultivation of the plantations; so that by this time not only was there a deterioration in the organization of the community, but there was also a serious deterioration in the plantations, which constituted its main wealth.

An especially disrupting factor was the influenza epidemic of November 1918, which the natives blamed on the New Zealand Government. In their naive way they...

1 Senean Petition; 1931, pp. 7,8.

2 First Report of the Government of the Dominion of New Zealand on the Administration of the Mandated Territory of Western Samoa from May 1, 1920 to March 31, 1921. Hereinafter listed as Mandate of Western Samoa; Governor's Report 1921. (1922, 1923, 1924, etc.)
reasoned that as there were few deaths in American Samoa during the epidemic, then surely New Zealand was to blame for the death of over a fourth (about ten thousand persons) of the native population in Western Samoa. Many of the older chiefs passed away which further upset the local native institutions. Their places were filled by younger men who were more easily influenced by foreigners, especially the half-caste element in Apia.

Except for this unfortunate incident in 1918, the natives remained peaceful and neutral throughout the period of military occupation. At the end of the war they expected to be placed under the protection of Great Britain and they protested violently when they heard that a Mandate over Western Samoa had been granted to New Zealand. The Samoan Chiefs sent a petition to His Britannic Majesty, George V, praying that Great Britain take over the protection of their country but the petition was not yielded to.

**Mandate for German Samoa**

On October 29, 1919, the New Zealand Parliament passed the treaties of peace act which authorized the acceptance of "any mandate for the government of the said islands of Western Samoa which his majesty may be pleased to accept from the League of Nations in pursuance of the aforesaid treaty of peace with Germany." On March 11, 1920, before confirmation of the Mandate, the British government approved an order in council reciting article 119 of the peace treaty, the agreement of
the Principal Allied and Associated Powers "that the said islands shall be administered by His Majesty in his government of his dominion of New Zealand, subject to and in accordance with the provisions of the said treaty," the existence of His Majesty's jurisdiction in the islands, and the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890. The Parliament and executive government of New Zealand with full power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the islands "subject to and in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of peace."

... The government was organized by the Samoan constitution order, 1919; later incorporated in the Samoan act, 1921. The Samoan amendment act, 1923, extended the representative character of the legislative council. 2

The Mandate for German Samoa, as drawn up by the League of Nations, reads as follows:

ARTICLE 1
The territory over which a mandate is conferred upon His Britannic Majesty for and on behalf of the Government of the Dominion of New Zealand (hereinafter called the Mandatory) is the former German colony of Samoa.

ARTICLE 2
The Mandatory shall have full power of administration and legislation over the Territory subject to the present mandate as an integral portion of the Dominion of New Zealand to the Territory, subject to such local modifications as circumstances may require.

The Mandatory shall promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the Territory subject to the present mandate.

ARTICLE 3
The Mandatory shall see that the slave trade is prohibited, and that no forced labor is permitted

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except for essential public works and services, and then only for adequate remuneration.

The Mandatory shall also see that the traffic in arms and ammunition is controlled in accordance with principles analogous to those laid down in the convention relating to the control of the arms traffic, signed on the 10th September, 1919, or in any convention amending the same.

The supply of intoxicating spirits and beverages to the Natives shall be prohibited.

**ARTICLE 4**

The military training of the Natives, otherwise than for purposes of internal police and the local defence of the Territory, shall be prohibited. Furthermore, no military or naval bases shall be established or fortifications erected in the Territory.

**ARTICLE 5**

Subject to the provisions of any local law for the maintenance of public order and public morals, the Mandatory shall ensure in the Territory freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, and shall allow all missionaries, nationals of any State member of the League of Nations, to enter into, travel, and reside in the Territory for the purpose of prosecuting their calling.

**ARTICLE 6**

The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council, containing full information with regard to the Territory, and indicating the measures taken to carry out the obligations assumed under Articles 2, 3, 4, and 5.

**ARTICLE 7**

The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of the present mandate.

The Mandatory agrees that, if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant.
of the League of Nations.

The present declaration shall be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations. Certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all Powers signatories of the Treaty of Peace with Germany.

Made at Geneva the 17th day of December, 1920.

Organization of the Government

Great Britain is the greatest of all colonial empires today principally because she has no logical colonial system; her policy is to deal with each problem as it arises. In this case, the problem was passed on to the New Zealand Government which worked out its administrative policy independent of the mother country.

Problems of the Administration

New Zealand's control of natives, the Maoris, in her home land is successful and her native policy deserving of commendation. However, her problems are not comparable to those arising in dealing with the Samoans. Not more than seventy thousand Maoris are included in the total population - 1,500,000 persons - of New Zealand, while in Samoa over 90% of the people are natives of pure blood. The Maori problem is at home in a land dominated by white people having a high standard of living; the Samoan problem is over two thousand miles away in a land where

4 Mandate for German Samoa: League of Nations

5 For the most recent figures, consult The World Almanac for 1932
interference has long dominated, leaving its traces in a dissatisfied half-caste population.

At the outset, New Zealand was unfortunate in choosing to continue a semi-military organization headed by an administrator who was formerly a military man, a colonel, and inexperienced in native affairs.

...The conversion from military control to so-called civil administration, instituted on May 1, 1920, was only in name, in that there was no change in personnel, as the same officers carried on, some of them still in office now; military uniforms and titles were never suspended;...

Lloyd Osbourne expresses the same idea in the introduction to "Sailing Gods:"

Then came the war and the seizure of Samoa by New Zealand, the mandate, bureaucrats, heel-clicking aides-de-camp, curt commands, grinding interference with the lives both of the natives and the whites—everything one thought the Germans might do, but did not.

Such a mixture of stupidity and despotic power probably has never been seen before the British flag.

Undoubtedly, the Mandatory Power had the interest of the natives at heart but she did not take time to study the psychology of the people or foretell their reaction to policies not within their scope of experience. New Zealand was anxious to change Samoa into a "model mandate," to give the natives an opportunity for self-

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6 Samoan Petition: 1931, p. 11.
government, and to carry out effective programs of health, education and agricultural development. The Administrator was equally desirous of establishing political institutions and policies that would prove popular with the natives, for only by doing this could he hope to secure promotion in the New Zealand Service. Thus, the Mandatory Power,

...in its enthusiastic effort to fulfill the "sacred trust" implied in the mandate tried to hurry too fast the reorganization of the native life along lines which it considered to be beneficial, so that the sympathies of many conservatives were alienated and the people generally were hustled and antagonized. 8

Form of Government

The administrative government and the legislative government for the whole population, both European and Samoan, are vested in the Administrator, acting, in the case of the legislative government, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council. Under the German Administration of Samoa the Natives were trusted with the performance of certain administrative duties, a course which was continued under the Military Administration, and is continued and being extended under the present Civil Administration, as far as the capacity of the Native Samoan extends. This is affected by appointment of part-time officials charged with the performance of various duties, a short statement of which will serve to show the manner in which the Native Samoan exercises a share in the government of his own people.

The Pulenuu is an official tantamount to a Mayor, and is chosen by the inhabitants of the village over which he rules. He is responsible, among other things, for the cleanliness and peace of his village, and that his villagers perform their duties in beetle suppression, and he exercises

8 Felix M. Keesing, A Memorandum on the Mandated Territory of Western Samoa and American Samoa (Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, T.H., 1931), pp. 19, 20.
functions to ensure copra being properly made, and he collects the Native taxes.

The remainder of the Native officials are not chosen by the people of their districts, but are appointed by the Administrator, and as a general rule vacancies in the higher positions are filled from the ranks of the Fulemuna, so that a system of promotion exists. Next senior to the Fulemuna is the Faeaoaingo, who is the Native Judge, and exercises a limited jurisdiction in both civil and criminal cases arising between Native and Native.

Next is the Komisi, who is the Native Assessor of the Land and Titles Commission, a tribunal which exercises judicial functions in questions regarding Native land and titles.

Next is the Falefaataoaga, an official acting under the Agricultural Department, to whom is now entrusted duties of supervision and inspection in regard to Native plantations and the suppression of the beetle pest until lately exercised by white inspectors. The development of this department is being watched with interest, and promises success.

The Fainuula comes next in seniority. He is a member of the Native Council, which exists for the purpose of advising and assisting the Administrator in the government of the Native people. The Council is called together to meetings which are called fongas, and on those occasions the Fainuulas present to the Administrator such matters as they desire him to consider, and the Administrator presents to the Fainuulas such matters as he desires them to consider. After consideration, the Administrator makes decisions upon the various matters raised, and where orders are necessary he issues orders, which are called tulefonos. The matters which affect the white community and the Native community alike, such as the criminal law or the law relating to evidence, or marriage, or companies, are not referred to the Fainuulas, but are dealt with by the Legislative Council.

... The measure of self-government which the Samoans now enjoy is considerable, and the present system can be elaborated and extended to enable a greater degree of self-government to be vested in the Samoans as time goes on. This principle is being acted on and the recent appointment of Falefaataoaga to replace white inspectors is a practicable instance of the application of this principle. It would be impracticable to invest any body of Samoan Natives with legislative authority at present.
by reason of their want of training and the capacity
to consider legislation adequately. The power of
legislation must continue to be vested in a Legisla-
tive Council, and the capacity of the Native Sa-
mon for government should be improved by education
and encouraged by opportunity to take a greater share
in the government of their own people by the gradual
extension of the present system.

Senior in precedence to all other Native of-
ficials are the Faotumas, two High Chiefs, who act
as advisers in Native matters to the Administrator.

... All purely Native matters are dealt with
through the Native Department which also acts as a
link between the other Departments of the Govern-
ment and the Natives and Native officials. 9

Permanent Mandates Commission Reports

In the minutes of the second session of the Per-
manent Mandates Commission are found the following items
of interest:

The Chairman noted with satisfaction that the
New Zealand Government had expended large sums on
public works and improvements on the island, and
that the natives were investing with confidence in
the post office savings bank...

The New Zealand Government has already been
obliged to lend Samoa 100,000 pounds, for public
works. 10

At the third meeting, summer of 1925, the Per-
mament Mandates Commission requested more information
about the administrative organization, powers and duties
of the various departments, and especially information
regarding the relation between the administration and
the native authorities. At the fourth session, in June

9 Mandate of Western Samoa: Governor's Report 1921, pp. 5, 6.

10 Permanent Mandates Commission: Minutes of the Second
Session, Held in Geneva, August 1 to August 11, 1922,
pp. 43-45.

Hereinafter listed as P.M.U.: Minutes of the Second
Session, 1922. (...Third Session, 1923, etc.)
and July, 1924, the Commissioners commented that they had not yet received all of the legislative and administrative documents requested, or a map of Western Samoa. During the fifth session (extraordinary), October 23 to November 6, 1924, Sir James Allen, the accredited representative of the New Zealand Government said:

The state of development of the natives was certainly not such as to warrant including them as yet in the Legislative Council... They should be and were being taught to manage their own local affairs with great success. 11

He also explained the Chinese Free Labor Ordinance of 1923, which abolished the indentured system of labor. In the report of the same meeting the Commission congratulated the Mandatory Power"...particularly as regards public health, the liquor traffic, education, and the regulation of labor conditions." 12

Functioning of the Government

Change of Administrators

The first Civil Administrator, Colonel Ward Tate, was succeeded in 1923 by Major-General Richardson who made a very favorable report to the Mandated Commission in 1925.

In carrying out the policy of the New Zealand Government to promote to the utmost the interests

11 Permanent Mandates Commission: Minutes of the Fifth Session Extraordinary, 1924, p. 49.

12 Ibid., p. 11.
of the Samoan race, the Administration during the past year has concentrated its efforts upon the three essentials, viz.: (1) Health, (2) Education, (3) Agricultural Development...

The policy which I have been instructed by the Government to carry out is not to educate the Samoans to become Europeans in their outlook but to make them better Samoans, with a pride of race and a love of country and a desire to promote their material wealth by increased efforts to develop their lands...

The Council of Faipules has most earnestly responded to the increased powers with which it has been vested - viz., to work with its president, the Administrator, in making of Native regulations. The granting to the leaders of the Native race these new legislative powers in place of purely advisory functions which they hitherto were limited to has been a great step in advance, and has made itself felt for the good of the Natives in every village in Samoa.

It is in this Council of Faipules, which meets twice annually, that the Administrator is able to bring his influence to bear on every district; to ascertain the views and needs of the Natives, and, in conjunction with their leaders, to discuss the best means of helping them...

The Fono of Faipules now includes 33 members but it is proposed to reduce the number to 26. Each Faipule will then represent approximately 2,000 people. 13

In regard to the new legislative powers of the Faipules, it was later disclosed that the Faipules had never exercised any legislative power although the Administrator led them to believe that they were helping make their own regulations. He defended his action by saying that the Natives were more satisfied when they thought they were governing themselves.

Governor Richardson also reported a visit by six
Faipules to New Zealand and a visit by eight Faipules to Tonga, for the purpose of studying their systems of individual land ownership with the idea in view of introducing this system in Samoa. The Governor was very anxious to start this system in Western Samoa, and, following these visits by the Faipules, took steps to do so.

Seventh Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission

At the seventh session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, October 19, to October 30, 1925, Mr. Gray, Secretary of External Affairs and Cook Islands of the New Zealand Government, made the following explanation in regard to native administration:

...the Fono or Native Council, which has been in existence for centuries, has now been given legislative status and it now dealt with matters of purely native interest. The legislation recommended by the Fono was not submitted to the Samoan Legislative Council but to the Executive Council of New Zealand, which confirmed it. Any legislation adopted by the Fono and approved by the Administrator would be at once passed by the Executive Council of New Zealand... the Legislative Council consisted of six official members and not more than six unofficial members (three unofficial members elected by the European population)... A permanent civil service had always been in existence in Samoa.

Handbook of Western Samoa

In order to clarify hazy ideas concerning the Administration, the Government of New Zealand printed  

14 P.M.C., Minutes of the Seventh Session, 1925, pp. 20,21
the Handbook of Western Samoa the same year. This publication gives a detailed explanation of the different departments of the government, especially the Department of Native Affairs. It states that the Constitution provides for an Administrator, a Legislative Council, a Judiciary, and for Educational, Medical and other Governmental Departments.

The Legislative Council consists of not less than six official members, and unofficial members of a number not exceeding the official members. Three of the unofficial members are elected by the European population and the others are usually appointed by the Administrator. Governor Richardson plans at some later date to appoint natives as unofficial members of the Executive Council. The official members are appointed by the Governor-General of New Zealand. The electoral franchise is exercisable by the male European population resident in Western Samoa, subject to a small property or income qualification. The Legislative Council is presided over by the Administrator, who, acting with the advice and consent of the members of the Council, has a limited power of making Ordinances for the good of the territory as a whole. A power of legislation also resides in the Governor-General of New Zealand in council.

Purely native affairs are conducted by the Adminis-
trator through the Department of Native Affairs and with the advice of a body of chiefs known as the "Fono of Faipules."

The Native side of the administrative work of the Group is conducted by this Department, the efficiency of which is assured by the appointment of the following Native officials, who rank as chiefs and orators in their own right and act as part-time Government Servants: 33 Faipule, 17 Tulefautoaga, 14 Komisi, 29 Faamasino, 147 Pulenu, 65 clerics and messengers. These officials have their distinctive duties, and are responsible to this Department for the carrying-out of same.

... A system of self-government in the villages and districts was introduced towards the end of 1924. Each village is represented on committees by chiefs and orators chosen by the village, and presided over by the Pulenu. This committee has authority to deal with all local village matters—the making of village by-laws etc. All such laws must be submitted to the Administrator for his approval, after which they may be enforced and offenders dealt with before the Faamasino, or Native Judge.

Representatives from the Village Committee are selected to sit on the District Council. This Council is presided over by the Faipule of the district. As in the Village Committee, this Council is authorized to make by-laws for the district or county; and matters beyond the jurisdiction of this Council may be referred to the Fono, or Council of Faipules.

In encouraging these committees and Councils to inaugurate a fund for local public works the Government returns to each village 75 per cent of the fines imposed by the Native Judges. These moneys may be used locally by the Committees, under the supervision of the Native Department for strictly public works.

A striking feature of the Administration is the entire absence of police officials outside the municipal area. The authority of the Native officials and the support of chiefs and orators are found to be effective in the maintenance of order.

The Native Department deals with purely Native offenses, and for this purpose the Secretary of Native Affairs and the Resident Commissioner of
Savaii are Commissioners of the High Court. 15

The important laws are to a great extent the same as those of New Zealand as they are both based on the Law of England as it existed in 1840. To these have been added a number of enactments of the New Zealand Parliament. The constitution provides for a code of criminal law but there is no provision made for common-law offenses.

The Ordinances, made by the Administrator with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council, generally deal with local government, minor matters of local import, and taxation. Liquor is prohibited except for medicinal purposes. The importation and sale of arms and ammunition is strictly controlled.

The laws are administered by the High Court of Western Samoa, which has full jurisdiction in that behalf, subject to an appeal in certain cases to the Supreme Court of New Zealand. The procedure of the Court resembles that of other British Courts, but there is no trial by jury in civil cases. In major criminal cases the Court sits with four assessors.

The laws make in general no distinction between the Native inhabitants and the other residents of the islands. 16

Much space is given to a study of the government at this time in order to emphasize the fact that there apparently were no signs which might have foretold the outbreak in 1927.

15 Handbook of Western Samoa, pp. 77, 78.

16 Ibid., p. 83.
The report of the Administrator for the year ending March 31, 1926, contains a great many references to the amount of control exercised by the natives in their own local affairs, and also a chart showing the channels of authority in native administration.

The policy of the Government to invest the Natives with as much authority as possible in the control of their own local affairs, and for the retention of the authority of the chiefs within certain limits, under close supervision of the European officials of the Native Department and its Inspectors is being adhered to.

The progress made varies very much in districts and villages, according to the intelligence and energy of the leaders. The principal method adopted to give effect to this policy is to work through various Native councils or Committees composed of chiefs legally constituted with authority to carry out certain laws and regulations, and also such instructions as are issued from time to time by the Administrator. European Inspectors are deputed to regularly visit every district and village to assist the Natives and to report to the Administrator.

In the first place all new laws are explained by the Administrator to the thirty-two district representatives (Faipules) at their Council meetings, held twice a year lasting for about ten days. At these assemblies regulations are revised, or new ones adopted after discussion and approval by the members. New regulations and all instructions are promulgated by the Secretary for Native Affairs to all concerned through channels shown below. (On page 104). District Councils and Village Committees also assemble periodically and carry out their duties for furthering the interests and controlling the local affairs of their respective districts or villages.

By these means the Natives are gradually learning to think for themselves, to initiate schemes for their own advancement, and to appreciate real progress can be made only by their
personal and combined efforts. They are emulative people, and the example set by one village has a stimulating effect upon others.

...Administration of Justice. For the first time a course of instruction has been given for Native Judges (Faamasinos). The course was given by the Chief Judge and the Faamasinos attended from both islands almost without exception. The points upon which it was found most necessary to insist were the impartiality of the Faamasinos and the equality of all persons before the law. Instruction is to be continued from time to time, and promises to prove of great value in insuring suitable men for the position and in advancing the Natives along the road of self-government in legal matters.

...The administration of the government of the Natives is entrusted largely to themselves through their own officials. The Fono of Faipules, of Native Parliament, has been given statutory recognition by the Samoan Amendment Act, of 1923, and all matters affecting the welfare of the Natives are discussed by the Administrator with the Faipules at their Fono...

In addition, the Native Regulations (Samoa) Order, 1925, provides for the constitution and establishment of District Councils and Village Committees, with certain well-defined duties and statutory powers, providing to a large extent for local government by the Natives so far as concerns local affairs. 17

For the channels of authority in Native affairs, refer to the diagram on the next page.

17 Mandate of Western Samoa: Governor’s Report, 1926, pp. 8, 19, 46, 47.
**CHANNELS OF AUTHORITY IN NATIVE AFFAIRS**

- **Administrator**
- **Secretary of Native Affairs**

**District Faipules (32)**

- **District Councils** - Composed of the Faipule, who is President, and representatives from each village in the district; there are 32 of these councils.

- **Village**

**Women's Village Committee** for child welfare and village work, usually carried out by Native women.

**Village Committee of Chiefs and Orators** - Responsible for seeing carried out village laws covering sanitation, schools, cultivation of land, roads, etc.

Each village in Western Samoa has these two committees.
There has been a great deal of criticism of this highly artificial system of government which derives its authority from the Administrator and operates on principles contrary to Native Samoan institutions.

...his attempts to individualize the communal lands of the Samoans; and his substitution for their old system of local government by village and district councils of the Samoans with a system of "village committees" and "district councils" appointed by and subservient to himself and his self-appointed native officials, soon raised such a storm of protest that he took recourse to the powers and authority vested in the Administrator by the "Samoan Offenders Ordinance, 1928," to rid himself of opposition and criticism by banishing and degrading all such Chiefs and leading Samoans who found it repugnant to the best interests of the Samoans to conform with his policies and schemes, and General Richardson then promoted and enhanced the rank, power, and authority of such Samoans who were prepared to submit to his policies and carry out his ambitions for his own self-aggrandizement towards further promotion and advancement in other directions. 18

In the organic system of the Samoans the power and authority emanated from the people upward,

...but the new system instituted by the New Zealand Administration was demonstrated in published charts showing the Administrator on top as the source of all power and authority, and from him radiated all light downward to the village policeman, while the non-official population did not figure in the chart at all. This complete reversal of the old system of the Samoans consequently caused great confusion and resentment to such an extent that many of those who were banished and degraded for non-adherence to the conditions of this new system were unaware of the

real offence of which they were accused, more especially as the Ordinance did not provide for any judicial trial and the offence was established not by any proof other than that "the Administrator was satisfied." 19

Keeling further explains the new administrative machine.

An amendment to the Samoan Act in 1923, together with subsequent legislation and official action placed out upon the Feipule and other government native officials more and more power...

...The important fact is that it was upon the new administrative machine, which so far as it had been created by the Germans had only been kept going efficiently through absolute dominion by the governor and by using forceful measures when necessary, that New Zealand devolved authority. And once official control relaxed disruptive influences which the Germans had sought to destroy got to work again: rivalries, jealousies, personal aggrandisement and the rest. 20

Trouble in Samoa: 1927

Citizens Committee

The trouble in Samoa first became evident after the return of Mr. Nelsohn, a wealthy and influential half-caste copra trader, from New Zealand during the last week of September, 1926. He immediately planned to organize a Citizens Committee for the purpose of protesting against the Administration, and on the next day replied in most complimentary terms to a speech of welcome, given at a

19 Samoan Petition: 1931, pp. 15, 14.

20 Keeling, pp. 15, 16.
large public gathering, by the Governor. The first meeting of the Citizens Committee was held at the home of Mr. Sam Meredith, a trader of semi-Samoan descent,

... at which meeting were present Mr. Nelson, Mr. Westbrook, Mr. Williams and five prominent natives besides Mr. Meredith. At this meeting it was arranged to hold a public meeting, of natives as well as Europeans, for the purpose of laying charges against the Administration. 21

The public meeting held on October 15, with Mr. Nelson as chairman, supported by Mr. Williams and Mr. Westbrook, was attended by about one hundred and fifty natives and the same number of Europeans and half-castes. The Citizens Committee was organized and a list of grievances drawn up. The chief grievances were the extravagance of the Administration, the medical tax and the autocratic manner of the Administrator.

At the beginning of the next public meeting on November 12, a communication from the Administrator was read; this communication warned the Europeans against participating in any agitation which included the natives. The warning was disregarded and the meeting continued. Up to this point the Citizens Committee and the old Hau movement were separate organizations and, from the viewpoint of many of the leaders of the Citizens

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Committee continued to remain separate. The natives reasoned that as Mr. Nelson was able to openly defy the Administrator, then surely he was the most important person in the islands and as such they considered him the natural leader of the Man.

Growth of the Man Movement

The activities of the Citizens Committee were passed over to the Man and crystallized in two main purposes: (1) secure self-government for the Samoans (Samoas for the Samoans), (2) frustrate and render ineffective the functioning of the Administration. Circulars written in the Samoan language were distributed by Mr. Nelson's agents at his some forty copra buying stations scattered all over the islands. Another source of propaganda was the "Samoan Guardian," printed by Mr. Gurr and financed by the Nelson company. Mr. Gurr formerly held the positions of Secretary of Native Affairs under the tripartite administration, Chief Judge in American Samoa from which post he was dismissed in 1908 for "malfeasance in office," and later Native's Advocate in Apia.

The natives were told to pay dues to the Man instead of paying their taxes, which were a much larger amount, for the Man would soon control the Government and then the individual members of the organization.

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would be able to participate in the Administration. In order to prevent the Governor from telling the natives the truth, the natives were told not to listen to him when he went round to the villages on official visits. Chiefs were encouraged by the prospect of a free trip to New Zealand for the purpose of presenting their grievances to the Parliament there.

**Why did so many natives join the Maori movement?**

The answer is suggested in the following reasons: (1) Native ringleaders, influenced by the prospect of a free trip to New Zealand, caused the people under them to join. (2) The movement was new; it gave interest, excitement, and something to occupy their time. It also afforded an opportunity for many social events such as *malengas*, feasts and *fonom*. (3) The natives believed that they would be free from the laws of the Administration, would not have to pay the additional tax of a pound a year for medical attention, would not have to spend half a day each week collecting coconut beetles, and would not have to keep their villages so clean or follow the health regulations. (4) The government did not punish them for joining the Maori; consequently the Maori must be the more important and powerful. (5) In some cases intimidation was employed; a village would not be invited to certain feasts, coconut palms would be cut down, etc.
The movement gained strength through the propaganda machine which was allowed to go on for some nine months because Governor Richardson had no legal power to stop it. He had no power to punish the whites for such acts, and no power to punish the natives except by banishment. The use of the word "banishment" is unfortunate as it really means the removal of a native from one district to another in Samoa, or ordering a native to return home. Banishment is an ancient Samoan custom and a punishment understood by the native. In 1901, the Germans issued a proclamation forbidding the use of this custom by the Samoans, reserving it for the Administration. The existing German proclamations pertaining to banishments were codified as ordinances in 1921 and 1922.

Orders of banishment issued during the political agitation are listed in the Royal Commission Report as follows:

A total of 59 orders were issued upon 50 individuals. (a) Number ordered to remain or return to their home villages, 42; (b) number ordered to remove to villages other than their own home village, 8; total 50.

Convicted for disobedience of orders, 3; arrested on warrant (16 orders issued), 9; signed letter refusing to leave Apia, 14; disobeyed orders, no further action taken, 19; disobeyed orders and served second orders, 6; obeyed orders, 8; total orders 59. 23

Many of these orders were disregarded as the Administrator did not have police force to put them into effect. Furthermore, the minister in charge of Samoan affairs in New Zealand promised to come to Samoa and investigate the disturbance, and the Governor did not think it wise to do anything questionable before his arrival. The Minister of External Affairs visited Samoa in June, 1927, interviewed members of the opposition known as the Mao, and warned the Citizen's Committee to cease disruptive actions or it would be necessary to deport the leaders. A petition signed by a number of natives, praying for redress against certain grievances, was presented to the New Zealand Parliament.

Royal Commission's Investigation of the Administration

The Royal Commission was then sent to Samoa in November to investigate the administration. The two commissioners were Sir Charles Kerrett, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Zealand, and Senior Judge MacCormick, a judge of the Native Maori Land Court in New Zealand. The Commission sat in four places for five weeks, interviewed one hundred and fifty-five witnesses representing over three hundred persons, and then concluded in regard to the acts of the Administrator:

We think that it is a significant circumstance that with reference to the acts of the present and previous Administrator, both on the European and
Native sides of their administrations, no act of malfeasance, misfeasance or misconduct on their part, or on the part of their European officials, was charged by the complainants.

Furthermore, except in respect of so-called orders of banishment, of orders for the deprivation of titles, and of orders requiring Natives to return from Apia to their homes made late in the year 1926, or in the year 1927 in connection with the operations of the Manu organization, no allegation was made that the Administrator or any of his Head Office officials had acted in high-handed or arbitrary manner. The absence of such allegations speaks highly for the spirit in which the administration has in the past been conducted. 24

We are satisfied that, until the public meeting of the 15th October, 1926, there was no real dissatisfaction amongst the Samoans with the Administration. There was in point of fact no satisfactory evidence of any dissatisfaction existing prior to that meeting. 26

During the thirteenth session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, the following observations in regard to the Royal Commission investigation were made by Mr. M. Van Rees:

He had, ... been struck when reading the report (of the Royal Commission), by the fact that the two judges composing the Commission had confined themselves to examining the various complaints from the point of view of the legality of the actions of the Administrator. As soon as the legality of such actions had been established, the Royal Commission had concluded that the complaints were without foundation. ... As a result, the actual or possible psychological effect on the Samoans of the measures adopted towards them, even though those measures might have been perfectly legal, did not appear to have been

26 Ibid.; p. xx.
The subject of any special or enlightened examination.26

...The absence of illegality was not always sufficient to justify the action of a colonial administration. Associated with the legality of this action was its psychological effect on the native mentality, which was quite different from that of western populations. 27

The natives, not satisfied with the work of the Royal Commission, continued their policy of passive resistance with the hope that the League of Nations would take action to remedy the situation.

...with a view, therefore, to removing the primary cause of the trouble the deportation provisions of the Samoa Amendment Act, 1927, were put into force, and after the inquiry prescribed by the Act Messrs. O. F. Nelson and E. W. Curr were in January last (1928) deported for a period of five years, and Mr. A. C. Smyth for a period of two years... 28

Mr. Nelson then went to Geneva to present the case to the Permanent Mandates Commission but he was not allowed to appear formally before that body although he was granted interviews by individual members, many of whom gave an attentive ear to grievances against the Administration.

26 P. M. C. Minutes of the Thirteenth Session, 1928, pp. 19, 20.
27 Ibid., p. 24
28 Mandate of Western Samoa: Governor's Report, 1928.
Causes of Dissatisfaction

Permanent Mandates Commission Investigation

The nine Permanent Mandates Commissioners, Sir James Furl, High Commissioner for New Zealand in London, and Major General Sir George S. Richardson were present at the thirteenth session held at Geneva from June 12, to June 29, 1928. The Commission made it clear that the purpose of the session was to discuss the Royal Commission Report and to determine the causes of dissatisfaction with the Mandatory Power which would be held responsible for the acts of the Administrator.

The complaints of the whites were classed briefly under three headings - prohibition, the marketing of copra by the Administrator on behalf of the natives as their agent, and charges of extravagance in the Administration.

Prohibition

Prohibition was deemed not very important as prohibition had existed since 1920 and there was no real agitation against the Administration until 1926.

Marketing of Copra by the Administration

The natives had for years been urging the Administrator to apply the same system in Western Samoa as existed in American Samoa.

So constant had been this agitation on the
part of mandated Samoans for the Government intervention that, eventually, in the year 1926, Sir George Richardson, after obtaining authority from the New Zealand Government... declared that he was prepared to take copra and send it to the High Commissioner for New Zealand in London for sale in the best market... three or four trial shipments had realized the top price in the European market. 29

Only four hundred tons of a crop of some ten thousand tons had been handled by the Administration. The traders, especially Mr. Nelson, who had the largest trading company in the islands, objected as they feared that the government would eventually market all of the copra. This reason was also dismissed as not being important for the practice was discontinued after the first trial shipments.

Extravagance in the Administration

This was an old complaint left over from the German Administration. In 1908, secret dealings of the Germans caused those suspicious people to believe that their money was being wasted. This outbreak resulted in several chiefs being deported to the Marianne Islands. Mr. Nelson, Mr. Gurr and Mr. Smyth had aroused this suspicious nature of the natives by circulating reports containing figures and comparative charts which Mr. Gurr later admitted were false. 30

Back of this charge was the feeling of the

29 P.H.C.: Minutes of the Thirteenth Session, 1928, p. 7
30 Report of the Royal Commission... 1 pp. xi, xii.
natives that as they could not pay their debt of over one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which they owed the New Zealand Government, the Mandatory would eventually annex the islands in Western Samoa. Thus, they feared for the independence of their territory.

A later investigation showed that many of the officials had wasted money or spent it very foolishly, but there is nothing to indicate that the natives were aware of this or could give definite examples of extravagance. The Europeans presumably made this complaint on behalf of the natives; however, their figures were incorrect and their arguments not worth considering.

Other Probable Causes - European

The desire for power among the Europeans, according to Sir George Richardson, was the original cause for discontent among the three leaders. They resented the fact that the Administration, in annual reports and other official documents, placed the good government and the welfare of the natives first. The sensitive half-caste population, classed as European, felt that it was being discriminated against. The Executive Council, on which the Europeans had elected representatives, had no control over native affairs. The white and half-caste leaders were anxious to have the natives represented on the Executive Council with the hope that the Native
Department would eventually be discontinued and they would then have more influence, direct and indirect, in the government of the country.

Sir George later referred to an answer given by Mr. Smyth during the Royal Commission investigation. To the question, "Will you be kind enough to tell me the grievances of the traders and business men against the Administration, leaving out Native grievances...?", he had answered, "I cannot think of any at present." 31

Later, during the thirteenth session, Mr. W. Rappard said:

...He did not suppose that there was a colony or country in the world where three men having inordinate ambitions were not to be found, but fortunately most countries were in a state of order if not of general contentment. Therefore, the ambitions of these three men, which, he thought, was clear to the mind of any reader of all the documents, must have acted on a general situation which allowed for the unrest... 32

The complaints of the Samoan population were in general that the methods of the Administrator had been tyrannical. They charged that he had set himself up as dictator, that he had taken measures abrogating old native customs, and that his administration of native affairs had been oppressive.

31 Report of the Royal Commission..., pp. 188, 189.
32 F. M. C.: Minutes of the Thirteenth Session, 1928, p. 16.
Methods of the Administrator

The causes for discontent among the natives were cumulative and comparatively unimportant when treated individually.

The natives complained that they had no representation on the Executive Council. Sir George explained that when he first came to Samoa his plan was to have the natives represented on the Council, but when he suggested the plan to them in 1923, after several months of deliberation, they replied that they did not wish to go on the Council. The reason probably was that they could not agree on a choice of representative. Out of a population of nine thousand adult males, there were three thousand chiefs, all jealous of each other. This matter of jealousy also entered into appointment of the Fe幅ules, for those not appointed were jealous of the position and salary (thirty-six to forty pounds a year) of the fortunate chiefs. The complaint was also made that because of their method of appointment, they were mere "puppets" of the Administrator, representing him instead of various social or political groups of the native people. Thus, to all appearances the power of the Administrator was supreme as the Fe幅ules depended upon him for their authority.

Samoan customs which had been abolished included
the *malena* (a visit and celebrating, lasting several days, made by the people of one village with the people of another village), native marriage ceremonies, and certain celebrated occasions which were accompanied by the gift of fine mats. The reason given for this was that such customs took time away from the copra plantations, and they also worked a hardship upon many individuals as well as villages. The individualization of family lands was also contrary to Samoan custom. The natives were constantly being encouraged by the Administration to have and acquire more holdings. It was not intended to make the reform compulsory, although the wording of the document, providing for the survey and partition of certain lands and the granting of small individual tracts to young men, would lead the reader to believe that individualization of lands was compulsory.

The measure considered the most oppressive by the natives was the medical tax of one pound levied annually on each adult male Samoan. Because of the difficulty in collecting this tax, it was consolidated with the poll tax in 1927, making a total annual tax of thirty-six shillings. The natives also objected to being banished and having their titles removed, upon the wish of the Administrator, without a hearing of any kind. However, there were only seven cases of local banishment and de-
privilege of titles before the law became active in 1925.

The chief cause of dissatisfaction can be found in the personal characteristics of the Administrator; as a person he was not popular with the natives, and as an administrator he was weakened by his own rule of conforming to precedent and law. M. Rappard strikes a key note in his questions:

...was it not a pity that the Administrator had not asserted his will with greater force at the time to which he referred and which was the time when the trouble had begun?

... looking back, did not the Mandatory Power think that the treatment meted out to a man like Mr. Nelson was calculated dangerously to increase his feelings of self-importance, just as the extreme moderation shown in dealing with the public meeting was calculated to encourage insubordination, also that every severe ordinance, which was issued without the power to carry it out, was calculated to weaken the authority of the Mandatory Power?

The time referred to was the first public meeting of the Citizens Committee when Mr. Nelson and his associates ignored the communication from the Administrator and nothing was done about his defiant act. The Ordinance is the "Maintenance of Authority in Native Affairs (No. 2) Ordinance, 1928" which was issued to uphold "Maintenance of Authority in Native Affairs Ordinance, 1927". Governor Richardson did not have the police force to put either order into effect, therefore,

these dead letters further weakened his authority.

Governor Richardson had also, to some extent, deceived the Samoans in leading them to believe that their petitions to the League of Nations would be ignored. A radio signed by the Rev. Mr. Lewis, Secretary of Native Affairs, circulated in July, 1927, reads in part:

No complaint of any nature from any country under any mandate or protection such as Samoa will be able to present any complaints before the League of Nations who will be unable to receive them. 34

Governor Richardson also issued a "catechism" in November, 1927, about the relationship of the Mandate of Western Samoa to the League of Nations. The questions and answers were so worded that they would lead the reader to believe that no dissatisfied Samoan could go to Geneva and appear before the Commission, and that the Samoans could not present a petition to the League. No petition was official unless it was sent through the Administrator; any other petitions sent to the League would be sent back to the New Zealand government. The Mandates Commission suggested that the League issue an official "catechism," containing correct information for these people.

The Commissioners also noted that the Government officials of New Zealand referred to Samoa as an integral

34 A. B. Chappel.
part of Great Britain. Western Samoa, as a class C Mandate, is administered as an integral part of the Mandated Power (New Zealand) but is in no sense a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Conclusions

The Commission concluded as follows:

The Commission is assured that adequate means for that essential purpose (i.e., maintaining law and order in accordance with the mandate), are now at the disposal of General Richardson's successor, (Colonel S.S. Allen), and it trusts that the Samoans, when they realize that they have been misled, will resume their former attitude of confidence in the Administration, and that the Mandatory Power will soon be able to re-establish peace and prosperity in Western Samoa by a policy both firm and liberal. 35

The whole session of the Commission was carried on with much formality, the questions and answers being couched in diplomatic language, and the impression of the reader is that questions are evaded and the real causes of the trouble tactfully concealed.

Other References Concerning the Unrest

Desire for Power Among the Europeans

Sir Thomas Henley, a member of the Legislature of New South Wales, made an impartial study of this angle of the situation by calling on the Administration, talking with Tamasese and other Samoan chiefs, and getting

35 P.M.C.: Minutes of the Thirteenth Session, 1928.
help from the white and half-caste people, among them being the Moors family and Mrs. Nelson. After getting both sides of the question he reported that:

...the seat of the trouble and the real dynamic force resulting in the recent insurrection is not to be found in the native, but in the European and half-caste section of the population. Agitators have found a responsive soil for their seed in the simple minds of those people - the Samoans...Wealth, ambition and a psychology born of so many changes in government seemed to have made him (Mr. Nelson) an easy prey to flatterers. He really was persuaded that he ought to be the ruler, and evidence shows that, if the insurrection had succeeded, Tamaese, or one of the high chiefs, would have been made king, Mr. Olaf F. Nelson Prime Minister, Mr. Keradith, another trader, treasurer; and so on and yet the cry of the Mau was "Samoa for the Samoans." 36

Toelupe, a member of the Faipules from the time of its organization under the mandate, made the following favorable reply to the Administration in behalf of the Fono of Faipules.

Our history shows that Europeans stirring up the Natives have been our continual hindrance... We may be a small country, but we are a respectful country, and we show respect to Europeans no matter what their country, ... but some of them are not returning this respect. 37

Mr. Keasing, in a recent study, expresses much the same general idea.

There can be few other dependencies where a white group so much in the minority has taken such

36 A. B. Chappel, pp. 16,17.

37 Royal Commission Report...
part, openly or secretly, in native affairs or has asserted to a similar degree the right to possess its own political institutions and to have a say in the general government of the country. 38

Conduct of the Officials

The following accusations were made by the New Zealand-Samoa Defense League.

It is stated positively as a fact that liquor was smuggled into Samoa by persons in official positions, as well as by private individuals. That public money has been stolen by responsible officials and that the guilty persons have not been brought to trial. In one case after the late enquiry made its investigation, an important official blew his brains out.

That a deputy administrator or Resident Commissioner of the island of Savaii, well known as a drunkard and moral pervert, was allowed to retain his post long after his evil record had become public property. His deeds... became such raging scandal that at last the Administration ordered an inquiry, but before the Inquiring Commission commenced its investigations, this Resident Commissioner committed suicide.

... a school teacher from New Zealand placed in charge of the important boy's school at Vaipouli became notorious for the same evil practices against morality and decency. He was removed to another school near Apia...(then later)... returned to New Zealand...he continued his evil ways and ended in murdering his wife and taking his own life.

It is no secret that a roulette table was operated at the house of a High Official and that heavy losses have been made by those unable to afford them. The homes of Chinese and others have been raided for playing for much smaller stakes. 39

38 Keesing p. 23.

Trend of Events 1928-1933

1928

Warships arrived from New Zealand on February 21, but before the forces were landed the Legislative Council passed a special measure to the effect that the natives must cease wearing the uniforms (purple lava-lava) of the Emu, cease boycotting the stores, obey the laws and go quietly home. The natives ignored this measure so on February 22, men landed from the ships and marched down the beach. Over three hundred Emu natives were arrested, put in jail, sentenced to six months imprisonment, and then pardoned after they expressed regret concerning the incident. The next day the chiefs reported that what they wanted was "Samoa for the Samoans" and that they would carry on the opposition until Mr. Nelson returned from the League of Nations with self-government for the natives. The Samoans considered the whole incident a joke, many running to join their friends in order that they might also be arrested. It was evident that Governor Richardson pardoned the natives because he did not have jail space for the term of imprisonment, although he gave the impression that his motives were altruistic and benevolent.

1929

Messrs. P. Vorschaffelt, A. D. Park, and C. A.
Berendson were sent by the New Zealand Government to make an investigation of the Public Service of Western Samoa. The report, released at Wellington on February 21, 1929, reads in part as follows:

The following extracts from the Report of the officers who were sent to Samoa by the late Government to investigate various matters there, are handed to the Press for publication of such portions as they desire. In doing so the Prime Minister pointed out that this statement does not contain the whole Report as there are portions of it referring to individuals that have been held over as they are regarded as unsuitable at present for publication.

Clause 2: Speaking generally, our considered opinion after investigation is that the Public Service of Western Samoa including the Reparation Estates requires immediate reorganization, and that the finances are in an unsatisfactory position.

In our opinion there are a number of causes contributing to this state of affairs.

a. The absence of any definite system of recruitment has necessarily led to a type of a lower grade than we are accustomed to in New Zealand.

b. The Service has for a long period been cut off from contact with the New Zealand or any other service, and in common with any organization similarly isolated, has inevitably deteriorated.

c. The direction of the various departmental services has fallen to a considerable extent in the hands of men without adequate departmental training and experience.

d. The enervating effect of the Tropics also cannot be ignored. It is clear that many officers have served in Samoa for too lengthy a period.

Clause 3: Whatever the causes may have been, we are entirely satisfied that the Samoan Service as it exists today is by no means creditable to New Zealand, and that urgent and drastic action is necessary to improve the position.

Clause 5:

h. That the scale of salaries prescribed for
the Samoan Service should be reduced more in accordance with the value of the service rendered.

j. That the rather numerous cases of concealed or undisclosed remuneration to officers of the Samoan Service should be abolished, e.g., transport allowance, houses at inadequate rentals, etc.

1. That the system of advances to officers be reviewed. Payments by way of advances in the nature of salary, allowances, fares, and otherwise which have been granted in the past to numerous officers should cease; and it should be definitely understood that no payment beyond salary due will be granted.

e. That officials be prohibited from undertaking any outside duty...

Clause 17: It was observed from an examination of the Treasury books that the fund which has been created (by means of a per capita charge on labor employed) for the purpose of meeting expenditure connected with the repatriation of these laborers (Chinese) had been used by the Administration for purposes other than those for which it had been created. Such a state of affairs should not have been tolerated by a competent Treasurer; nor would it have been possible had an efficient and independent audit existed.

Clause 19: As pointed out in the opening portion of our remarks, the financial position of the Territory is unsatisfactory. From the inception of the civil administration the revenues have been insufficient to meet the expenditure, and the New Zealand tax-payer has been called on each year to find substantial grants in aid. New Zealand has contributed assistance to the extent of 212,000 pounds to the Mandated territory of Samoa.

Clause 22: ...As an indication of the lack of Treasury control, it should be noted that the deficit for the year was due not so much to a shortage of the estimated revenue as to an increase over the estimated expenditure.

Clause 23: ...contrary to all accepted practice, loan or capital moneys have been utilized to meet current expenditure.
Clause 27:

That drastic action be taken in respect of Sundry Debtors; Monies due to the Treasury are outstanding too long, and too much latitude is allowed in respect of the incurrence of debts to the Treasury by officials. The number of persons indebted to the Treasury, the Reparations Estates, and the Engineering and Transport Department is astounding, often in substantial amounts and for long periods, and some to all three. The position in this respect is really discreditable.

Clause 34: Other features which came under our notice and call for adjustment are:

a. Government stores are sold to officials at too low a price, and on unsatisfactory terms as to payment...

Clause 47: It came under notice that Savings Bank deposits were handed over to the local Treasury, apparently without proper authority and in any case without payment of proper interest for the use of the money. As interest is payable on Savings Bank money... it is quite improper that Post Office Savings Bank funds should be utilized by the Treasury to meet revenue charges...

Clause 75: ... as a matter of policy, careful consideration should be given to the aim of the education system in Western Samoa,... There is clearly no room in the Territory for "white collar" employment.

Clause 85: The head of the (Native) Department, Mr. Lewis, was formerly a missionary; and... we are convinced that recruiting from this source is not entirely satisfactory.

Clause 107: In our opinion the audit of the accounts of the Administration and also the Reparations Estates is ineffective...

Clause 109: No proper organization exists for the purchase of stores... Purchases are made without a proper appreciation of prices, and without careful investigation as to the necessity of purchase.

Clause 113: As an instance of the loose methods
adopted, no record is kept of the general stocks of furniture... for use in furnishing the residences of the officials.

Clause 130: The "Sundry Debtors" include one senior official of the Administration who owed a considerable sum for a very long period...

Clause 137: ... The methods adopted were loose, affording many opportunities for fraud and speculation (in the Reparations Estates Office).

Clause 164: The former purchase of native copra on consignment is now at a standstill, and in our opinion should definitely cease. 40

The Governor's Report, released in March, 1929, contains many items showing a slight improvement in native affairs.

The Native unrest continues, and the Mau organization still contains some two-thirds of the Native population. This is reflected in the revenue from Native taxes, which has produced for the year ended 31st March, 1929, the sum of 6,343 pounds out of an estimated return of 19,400 pounds. In spite of the diminution in Native tax receipts, the activities of the Administration on behalf of the Samoan population by way of education and medical treatment have been fully maintained.

In April, 1928, a force of 74 military police was brought to Samoa, and has effectively coped with all serious unrest...

Every effort has been made by the Administrator to meet the leaders of the Mau to discuss their grievances, but without success...

The attitude of the Mau has changed during the year from one of ostentation and aggression to a more subdued form but the same difficulty in dealing with it persists...

No Fono of Faipules has been held, except to welcome the new Administrator (Colonel S.S. Allen) on his arrival in May, 1928... It is now
proposed to suspend the Faipules for the time; the
Famagasinos are also to be suspended, as they have
been performing no duty recently... 41

The Permanent Mandate Commissioners, at the six-
teenth session held at Geneva from November 6 to the 26,
were skeptical about endorsing the governor's optimistic
report. They called attention to the lack of agreement
in the reports which had been submitted by the different
governors, the Royal Commission, and the Commission in-
vestigating the Public Service of Western Samoa. To them
it was clear that abnormal conditions still existed in
Samoa. An evidence of this was that local authorities
had cancelled the poll-tax, as they were unable to col-
lect it, and had substituted a higher export tax on
copra to make up the deficit in revenue. Furthermore,
the Faipules had ceased to exist because the Mau refused
to recognize the authority of this body.

Following are some pertinent remarks made at the
session:

Count De Ponha Garcia:
The Mandatory Power had itself admitted that
native affairs were not satisfactory and that errors
of policy had been committed. It was difficult to
understand how a small people like the Samoans had
been able to defeat the efforts of the Mandatory
Power... the Minister of Native Affairs in the New
Zealand Parliament...said that the administrators
had not been sufficiently enlightened and had not
pursued a right policy toward the natives. The
minister had suggested that a policy similar to

41 Mandate of Western Samoa: Governor's Report, 1929, pp.23.
that usually adopted by Great Britain in Native affairs should have been adopted, namely, that of acting as advisers.

Results proved that this criticism was true. The native policy had not been understood and had been badly executed. It seemed obvious that the legislation had not taken into account the conditions and state of mind of the natives. 42

Remark of Sir Apirana Ngata made during a debate in the House of Representatives in New Zealand:

To my humble way of thinking, what is needed is a diplomatist, one of those gentlemen educated at Geneva, and to arrive at some formula to save the face of the Government of New Zealand and of the very high-born and difficult chiefs in Samoa. 43

Sir James Parr, stating the opinion of New Zealand relating to conditions in Samoa:

...It cannot lose sight of the fact that throughout this unfortunate agitation the attitude of the Samoans in all its larger aspects has never been threatening, and the movement, unfortunate and mischievous, as it undoubtedly is, has been conducted by the Man with some dignity and restraint. The disaffected Samoans have, generally speaking, been careful to abstain from any wrongful acts either against persons or property, their deliberations have always (ostensibly, at any rate) been conducted after appeals for Divine guidance, and the Government does not feel that even the paramount necessity of upholding the prestige of the Administration would justify the adoption of forcible measures in the existing circumstances. 44

Knle. Damovig:

...It was a fact that some teachers, however severe might be unable to govern an unruly class while others could maintain discipline in the same class with complete ease. It was neither the severe nor lenient person who succeeded in controlling and

42 P.M.O.: Minutes of the Sixteenth Session, 1929. pp. 113, 114.
43 Ibid., p. 114.
44 Ibid., p. 115.
helping the young or unstable minds, but the efficient, capable person who knows his ways and means and thereby inspires confidence, respect and willing obedience. 45

The demographic statistics were inaccurate because no regular record was kept of the births and deaths of the natives. This state of affairs was certainly due to a defective native administration. 46

Mr. Orts:

...it seemed to him that the policy adopted in Samoa could be judged by its results. The results were that, after three years, the situation was still unsettled, that the laws were only observed by a friendly minority, and that the Administration could only carry out its duties to the extent tolerated by the natives. 47

Sir James Parr:

...the process of retrenchment and reorganization would be conducted as far as possible without any diminution of the services rendered to the Samoans. 48

On December 28, the Hau arranged a demonstration of welcome to Mr. Smyth, one of the three men deported in 1927. Such open defiance could not be tolerated so the police forces were called out and a riot ensued which resulted in the death of twelve Samoans and one white policeman. The trouble started when a policeman attempted to arrest a native who was wanted by the Administration.

45 P. M. C.: Minutes of the Sixteenth Session, 1929, p. 122.
46 Ibid., p. 123.
48 Ibid., p. 126.
A riot followed and the policemen took refuge in a fortified building and started shooting over the heads of the Samoans, as they later testified.

Tamasese, who was standing in the road with upraised hands ordering the Samoans to keep the peace and pleading with the military police to cease firing, when he would hand them anyone they had a warrant for, was shot down and killed; other Samoans who went to succor him were also killed. As a result of this twelve Samoans were killed and many wounded, including the Lau leaders, Tuimalaealiifano and Faumuina-Fiaema, but the procession started again and carried out its original purpose of welcoming Mr. Smyth. 49

After holding an inquest respecting the fatalities in Western Samoa, the coroner concluded that,

"Viewing the situation from the evidence adduced before me, I am unable to find that rifle-fire down Ifi Ifi street was necessary." 50 He also stated that no weapons, other than stones, were used by the Lau.

The Administrator at once took firm measures to suppress the disorder and issued three notices to the Lau calling for, the surrender of twenty persons who were wanted on criminal charges, fifty-eight principal chiefs to meet him on an appointed day, and the members of the Lau to disperse and return home within a week's time.

The Lau ignored these orders and as a result were pursued

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50 _Coroner's Finding in the Inquest Respecting the Fatalities in Western Samoa, 28th December, 1929_, p. 15.
"in the bush" by military police, marines, and seamen from the warship "Dunedin." The natives later objected to the wartime methods used by these men, "as the Samoans had never resorted to violence nor adopted any policy other than passive resistance and non-co-operation." 51

Nevertheless, these methods induced the chiefs to attend a meeting at which time the Administrator made three demands: "(1) The end of the Mau. (2) The surrender of persons who have committed offences for trial by the Court in the ordinary way. (3) Chiefs to meet the Administrator in fonoa whenever required." 52

The Mau members were silent during the meeting and agreed to none of the demands but later they surrendered, to the police, the men wanted for criminal charges and most of the members dispersed to their homes. This act of surrendering men for trial, for causes which they considered just, was consistent with the policy which the Mau had always pursued. This is brought out in the evidence given by the Chief Inspector of Police, Mr. B龍sby, before the High Court at Apia on July 31, 1929 when under cross examination.

Most of the overt acts occur when the police are enforcing warrants (based on the non-payment of taxes)...
I should mention in fairness to the natives that in several instances they have assisted the police in the execution of warrants arising from ordinary criminal offences. 53

The governor's report, in as far as possible, ignores the outbreak and states that the situation is greatly improved and that no difficulty is being experienced in enforcing law and order. In regard to native affairs he reports:

Among the Native officials, the Faipules and Faamasions have been dispensed with for the year, but though no Fono of Faipules has in consequence been held, the Administrator has taken the opportunity on several occasions to hold Fonos of all Native officials on Upolu, and the same has been done on Savaii by the Resident Commissioner...

Until November, 1929, it seemed as if the Mau were slowly dying out...

The general outlook has greatly improved; many individual Mau chiefs of importance are in touch with the Administration, and the present indications are that a steady drift away from the Mau has set in. 54

A change was made in the Constitution of the Legislative Council, the number of elected members being reduced to two, and two Samoan members being added, 55

For the time being, the Governor appointed the two advisory chiefs, the Featuaes (Malietoa and Mataafa), to

53 Samoan Petition, 1931 p. 31
54 Mandate of Western Samoa: Governor's Report, 1930, pp. 3, 4.
55 Refer to "Amending the Samoan Legislative Council (Elective Membership) Ordor, 1923", Mandate Report for 1930, p. 37.
the Council but provided for the natives to choose their own members as soon as they could agree upon a choice of persons.

Mr. Berndsen, (one of the three men who investigated the Service of Western Samoa) Secretary of the New Zealand Department of External Affairs was present at the nineteenth session of the Permanent Mandates Commission held at Geneva from November 4 to November 19, 1930. He opened the meeting by referring to cables received from Governor Allen of Western Samoa, the acting Prime Minister of New Zealand, and the Prime Minister of New Zealand then in London. The contents of all are similar to that of the Prime Minister which was read as follows:

...situation highly satisfactory; men back in villages; beetle searching much improved; crime normal, no difficulty effecting arrest, even former Mau villages assisting. Co-operation with the Administration in district and village matters good and improving... both parties working absolute harmony.  

The Commissioners were of the opinion that they had accepted such statements as truths in the past and then were much embarrassed before the Council of the League of Nations upon hearing of further outbreaks in Samoa. They asked for further proof and Mr. Berndsen replied:

that some of the reasons that had led to the present optimism in his government's outlook were the facts that, where in the past there had been considerable flaunting of the "Mau" uniform, it had now disappeared; that, where in the past there had been gatherings of the "Mau" in their headquarters, now there were none; that where the "Mau" had formerly refused to take part in meetings, now they seemed to be adopting a different attitude; and that, where in the past considerable difficulties had been experienced with the disaffected element of the population, now it had been possible to reconstitute the Fono with a considerable amount of collaboration by the "Mau" Samoa. 57

The attention of the Commission was called, at some later meetings, to certain statements of interest in the Governor's Report. Upon being questioned, Fau-
muina, a native chief, replied, "We will not break any law if we are satisfied with it but we will break laws if we are not satisfied with them... You might know very well that we oppose the regulations with regard to taxation, because we were not satisfied..." 58

The Commission noted the following statement made by Governor Allen:

It is necessary that the rising generation, the young people, should be educated and trained not only to take the places of their fathers, but more than that, to take their places in the government of the country and ultimately to take charge of the management of its concerns. 59

57 E. M. C.: Minutes of the Nineteenth Session, 1930, p. 52.
58 Mandate of Western Samoa: Governor's Report, 1930, p. 62.
59 Ibid., p. 66.
An interesting theory advanced by a Commissioner was that the "Samoa for the Samoans" motto showed the awakening of a national consciousness, which was merely a part of the world wide movement toward nationalism.

The Commissioners warned the Mandatory Power about discriminating in the Administration against the half-caste element which was one of the main causes of the trouble in Western Samoa.

1931

The Governor's Report shows a decided improvement in native affairs and more native participation in government.

Native unrest has steadily diminished during the year, and as it died away several of the known agitators left the country and the discordant element has become less conspicuous.

When H.M.S. Dunedin left in March, 1930, after completing operations against the Mau, a detachment of Marines remained behind until early in April. As soon as the Marines went, some sixty Mau chiefs, including Tuimalenaliifano, gathered with a view to resuming Mau activities. They were promptly arrested by the police and were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment...

The centenary celebrations of the London Missionary Society were a factor in the improvement of the situation, as they formed a center of attraction for the great majority of the population, and for several months completely occupied their thoughts to the exclusion of other matters...

In pursuance of a promise made at the fono held with the Mau in March, 1920, the Administrator proceeded to call a representative fono of the Samoan people to meet at Fuminau... This representative fono met in June, and lasted three days... In accordance with the desire of the representative fono, the Administrator decided to summon a new Fono
of Faiipules, and invited districts to nominate Faiipules in writing. .. Nominations were duly made, and the person selected was in each case appointed as Faiipule by the Administrator accordingly. Of the thirty-three Faiipules, twenty-two formerly held office, and eleven are now; .. Two of the new Faiipules were at one time prominent in the Mau...

The Fono of Faiipules assembled in November. .. they considered, it was unwise to do anything that might again excite agitation, and so they avoided contentious questions.

The position now is generally satisfactory. Increasing peace and harmony prevail. The active phase of the Mau appears to have ended, and there are few Samoans taking any interest in it. There is still a passive phase, in which co-operation with the Administration is not complete; ..

The system of government in the past has been largely paternal, depending on the influence of the Administrator working through the Native Office and acting on the chiefs - the ali'i and faiipule. The influence of the chief, in turn, has been paramount in his own family, and the lesser chiefs have submitted to those of higher standing. The authority of the chiefs is crumbling, and they do not receive the same implicit obedience and respect as formerly. .. This process was probably inevitable, and in the advance of every similar community towards civilization there occurs a period when the rule of the chiefs begins to decline and to be replaced by outside forces ... Such a period of transition must always be one of difficulty, and care is necessary, on the one hand, to check a too rapid development, and to maintain the system of paternal control for so long as it remains useful, and, on the other hand, to guide and direct, rather than antagonize, the influences which may some day replace the patriarchal system. 60

The twenty-first session of the Permanent Mandates Commission was unimportant as far as Samoa was concerned. An apt statement made by M. Palacios, about the

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60 Mandate of Western Samoa: Governor's Report, 1931, pp. 3, 4.
attitude of the Samoans to the Administration, is recorded in the minutes as follows: "If they (natives) complained, it must be because they considered the status of other persons better than their own under the Mandatory regime." The reference is made especially to the people of American Samoa.

The Samoan Petition of 1931, filed with the Secretariat of the League of Nations, contains an interesting viewpoint of the whole situation. The petitioners take the position that the independence and neutrality of Samoa had been guaranteed to the Samoans by treaties, letters, telegrams, department of state papers, etc., and especially by the Berlin General Act. (Consult Articles I, II, and III.) Furthermore, the three Powers in the Convention of 1889,

...reserved for themselves all the rights and privileges hitherto obtained by them for Samoa in consideration of their recognition and guarantee of the neutrality, independence and autonomy of Samoa as a State.

That as the consent or adherence of Samoa was never asked or obtained to the provisions of the said Convention, the chiefs and people of Samoa naturally concluded that the division of the protectorate between Germany and America and the retirement of Great Britain was decided on by the Three Powers under Article VIII of the Berlin

61 F. K. C.; Minutes of the Twenty-First Session, 1931.
Treaty, 1889... 61

It will be noticed that although England and Germany renounced all claim to the islands of American Samoa, the United States did not necessarily acquire sovereignty over those islands, for their independence had hitherto been recognized by the Three Powers. 62

The chiefs of Tutuila voluntarily ceded the sovereignty of Tutuila to the United States in 1900, and the chiefs of Manua followed with a cession of their islands in 1904; these cessions were not accepted by the United States Congress until February, 1929. However, the chiefs and people of Western Samoa have never ceded their islands to any power, so their status should be that guaranteed by the Berlin Act — that of a neutral and independent territory.

Samoan objections to the Administration by New Zealand are based on:

1. Being classed as a C Mandate, "... which placed Samoa among the lowest savages which have never possessed any semblance of self-government or organic laws."


The petition of the accredited representatives of the National Organization of the "Mau" comprising some ninety-five per centum of the inhabitants of Western Samoa.

2. Reports, to the Mandates Commission, are not referred to the natives for approval. Commission conclusions must be based on reports favorable to the Administration as the Commission is not allowed to admit accredited representatives of the Samoans to support their petitions.

3. The mandate is to hold good until the Samoans are able to govern themselves, but instead of training the natives in the art of governing, "the Mandatory has disorganized the whole social, economic and political structure of the Samoans."

4. This disorganization...consists of interference with the social system and local government of the Samoans; removing the authority of the old-time village and district councils of the Samoans; substituting for these a new system of village committees and district councils appointed by and subject to, the control of the Administrator and his own nominated native officials, and latterly by white district officers taken from the ranks of the armed police garrison.

5. Protests, made along constitutional lines, against this interference and disorganization have brought no redress; on the contrary, they have been made the excuse by the Mandatory to introduce further restrictions and encroachments on the rights and liberties of the Samoans which have produced great dissatisfaction and resulted in continuous unrest among the people of Samoa.

6. Semi-military Administration. ... military officers of never less a ranking than colonel have been appointed administrators...; civilian officials, including an ex-missionary printer then Secretary of Native Affairs, were caused to wear uniforms, including swords, etc. 63

63 Samoan Petition, 1931, pp. 9, 10.
The main part of the Samoan Petition reads as follows:

Your petitioners therefore pray the High Contracting Powers in the Samoan Treaties now invoked will use their influence and authority undertaken by them in the said Treaties and in accordance with their solemn guarantees, to cause such immediate changes in the Government of Samoa as would:

1. Restore to the Samoans (of Western Samoa) their neutrality, autonomy and independence, under the protection of a benevolent and sympathetic Power.

2. Release all political prisoners, banishoes and deportees, and make adequate reparation to the Samoans for their sufferings and losses in life, property, and liberties.

3. Establish full and free intercourse between the natives of Western and Eastern Samoa in all matters affecting their social life, customs and usages so as to enable them to maintain their identity and individuality as one race and people.

4. And to submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice for its decision such matters arising out of this petition of subsequent happenings in which the High Contracting Powers and Samoa may not agree.

The benevolent and sympathetic Power held in mind by the natives is evidently Great Britain. "The fate of Samoa really turns on the decision of British public opinion. Samoa's only salvation lies in the transfer of the mandate to Britain." 65

1952

According to the Governor's Report, the Man movement is slowly dying out and the natives are drifting back towards co-operation with the Administration.

64 Samoan Petition, 1931.

65 Ibid., p. 35.
Native Affairs. There has been a marked improvement in the political situation throughout the Territory, and all departments having dealings with the natives are now functioning happily and satisfactorily. The Land and Titles Commission sat in April and November, the natives coming freely to give their evidence and have their claims dealt with, and more cases were brought before the Commission during this year than in any of the preceding five years. The better feeling now prevailing not only applies to official transactions, but extends also to sports and social gatherings. A sitting of the Fono of Faipule was held in the month of May. The Faipule was again assembled in December, when the financial position was placed before them and discussed, and arrangements made for the election of the new Faipule. In this matter previous procedure was followed, each district was asked to nominate a Faipule in writing, and in each case the person selected was appointed Faipule. Of the thirty-three Faipule, twenty-one formerly held office, and seventeen were members of the solely nominated Fono as it existed prior to the 1st of April, 1929. Of the twelve new Faipule some were at one time members of the Man.

The Honourables Malietoa and Mataafa, the two Fautus, have at all times given great assistance, and, owing to their high standing in the country, their advice has been invaluable and is cordially acknowledged.

Justice Department. The conditions relating to the work of the Department during the year proved to be quite normal, and the difficulties which were being experienced several years ago have disappeared entirely.

At the twenty-second session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, the accredited representative of the New Zealand Government admitted that the Fono of Faipules was purely an advisory body. He also stated that the police force from New Zealand was still operating, that

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66 Mandate of Western Samoa: Governor's Report, 1932, pp. 2, 9.
there was still a deficit in the finances, and that the native Judges would be reinstated when the natives all co-operated with the government. He was of the opinion that the Man was weakening and dissolving with the passage of time but no one could tell when it might break out again.

Lord Lugard, an expert in colonial administration, said it seemed to him that the three main causes which had brought about the unrest in Samoa were:

1. The large number of half-castes (more than one in twenty of the total population) who had been somewhat neglected by the Administration,

2. The Administrator's short term of office (three years), which was fatal to continuity of policy and a thorough knowledge of the people—so necessary in Samoa—together with inefficient interpreters and an adequately trained staff.

3. The harm done by Mr. Nelson’s paper, "The Guardian," which, although prohibited in Samoa, was allowed to enter the country by post from New Zealand.

1932

Conditions remain much the same as reported in 1932. Although there is neither active rebellion nor open defiance of the Administration, it is evident that the natives are still dissatisfied with the government. The natives maintain a certain amount of aloofness and as the propaganda machine continues to operate, one cannot foretell when this smoldering passive resistance will flare into organized revolt.

67 P.M.C.: Minutes of the Twenty-Second Session, 1932, p.73.
A recent newspaper article, by Marc T. Greene, summarizes the present conditions in Western Samoa:

Auckland, N.Z., April 11—

The next few weeks will see some significant happenings in Western Samoa which may or may not have their influence on the situation there.

The cruiser Diamante, flagship of the modest New Zealand navy, leaves Auckland today with the governor-general of the Dominion, Lord Bledisloe, as her distinguished passenger. He with his family and suite will spend five days in Apia as the guest of General Hart (the present Administrator).

About the middle of May the German cruiser Kohl will pay an official visit to Western Samoa, first German visit of the sort since the war. And, most important event of all, O.F. Nelson and his family and several friends, and Judge Gurr, who was deported at the same time as Nelson five years ago, will return to their native land. They will leave Auckland on the Mariposa on May 8 and reach Apia by way of Pago Pago on May 15.

The uncertainty as to what will happen when Nelson and Gurr land in Apia lends much interest to the event...

There is every reason to believe that Nelson will be under sharp surveillance by the Samoan administration and that not much of a pretext will be needed to bring him under new accusations of "insurrectionist" activities. If that is done an action taken in that connection, there is strong probability of further trouble in Samoa.

...Undoubtedly the reception they (Nelson, Gurr, and retinue) will get in Apia will be an epic event, an affair of old-time color and spontaneity.

Following the hand-picked and carefully-staged observance which is being arranged for the appearance of the New Zealand governor-general and with which the Manu will probably have nothing whatever to do, the greeting to Nelson and his friends will make only too clear the present state of feeling of the Samoans toward the New Zealand government.

5 Marc T. Greene, "Samoans Looking Forward to Visit by N.Z. Chief," The Honolulu Advertiser, Monday morning, April 24, 1938.
The Men, in February of this year, addressed a letter to Lord Bledisloe asking, among other things, a general round table conference on the various points of issue. It is likely that this request will be ignored, and if so, the Men will take no part in welcoming the New Zealand Administrator to Apia.

Mr. Greene, in the same article, condemns the Permanent Mandates Commission for hearing only the Mandatory's side of the problem. He comments on the replies of the official representative of the Mandatory at the last session of the Commission as follows:

In point of fact the commission was unable to get anywhere with Sir Thomas, whose reply to questions really vital was either that he "did not remember," "was not in a position to say," or should not be pinned down to answers. The conclusions of the commission, therefore, were composed of such vague generalities as "the commission hopes that the collaboration of the natives with the administration will become general and effective," "the commission hopes that the situation will soon improve in such a manner as to make possible a gradual abolition of emergency (sic) measures" and "the commission trusts that the administration will succeed in finding suitable means to reduce the very high infant mortality rate."

In other words, the Mandates Commission has failed to learn anything of the actual situation or to understand at all the points of issue between the Samoans and New Zealand. Thus it can only "note" and "trust" and "hope".

How, indeed, can it ever expect to get anywhere when it refuses to hear but one side of the controversy as between a mandatory and the people under such mandate?...

The Men, then, will go on with its passive resistance, at the same time refraining if possible from clashes of any sort with the administration. 6

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CONCLUSIONS

Although the primary purpose of this study is to determine the use made of native institutions, by the various Powers, in the administration of Western Samoa, the writer will also sum up the causes of dissatisfaction with New Zealand's control of the mandate, and make certain recommendations concerning a future policy for the administration of native affairs.

Use of Native Institutions

Native institutions include those principles which were exercised in the political and social control of the Samoan people at the time they first came in contact with the white man. These have been studied under the following topical headings: well defined social groupings, family, village, village-district, and district; the principle involving the rights of descent, succession, and inheritance; the functions and privileges of relationship groups; recognition of political groups; and the functions of the fono.

In general, it may be said that native institutions have been almost entirely ignored by all of the Powers that have participated in the Administration of Western Samoa. The Western idea of government is based on a highly centralized organization in which the power
flows from the central source, through various smaller governing units, down to the people. In the early tribal organization of the Samoans, the people were the power and all authority emanated upward from them. Thus a political organization cannot make adequate provision for the continuance of institutions based on a principle which is the exact opposite of its own grounds for action.

In the period of political and historical development and also under the tripartite agreement, the Powers disregarded the principle involving the rights of descent, succession, and inheritance, and supported favored individuals; especially was this true in the civil wars fought for succession to the "kingship." During this time, the islands were in such a disruptive state, that all of the energies of the local social and political groups were directed towards gaining control over a rival district or securing a coveted title. Thus the functioning of the local groups was at a standstill, and *fonos* became councils of war.

The Germans are credited with maintaining a satisfactory administration in Western Samoa. Their success is due to two things: (1) The establishment of a strong, highly centralized system of control which was executed with firmness and fairness, and; (2) the popularity of the officials, especially Dr. Gelf, with the natives.
Nevertheless, the German system was autocratic and made little provision for native participation in the government. As has been said in a previous chapter, "life was dictated...by the will of an alien authority."

New Zealand continued the German system but with an elaboration of organization and an increase in the number of native officials which suggests a large amount of native self-government. Up to the twelfth session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, there was less comment about Samoa than any other mandate. The Mandatory Power repeatedly stated that its special interest was the progress of native institutions. Nevertheless, the government was gradually reorganized, from the top down, until all authority was concentrated in the hands of the Administrator. The Department of Native Affairs was made up of numerous individuals and political groups, all functioning in a purely advisory capacity and dependent upon the Governor for their positions, salaries, and continuation in office. This Department, in reality, a purely superficial division of governmental administration, acted as a buffer between the New Zealand officials and the Samoans and tended to further disorganize local groups, eliminate ancient customs and traditions, and disrupt the every-day existence of the people.
Causes of Dissatisfaction

1. Unpopularity of the New Zealand Government

The Samoans, at the time their territory was declared a mandate, wished to be placed under the control of Great Britain, and it is a certainty that any other power would have met with objections from the natives. New Zealand started out with this handicap, and with each action, continued to make herself more unpopular. "She had no established interests in the country, and even to British residents was a 'colonial interloper'."

2. Semi-Military Government

A semi-military form of government has proven objectionable to the natives of both American and Western Samoa. There has been little opposition to benevolent despotism. The source of complaint, in Western Samoa, is the form in which this dictatorship manifests itself. Objectionable features of the semi-military government are: military trained Administrators, bureaucratic organization of the government, curt commands, dignified aloofness of the officials, clicking aide-de-camp, military uniforms and military titles, and the attempted execution of affairs, with the speed and precision of military organizations, in a land where "time" is little valued.

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New Zealand has been unfortunate in her choice of officials. Each military governor, like unto the principal characters in "White Cargo," has arrived with a store of new ideas which, in his enthusiastic imagination, are to revolutionize native administration in Samoa and incidentally secure for him a promotion based upon his executive record. And likewise, to carry the analogy further, at the end of his term has returned home, sapped of his ambitions and confused by a civilization which will not conform to Western ideals.

The subordinate officials, of an inferior class to begin with, were allowed to remain in Samoa for long terms and with little supervision. This enervating climate seriously weakens both physical and moral fibers. The record left by the Service of Western Samoa is a disgrace to the Mandatory Power and an insult to the standards of the Polynesians in the mandate.

4. Samoan Psychology

The German officials were popular because they heeded the saying, "When in Rome, do as the Romans do." The New Zealand officials considered it beneath their dignity and position to meet the Samoans on their own level and deal with them "man to man." Yet, these people who were treated as inferiors, are frequently referred
to in official reports as "the aristocrats of the Pacific." The Polynesians have an innate dignity, graciousness of manner, and "love of what for loss of a better term I will call 'good form.'" With this natural background, one can estimate the psychological reaction to the attitude and behavior of the New Zealand officials.

To the Samoan, certain customs and traditions, such as the ancient marriage ceremony, exchange of mats on feast days, the malanga, common ownership of land, local social groupings, etc., are his inalienable rights and just as important to him as "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are to the American. This fact was not recognized by the officials, thus supplying another source of irritation.

The officials in New Zealand were familiar with the psychology of the Maoris but they did not make use of this knowledge in selecting the officials for the Samoans or directing the native policy.

5. Evasive Institutions Ignored.

This cause of unrest has been adequately explained in previous chapters and in another part of this same chapter.

6. Half-Caste Population

This half-caste element presents a serious problem as these persons, being neither white nor brown,
Samoan nor European, have a natural grudge against the white race and consequently are the first to ferret out the weaknesses in any administration and start propaganda which has often resulted in uprisings and rebellion. This problem becomes greater as the half-caste population increases.

**Recommendations**

Can the Samoans go back to the time when they maintained an independent government based on native institutions? There is a tendency for anything to become more ideal in retrospect for time erases unpleasant memories. One is reminded of the farmer's lamentation, "Things ain't what they used to be, in fact they never was."

The "good old days" and "Samoan for the Samoans" can never be realized at the present time because; the native religious system with its "taboo," an important factor in social and political control, has been replaced by Christianity; Western influences have changed the standard of living of the people; contacts with other nations have brought in new ideas of government; and Samoans, judged by Polynesian standards, are progressive.

Can the Samoans continue in their present dissatisfied condition? Most writers agree that New Zealand has not been successful as a Mandatory Power and that
any amount of progress in the future will not eradicate her past failures. The natives merely tolerate the government, undercurrents of dissatisfaction are always present, and the only certainty is that of threatened if not actual rebellion.

What, then, is the solution of the problem—these dissatisfied natives? They have, themselves, suggested the best answer in the "Samoan Petition of 1931;" place Western Samoa under the protection of Great Britain. It might be possible, at some later time, to change the mandatory from class C to class B. The change could be governed by the progress made by the natives under the British, acting in the capacity of advisers and protectors. It would seem that independence for Samoa, at any time, would not be considered, as the islands are of strategic importance in the Pacific. A statement, along this line, made in 1899, is also true of conditions today, "...the Samoan Islands are vastly more important from the strategic advantages, both commercial and political, than from the sum they can ever contribute to the trade of the world." 3

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The British government, could compensate New Zealand for her improvements and investments in Samoa, or else assume the total debt of over two hundred thousand pounds. New Zealand should be willing to discount the debt a great deal and consider herself fortunate to get rid of the mandate. The Germans operated the government on a paying basis and it can probably be done again. But whatever is done to alleviate the irritation existing between the Mandatory Power and the Mandate, the protector would do well to heed the words of a former British Consul in Samoa:

Finally, taking the Samoans for all in all, and judging from their past history and present condition, there is not a people more worthy of consideration and preservation, more susceptible of improvement, or more willing to be taught to take that position amongst the enlightened races that they have so often and so earnestly sought our help to win. 4

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