

in your own language and expressions and is signed by your own free and untrammelled hand.

With profound satisfaction I discern the note of restored confidence in your Government and of faith in the future development of your fair land under its administration.

With especial pride in our institutions I perceive and accept your willingness to continue in cooperation with and under the guiding hand of our Navy Department and the Governor who is both my personal coadjutor and our mutual representative.

With abiding faith in your honor and integrity; with sympathetic participation in your difficulties as well as in your successes; with genuine interest in your advancement; and with the hearty wish that you may in peace and quietness pass your days;

I renew my greetings to you, the High Chiefs, Talking Chiefs, Chiefs, and people of American Samoa.

October 10, 1921

WARREN G. HARDING

## "To Whom it May Concern"

**T**HE document printed below was received on December 28, 1921, by Mr. Ripley, who describes in his article the circumstances of its origin.

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN, GREETING:

WHEREAS, Great dissatisfaction prevails and has for a long time prevailed among a very large majority of the High Chiefs, Talking Chiefs, Chiefs, and people of Tutuila and Manua, Samoa, with the governmental policy adopted and followed by naval commandants detailed to the naval station, Tutuila, styling themselves governors, and assuming the power to enact and enforce laws, rules, and regulations for the Samoan Government and the Samoan people; and

WHEREAS, Numerous protests have heretofore been addressed to the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Navy protesting against the governmental policy and autocratic rule of the Naval Commandant styling himself governor, which have been disregarded; and

WHEREAS, Many of the chiefs and people of Samoa have been and are now imprisoned, and others have been arrested and fined for protesting directly to the Naval Commandant against the governmental policy adopted and enforced; and

WHEREAS, The chiefs and people of Tutuila and Manua, Samoa, are forbidden to assemble to consider Samoan affairs and the welfare of the people and the growing generation, and to petition the President and Secretary of the Navy for redress by orders issued by the Commandant styling himself governor; and

WHEREAS, The only means we have of so doing is to appoint and commission some person to act for us and in our behalf in preparing and presenting to the President of the United States and Congress and the Secretary of the Navy our grievances and wishes respecting Samoan affairs;

Now, therefore, We, the undersigned High Chiefs, Talking Chiefs, Chiefs, and people of Tutuila and Manua, Samoa, hereby duly constitute, appoint, and commission Fanene and Soliai to act for us and each of us in all matters having to do with the political and governmental affairs of Tutuila and Manua, Samoa, with full power and authority, in our name and for us, individually and collectively, who have signed this document, to prepare and sign for us and with our own proper names all such documents and papers as may be requisite, necessary, and proper to present any and all matters having to do with the political and governmental affairs of the said Samoan Islands, and address the same to the President of the United States, the Congress of the United States, or any of the committees thereof, and the Secretary of the Navy, and such other Departments and Bureaus of the United States as may be necessary and proper, with full power and authority to employ counselors and attorneys-at-law and such other person or persons as they may

deem best to aid and assist them in carrying out the powers and authority hereby conferred upon them, and in obtaining redress for wrongs committed against the Samoan people and relief from naval absolutism now controlling these Islands and the inhabitants thereof, and to enter into agreements to pay and pay a reasonable compensation to those whom they may employ to assist them.

*Giving and Granting* unto the said Fanene and Soliai full power and authority to do and perform all and every act and thing whatsoever requisite and necessary to be done in and about the premises as fully to all intents and purposes as we might or could do, if personally present and acting; and we and each of us hereby undertake to ratify, confirm, and approve everything which the said Fanene and Soliai or those whom they may employ to assist them under the power hereby conferred upon them shall do or purport to do in virtue of these presents. Provided always that nothing herein contained shall be construed or considered as revoking the power and authority heretofore conferred upon Samuel S. Ripley to act for and in behalf of the committee of Samoan chiefs; and we and each of us hereby ratify and confirm all that the said Samuel S. Ripley and C. S. Hannum, chosen by said Samuel S. Ripley and the committee of chiefs as the attorney for the committee of chiefs, have done and performed under the authority so conferred upon them by said committee of Samoan chiefs, and by the 344 chiefs signing a document dated August 6, 1921; and we and each of us hereby fully authorize and empower the said Samuel S. Ripley and the said C. S. Hannum to continue in the efforts undertaken by them in behalf of the Samoan Government and people; and we and each of us hereby authorize, empower, and direct the said Fanene and Soliai in exercising the power and authority hereby conferred upon them, to confer with and act with the said Samuel S. Ripley and the said C. S. Hannum, and such other person or persons as the said Samuel S. Ripley may suggest. In the event the said Fanene and Soliai be imprisoned or punished or otherwise prevented by the naval authorities on these Islands from carrying out the power and authority hereby conferred upon them, or for any other reason or cause are incapacitated from acting, or decline or refuse to act for any cause or reason whatsoever, then and in that event, we and each of us hereby constitute, appoint, and commission Samuel S. Ripley, of Richmond, California, to act for us and each of us, in any and all matters herein conferred upon Fanene and Soliai, as fully and completely to all intents and purposes as the said Fanene and Soliai might or could do under the power and authority conferred upon them by this document.

Being denied the right to assemble in numbers by orders of the Naval Commandant, we, IN WITNESS WHEREOF, have subscribed our names both to the Samoan original and to the English translation attached to and made a part thereof, when presented to us during the months of November and December, 1921, and January, 1922.

(Signed by 971 Samoans, including the 344 Chiefs, according to the villages in which they reside)

### Contributors to This Issue

SAMUEL S. RIPLEY is the grandson of an American who established himself in Samoa and married a native. Mr. Ripley's father also married a Samoan but maintained his American citizenship as has Mr. Ripley himself.

EDWARD RICHARDS is a professional forester with headquarters in New York City.

HAVELOCK ELLIS is an Englishman who turned from the practice of medicine to scientific writing and whose books on the question of sex have given him world eminence.

The other contributors to this issue have written previously for *The Nation*.