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JOTTINGS ON THE MYTHOLOGY AND SPIRIT-LORE OF OLD SAMOA.

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THE religious system of the later generations of Samoans differed materially from that practised by still older generations; and also very much from the customs of the Tahitians and other groups surrounding. They had no idols, whereas those of earlier generations had many idols or seraphim, which they held in great reverence, and carried with them wherever they went.¹ Neither were they accustomed to offer human sacrifices to these seraphim, but for all that they had their carefully observed forms of worship, and a network of superstitious observances, which, together, were most oppressive.

It is difficult to arrive at anything like a clear and connected conception of their mythology, as native statements are often vague and conflicting. I give some particulars which I gathered from intelligent natives long since, and which I think may be relied upon, as I tested them carefully, and, moreover, they were the outcome of more than one testimony. These accounts, I may further say, were collected more than fifty years ago, i. e., before the natives had had much intercourse with Europeans, and before their records had become mixed and interwoven with those from other sources, as they are likely to have done later on.

The Samoans appear to have had several superior divinities, and a host of inferior ones—"Lords many, and gods many,"—and they were also accustomed to deify the spirits of deceased chiefs. In addition to the homage paid to these, petitions were offered, and libations of *ava* poured out on various occasions in the home-life, and also at the graves of deceased relatives; whilst the war clubs of renowned warriors were regarded with much superstitious reverence, if not actually worshipped, under the name of *avaava*.

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Principal Deities.

There were several classes or orders of spiritual beings recognized in Samoan mythology.

1. *Atua*, or original gods, who dwelt in Pulotu (a Samoan Elysium), as also in *Ituŋi*, or heavens, such having different names—as *Le Lavŋi-tau-tālu*, the third heaven, and *O le Lavŋi-tau-āva*, the ninth heaven, equivalent to the highest heaven.

2. *Tupua*, the deified spirits of chiefs, who were also supposed to dwell in Pulotu. The embalmed bodies of some chiefs were also worshipped under the significant name of *O le Fatu-Atua-tala-iva* (made into a sun-dried god), as were also certain objects into which they were supposed to have been changed, as blocks of stone, &c., &c., which were also called *tupua*, and held to personate them.

3. *Aitu*, which class included the descendants of the original gods, or rather all deities whose aid was invoked, or whose vengeance might be denounced by the various orders of the priesthood. Of this class of deities, some were supposed to inhabit Pulotu, others held sway in the Fata, or Hades, whilst one, *Mafu'e*, was supposed to take up his abode in the volcanic region below (*i fatu*), which was also called *Sā le Fete*, of or pertaining to the Fet. Of this oft-quoted personage, further information will be given later on.

4. *Sua-aiti*, which term, I think, may be said to include ghosts or apparitions. These would seem to have been regarded as an inferior order of spirits, ever ready for mischief or frolic, but they do not appear to have been represented by any class of priesthood, or to have had any dwelling made sacred to them. The term is also used respectfully for an *aitu*, or god.

Atua.

The *Atua*, or original gods, are described as dwelling in the *Langi*, or heavens, and were considered the progenitors of the other deities, and are stated to have formed the earth and its inhabitants. These original gods were not represented by any priests or temples, neither were they invoked like their descendants. Of the primitive gods, the chief place is assigned to Tangaloo, or, as he is sometimes called, Tangaloo-langi, *i.e.*, Tangaloo of the skies. He was always spoken of as the principal god, the creator of the world, and progenitor of the other gods and mankind. In one tradition, that gives an account of the formation of the earth and men, mention is made of other divinities or helpers—Tangaloo-tosi, also styled Ngai-tosi, *i.e.*, Tangaloo, or Ngai, the marker, and Tangaloo, or Ngai-va'a-va'ai, *i.e.*, Tangaloo, or Ngai, the seer or beholder. These two helpers are introduced as being sent by Tangaloo to complete the formation of the bodies of the first two of mankind and to impart life to them.

In this tradition there would seem to be a remarkable allusion to a trinity of workers, and also what would seem to be a reference to the

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phenomena of the elevation of portions of the land by volcanic agency, or, as the tradition puts it, the successive elevation of the earth by means of the far-famed fish-hook of Tangaloo, described further on.

Tradition of the Origin of the Earth.

The son of Tangaloo was the Tuli (a species of plover). Tuli went down from the heavens to the surface of the ocean, but found no place on which to rest; of which trouble he returned to complain to his father. On this, his father threw down a stone from the heavens, which became land.

Another account of the origin of the earth says that, in answer to Tuli's complaint of a want of a resting-place, Tangaloo fished up a large stone from the bottom of the sea with a fish-hook. Having raised the stone to the surface, he gave it to his son for a dwelling-place. On going thither to take possession of his new home, however, Tuli found that every wave or swell of the ocean partially overflowed it, which compelled him to hop from one part to another of the stone to prevent his feet being wetted by each succeeding wave. Annoyed at this, he returned to the skies to complain to his father, who, by a second application of the mighty fish-hook, raised the land to the desired height. This version is also given by the inhabitants of other groups in Polynesia.² The tradition proceeds to give—

The History of the Worm of the Earth.

Papa-taoto (the reclining rock) was succeeded by *Papa-sosolo* (the spreading rock). *Papa-sosolo* was succeeded by *Papa-tu* (the upright rock). The rock was succeeded by the earth or mould (*O le eleete*), which was then spread over with grass (*Ona ufitia ai lea o le eleete e le mutia*). After this the *Fue* (convolvulus) grew, and overcame the grass. Tuli returned to his father Tangaloo, having obtained his land, but there was no man to reside on it. His father said to him, "You have your land; what grows on it?" Tuli answered, "The *fue*." His father directed him to go and pull it up, which he did, and on its rotting it produced two grubs, or *ilo*, which moved a little as Tuli looked upon them, when he again returned to the skies to his father, that he might tell him of their birth. Upon this, Tuli was told to return to the earth and take with him Tangaloo-tosi, or Ngai-tosi, as he was also called, *i.e.*, Ngai, the marker, and Ngai-va'a-va'ai, or Tangaloo-va'a-va'ai, *i.e.*, Tangaloo, the seer or beholder, who were directed to operate on the two grubs. On their arrival, they began to form them into the shape of men, commencing at the head (*ulu*). When the head was completed, Tuli said, "Let my name be joined with that of the head"; a portion of which was then named *O le tuli-ulu* (side of the head). They then proceeded to give sight by forming

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the eyes, when Tuli made the same request as before, upon which a portion of the eye was called *O le tuli-mata*. The tradition goes on to set forth the different members of the body which were successively formed, each having the name of Tuli prefixed to the portion of the body as formed and named. Thus the elbow, *O le tuli-lima*, and the knee, *O le tuli-vae*.³

On the formation of two bodies being complete, they lived, but were both males, and dwelt on the land on which they were formed. One day, whilst fishing with a net called the *faamutu*, one of them was injured by a small fish called the *lo*, which caused his death. Upon this, Tuli returned to the skies, and bewailed the loss of one of the inhabitants of his land to his father, when Ngai-tosi was directed by Tangaloo to proceed to the earth to reanimate the dead body; previously to which, however, he changed the sex of the deceased male to that of a female. The two then became man and wife, and the parents of the human race.

Losi Introduces Taro.

In connection with this history of Tangaloo, it may be mentioned that occasional visits are stated to have been formally made to the abode of the august Tangaloo by parties from the earth, who returned with some useful benefaction from the deity; as, for instance, Losi, who is reputed to have been the benefactor of his countrymen by bringing taro from the skies (*O le langi*) on his return from one of his explorations, or, presumedly, voyages, to the north-north-east or north-west.

Deified Spirits Of Chiefs.

The deified spirits of deceased persons of rank appear to have comprised another order of spiritual beings, the more exalted of whom were supposed to become posts in the house or temple of the gods at Pulo-tu. Many beautiful emblems were chosen to represent their immortality, as some of the constellations, such as *Li'i* (the Pleiades), *Tupua-le-ngase* (Jupiter), also *Nuanua* (the rainbow) and *La'o-ma'o-ma'o*⁴ (the marine rainbow), with many others.

The embalmed bodies of chiefs of rank, or those who had been *Fa'a-Atua-lala-ina* (made into sun-dried gods), were also revered under the name of *Tupua*; which name also, as I have before stated, appears to have been applied to blocks of stone and other objects in various parts of the islands, into which certain chiefs were supposed to have been changed at their death.

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Aitu.

The third order included all the many deities whose aid was invoked by the different orders of priests, and who were included in the general term of *Aitu*. These comprised war-gods, family gods, those invoked by prophets and sorcerers (*Taulā-aitu-vavalo, ma-fai-tu'i*), as well as the tutelary deities of the various trades and employments. Some of them, as *Savea-se'u-leo* and *Na-fanua*, were stated to be the more immediate descendants of the gods, and to have their residence in *Pulotu*, over which place the former was said to preside. These two deities were the national gods of war; but, in addition to them, many other war-gods were invoked by different settlements as local war-gods, of which may be mentioned *Moso*, *Sepo-malosi*, *Aitu-i-pava*, and *Le Tama-fainga*. The same gods were also invoked by family priests. *Moso*, *O le Nifo-loa* (long-tooth), and *Ita-ngatā* appear to have been regarded as vindictive spirits; and, to be cursed with their maledictions, was looked upon as a calamity. One or two of the names given to the *aitu* thus invoked would seem to have been chosen to illustrate the manner in which this vengeance was shown. *Pūpūitoto* (spitting blood) and *Lipi-ola* (sudden death) may be given as illustrations. These spiritual beings were supposed to enter into the priests representing them, and to make known their commands through them, but they were also considered as being accustomed to take the form of certain objects, as birds, fish, reptiles, as well as at times the human form; in which latter case they were represented as possessing the various passions incident to fallen humanity. This belief, at times, enabled erring mortals to cloak over their delinquencies by attributing them to the gods. Many a faithless wife and many a murderer have secured themselves from punishment by attributing their doings to the gods.

As every settlement has its local god of war, in addition to the national war-gods, so every family had its own particular *aitu* or tutelary deity, who was usually considered to inhabit some well-known familiar object. One family supposed their family god to inhabit a shark, another some bird or a stone, and another a reptile. Thus a great variety of objects, animate and inanimate, were revered by the Samoans. Their feelings with respect to these guardian deities do not appear to have been very sensitive, however, as, although the members of one family were accustomed to regard a given object, say a shark, with superstitious reverence as their family god, they were constantly seeing the same fish killed and eaten by their neighbours around them. In case of local or district war-gods, however, the entire district were careful to protect their chosen object of reverence from insult. Still it often happened that if the gods should not be propitious to their suppliants, torrents of abuse were heaped upon them, as noticed further on, under the head *Taulā-Aitu-vavalo-ma-fa'i-tu'i*; but, as a rule, their chosen deities were greatly dreaded.

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Many of these *aitu* were supposed to dwell in the *Fāfā*, or in *Sa-le-Fe'e*, whilst others ruled in *Pulotu*.

O le Fāfā, Sa-le-Fe'e, and Pulotu.

These three places may be spoken of together, as they all occupy a prominent position in Samoan mythology, and appear in some manner to be connected one with the other. Taking them in rotation, I think the terms may be thus described:—

O le Fāfā (Hades) is alike the entrance to *Sa-le-Fe'e*, the Samoan Tartarus, or dread place of punishment; and also to *Pulotu*, the Samoan Elysium, or abode of the blest—the one entrance being called *O le Lua-loto-aiti*, or deep hole of chiefs, by which they passed to *Pulotu*; the other *O le Lua-loto-o-tau-fanua*, or deep hole of the common people, by which they passed to *Le Nu'u-o-nonoa*, or the land of the bound, which is simply another term for the much dreaded *Sa-le-Fe'e*. It will thus be seen that the idea of the superiority of the chiefs over the common people was perpetuated, none but chiefs, or higher ranks, gaining entrance to the Samoan Elysium.

Speaking of the condition of the dead, an old chief of Savaii once told me that there were supposed to be two places to which they went, the one called *O le Nu'u-a-Aitu*, or land of the spirits, the other *O le Nu'u-o-nonoa*, the land of the bound—their bondage being superintended by such vindictive spirits as *Moso*, *Ita-ngatā*, and other deities who hold sway there; whilst the significant name itself is, I think, simply another name for *Sa-le-Fe'e*. It is interesting to notice how much this name *O le Fe'e* is mixed up with Samoan mythology, whether as the name of a renowned war-god and deity, or as *Sa-le-Fe'e*, the much dreaded regions below; as also with a mysterious building of the distant past, known as *O le Fale-o-le-Fe'e*, the house of the *Fe'e*, the ruins of which still remain as mute witnesses of a bygone worship, of which the Samoans of late generations have no knowledge or record whatever, save the name; all of which, however, point to it as a name of deep significance and meaning in the history of the past, whether in conjunction with the very old history of the ancestors of the present race of Samoans, or, as many think it to be, bound up in some way with the records of an earlier, but long since extinct race. Whatever may be the facts of the case, a halo of mystery and romance seems thrown around the name selected as that of the war-god of A'ana, *O le Fe'e* (octopus), that is not only most interesting, but also difficult of solution. Some would connect the name with records of very great antiquity, and in their reasoning would take us back to a time where all is doubt and uncertainty. At some future time light may be thrown upon the subject, but at present all seems mysterious and difficult when any attempt is made to unravel the mystery.

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Disembodied Spirits.

Regarding the views of the old generations of Samoans as to what befel the disembodied spirits of the dead, and the route they were supposed to take as they passed to the unseen and much dreaded regions below, whether those of the Fāfā or its outlets, I may give a few particulars. The disembodied spirit was supposed to retain the exact image of its former self, and immediately on leaving the body it was believed to commence its solitary journey to the Fāfā, which was located to the westward of the island of Savaii, the most westerly of the group, and towards which point disembodied spirits from all the islands bent their way immediately after death. Thus, in case of a spirit commencing its journey at Manu'a, the most easterly of the group, it journeyed on to the western end of that island, where it dived into the sea and swam to the nearest point of Tutuila, or other intervening island, where, having journeyed along the shore to the extreme west point of that island, it again plunged into the sea and pursued its solitary way to the next island, and thus onward throughout the entire group, until it reached the extreme west point of Savaii, where it finally dived into the ocean and proceeded to the mysterious Fāfā.

At the west point of Upolu the land terminates in a narrow rocky point, which is still known as the *Fatu-osofia*, or leaping stone, from which all spirits were said to leap into the sea, *en route* to the Fāfā. This was a weird and much dreaded point, where the lonely travellers were said to be certainly met with, and their company was anything but desired. I well remember the astonishment expressed at the daring courage of a man I well knew in building his house upon the very point of land thus haunted, after he had become a Christian.

Many times natives have assured me that disembodied spirits have passed them on the road when travelling. When asked how they knew them, they answered, "Why, we knew them personally, and spoke to them, but received no answer," a fact quite sufficient in their estimation to determine the spiritual nature of the parties met, since it is the invariable custom of the Samoans to return an answer when accosted on a journey; to do otherwise being looked upon as a great insult.

In case a person died a natural death, no anxiety was manifested by survivors respecting his spirit, since it was supposed to have proceeded immediately to the Fāfā, whence it either made its way to the "Nu'u-o-nonoa" (the land of the bound) or else to the "Nu'u-a-aitu" (the land of the spirits); but, in case a person died a violent death, much fear was expressed by survivors lest the disembodied spirit should haunt its former abode. To obviate this, a woman proceeded immediately to the spot where the death occurred, if within reach, and, spreading a piece of *siapo* (native cloth) upon the ground, waited until an ant or some other insect crawled upon the cloth, which was then carefully gathered up, and, with the insect, buried with the

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corpse. The insect was supposed to have received the spirit of the dead, and no further fear was felt respecting its re-appearance; but where the person died in battle, or from some other cause, at a distance, the surviving relatives were often troubled and disturbed by visits from the restless homeless wanderer.

War Clubs, Deified.

The war clubs of renowned warriors, *Anava*, were regarded with much superstitious veneration by the different members of their families.

Before a battle, various rites and ceremonies were observed towards the war clubs, which were considered essential to their owners' success in combat. I have often seen battered and blood-stained war clubs treasured up and revered as articles of the highest value by natives who resisted for a long time all attempts to purchase them, even at a high price, as they considered that in parting with them all hopes of success in battle went with the club. The family of Fa'atauvelo, an old Manono chief and renowned warrior, for a long time resisted my efforts to purchase their father's war club, "*O Tana-ma-Teine*," (boys and girls), so called from the number of poor children he had slain with it during his many midnight attacks upon defenceless villages and settlements. At length, some time after his death, I was enabled to purchase this relic, and deposit it in the London Missionary Society's Museum, on my return to England in 1846.

The Soul (Anganga).

The soul is termed *anganga*, in a general sense, but *atamai* is also used sometimes for the mind: this latter word, however, more properly expresses wisdom, cleverness, instinct, or skill in manufacturing. *Māuri* is also a term occasionally used for the spiritual portion of man; but in a restricted sense. In case a man had been very much startled, he would say, "*Ua sengia lo'u mauri*," My *mauri* (or spirit) has been startled. It may also mean, My heart is startled.

The Priesthood.

The Priesthood, *Taulā-aitu* (anchors of the spirits), from *taula*, an anchor, and *Aitu*, spirits or gods, may be divided into four classes, viz.: Priests of the War-gods, Keepers of the War-gods, Family Priests, and Prophets or Sorcerers.

1. *O Taula-Aitu-o-Aitu-Tau* (anchors of the spirits of the war-gods) were important personages, being consulted upon all warlike occasions. This class of priests invoked the assistance of various war-gods, but most of all Na-fanua, a female deity who was revered by the whole population, and who, in conjunction with Savea-se'u-leo, may be considered the national gods of war. In addition to these, however, each district had its own war-god, some of which were as follow:

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Name of God.

O le Tama-fainga

Reverenced by the People of

Manono and Fa'a-sā-le-leanga

O Tui-o-Pulotu	Fangaloa, and part of Atua
O Turi-tua	Falealili
O Tui-leo-nu'u	A'ana and Tuamasanga
O le Fe'e	A'ana and Faleata
Aitu-i-Pava	Le-fa'a-sa-le-leanga
Tui-Fiti	Matautu and Nganga'e-o-le-maunga
Nafanua	Ngangaifo-o-le-maunga
Sepo-malosi, Moso and Tui Atua	Leone and Pangopango

It was one of this class, the representative of O le Tamafaiinga, that usurped the regal power of the Islands, and reigned with great tyranny over the whole of Samoa until the year 1829, when he was slain by the people of A'ana. He was worshipped, as combining both regal and divine attributes.

2. *O Tausi-aitu-tau* (keepers of the war-gods), or, as they were also called, *O Va'a-fa'atau-o-aitu-tau* (war-ships of the war-gods), next claim attention. To their custody were committed the objects supposed to be inspired by the district war-gods. These emblems of the gods' presence were various, and had different names. The fleets of Manono were accompanied by two of such symbols, *Limulimu-ta* and *Sa-ma-lulu*, the former a kind of drum, and the latter a long pennant that floated from the masthead of the sacred canoe. In the Tuamasanga District the emblem was the *Pu*, or sacred conch-shell, which was named *O Aitu-langi* (gods of the heavens). The same symbol was used by the people of Matautu, Savaii; whilst at Fangaloa, in Atua, the object of reverence was called *O le Atua* (the god), and resembled a large box or chest, which was placed upon the canoe of the war-priest, and accompanied the fleet to battle. Another emblem used by the people of the latter place took the form of a broom or besom, which was carried, like the famous broom of Van Tromp, at the masthead of the war-priest's canoe. The *Pu*, or sacred conch-shell, was carried by the war-priest, or keeper of the god, when the Tuamasanga people were engaged in warfare, but the other emblems were only taken in canoes.

In connection with the well-known fact that, in Polynesia, the *Pu*, or conch-shell, was regarded as a sacred emblem of the war-god, I may mention, as an interesting fact, the circumstance of one having been found by the late H. B. Sterndale, Esq., of Samoa, in some cyclopean remains, placed over a cromlech, in an extraordinary mountain burial-place he discovered in the island of Upolo, and which are described in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" for October, 1890.⁵

These extraordinary remains are near another wonder of the past, the far-famed *Fale-o-le-Fe'e*, or house of the *Fe'e*, which would seem in some manner to be connected with it, thus forming another link in the chain

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of mysteries of the past, regarding which we seek in vain for some help to unravel.

3. *O Taulā-aitu-o-ainga* (anchors of gods or priests of families) may be next noticed. These summoned the aid of various gods, such as Moso, Ita-ngatā, Sepo-malosi, O le Alii-tu-maunga, O le Tama-faiinga, &c.

This office was sometimes held by the head of the family, or his sister. If held by the former, it gave him great power and authority over the different members of his family, which he seldom failed to make use of in the acquisition of wealth. It was also found very convenient to dedicate property to the family god—either canoes or valuable mats—as in that case the articles could never be given away or parted with, although they might be used occasionally by the *Taulā-aitu* himself.

Some one of the afore-named deities were selected by a family as the object of their veneration, and at certain times the god was supposed to enter into the *Taulā-aitu*, or priest, to answer enquiries or deliver commands. The approach or presence of the god was indicated by the priest commencing to gape, yawn, clear his throat, &c., &c., but at length his countenance and body underwent violent contortions; after which, in loud unearthly tones, the visitor from the land of spirits was heard announcing his approach to the terrified inmates of the house, who sat crouching, silent, and trembling at respectful distances from the priest.

Perhaps the god worshipped by the family was Moso, and upon the announcement, "I am Moso; I am just arrived from the land of spirits to visit you," one of the elders of the party present answered, with much fear and reverence, "Approach! we are your subjects, and are here waiting to receive your commands." Which address to the ghostly visitor was always made in the highest chiefs' language. At the close of these introductory speeches the occasion of the visit was made known. Perhaps this was to utter a complaint of carelessness in bringing donations of food, property, &c., accompanied with severe threats of vengeance, unless a liberal supply was speedily brought to his representative. Or perhaps the god's anger was directed against some unfortunate who had been treasuring up a valuable mat, the existence of which had been known to the speaker, and the possessor was threatened with quick punishment if the said mat was not immediately forthcoming. At other times the god announced it to be his pleasure that the entire family should assemble and build him a large canoe, or a house, which command was always obeyed with alacrity, and a humble apology tendered for past neglect.

It might be that the god was summoned and his assistance implored in effecting the recovery of some sick person placed before him. On such occasions it was often gravely announced that there was

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no immediate danger, but that recovery was retarded in consequence of the meanness of the sick person's more immediate relatives, and intimation given that a valuable mat was left behind. At other times, the patient, although perhaps in a dying state, was directed to take plenty of food; and those who accompanied the sick person, if brought from a distance, were told to send immediately to their land for such food, or seek it amongst relatives; and they were told to see especially that there was no lack of pigs. Sometimes the patient recovered, and the fame of the cure was

noised far and near; but, if after all death ensued, and the more immediate friends ventured to expostulate with the god for his cruelty in taking from them one of their small number and not going to a more numerous family for a victim, they were coolly told by the *Taulā-aitu* that the deceased had died because he (the family god) had been overpowered by the *Aitu* of the family on the mother's side.

In the event of all the means used proving ineffectual, and death appearing imminent, strangely wild scenes often occurred. Numbers crowded around the dying chief to receive a parting look or word from him, whilst in front of the dwelling might be seen men and women wildly beating their heads and bodies with large stones, and inflicting ghastly wounds from which the blood streamed, as an offering of affection and sympathy to their departing friend. It was also fondly hoped that such self-inflicted punishment might be the means of propitiating the gods, so that they might be induced to avert the threatened calamity.

In the midst of all this confusion and uproar the voice of a *Tulafale* might be heard loudly calling upon the god of the family in the following terms: "Moso, what does all this mean? Give back to us our chief! Why, you pay no respect to us *Fale-upolu!*" Then, addressing himself to the god of the sufferer's mother, he called loudly upon him to interfere and prevent Moso from taking away the spirit of their chief. But, suddenly seeing that all his appeals were useless, and that the chief was dead, he lost all patience and began to abuse the god Moso in no measured terms: "Oh, thou shameless spirit, could I but grasp thee I would smash thy skull to pieces! Come here and let us fight together! Don't conceal yourself, but show yourself like a man, and let us fight if you are angry!"

4. *O Taulā-aitu-vavalo-ma-fai-tu'i* (anchors of the gods to predict and curse), or prophets and sorcerers, from *vavalo*, to prophecy, and *fai-tu'i*, to curse. This class of the priesthood invoked the assistance of the following *Aitu*: *Titi-uso*, *Pūpū-i-toto* (spitting blood), *Lipi-ola* (sudden death), and others. Their services were sought after by persons who had been robbed or otherwise injured, and who sought to know the spot where the stolen articles were hidden, as also who was the thief or cause of the injury or curse that was supposed to have fallen upon them. They were also very generally consulted by persons who sought

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to revenge themselves on others, and asked that curses might be uttered upon parties who were specially named.⁶ The sick were also taken to them, and they were consulted as to the occasion of the sickness and probable issue; at the same time they were besought to invoke the aid of the gods in the removal of the disease. In return for these services they received large presents of food and valuable property.

In connection with this class of *Taulā-aitu*, I may notice the immense importance attached to a sister's curse. In all cases of sickness the sister of the sick person, if any, was at once closely questioned as to whether she had cursed the sick person and thus caused the illness; if so, she was entreated to remove the curse. Moved by their entreaties the sister took coco-nut water in her mouth and squirted it towards or upon the body of the sufferer, by which means she either removed the curse or declared her innocence of having called down any malediction upon the sick. This strange custom was called *O le pūpūnga* (rinsing the mouth), and all parties were very desirous that it should be promptly performed in all cases of illness.

All the different orders of the priesthood possessed great influence over the minds of the people, who were kept in constant fear by their threats and impoverished by their exactions. This remark, however, applies more particularly to the two latter classes of priesthood; but frequent offerings were made by the people to their war-gods, with which the priests or *Taulā-aitu* failed not to enrich themselves.

It has occurred to me that there seems to be a strong resemblance between this class of the priesthood we have been speaking of (*O Taulā-aitu-vavalo-ma-fai-tu'i*—anchors of the gods to predict and curse, or prophets and sorcerers) and the Maori *Tohunga*, with their much dreaded incantations and curses.⁷ The name of *Tohunga* seems to me synonymous with the Samoan word *Tufunga*, or chief workman, whether of house or canoe builders or of tattooers. In Samoa they had immense power, very many chiefs of rank being connected with their order. From the manner in which the *Tohunga* are often spoken of in connection with the building of canoes in the Maori records it seems to me that the one name has grown out of the other.

Fale-aitu and Malumalu, or Spirit Houses or Temples.

Some *Aitus*, principally the war-gods, but not entirely so, were honoured with dwellings called *Fale-aitu* (spirit houses), as also *O le Malumalu-o-le-aitu* (the dwelling or temple of the *aitu*), whether a

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house or a tree, one or more of which of some description or another were usually found in every village. These spirit houses were built in the usual shape and style as a rule, with nothing in their build or finish to distinguish them from other dwellings, being at times mere huts, but rendered sacred by their being set apart as the dwelling-place of the god, and hence regarded with much veneration by the Samoans in the olden times, so much so that for a long period after the arrival of Europeans amongst them they were accustomed to view with much jealousy and displeasure any intrusion upon their sacred precincts. These houses or temples of the gods were placed in charge of guardians, who, in addition to their titles (given elsewhere), were also called *Va'a-o-taua-o-aitu-tau* (warships of the war-gods). Whatever emblems of the deity worshipped might be in the possession of the village were always placed in these sacred houses, and were under the watchful care of their keepers.

When the priests of the war-gods were consulted professionally they were accustomed to go to these houses for the purpose of advising with the god, who was supposed to enter into the priest, as well as the particular emblems of the deity, in case any were deposited in the temple, and then deliver his answer to the proposed question.

These spirit houses (or *Malumalu-o-le-aitu*) were usually placed in the principal *marae* of the village, surrounded with a low fence, and were built of similar materials to those used in ordinary dwellings. They were almost always placed on a *fanua-taru*, or raised platform of stones, varying in height and dimensions according to the amount of

respect felt by the district towards the presiding god of the temple. These platforms were always made and the *Malumalu* (or spirit house) built by the united exertions of a whole family or village or district, as the case might be.

O le Fale-o-le-Fe'e.

One very interesting exception to the usual style of building of these temples (or *Malumalu-o-le-aitu*) is found in the case of a remarkable old ruin in the interior of Upolu called *O le Fale-o-le-Fe'e* (the house of the *Fe'e*, the famous war-god of A'ana and Faleata), the site of which became known to me a short time before leaving Samoa in 1845, as described in my article published in this Journal, vol. iii, p. 239. This famous temple appears to have been built in the usual Samoan style, but its ruins disclose the fact that its builders had used stone slabs for the supporting posts of the roof, and that thus it got the name of *O le Fale-ma'a-o-le-Fe'e* (the stone house of the *Fe'e*), and hence became enshrouded with much mystery and wonder. As far as I-know, this is the only known instance of such a departure from the usual style of Samoan building in the islands.

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Haunts of Aitu.

Various localities were supposed to be the haunts of different *Aitu*, or spirits. On the road leading from Falelatai to the Fangā there is a gap in a mountain top washed by the rains, through which the road passes, and which was said to have been formed by repeated blows from the club of a vindictive spirit who had taken up his abode there, and was continually assaulting travelling parties as they passed. I have often been amused whilst passing this spot with the recital of the various hair-breadth escapes of parties who had suffered from the assaults of this tyrant. On the different roads throughout the islands spots are still pointed out as places which were formerly regarded with dread, as being considered the abode of some *Aitu*, and on passing which every person was accustomed to make some small offering, accompanied with a petition for a propitious journey. Sometimes a piece of food was placed by the wayfarer upon a stone or heap of stones which marked the spot, but more generally a small bough plucked from some neighbouring shrub was thrown on the spot with the remark, "Spirit, there is your portion, grant us a favourable journey." Similar customs prevail in Corea, which, as described by A. K. Savage Landor, show great resemblance to many of the old Samoan superstitious observances. Sometimes a tree acquired great sacredness and renown from its being the gathering place of spirits. One such tree stood at the back of the settlement of Fasito'otai, on Upolu, which in the olden days had been so much revered that, if a person only broke off a twig, it was said that he would immediately *fulu* (or swell), and shortly after die in great agony. The spirits dwelling in the neighbourhood of this far-famed *Malumalu-o-le-aitu* were frequently honoured by visits of spirits from a neighbouring island, or else from the land of spirits, when this widely celebrated tree became the place of entertainment. It stood in the bush some little distance back from the settlement, and I think was of the *ŷi* or chestnut species, a fine spreading handsome tree; and the arrival of the visiting spirits was always announced to persons who might be at work in the neighbourhood by certain strange sounds and noises proceeding from the tree, the meaning of which was well known to them. On hearing these noises, any who might be working near at once left their work and proceeded to inform their fellow-villagers of the arrival of a *Folaungā-aitu*, or party of voyaging spirits. The villagers immediately left their work, whatever it was, to collect food, which was placed in a particular spot for the use of the much dreaded visitors. As long as the strange sounds proceeded from the tree all noises and confusion on the part of the natives were hushed, and they all moved about noiselessly under the fear of incurring the quick anger of the dreaded visitors, believed to be congregated in the *Malu-malu*, or spirits' temple.

Even as late as the year 1844 I was much surprised one day to see an old blind man labouring hard to cut down a beautiful and orna-

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mental *tarei* tree that stood near his house, and which from its peculiar growth had afforded him shelter from both heat and storm. By dint of hard chopping, his strokes being cleverly guided by his hand, he had made considerable impression on the tree. I remonstrated with him for destroying such an ornament to his land, when he told me that it was the resort of an *Aitu*, who for a long time had greatly disturbed him with his nightly pranks, and that by cutting down the tree he hoped he would get rid of his tormentor, and thus get peace. On my return some little time after I found the man had succeeded in cutting down the obnoxious tree, near to which he sat, and he told me with evident pleasure that he hoped to get quieter nights for the future, but that of late his rest had been sadly disturbed by the *Aitu* and his visitors. In the olden days such an act of summary ejection and daring impiety would never have been thought of or entertained for a moment.

Offerings to the Aitu.

Offerings of food and property were made to the different *Aitu* themselves, as also to their representatives, or *Taulā-aitu*. Sometimes these were appropriated by the priests, but many of them were allowed to decay in the spirit houses, no one presuming to touch articles so sacredly dedicated.

Upon an *Aitu* making known his wish that a coco-nut tree, or even the produce of an entire grove, should be made sacred to his use, his wish was instantly complied with, the simple tying a small portion of coco-nut leaf around the trunk or trunks of the trees, no matter how many, being sufficient to intimidate the stoutest heart. The trees remained untouched, their fruit ripened and fell to the ground, where the nuts decayed or vegetated around the parent stem. Sometimes the nuts formed a considerable heap, as they were allowed to accumulate month after month, no one daring to touch them or presuming to break the sacredness imposed.

Folaungā-aitu, or Parties of Voyaging Spirits.

Frequent parties of voyaging spirits were supposed to visit the islands, and for their accommodation and refreshment the *Matini* (offerings to the *Aitu*) was placed upon the beach. These offerings consisted of small branches of the *ava* plant (*Piper methysticum*), with fish of all kinds and sizes, according to the devotional feelings of the donors. The fish were allowed to putrify on the beach, sometimes left until they fell to pieces and were washed away by the tide. At other times, especially if the *Matini* had been large and the offerings numerous, the stench arising from the same became so great that the villagers became impatient and threw the dedicated food of the gods into the sea. A similar offering of food (*O le Matini*) was taken with much ceremony to the beach and solemnly offered there to the

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mysterious visitors on the arrival of the first European ships, which were supposed to contain parties of *Folaungā-aitu*, or voyaging spirits, and many prayers were put up that the offerings might be accepted; or, if the gods came to take away men, that they would spare them and go to more populous places.

This desire to propitiate the gods and secure their favour was also shown in a custom, common amongst the Samoans, of casting aside a small portion of food on the commencement of each meal and the pouring out upon the ground a small quantity of *ava* as a libation or peace-offering to the family *Aitu* or deity.

Native Testimony as to the doings of Aitu, or Spirits.

The dispositions attributed to their *Aitu* and *Sau-āiti* by the Samoans varied much, some being considered playful and mischievous, others vindictive and oppressive, whilst some again were reputed to be of mild and inoffensive bearing. Respecting the two former classes, a few particulars may be given as illustrating the state of feeling amongst the older Samoans as to the doings of their *Aitu*.

As to those considered playful or frolicsome, it was said that they would often appear to disturb the peace of some quiet family at their evening meal with unearthly noises or sounds. Or perhaps just as the last flickering flame passed from the wood fire, the whole company would be startled by the arrival of one of those dreaded visitors, who, appearing in the shape of a dull-coloured ball of fire, flitted from rafter to rafter or passed along the ridge-pole, and then after a time took his departure amidst such an uproar and clatter that the affrighted inmates of the dwelling rushed helter-skelter out of the house, thinking it was tumbling about their ears.

Others of these mysterious personages were more vindictive, and often committed acts of great violence upon the unoffending inmates of a house. The natives have often assured me that sometimes an assembled company would be put to flight, and compelled to flee in abject terror in all directions to escape from the furious and quickly repeated blows which were dealt amongst them with cudgels wielded by invisible hands. The blows were real and palpable enough, although the hands that gave them were invisible, and were said to be inflicted by *Aitu* of vindictive spirit and malicious plans. It was also asserted that individuals were frequently carried away by these revengeful *Aitu* and never heard of afterwards, whilst others were at times so severely beaten by the *Aitu* as to cause death. In some of these cases it is probable that death had been caused by some enemy in personal revenge, and ascribing the deed to spiritual agency was found a convenient cloak for the deed. In other cases of reputed injuries, said to have been inflicted by an *Aitu*, I have ascertained that they were the result of injuries inflicted during delirium caused by sunstroke. Still I am satisfied that there was much truth in what the natives asserted.

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In one case, however, that came under my notice, an alarm was raised respecting the evil designs of a bad spirit that proved groundless. Not long after my arrival at my first station (Palelatai) I was hastily summoned to accompany a young man, who came in breathless haste to prevent, as he said, the designs of an *Aitu*, or devil, as he put it, who had come to take away his mother. In answer to my inquiry as to what he meant, he cried, "Oh! be quick, be quick, or the old woman will be gone before we reach the place." This was a startling summons, and I at once went with the lad, who hurried me along with the frequent expression of fear lest we should be too late. It was very dark, and the road stormy and rough, but we hurried on, and as we approached the house the lad's sister, hearing footsteps, asked who was approaching. My companion replied to her question, and then asked, "And how is mother?" "Oh, she is better," was the reply, "and the *Aitu* has gone away." "Indeed," said the boy, "why how was that?" "Well," replied the girl "when you jumped up to run for the missionary the *Aitu* said, 'Where is he going to?' 'Oh,' I said, 'he is going to fetch the missionary to you;' on hearing which he said, 'Call him back, call him back! If you are going to send for him I am off,' and immediately took his departure."

I found the mother sitting quietly in her house, the attack of delirium having passed away, whilst the application of a blister seemed still further to keep off the visits of her supposed ghostly tormentor.

Were the Samoans in their Heathen State more directly under the power which, for want of a better term, I call Satanic Influence?

This was a question that often occurred to me when daily mixing with the people in bygone years, and listening to their strongly worded and constantly repeated assertions as to their experience of such matters. As the result of much intercourse with the Samoans and long residence among them, my own opinion is that they were most decidedly thus subject to the more immediate influence of "Satanic agency" at the time of the introduction of the Gospel amongst them, and that such agency was especially strong and active in opposition to the introduction of Christianity. Such also seems to have been the opinion of many of the earlier Tahitian missionaries as the result of their earlier intercourse with the people of those islands.

In vol. i, p. 362, of "Polynesian Researches," the Rev. W. Ellis says, "In addition to the firm belief which many who were sorcerers or agents of the infernal powers, and others, who were the victims of incantation, still maintain, some of the earlier missionaries are disposed to think this was the fact. Since the natives have embraced Christianity they believe they are now exempt from an influence to which they were subject during the reign of the evil spirit;" or, as the Samoans themselves in those days always spoke of the time—"the

days of darkness." During such times the "strong man armed" kept his goods and his house in peace, but when the stronger than he came he was bound and despoiled. This is what the Gospel has done in Samoa in a multitude of cases, and the change has been most wonderful.

Personal Items and Experiences.

I have given some carefully recorded statements of natives and facts bearing upon the belief of the old Samoans upon such matters, and I now, for the first time, make known a few facts and experiences bearing upon this most interesting subject as they occurred to me personally more than fifty years ago. During the earlier years of my residence amongst the Samoans various circumstances occurred which were so strange and unaccountable that I could not understand them, and thinking of them in connection with many statements of the natives I was forced to the conclusion that they were the results of other than ordinary agencies. Two or three of these may be mentioned which occurred at Falelatai during my residence there, somewhere about the years 1839 and 1840, and the facts alluded to consisted of a constant succession of extraordinary noises and visitations, which I could never understand or fathom as arising from any ordinary causes. The house we then occupied was a new one, substantial and well built, so as to be free from easy access for the purpose of annoyance; but for many months, night after night, our sleep, as well as the sleep of all in the house, was disturbed by most uncanny noises and doings that were the occasion of much annoyance and astonishment alike to ourselves, our native servants, and occasional visitors. A long passage ran through the centre of the house from end to end, having rooms on either side opening into it, and in a most unaccountable manner this passage became the scene of nightly doings that utterly perplexed and astonished us all, including our native servants and native friends, so much so that they seemed more perplexed than ourselves. Night after night, after we had all retired to rest, this passage appeared to be taken possession of by a party of bowlers, who kept up an incessant rolling of what seemed to be wild oranges or *molis* backwards and forwards from end to end. Not a sound could be heard other than the interminable mysterious bowling or rolling of these *molis* or balls backwards and forwards; the most cautious inspection failing to reveal any human agency in producing these uncanny noises and disturbances.

After a time we became so used to them that they lost their novelty in a measure, and we slept in spite of them, but we could never dispossess ourselves of a certain uncomfortable feeling that the nearness of such uncanny visitors and roisterous doings produced. Strangers coming and hearing the noises for the first time were amazed and wondered, and the breakfast table the next morning was

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sure to be the scene of eager questions and expostulations. "Stair, I wonder you allow your servants to keep such late hours and indulge in such uncanny sports." "What do you mean?" I would reply; "there were no servants about, they had all retired to rest long before we did last night." "Why," the reply would come, "I heard them rolling balls up and down the passage for hours last night, so that I could not sleep." And great indeed was the astonishment when we assured the visitor that these strange noises were of nightly occurrence and the outcome of unknown or apparently ghostly visitants!

At other times loud noises and knockings would be heard on the the outer door, which would appear to be battered as though about to be smashed in; but not the slightest trace could be found of the delinquents any more than they could be found in what I have described under the head of native testimony, &c. One instance especially made a deep impression on my mind. It was a lovely moon-light night, and a number of native chiefs and leading men had gathered in my front room, as their delight was to talk over various matters, especially to discuss foreign customs and doings. The room was well filled, and we were in the midst of an animated discussion when suddenly a tremendous crash came at the front door, as though it must be smashed in. Instantly the whole party jumped up and scattered, some to the front, some to the back, and others to the sides, so as to completely surround the house and capture the aggressors, for so for the moment the whole company thought. Hardly a word was spoken, but a rush was made to capture the offender. Not a soul was to be seen outside, however, and in a very short time the whole party were collected, crestfallen at their want of success, and keenly discussing as to who could have caused the noise. The idea of its being the act of a native was scouted by the whole party, who said it was well known that the gathering of the chiefs was there, and no native would have dared commit the outrage. It was generally decided that it must be the doings of the *Aitu* or *Aitus*, who were such constant aggressors! Yet for all that every place was still further keenly searched, but without avail. Later on in the evening we were collected together at one end of the house near to a large *ifi* (chestnut) tree, in which a good sized bell was hung for use on various occasions. Suddenly the bell began to ring violently, without any apparent cause—no hand was pulling it, but it kept on wildly clanging in full view of the whole party, who looked on in amazement. "Perhaps there is a string attached and someone pulling it, secreted under that fence," suggested one. Immediately one of the number ran to the fence, but no one was there. Another climbed the tree. There was no string attached, but the bell kept on wildly ringing! There was in reality no need to ascend the tree to ascertain the fact of there being no string attached, for every leaf and twig stood out boldly to view in the bright moonlight; but the mystery was not solved, and the old conclusion was come to that

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it was part of the mischievous doings of the *Aitu*. Still, another mystery! As we were talking eagerly together we were suddenly pelted with small stones, thrown obliquely, which struck several of the party with no little force; some on the breast, others on other parts of the body, myself on the foot—leaving us all so mystified that we separated, the outsiders to their homes and we to our haunted dwelling, more astounded than ever.

At last, after many months, my wife's health began to be affected, and at length quite to fail under the effects of much nervous prostration brought on by these continued uncanny visitations, aided by the great humidity of the district, so that it was deemed advisable we should remove to a more healthy place, which we did, at much loss and inconvenience. Our house was left, and with the removal we were happily freed from any further ghostly visitations.

Very much astonishment was expressed by the natives as to what they thought was the occasion of these extraordinary visitations. Some thought the house had been unwittingly built upon an old native burying-ground,

others that the *ifi* tree was an old *Matumahu*, or temple of an *Aitu*. If so, the wrath of the various *Folaungā-aitu*, or parties of voyaging spirits, must have been aroused at seeing the sanctity of their temple invaded.

In after years I often visited the spot, but the house was dismantled and, if I mistake not, was not occupied after, certainly it was not by any European.

One old chief and orator, *Sepetaio*, from *Mulinu'u*, seemed much concerned at our frequent annoyances, and often discussed them with us. One day he came and, to my amusement, he gravely proposed to capture some one of the *Aitus* that caused us so much annoyance. If I would let him have one of my servants named *Mu* he declared he could capture the *Aitu* and bring him before me. I thanked him very much, but declined his offer to make me personally acquainted with the *Aitu*. Amongst other things, he told me of an adventure that had happened to this same man *Mu* many years before, in which he had successfully laid his plans to capture an *Aitu*.

Story of *Mu* and the *Aitu*.

Tradition records that an *Aitu* was accustomed to sit upon the limb of a tree somewhere near the neighbourhood of *Palauli* (black mud), *Savaii*, from which he so constantly assaulted travellers as to become the bugbear of the place. At length a travelling party from *Falelatai* happening to stay there were duly informed of the trouble of the villagers, on which *Mu* proposed to capture the *Aitu*, provided the villagers would lend him their assistance and support him in his plans, which they gladly consented to do. He then procured some putrid fish, with which he rubbed himself over as the night advanced, and started alone for the haunt of the *Aitu*, having previously arranged

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with his companions that they should light a big fire in the *marae* and appear as if they were having a merry-making, whilst some of their number were to lie in ambush near the fire with their clubs.

On nearing the spot *Mu* saw the *Aitu* seated upon a branch, and at once accosted him. After a little time the *Aitu* said, "What a nice smell comes from you." "Yes," said the man, "I have been feasting upon a dead man, and a famous feast I have had. Would you not like to have some of what is left?" "Indeed, I should," said the *Aitu*, "but if I go you must carry me." "All right," said *Mu*, "I will carry you part of the way and you shall carry me the rest." On this *Mu* started with the *Aitu* on his back, taking the road towards the village, which they reached after mutual carryings. The *Aitu* made some remark as to the noises and shouts of laughter that came from the village, when *Mu* said to his companion, who was riding, "Don't hold so tightly, you will choke me; sit loosely upon my back, and hold lightly by my throat, for as we must pass through this village I shall have to walk quickly as I know they are a bad lot; so don't stop my breathing." The *Aitu*, anxious to get to the promised feast, did as he was told, and *Mu* trudged onwards, taking care to pass close by the fire, into which he pitched his burden, when the ambush rushed to the spot and beat fire and *Aitu* to pieces with their clubs, and were thus enabled to rid themselves of their tormentor.

Fatal Effects from Terror.

The whole subject of the effects produced on the native mind by the spiritual influences and agencies by which they firmly believed themselves surrounded in their heathen state is most difficult to understand, yet, at the same time, most important. In illustration of the terror caused by this belief, I may mention one or two facts. As late as 1845 a native of *Lalomaunga*, an inland village of *Upolu*, returned from his plantation in great distress. He hastily summoned his family, as also their relatives from a distance, to whom he declared that he had been warned by an *Aitu* in the bush that his death was close at hand. He had left his home in the morning in good health to work in his plantation, and continued his work until the evening, when an *Aitu* spoke to him and said, "Nonsense, working here until this time, and just going to die!" The man immediately left his work, returned home and spread his mat, lay down, and appeared sickening for death. Happily for him one of his relatives came to tell me of the circumstance, and suspecting his ailment was that of sunstroke, I sent him some medicine, as I was unable to see him personally. The medicine had a good effect, and the party of relatives and friends collected for his funeral dispersed, leaving him in good health.

On another occasion a similar case occurred, but which I did not hear of until it had terminated fatally. In this case a man from *Satapuala* came home from his plantation to the settlement stating

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that he had been violently beaten in the bush by an *Aitu*, who had nearly killed him. His body was sadly bruised, and he appeared to have been subjected to much ill-treatment. He lingered for a few days and then died, both himself and family firmly believing that his death was occasioned by the ill-treatment of the *Aitu*. He had most likely been sun-stricken or been seized with a fit of apoplexy, and the bruises been inflicted by himself in his delirium.

At one time all bodily pain was supposed to be occasioned by the various *Aitu*, and strange things sometimes occurred in connection with such belief.

Religious Feasts and Festivals.

Annual feasts or revels were held in some districts in honour of the gods. That celebrated in the district of *A'ana* was called *O le Tapu-o-A'ana-i-le-Fe'e* (the dedication of *A'ana* to the *Fe'e*, the district war-god). This festival, which was very popular, was usually attended by parties, larger or smaller, from all parts of the group, and was celebrated in the central *marae* of *Le Ulumoenga*, the chief settlement of *A'ana*.

For this feast preparations on a large scale were made by the whole district. Vast quantities of fish, pigs, and vegetables were provided to satisfy the hundreds or rather thousands of visitors and spectators of the various club and sham fights, boxing and wrestling matches, dances and obscenities which followed each other in quick succession

during the five days the feast lasted. During this time rioting and obscene revelry were the order of the day, these being unmixed with any religious ceremony whatever.

O le Amo-o-Atua-ia-Tupua-lē-Ngase.

After some short interval the A'ana feast was followed by that of Atua, called *O le Amo-o-Atua-ia-Tupua-lē-Ngase* (the carrying of Atua to *Tupua-lē-Ngase*, Jupiter). This festival was similar to the one already described, but differed from it in its being celebrated in two different *marae* in succession, one called Moamoa, in Falefā, and the other Fale-papa, in Lufilufi.

O le Tulangā-a-Sasa-Vea.

The festivities commenced at the *marae* of Moamoa and consisted of the usual routine of wrestling, boxing, club fights, and trials of strength and skill; varied, however, by the performances of a picked company of Atua men, who were recognised champions. They were men renowned for their courage and skill in club fighting, and were known by the name of *O le Tulangā-a-Sasa-vea*. They appeared as the champions of their district, and challenged any of their visitors to single combat.

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Upon a visitor, say a man from A'ana, accepting the challenge, he advanced towards the champions of Atua and, upon one of them coming forward to meet him, they closed in combat until one or the other was declared victor by the assembled throng, who, as one of the combatants fell and proved unable to rise, made the welkin ring with shouts of triumph and derision of the champion's party. If the defeated man was from A'ana, some of the Atua party commenced their song of triumph, the whole company joining in chorus.

Aue le ūnga i Fao e,
Tangi t'eti'e le ūnga i Fao.
E, tangi i lou tama ua mao,
O Fao le maunga o Atua,
Ia ta lava atoa ua;
Talofa, ua tau puao.
A'ana e, e ou le faiva o tau,
Ua 'ai efeele, ua tafili i le mutia.
Chorus—I saesae ē; I, saesae ē!

Alas for the hermit crab upon Fao,
The hermit crab has been crying to sit upon Fao.
But, oh, weep for your boy in his errors.
Fao is the mountain of Atua,
It can collect all the showers.
Oh, our sympathy, the mists are fighting!
A'ana, your employment is combat,
But you are eating the dust and sprawling upon the greensward!
Chorus—O h, carry him away! Oh, carry him away!

Should the conquerors hail from A'ana, then, as the champion of Atua lay senseless upon the grass, the shout of the victor's party burst forth, accompanied with the following song of triumph:—

Tufulele le vai a puea,
A'ana e, tau fā'a ea?
'Na vele le mutia. Vele le mutia!
Ua ngau Fao! Ua ngau Fao!
Chorus—I, saesae ē! I, saesae ē!

The two last lines of this song are very sarcastic, especially in the allusion to plucking the greensward, that employment being always confined to women. Hence the stinging character of the taunt—

There pluck the greensward, &c.
Fao is broken! Fao is broken!

The vanquished champion was then borne from the ground by his companions and the victor retired, their places being taken by other combatants.

The next day the whole assemblage proceeded to Falepapa, the *marae* at Lufilufi, at which place, if the *Tulangā-a-Sasavai* presented themselves, similar scenes to those just described followed; if not, the

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districts whose warriors had contended with each other the day before exchanged their *titi*, or girdles of *ti* leaves, in token of good will. After which the amusements of the festival proceeded on to the close.

Manono also celebrated its festival, called *O Aitu-o-Tama fainga, ma le Matu'u, ma La'a-mao-mao*, these being the names of the three district war-gods.

SAMOAN TRADITIONS.

Tradition as to the Origin of Earthquakes.

Earthquakes were attributed to the freaks of a god named Mafu'e, who was located in the volcanic regions below. They were also called Sa-le-F'e'e. Earthquakes were also called Mafu'e, and so named after this god.

The earth itself was supposed to be flat, and supported by a pillar ascending from Sa-le-F'e'e,⁵ and upon anything exciting the anger of this god Mafu'e, he grasped the pillar supporting the earth and shook it violently, thus causing earthquakes. That they were not disastrous in their effects was attributed to the fact that Mafu'e had but one arm, which was cause for great rejoicing in Samoa, otherwise they said the earth would have been destroyed.

The tradition proceeds to tell how this occurred, and also to tell how fire was first obtained in Samoa.

Mafu'e dwelt in the regions below, or, as they were also called, Sa-le-F'e'e. A man named Titi'i-a-Talanga⁶ dwelt i *longu* (upwards or northwards), and was the offspring of the Ve'a (land rail). Titi'i was also sometimes called Talanga in short. The employment of Mafu'e was to work below and plant *turo* to pa. One day Titi'i determined to go below and visit Sa-le-F'e'e. He therefore went to Vailele, and standing upon a rock exclaimed, "Back, rock, I am Talanga! Open to me, I wish to go below." On this the rock clave asunder and Titi'i went to the regions below. At this time there was no fire on this upper world, but in the regions below there was fire, i.e., in the place where Mafu'e dwelt.

When Titi'i had descended, Mafu'e, who had heard him descend and saw him approaching, said, "Who is this strong one of Samoa that thus disturbs my land?" Titi'i answered, "Be silent! This fellow has not ceased to eat cooked food, whilst those above have been eating uncooked food," for there was always a great fire burning below. To this Mafu'e responded, "Well, choose an employment upon which we shall first engage, whether wrestling or boxing or fighting with spears

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or stones, or twisting of limbs." Titi'i answered, "Then let us two twist." On which they at once closed with each other, but Mafu'e's right arm was soon twisted off by Titi'i, who then seized his opponent's left arm, and began twisting that off also, but Mafu'e cried out, "Enough! Let me live, leave me one arm that I may take hold of something with." Talanga demanded some acknowledgment of defeat from Mafu'e, when the latter said, "Take some fire—this burning brand of *toa*, with these *turo* tops—thus your people will be able to eat cooked food." On this Talanga left the lower regions and returned above, and on coming to the place whence he started he struck several kinds of wood with his burning brand, which caused them to yield fire by friction, a common mode of producing fire in Polynesia which seems to be referred to in this tradition. On page 36 of this article Lusi is credited with having introduced *turo* to his countrymen on returning from a visit to Tangaloa.

Titi'i-a-Talanga and the Winds.

Another tradition having a reference to this far-famed Talanga may be noticed. Tradition states that on one occasion he went for a sail in his canoe. The *Nambo* (south wind) blew on which he said, "Bring hither that wind and put it into my canoe, it is a bad wind." This was followed by the *Mutu* (north wind), when Titi'i said, "This wind is a nuisance; it will cause many tempests." Upon which it was brought and placed in the canoe. Shortly after the *Mutu* *Upolu* (east wind) sprang up. It was also pronounced bad, would be accompanied by rain, and prove unpleasant. This wind was also brought to the canoe. The *To'otoku* (trade) came next, but were considered bad from their strength, and were summoned to the canoe. They were followed by the *Langala*, the *Fu'utu'u*, and the *Pi'ipupu*, but as neither gave satisfaction they were all summoned to the canoe. These were succeeded by the *Tovya* (south-south-west wind), which was also secured on account of its bringing rain and causing drowsiness. At last came the *Seviva*, a gentle pleasant wind, when Titi'i said, "Let this remain, lest both the land and the sea become bad, and also that its breezes may gently fan my flowing hair."



¹ It is the universal testimony of all who have had dealings with the Polynesian race that, whilst they possessed idols, worship was never rendered to them as such, but rather to the gods they represented, who, for the time being, were supposed to dwell in the idols.—Editors.

² In Darwin's "Journal of Researches," p. 380, he says, "Wahine are the first colonists of distant islands."

³ *Talo* is the general name for plough, of which there are several species in Samoa, and it is noteworthy that one species, *Chromola laeva*, is called by the natives *O le Sa-o-Tovaga*.

⁴ *Ranga-maemo* or *Pala-maemo* in Maori.—Editors.

⁵ See a description of these remains in the Journal, vol. 1, p. 82.—Editors.

⁶ Thus, *Salala* to *Salala*—"Come, cure me this people"—Num. xii, 8.

⁷ There were several classes of the Maori *Tohunga* or priest, whose functions were such as are described by Mr. Stair, but the one name *Tohunga* seems to have included them all.—Editors.

⁸ See the Maori belief in the earth being supported by a pillar—"Journal," vol. 1, p. 159.—Editors.

⁹ This is the Maori name *Hiki'a-taranga*.—Editors.