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Old Samoa

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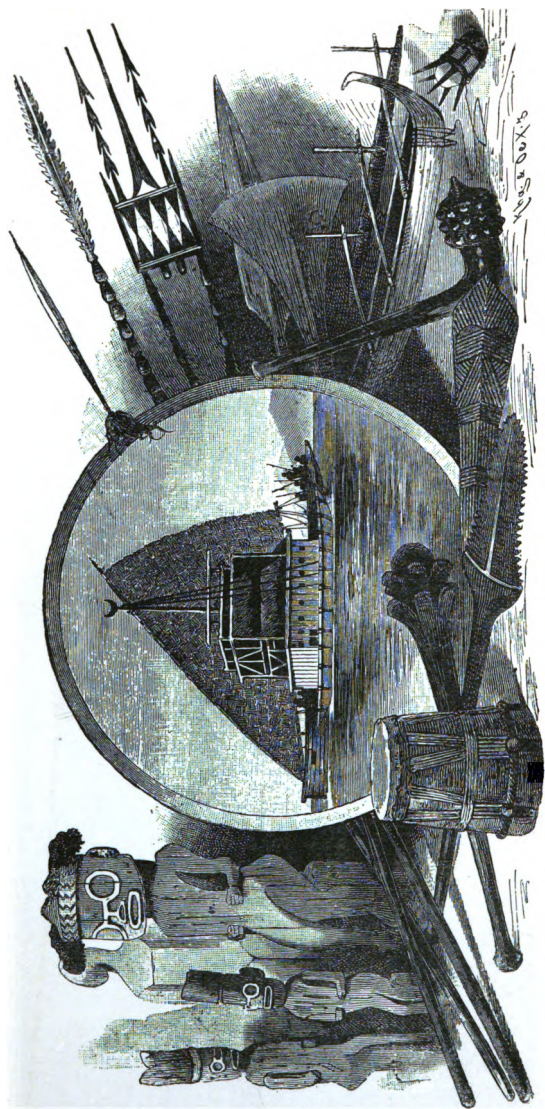
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SAMOAN WAR-CANOE, IDOLS, AND WEAPONS.

SAMOA

TRISAM B. ...
THE OCEAN

JOHN B. STANLEY

W. M. DUTTON

JOHN F. PALLARCA



OLD SAMOA

OR

FLOTSAM AND JETSAM FROM THE PACIFIC OCEAN

BY THE

REV. JOHN B. STAIR

LATE VICAR OF ST. ARNAUD, VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA; FORMERLY OF SAMOA

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

THE BISHOP OF BALLARAT

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY

56 PATERNOSTER ROW AND 65 ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD

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INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

BY THE

RIGHT REVEREND DR. THORNTON

LORD BISHOP OF BALLARAT, VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA

THE author of the present volume will not need introduction to those familiar with the story of Polynesian Missions; but his little book is not a record of missionary work, and appeals to a very varied circle of readers. In these days, current Samoan events are chronicled in the cable columns of every paper, and the political destiny of the archipelago awakens general and sometimes excited curiosity; but Mr. Stair's book rarely touches on the recent life of Samoa. Its unique interest consists in minute personal recollections of Samoa and the Samoans at a time when the islands were only gradually becoming known to Europeans, and when reminiscences of their first visitors, and the old traditions and customs of the islanders, if beginning to pass away (as they have very

largely done by this time), were at least fresh and definite in their memories, and eyewitnesses of strange scenes in the past could be met with, and catechized. It was still the 'Stone Age,' Mr. Stair claims, with the Samoans, and it is fortunate that a resident of so eminently 'historic,' i.e. keenly inquisitive, a mind spent seven years amongst them at that juncture, and can recall with so much precision the facts and experiences of half a century ago.

Mr. Stair is still (1897) on the staff of my Diocese (Ballarat, Victoria), though somewhat advanced in years, and exempt from pastoral charge. I found him Incumbent of St. Arnaud in 1875, where I periodically visited his parish, and was always freshly impressed with the keen interest he cherished in Samoa, and the abundance and accuracy of his personal recollections of his life there. His 'Flotsam and Jetsam' nowise exhausts these; indeed, I miss from it more than one racy story of old Samoa to which I listened at his table. The book reminds me strongly of these talks at the parsonage. Its writer makes no pretensions to elaborate literary style, but imparts his information after a simple unstudied method, the conversational flavour of which will not, perhaps, render it less acceptable to some of his readers. His store of original and carefully verified details is astonishing; and few can fail to be interested and entertained by his account of the island forests and

caves, the climbing ferns, and bowery breadfruit-vines, the subaqueous wonders of the lagoons, and the mysterious voices of the reefs. Of the way Samoans tempered the despotism of the *Tapu* with the ceremonious interference of the *Tulafale*; of the running of the gauntlet by unpopular chiefs at Tutuila, the daring voyage of Tu A'ana to Rarotonga, and the strange return visit of Malietoa long afterwards on a loftier errand; of the bearing aloft of the chief's pet bird at a coronation progress, and the observances of the *Fono*, or parliament;—the orator's staff (no relation to our Speaker's mace), and the wholesome custom of manual work by members while listening to speakers; and of the ingenious forms of judicial punishment inflicted by the criminal himself under the judge's eyes (surely there is sound philosophy in this?), such as self-stoning, biting the poison-root, and jactitation of spine-bearing fish, he has much to say that is of abiding value. One traces a strain of honour and fairness and good sense in much of the old social traditions of the Samoans; and it is no small thing our author can say of them, that he found no evidence of systematic slavery ever having prevailed in the islands. Indeed, he succeeds in inspiring his reader with some of his own warm feeling towards the Samoans as he found them. That feeling was strong in an eminent writer lately passed away; but the Samoa of Mr. Stevenson was not that of Mr. Stair. The interest

of the latter's descriptions consists, we repeat, in their character of first-hand recollections of a period in Samoan history which it is his good fortune to have been able, by this his modest labour of love, to have rescued from oblivion.

SAMUEL BALLARAT.

BISHOPSCOURT, BALLARAT.

P R E F A C E

MORE than half a century ago, that is, from 1838 to 1845, for seven years, I lived among the Samoans, in what might be termed the latter period of their 'Stone Age,' and was thus enabled to look upon their habits and customs as they prevailed before the nation had had much intercourse with Europeans, and before Christianity had been able to exert much influence upon them. I thus saw them during a very interesting period of their history, 'the parting of the ways,' as it were; the significance of which fact, however, I did not sufficiently realize at the time, otherwise my researches would have embraced additional subjects, and been followed with fuller results. Yet, from the very first, I felt great interest in Samoa and the Samoans, and endeavoured on every occasion to collect data and memoranda bearing upon their past history and customs, as well as conditions of life, knowing full well that such facts might soon be difficult to obtain.

A resident missionary occupies strong vantage-ground over transitory visitors in collecting facts and data concerning a people among whom he dwells, and I always felt it my duty to avail myself of any opportunity to

collect such knowledge as far as I could consistently with my regular missionary duties. But, in point of fact, there was no need to go out of one's way, or to neglect other work to do this, since ordinary official journeyings and constant intercourse with the people, to say nothing of needful relaxations, afforded abundant opportunities for gathering the desired knowledge. I was passionately fond of such researches, and on my journeys and frequent communications with the people had abundant opportunities presented for getting such information; and of these I gladly availed myself. Whilst travelling, conversation would often turn upon such topics, and memorable places and spots were frequently pointed out to me, and traditional records given that opened up information of the deepest interest and value; whilst the natives themselves proved zealous and efficient helpers in what they knew was to me a work and labour of love.

The valuable information which I thus obtained was subsequently supplemented, on my return to England in 1846, by a native Samoan chief, Mamoe, and his wife, Mamoe fafine, who were domiciled in my family. They were both of high rank, and well informed, as well as fully conversant with Samoan native customs and traditional lore, so that they were able to give me much valuable new information, and also to add greater value to that which I already possessed. At that time I contemplated publishing these records, but did not then carry my purpose to execution, and subsequently the requirements of a long and arduous colonial ministry have prevented my doing more than giving an occasional loving glance over these old records, as a miser at his treasures, and hoping that some day they might prove

of value. But now, having retired from active ministerial duty, and finding, in the light of the present interest in Samoa and Samoan affairs, that the information I possess is likely to be appreciated in many quarters, I venture to publish these records in a connected form.

I have not consulted other writers in my collection of data, feeling that it would be impossible to do so without being in some measure biassed by the views of others, thus lessening the value of my own testimony. Such a record will, I trust, prove valuable in after years, as customs change and living witnesses of those changes pass away. Even as it is, I occupy the unique position of being the sole survivor of the old Samoan missionaries who were fellow-workers with me, the lamented Martyr of Erromanga, the Reverend John Williams, or, to the Samoans, the widely known and deeply revered Viliamu.

Under these circumstances, I send forth these records of the habits and customs of the old Samoans, and thus endeavour to preserve an accurate picture of them as they were in olden days. Great changes have taken place of late years, and habits and customs have died out; so much so, that the Rev. S. Ella, an old and valued friend, himself a former Samoan missionary, says, 'I expect your account will often enlighten even the present generation of Samoans;' whilst in a more recent communication he remarks, 'The fact is, the generation of natives who could have given the required information has passed away, and, with them, the *tala-fa'aanamua*, the ancient records of the past.' Modern Samoans have quite new ideas to occupy their minds. Thus also missionaries of modern times. Even

the Samoan language is changing. I was lately speaking to a young Samoan, a Malua student too, and could hardly understand him, as he turned all the t's into k's.

In the matter of the marvellous early Samoan voyages and settlements throughout Polynesia, accomplished by the older generations of Samoans, I feel assured that such is the case, although amongst the New Zealanders, Tahitians, Hawaiians, and other groups, careful records have been kept of the marvellous doings of the old Samoan sea kings of the Pacific, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and even before, in Samoa itself, the knowledge of such voyages has absolutely died out amongst recent generations of Samoans, who as a rule, I think, are quite ignorant of these deeds of their ancestors, the records of which have been cherished with loving care and even veneration by the inhabitants of other and distant parts of Polynesia, which were visited and colonized by these early Samoan navigators.

I love Samoa and the Samoans, and would gladly have returned and lived amongst them, but a seven years' unbroken residence in that enervating climate so broke down my wife's health that I was compelled to return to England at the close of 1845, in the hope of being enabled to rejoin the mission later on; but, after a long residence in England, the opinions of the Society's medical advisers were so adverse to our return, that in 1849 I was compelled to sever my connexion with the London Missionary Society, to our mutual regret, but with a lively remembrance on my part of the constant care and thoughtful help I had received from the Directors and their officials, during the eleven years I had been in connexion with them.

Our medical advisers as strongly urged our immediate return to Australia, which we did in 1849, and subsequently it was my privilege to labour in connexion with the Church of England in the Dioceses of Melbourne and Ballarat. In this service I spent over thirty-seven years, until increasing age and infirmities led me in 1893 to resign the position of Vicar of St. Arnaud, after a residence there of more than twenty-seven years. But now, with greater leisure, and at the suggestion of many friends, I venture to publish these records of the past, and dedicate them to the London Missionary Society, under whose auspices they were collected during my seven years' residence in Samoa; and also as a tribute to the well-known fundamental principle of that great Society, which was established in troublous times by both Churchmen and Nonconformists over a hundred years ago, and to which its supporters cleave with loving remembrance, notwithstanding the fact that from the force of circumstances the Society is now mainly supported by one section of the Christian Church alone.

At my request, the Rev. Samuel Ella, formerly of Samoa, but now of Sydney, who is a thoroughly competent judge of Samoan lore, has very kindly spent much time in the perusal of the bulk of my MSS., and, as the result, has given me many valuable hints and suggestions as to the preparation of the work. I also desire to express my grateful thanks to the Bishop of Ballarat; and also to the Rev. S. J. Whitmee for the aid which he has kindly rendered in reading the proofs of this book.

OLD SAMOA

CHAPTER I

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMOAN GROUP

THE Navigator Archipelago, the native name of which is Samoa, is situated between 169° and 173° west longitude and $13^{\circ} 30'$ and $14^{\circ} 20'$ south latitude, thus occupying a position about 1,500 miles distant from Tahiti; 800 from the Hervey or Cook Islands; and 2,570 miles in a direct line from Sydney; though the actual space traversed by a vessel *en route* to Sydney is nearly 4,000 miles.

The group consists of ten islands, which are all inhabited, viz. reckoning from the west, Savaii, Apolima, Manono, Upolu, Tutuila, Aunu'u, Nu'utele, Ta'u, Ofu, and Olosenga: the three latter islands, however, being usually spoken of under the general term Manu'a. Some navigators include Rose Island in this group, which is seventy miles to the eastward, and uninhabited.

The three most easterly islands of the group were discovered in 1722, by Jacob Roggewein, a Dutch navigator, and by him named Baaumann Islands, after the captain of the Tienhoven, by whom they were first seen. His description of the islands, as

given by Captain Burney, is easily recognized by those who are familiar with them, as referring to this group. They were afterwards visited by M. de Bougainville, the French navigator, in 1768, who then discovered Tutuila, and sighted Upolu; but the whole of the islands were not visited until 1787, when La Perouse determined the position of the entire number. Captain Edwards, in the Pandora frigate, visited the islands in 1791, thus bringing down the time of contact of the Samoans with early European visitors to forty-seven years before I reached the islands, in 1838, a time when the first contact of the Samoans with Europeans would be fresh in the memories of some of the people whom I met. It was then seventy years since Bougainville's visit: fifty-one years since that of La Perouse; and forty-seven years since the visit of Captain Edwards in the Pandora frigate; the two latter visits would therefore be well remembered by many at that time.

The Samoans of that day were accustomed to describe in a vivid manner the astonishment of their ancestors at the arrival of the first European vessel. Until that time they had been accustomed to regard themselves and the inhabitants of a few other groups, as the only human beings in existence. They thought the world was flat, and supported by a pillar ascending from the regions below, or *salefe'e*, whilst the sky was supposed to cover them as a canopy, forming a junction at the distant horizon. If by chance the inhabitants of other islands visited them, they resembled them in person, and came to them in canoes similar to those in use among themselves, so that the arrival of a big ship with sails off their coasts might well excite astonishment and awe.

It is impossible now to say whether the visit of Jacob Roggewein, in 1722, was alluded to, or whether some prior but unrecorded visit of Europeans to their shores had occurred. But whoever the visitors were, they created a profound astonishment, were looked upon with awe, and received with divine honours. The first European visitors are stated not to have landed, but to have remained sailing about at some distance from the shore ; whilst many and varied opinions were formed respecting them by the wondering crowd of onlookers who lined the shore, or who, to obtain a better view, climbed the tall cocoanut-trees that grew around, and watched with intense interest the motions of the mysterious ship as she held on her silent way. What can it be? Whence does it come? What does the strange thing contain? were among the many questions asked by the wondering and amazed throng as they looked on in astonishment upon the strange visitor before them. It was generally felt that it must be an arrival from the spirit-land, and that it would be well to propitiate the gods supposed to be on board by offerings of food. Such were speedily placed along the beach, in the shape of *O le Matini*, or offerings to the gods, and petitions offered, praying the supposed spiritual visitors to be satisfied with the offerings presented ; but, if they had come to take away men for food or sacrifice, that they would mercifully spare them, and go further to other settlements, where the population was greater.

After a time, some more courageous than others ventured off to the vessel in their canoes, when their astonishment was even greater than before, on finding the strange object to be the abode of living men, but

of white colour, speaking an unknown tongue, and presenting a most extraordinary appearance. This party of visitors returned to their countrymen on shore to describe their astonishment at what they had seen and heard. The big ship, with her tall masts; her sails, her rooms, or rather caves below; but, above all, the wonderful people who dwelt there, with their white colour, their feet not divided into toes, and their skin provided with bags, into which they were accustomed to put various articles as they wished.

These marvellous visitors they called *pāpālangi* (sky-bursters), for, said they, these people have either burst through the clouds with their ship; or else, lifting them up, they have passed beneath, and come to visit us. It is possible the name *pāpālangi* may have been given to commemorate the noise of the ship's guns, as they first heard the dread sound¹. The strange visitors were described as man-eaters, from the fact that portions of a pig had been seen hanging up in the ship, and these were supposed to be human flesh. This led them to think that the visitors had come to get fresh victims to eat; and hence they endeavoured to hasten their departure. At this distance of time it is impossible to say to what particular visit these traditions of the people of Upolu refer; whether to one of the four mentioned above, or to some earlier, but unrecorded visit. Bougainville simply sighted Upolu, and La Perouse sailed along its eastern shores, but had no direct intercourse with the natives, although the news of his conflict with the people of Tutuila, a neighbouring

¹ After recently perusing this MS., my friend, the Rev. Samuel Ella, says, 'This is also my idea.'

island, would soon be known, and its effects felt in all directions. Edwards's visit was the latest, but he does not appear to have had any direct intercourse with the natives. It seems, therefore, probable that the description refers either to Roggewein's visit, or to one earlier, but unrecorded. This seems probable, since Roggewein visited Manu'a, the most easterly of the group, and does not appear to have had any intercourse with the large islands to the westward.

On many early maps and charts the names given to the islands by the French are retained, but they are often very incorrect. Thus, Savaii is called Oteewhy, and sometimes Pola; whilst Upolu is named Oatooah, or else Oyolava; the former of which names is taken from Atua, the name of the eastern division of the island, whilst the latter word, correctly written, would be O-i-ō-lava, away out yonder, an answer doubtless given by some native who misunderstood the signs made to him, and thinking he was asked, 'Where do you live?' replied, *O-i-ō-lava*, 'Away out yonder.' Tutuila, the French call Mavuna, a mispronunciation of the word Maunga, the native name for mountain; whilst Manu'a is called Too-malooah, a misapprehension of the kingly title of Tui Manu'a, Lord of Manu'a. The three islands are spoken of separately as Opoun, Fanfou, and Leone. The name given to Manu'a is a mispronounced name of the head chief of Manua, Tui Manu'a; and Leone (the sands) is the name of a settlement on Tutuila, an island fifty miles distant. Such mistakes, however amusing, are quite pardonable under the circumstances; but they afford a strong contrast to the usually correct manner in which native names are spelt by Captain Cook.

As native Samoan names will frequently occur in these pages, a few observations on the sound of some of the letters used in the language may assist in their pronunciation. Every syllable has a vowel termination, and the vowels are all sounded with distinctness. *ā* has the sound of *ā* in father, or *a* in face; *e* that of *a* in fate; *i* that of *i* in marine, or *e* in me; *o* that of *o* in no; *u*, that of the French *u*, or *oo*, in root; *g*, the nasal sound *ng*. In conversation nouns are usually given with the prefix 'o,' as *o atua*, and frequently the article *le*, or *se*, as *o le tupu*, the king; *o se manu*, a bird.

Navigators have spoken in high terms of the lovely and fertile appearance of these islands, and they are still generally acknowledged to be one of the most beautiful, if not *the* most beautiful of the many lovely groups which stud the Pacific. On approaching them from the eastward the small islands of Manu'a first present themselves to view. They are Ta'u, Ofu, and Olosenga, the former of which is the largest and most fertile, but they are all more rocky and barren than the islands to the westward.

Still sailing westward some fifty miles, you reach Tutuila. It is thirty miles long, narrow and mountainous, but affords many very beautiful prospects. It is indeed difficult to forget the feelings of delight caused by the first view of its lofty mountains and its lovely valleys; the former covered to their summits with magnificent forest trees and evergreen shrubs, with here and there clumps of palms or solitary palms with their lovely foliage and appearance, rising above all, and adding beauty and variety to the scene. Along the southern

side of the island are tracts of level land suitable for cultivation, being covered with a rich soil ; but the greater portion of the island, indeed, highlands and mountains included, is capable of cultivation, being covered with a rich soil of considerable depth, and which is continually increasing from the constant decay of vegetable matter on every hand.

The principal harbour of Tutuila is Pangopango, and it is a very fine one. The bay is nearly two miles deep, and, except at the entrance, is landlocked ; but a sunken rock at the mouth of the harbour renders navigation dangerous, and necessitates great caution on entering or leaving. There are other bays affording anchorage, as at Leone, but they are not very safe.

Tutuila was rendered memorable, nineteen years after its discovery by M. de Bougainville, from a catastrophe on the occasion of a visit paid by La Perouse. M. de Langle, his second in command, with twelve of his companions, were killed by the natives during a fierce encounter with some boats' crews who had landed at a place now called Massacre Cove. I was intimately acquainted with the facts, having had frequent conversation respecting the occurrence with Lavasi'i, a chief of Falelatai, who knew some of the parties who were present at the attack, and joined in the massacre. In fact, it was a travelling party of visitors from Falelatai, a settlement on the south coast of Upolu, who happened to be staying at the place of the massacre, who actually planned the attack, and killed the foreigners. The people of Tutuila were averse to the attack, and did all they could to prevent it. The natives state that the quarrel arose from the French punishing some petty theft. A

member of the large party of natives from Falelatai, having stolen something, was hoisted to the top of the mainmast of the long-boat by his thumb or hand. This led to the attack. After the conflict had ceased the Tutuila natives buried the bodies of the French left in their hands, treating them with every respect ; whilst the party from Falelatai left the same night for Upolu, taking with them the boat captured from the French.

A very remarkable episode followed their departure. La Perouse states that on reaching the east end of Upolu, the following day after leaving Tutuila, a number of people came off in canoes to the ships, and that many of his crew declared that some of the men in these canoes had been present at Massacre Cove, and had taken part in the conflict. So strong was this conviction, and so great the anger of the men, that the excited crew were preparing to fire upon the men, whom they regarded as the murderers of their comrades. But La Perouse declared it was impossible that any of the Tutuila natives, from an island 80 miles away, could be present, and with great difficulty kept them from their purpose ; saying that, if he allowed these people to be slaughtered, the innocent would suffer for the guilty. As a matter of fact, the suppositions of the crew were correct, and many of the natives who had been concerned in the combat were there in the canoes surrounding the ships. The party from Falelatai left Tutuila the same night, reaching Upolu the following morning. They went first of all to Ale'ipata, or else Lepa, off which district La Perouse was cruising when the conflict occurred ; and there these men appear to have had the hardihood to visit the ships, notwith-



APIA.

standing the part they had so recently taken in the quarrel. This circumstance illustrates in a remarkable manner, on the one hand the daring and defiant bearing of the natives, and on the other the humanity of La Perouse, which was strikingly displayed during the whole affair. The boat which was captured from the French by the natives was left at Falealili, where it was allowed to rot ; but was seen there by my informant, Lavasi'i, some of whose relatives were of the visiting party. When I left the islands, in 1845, there were said to be one or two persons still living at Fangasā, or Massacre Bay, who were present at the attack, and took part in the conflict.

On leaving Tutuila, and still pursuing a westerly course, a sail of 80 miles, often very tedious and unpleasant, brings you to Apia, at present the most frequented harbour of Upolu, the island following next to the west, and by far the most important island of the group, whether as respects its population, harbours, or extent of soil available for cultivation ; and certainly it will yield to none in beauty of appearance and loveliness. Scenery the most varied and charming is presented to the view of the delighted voyager as he sails along the shores of this beautiful island. A chain of mountains runs through its centre from east to west, whose slopes are interspersed with rich valleys, gradually trending towards the shore, which form belts of level land several miles in width and many in length. Nearly the whole of these mountains, valleys, and flat lands are covered with forests of evergreen trees ; the scenery being frequently enlivened by cascades leaping and bounding down the mountain sides, where they stand out plainly

to view, amidst the verdure by which they are surrounded.

Where the soil reaches to the coast it is covered with vegetation to the water's edge; and even the mould formed in the crevices of the rocks does its share towards the general adornment. Sometimes even the roots of the trees may be seen washed by the surf; and in many places clumps of mangrove-trees spread themselves out in the lagoons, where they thrive in the muddy or sandy soil, whether left dry by the receding tide, or remaining covered by the sea. On some parts of the island the scenery is of a grand and romantic character; whilst other districts combine almost every variety of prospect. All, however, is a scene of wild and rank luxuriance, but, at the same time, one of never-fading interest.

The highest mountain of Upolu is at the east end, in the district of Atua, and is named Fao. The views in the neighbourhood of Saluafata, especially, are very beautiful and varied. In addition to the constant interchange of hill and dale, of rocks and valleys, the scene is at times varied by large patches of a small plant somewhat resembling heath, of a light green colour, which the voyager often mistakes for green sward, but which adds greatly to the prospect.

Upolu is 120 miles in circumference. Its northern and southern sides are well watered, and it has five harbours, viz. Apia, Saluafata, Fangaloa, Falealili, and Loto Fanga. Saluafata is the best and safest, and is expected eventually to become the principal resort for vessels.

Manono is a small but important island, situated

about three miles from the south-west end of Upolu, and is enclosed on one side by the same reef which skirts that island. It is covered with extensive groves of breadfruit trees, but is badly watered, and from this circumstance is ill adapted for the cultivation of many vegetables which thrive well on the other islands. Still, yams, which require a dry soil, grow well, and are highly esteemed.

The island is less than five miles in circumference, and is of nearly triangular shape. It has a mountain rising from the centre of the island some 800 feet in height, from the summit of which a fine view can be obtained. Looking in an easterly direction, the western end and part of the southern coast of Upolu with its reefs, stand forth to view with fine effect. To the west is seen Apolima and Savaii; whilst to the north and south a wide expanse of ocean is visible.

The chiefs and leading men of Manono have long exercised great political influence over the group; but since the usurpation by Le Tamafainga of the regal title of *O le Tupu*, this power has largely increased, and extends greatly through the entire group. Near to its south-west end is a small but picturesque islet called Nu'u Lopa, which belongs to the family of the late Matātau, and is used as a burying-place for the family; the remains of many of his ancestors and family being interred there.

Four miles further westward is Apolima, a small but interesting island belonging to Manono, and which is of great importance to it, as it forms a very strong natural fortress, that is almost impregnable in native warfare. It is about a mile in length, and from half to three-quarters of a mile in width. With the exception of one

side, the only one on which a landing can be effected, it is surrounded by a precipitous wall of basaltic rock, probably 1,000 feet in height. A very correct idea of its shape may be got by placing the hands together as though about to catch some article to be thrown into them; its singular shape having evidently suggested its name, Apolima, 'to catch in the hands.' It is of difficult access in fine weather, but in bad weather is quite isolated.

The last island of the group to be noticed is Savaii, the largest and most westerly of the number. It is fifteen or twenty miles distant from Upolu, according to the point at which the straits separating the two islands are crossed. It is 130 miles in circumference; but, although a very fine island, is not equal in importance to Upolu, the amount of land available for cultivation being much less than on that island. It has only two harbours of any extent and importance, viz. Matautu, on the north side of the island, and Salelalonga, on the south side. Large districts of Savaii are covered with lava, and in many parts the coasts are bluff and iron-bound. Extinct volcanoes are met with on most of the islands, but on Savaii they are numerous, one, in particular, the Mu, or the burning, forming a conspicuous and striking object as viewed from the sea, being at least 4,000 feet in height.

Savaii has extensive forests of the harder and more durable timber, which is much sought after for keels and other parts of canoes, and which causes this island to hold a decided superiority in canoe building. The island possesses only a few streams of fresh water, but most parts are well supplied with springs.

The climate of Samoa differs greatly from that of the Tahitian or Cook's group, being much more moist and trying to Europeans ; caused, no doubt, from its position being nearer the equator, and from the great rankness and variety of vegetation, much of which is of a pulpy, watery nature, speedily decaying under the influences of the great tropical heat, and also from the constant heavy night dews, prevalent at all seasons. This, naturally, causes a large amount of exhalation, and the atmosphere becomes loaded with miasma, most injurious to health. At the time I left the islands, in 1845, the amount of cultivated land was small ; but a great change has taken place since then, and the large accession of European population has given a great impulse to the cultivation of the soil.

As to climatic changes, there is much difference throughout the group, many places affording great variation of climate. The heat, although at times very oppressive and exhausting, is much modified by sea breezes, which are beneficial and refreshing ; but a lengthened residence on the islands tends very much to debilitate the European constitution. Some idea of the conditions of life in Samoa in 1845 may be gathered from the fact that during the whole seven years of our residence there we never once had a fire in our dwelling ; in fact, we had no fireplace, and the whole of the cooking being done outside, such a thing as an indoor fire was unknown ; although during the wet and cold season a fire would often have been acceptable. For the first two or three years of our residence there we had no glazed windows, nothing but venetian blinds, and hence at times we

36 DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMOAN GROUP

suffered greatly from the excessive night dews, which were often so heavy that I have known our under-clothing, that had been incautiously left hanging at night near the window, to be quite wet in the morning.

I give a short Meteorological Register from observations made by the Rev. W. Mills, at Apia harbour, on the north side of the island. The climate on the south side would often differ considerably from this, especially as to the rainfall of the district.

Meteorological Register of Temperature from September, 1845, to February, 1846, from diurnal observations by W. Mills, Apia, Upolu, Lat. 13° 51' 20" S., Long. 171° 44' W.

1845-6.	Fah. Thermometer.									Winds.				Weather.			
	Months.	Average Height at 6 a.m.	Average Height at 2 p.m.	Average Height at 10 p.m.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Mean.	Maximum Range.	Minimum Range.	Mean Range.	Trades. Days.	South. Days.	W. & S.W. Days.	N. & N.W. Days.	Variable. Days.	Fine Days.	Rainy Days.
Sept. .	72.7	81.3	74.3	85	61	76.1	17	4	9.4	24	2	2	2	0	20	3	7
Oct. .	72.1	83.9	73.7	86	67	76.6	18	7	11.9	25	1	0	0	6	30	0	0
Nov. .	74.6	83.9	74.9	87	68	77.8	17	2	10.0	21	1	0	2	6	21	0	9
Dec. .	74.7	83.6	76.3	86	72	78.2	14	5	8.5	24	0	4	2	1	16	0	15
Jan. .	74.9	84.6	77.1	90	72	78.8	13	3	9.3	4	2	17	3	5	27	1	3
Feb. .	75.4	84.5	76.5	90	68	78.8	15	3	9.4	10	0	7	4	7	17	4	7

Mr. Mills says, 'The last six months, though including a great part of the windy season, have been unusually dry and mild. With the exception of a day or two about the middle of December, and the last

week in February, which was very stormy, we have had almost uninterrupted fine weather.' He further adds, 'I have remarked, that from about the middle of July to the end of September, the trades are much inclined to the south, and blow very strongly, not allaying, but rather increasing in strength during the night, being contrary to the regular trades, which completely lull near the land after sunset.'

The prevailing winds are the trades, but during the months of January, February, and March, westerly winds prevail for many days together. Still, although frequent during these months, they are by no means confined to them. Seasons of severe drought sometimes occur, and occasion great scarcity of food. One of such was experienced towards the close of 1843, after the appearance of the great comet of that year, when the weather became intolerably hot, and the ensuing drought was long remembered.

Samoans reckon two seasons, the former, the fine season, extending from April until the close of September; the latter, the stormy season, commencing in October, and continuing until the end of March. During the fine season the appearance of the cloudless blue sky is most lovely, and day after day follow with charming weather: but during the rainy season the weather is often cold and miserable. Much rain falls in some localities, even during the fine season, whilst during the stormy season it is frequent, and in some places falls in torrents.

An approaching shower of rain may be heard for some time before it reaches the spot where you may be standing; if a very heavy one, at times, for a minute

or two previously. As it passes over the dense forest, the noise occasioned by the rain falling upon the large foliage is like the rushing of a body of water, and this timely warning often causes much stir in a village, putting to flight the idlers, sending the females of the different households running in all directions, to gather up the native cloth that may have been spread to dry in the sun; and causing the passing traveller to quicken his steps, and seek some place of shelter.

During the stormy season, severe hurricanes now and then occur, at times causing great injury to the crops and dwellings of the natives. On December 29, 1839, one occurred, which was the first we had experienced on shore, and our fears were constant lest our dwelling should be blown to the ground by the furious gusts of wind which swept past us. On December 17, 1840, another occurred more severe and devastating than the former, and during its continuance the church, a large plastered building some 112 feet in length, was destroyed. The roof was lifted up bodily on one side, turned completely over, and, together with the many large centre posts or trees that had supported it, was levelled to the ground.

Bad, however, as this tempest was, it was far exceeded in strength and destructiveness by one which visited the islands on December 15, 1842. It had been blowing hard all the day and night before, from nearly every point of the compass, when between six and seven in the morning of the fifteenth it began to blow in right earnest from the north and north-west. This was the much dreaded signal for the natives of what they might expect, and a warning to at once carry their canoes inland, so as

to secure them from danger, as the sea has often been known to rise considerably on such occasions. Indeed, the increasing strength of the wind warned us all to prepare for danger. I had my boat firmly lashed down on an open space in the front of the house, and then, with many willing helpers, hurried off to secure the roof of our printing office and unfinished dwelling-house, so as to protect them as well as we could. Many neighbours came to assist us, and by spreading heavy branches of trees and cocoa-nut leaves upon the roofs, and lashing them down with the few ropes at our command, we made all tolerably secure, the roofs looking more like huge heaps of brushwood than roofs of houses. Later on we endeavoured to secure the thatch of the roofs with a large coarsely knitted net of cinet, which answered admirably. On such occasions the insides of some of the native dwellings often presented a strange appearance, from the large number of rough poles hastily cut from the forest, and placed as props, inside, against the rafters, to prevent the roof yielding to the great pressure from without. The sides of the little native house we occupied at that time were very frail, so that we had to pile up heavy boxes to windward, to prevent the sides from being blown in altogether. A perfect deluge of rain was falling, and the wind appearing to gain strength instead of decreasing, it was feared that every dwelling in the settlement would be destroyed. As the tempest increased a young chief came, and very kindly begged that he might be allowed to turn our boat over, and lash it down, keel uppermost, under which my family might take shelter, in case our dwelling should collapse.

The cyclone spent itself about noon; and shortly after I walked through the settlement, to see what damage had been done. On every hand traces of the desolation occasioned by the fury of the tempest abounded. A fine crop of breadfruit was blown down, trees were uprooted on every hand, and houses were levelled, whose occupants were either crouching and crowding together in some neighbour's dwelling, or else creeping for shelter under the shattered remnants of their own. It was a sad and disheartening scene, and told a terrible tale of the fury of the storm.

The *afā*, or 'circle of the cyclone,' as it may be styled, is an object of dread and terror to every one who encounters it. The origin of the name itself is singular, but very significant. The tempest begins with the wind blowing steadily for some time from one point of the compass, mostly from the north, and then shifts round from point to point, until the full circuit of the compass has been made; when, having regained the starting-point, the havoc begins, and continues until it seems as though everything must be swept away. The natives watch this circling of the wind with intense interest and anxiety, and as it is seen that the entire circuit will be completed, the cry arises, *O le a fā* ('it will be the four'), i. e. all four points of the compass will have been blown from; and this having been realized, they rush in all directions to endeavour to secure their houses and property from destruction. Sometimes their efforts are successful, at other times futile, as all is swept away—and the terrified natives see the results of months of toil, and at times the growth of years, laid waste in an hour. Thus it has come to pass, that the cry, *O le a fā*,

'it will be the four,' has become a cry fraught with terror and alarm.

It was this terrible *afā*, or 'circle of the cyclone,' that committed such havoc amongst the war-ships of America and Germany on March 16, 1889, when the wrecks of six vessels of those nations, and a number of merchantmen lay scattered on the reefs and shores of Apia harbour. At the same time, the incident exhibited in a wonderful manner the marvellous skill and courage, as well as trust and confidence of the British sailor, when the commander of the *Calliopè* forced his vessel out into the open sea in the very face of such a hurricane, where he safely braved the tempest, and, as the result of his wise forethought, and the wonderful courage and seamanship of himself and crew, saved his vessel, after having braved what seemed to be certain destruction.

Waterspouts and whirlwinds sometimes occur outside of the reef; and thunderstorms are frequent. During the earlier years of my residence on the islands, at Falelatai, thunderstorms were frequent and severe. Cocoa-nut palms were often struck by the lightning, leaving nothing but a blackened pole to mark the site of the once beautiful palm.

Earthquakes were frequent, and sometimes severe; becoming more violent and frequent during the last two or three years of my residence in Samoa. Two shocks were usually experienced; the second always the most severe. On one occasion, July 1, 1845, two severe shocks were felt; one in the morning, the other later in the day; the last shock being accompanied and preceded for some hours by loud subterranean noises at the back of Faleata and Apia, on Upolu. The natives of the former place

were greatly alarmed at these noises, and feared some dreadful catastrophe was about to happen. Similar noises had not been heard for more than fifteen years; prior to which time they are said to have been frequent.

- Sept. 13. Earthquake at 10.45 p.m. Slight.
- Sept. 24. Earthquake at 2 p.m. Slight.
- Oct. 4. Earthquake at 3 p.m. Moderate.
- Oct. 20. Earthquake at 4 a.m. Slight.
- Feb. 8. Earthquake at 4.15 p.m. Very sharp.
- Feb. 12. Earthquake early in the morning. Slight.

The last six months (though including a great part of the windy season) have been unusually dry and mild. With the exception of a day or two about the middle of December, and the last week in February, which was very stormy, we have had almost uninterrupted fine weather.

The above table gives the dates of earthquakes which occurred during the years of 1845 and 1846. They were common in every year, but varied in intensity. At times very slight; at other times alarming.

Whilst residing on the north-west of Upolu, I frequently heard a very singular submarine noise, that in its stifled sound resembled distant thunder, but which always seemed to come up from under the reef. It was repeated at intervals of a few minutes, and continued at times for hours together. There was something most uncanny and ominous in the sound, that seemed to warn one of impending danger, and tell of restless working of hidden submarine forces, so that it was impossible to hear the noises without feeling a certain sense of insecurity and alarm. It always occurred on hot, sultry days, and ever seemed a most uncanny monitor. It was called by the natives, *O le-ta-tu-a-lalo*, 'the striking below,' and always seemed to be regarded by them with a certain sense of awe and wonderment.

A paragraph in the Melbourne *Argus*, of November 19, 1862, announced that three reefs had been discovered amongst the Friendly Islands of the Pacific. Two were discovered by Her Majesty's sloop of war, *Pelorus*, and the other by a whaler. The sea, it was said, is quite warm in the neighbourhood of the reefs, and is sometimes like a boiling cauldron, which proves subterranean fires are near.

Again, in 1867, the late J. C. Williams, Esq., then British Consul at Apia, Samoa, reported to the British Foreign Office that, on September 5 of that year, a submarine volcano had broken out in the ocean, about two miles from Olosenga, one of the most easterly of the Samoan group, which occasioned great submarine disturbance.

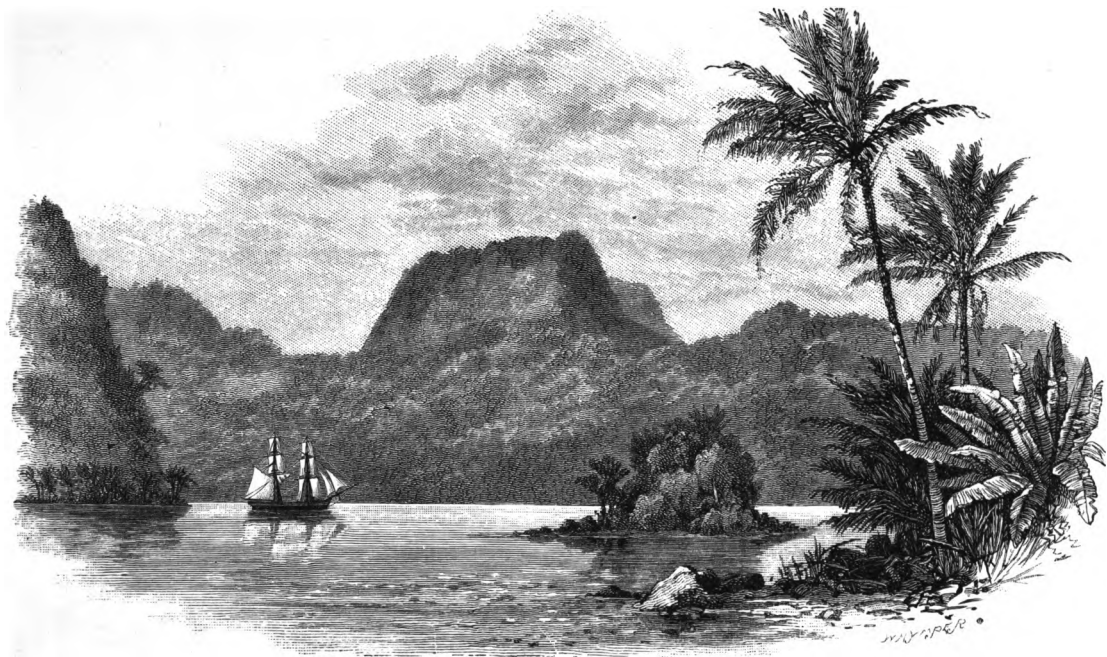
On April 5, 1874, Captain McKenzie observed what he thought was a submarine volcano, in a state of activity, when about midway between Habai and Tonga, still telling of submarine unrest in those regions: whilst on December 18, 1894, the captain of the *Meg Merrilees*, on reaching Tonga, reported having passed Falcon Island, thrown up by a volcano a few years before, and states, 'that it is not so high as when first thrown up, but that volcanic force is still active in the seas around.'

CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL CHARACTER OF THE ISLANDS

THE islands in many parts are surrounded by coral reefs, which skirt the shore and form lagoons. These are valuable, both as affording good fishing-grounds for the natives, secure and pleasant voyaging in canoes or boats, and, in many instances, safe anchorage for small vessels. Such reefs and lagoons are very extensive around the island of Upolu. In some places they skirt the shore so closely that none but very small fishing-canoes can pass, and that only at high tide; whilst in other parts the lagoons are of considerable width. On the north side of Upolu there is a reef, which, commencing about six or seven miles eastward of Apia, passes round the west end of that island, and partly encloses Manono, continuing on from thence to Falelatai, six miles up the south coast, thus forming a continuous reef 33 miles in length. Its distance from the shore varies from 200 yards or so to two miles; but where it encloses Manono it takes a sweep of five miles.

It has been stated that openings in reefs exist only on parts of the coast where streams or mountain torrents flow into the sea. In the case of openings of sufficient



PANGOPANGO HARBOUR, TUTUILA.

magnitude to admit vessels of considerable size, this statement generally holds good ; but at Salelalonga, on Savaii, there is a good-sized harbour, with, as we were informed, not even a rivulet within many miles of the spot. Springs of fresh water are found there, which, although valuable for watering ships, &c., do not take the form of a running stream. In other parts of the islands there are many openings sufficiently large to admit boats or small canoes, and some even small vessels, in the neighbourhood of which no river is found. This is very much the case with the reef around the west end of Upolu before alluded to, where, for a distance of nearly twenty miles, no stream of fresh water is found, with the exception of a small one near Fasito'otai, at which place for some months in the year a very small stream is running ; whilst in several parts of this reef openings exist of sufficient size to afford anchorage for vessels of 80 to 100 tons burden, in addition to many only adapted for canoes. On some parts of this coast, however, strong springs of fresh water are very abundant, but along the west end, where small openings are numerous, even these springs are comparatively scarce. On some parts of the coast, at low tide, very large springs of fresh water flow strongly from the sea bed at a short distance from the shore.

Of harbours there are several ; one or more on each of the principal islands. Pangopango, on Tutuila, is a very fine one, almost entirely landlocked, and thus well sheltered and safe. It might very easily be strongly fortified, and made safe as to the front entrance ; but on a rough day, the change from the sea to the quiet of the lagoon is most startling and agreeable.

Great caution is often requisite on entering the openings in some of the reefs, and much skill is required on the part of the helmsman to prevent accidents. Such do sometimes occur, especially after bad weather, but they are not very common.

Among the objects of interest presented by these islands may be noticed numerous caverns, some of which are extensive; and although of not much interest in themselves, are so from the fact of their frequently having some romantic history connected with them. I visited several, which presented much the same appearance, differing only in extent.

One of the most remarkable of these caves is situated four or five miles inland of the settlement of Vaie'e, on the south side of Upolu, and has a romantic history attached to it. It is called O le Ana Se'uao, or 'the enclosing titles cave.' This cave I visited in 1843, in company with the late Rev. Thomas Bullen. I had heard a great deal of it from the natives, who regarded it with much interest, from the fact of its having afforded shelter for a long time to a remnant of a defeated army, who had taken refuge there, and remained concealed in safety for a long time, until, their hiding-place being discovered, prompt measures were taken for their destruction.

The accounts I heard of the place greatly interested me, and I determined to visit the spot in company with a friend. We found the entrance small, the surrounding soil having fallen down and choked it; but the place was well adapted for concealment. It was needful to stoop on entering, but, after passing the mouth of the cavern, it soon increased in size to 10 or 12 feet in

height, and 15, or 17 feet in width. Slightly raised terraces on either side were neatly covered over with small stones or gravel, and extended the whole distance we penetrated, and I have no doubt did so to the full extent of the cavern. These side terraces, or couches, had formed the resting or sleeping-places of the refugees, a footpath about 6 feet wide being left in the centre. Everything connected with these terraces was in perfect order, the stones being as neatly arranged as when left by the former occupants very many years before. Shelves and other resting-places on either side of the cavern had been prepared as additional sleeping-places, and these were also covered over with a layer of small stones or *débris*, so that the cavern would be able to shelter a large number of refugees. We had provided ourselves with torches, and proceeded some distance into the cavern, but were obliged to return before reaching the end of the cave in consequence of our torches failing, and also because of the anxiety of several of our party to return to the light of day. In several parts the whitened roots of cocoanut and other trees had forced their way through the roof, and hung down in all directions, giving an idea of insecurity to the whole roof; and a heavy thunderstorm passing at the time caused many and loud vibrations, which did not add a sense of security, so that I reluctantly yielded to the request of our party, and decided to return; first planting my walking-stick in the ground at our turning-point, as a memento of the extent of our researches in the cavern, and then sought the light of day. My visit to this spot greatly interested me, as I had previously heard from a chief of the district, Tupua, the history connected with

the cavern, and, on my return to A'ana, the information I had gained in Atua was confirmed by an old and well-known orator, Viliamu, who also gave me still further particulars and information.

In the distant past A'ana with some allies were at war with a portion of Le Tuamasanga, and after a severe conflict the latter were defeated, and fled to this cave, their stronghold or *Olo*, where they took refuge with their wives and children; continuing for a long time to elude the search of their enemies. At last they were discovered, and the horrible resolve taken to burn them, and suffocate them in their hiding-place. Accordingly the woods soon resounded with preparations, and piles of firewood were heaped up in front of the cavern, to accomplish the dread purpose of the victors. Before these preparations were finally completed, and whilst the whole body of the pursuers were collecting at the cavern's mouth, an old blind orator of the vanquished party resolved to attempt the deliverance of himself and companions. Led by his little grandson, the old man attempted slowly to make his way to the cavern's mouth, through his excited and terrified companions. As they passed through the crowd he was pitied by some, abused by others, and assailed with the taunts of the more desperate: 'What did he, an old blind and helpless man, mean by pressing forward into the front of the danger? Better by far return to the inner part of the cave and quietly await the end.' Still the old man pressed forward through every obstacle, until at length he and his little grandchild stood in the entrance of the cavern. Once there, he commenced questioning the child as to the distinguishing dress and ornaments of the various

warriors who were continually arriving, party after party, and collecting in the vicinity of the cave, so as to surround it. Time after time the boy described the dress of the warriors, but the old man remained silent. At length the child said, 'Warriors are approaching with white cloth bound round their heads, followed by others who are headed by a leader whose body is quite covered with shells.' These were the warriors of Le-ulumoenga and Fasito'otai, the latter being headed by Taua'e, one of their principal orators, and priest of the war-god of the district O le Fe'e, and who was the person anxiously sought after by the old man in the cavern's mouth. He immediately addressed himself to this leader, and silence having been commanded, he pleaded hard with his friend that himself and companions might be spared. He acknowledged their perfect helplessness, and that they were at the mercy of the conquerors, but begged for life, pleading that, in the event of their being spared, they would not again bear arms against their deliverers, but would always assist them. 'Should you still resolve upon our destruction,' continued the old man, 'a remnant of our families will still survive, who will sullenly brood over our destruction and plot schemes of vengeance. Be merciful, and spare us in our extremity.' A long and animated discussion followed this appeal. As the old man expected, the orator and war-priest he had at first addressed was for pardoning the vanquished; others as vehemently contended for their destruction. At length, another and influential orator named Iuri made a powerful appeal on their behalf, and they were spared. Since that time the tide of war has turned, A'ana has been more than

once the vanquished party, but 'the cave of Se'uao' is still spoken of by the orators and leaders, both of A'ana and Le Tuamasanga, in quoting from their by-gone history, and in their public discussions.

The appearance presented by the Samoan forests is striking and beautiful, so that, although from a long residence on the islands I became familiar with them, they never failed to excite in me feelings of delight. The number, size, and variety of the trees, whose branches often seemed interwoven into one another; the large size and often strange shapes of the foliage; the quantity and variety of beautiful parasitical plants with which most of the large trees were covered, added to the numbers of wild vines, either trailing or coiled upon the ground, or else hung like huge cables or ropes from some of the highest trees, were objects of interest upon which I could always look with surprise and pleasure.

Many of the large forest trees, especially in rocky and mountainous situations, present the remarkable appearance of buttresses projecting out from all sides of the trunk, commencing from about 8, 10, or 12 feet from the ground, and joining on to the roots, of which they form a part. Their thickness varies from 2 to 5 inches, but they are often several feet in depth. They slope, with a curve inwards, from the part of the trunk where they commence to the end of the exposed portion of the roots of which they form a part, and these then spread abroad for a considerable distance, thus forming a marvellous natural support to forest trees growing in localities where the soil is rocky and not of sufficient depth to allow the roots to strike downwards, and thus get a proper hold.

Large tree-ferns and cocoanut-palms give interest and loveliness to many parts of the islands ; the latter not only adding greatly to the beauty of the landscape, but also enabling the traveller to refresh himself at all times with a cool drink of delicious, slightly effervescing water, when perhaps he may be miles away from any spring or rivulet. It is difficult to over-estimate the value of such a luxury when tired or thirsty, on a journey. Of this invaluable tree there are sixteen varieties, including the *niuvao*, or wild cocoanut-tree, found in Samoa.

The soil, which is very rich, is being replenished by processes which are always proceeding to an extent and with a rapidity difficult to realize unless witnessed in progress in a tropical climate. Notwithstanding the great variety of trees, there are but few kinds of timber that can resist for any length of time the effects produced upon them by exposure to the damp and heated atmosphere of the islands. In travelling through the forests, I have often sunk ankle deep into the trunks of trees which to all appearance were sound, but which were quite rotten and decayed ; and this rapid process of decay, which is proceeding at all times, is constantly adding to a soil previously rich and fertile beyond description.

This rich soil is so easily cultivated that the small amount of labour usually bestowed upon it, simply scratching the surface, in fact, is quickly rewarded by a large supply of excellent vegetables, such as yams, taro, sweet potatoes, as also the banana, plantains, and other valuable fruits ; with, of late years, European and Asiatic fruits as they became known and were introduced.

I have alluded to the rapid decay of timber in the forests, when exposed to the alternate heat and moisture

of the climate, which greatly aided the process of clearing the land and preparing it for cultivation. It gave the cultivator but small concern as to what might be the description of timber or size of the trees that covered the land. Armed with a small hatchet and large knife, he commenced clearing the brushwood and creeping vines that blocked his way, and on coming to a tree he ring-barked it, to use a colonial phrase, i. e. he chopped the bark so as to form a small circle around the trunk to obstruct the sap, and then, having kindled a fire at the root of the tree with the brushwood, he passed on to the next tree, until all at hand had been similarly treated. In the course of a few days a good-sized piece of ground would have been cleared, nothing remaining but the trunks and leafless branches of the stately forest trees, when preparations would be made for planting.

The first crop was generally yams, which require a peculiar culture and frequent change of site, two succeeding crops being seldom obtained from the same land. Should, however, the space available for cultivation be limited, as at Manono, the same land is planted again with yams after two or three years' rest. In newly-cleared ground the yams are planted at the foot of each tree-trunk left standing on clearing, the vines running up the trunk, which thus comes in handy.

After the first crop of yams has been cleared, taro is planted for several crops in succession, this root not requiring a change of site, like the yam. As an instance of the rapid decay of timber in the tropics, I may mention that where a fresh piece of forest land has been cleared and cultivated, by the time the second crop of taro is ripe, say eighteen months from the time of

first planting the yams, the greater part of the tree-stumps have usually fallen and become far advanced in decay. Some few large trees, however, remain for two years after the burning; but by this time few, if any, traces of the once stately forest trees remain.

Of the breadfruit, an invaluable tree, which with the taro plant forms the staff of life of the Samoans, there are twenty varieties. It is claimed for the variety known as *O-le-ulu-Manu'a*, 'the breadfruit of Manua,' that it was the first ever brought to the islands, and was the gift of Tangaloa-langi, 'Tangaloa of the skies.' The first chief of Upolu is said to have been Tangaloa; and he might have been the benefactor of his future countrymen.

Although called a fruit, it is really a vegetable; and to be enjoyed to perfection must be cooked, or rather steamed, in a native oven, when it forms a never-ceasing supply of valuable food to meet the daily wants of the people; some varieties being always ready to render up their treasures. Its fruit not only forms much of the staff of life to the people, but the tree itself is a lovely object in the landscape, where with its massive, dark, glossy green leaves and large apple-green coloured fruit, as well as handsome growth, it forms a striking object that ever causes delight to the beholder. It is difficult to imagine the loveliness of the scene presented by a grove of breadfruit-trees as seen in the bright moonlight, from which here and there the native houses, with their picturesque surroundings, stand out to view, or nestle in the thick grove. It is indeed a sight most beautiful to behold, and one that is usually long remembered. The wood of this tree is also of great value to the Samoans.

CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE OF SAMOA

THE population of Samoa, when compared with that of other groups, is large, but there are good reasons for thinking that it was much larger formerly, before Europeans settled amongst them. For many years before the introduction of Christianity, it had been steadily decreasing, principally in consequence of the ferocious and bloody wars in which the natives so constantly engaged. In various parts of Upolu I have often noticed traces of a much larger population, and the general testimony of the natives confirmed this belief. Sites of deserted villages, and remains of plantation walls, could often be seen in the wild bush; and in many parts of the islands places once largely populated have now very reduced numbers.

More than a century ago, 1784, La Perouse, in writing of a district at the east end of Upolu, says, 'At four o'clock in the afternoon we brought to abreast of perhaps the largest village that exists in any island of the South Seas, or rather, opposite a very extensive inclined plane covered with houses from the summit of the mountains to the water's edge.' And again,

'We saw the smoke rise from the interior of the village as from the midst of a great city.' Since that time this district, in common with many others, has been frequently devastated by sanguinary wars, in which the slaughter was great. The population, at the time I knew it, was extensive, as compared with other districts, but was confined to the coast. The inland districts and settlements of which La Perouse speaks had disappeared. This is the case generally throughout the islands; but few inland villages remain in any island, with the exception of Upolu, where some fifty-four are found; whilst on Savaii there are only thirty-eight.

On the mountains in the neighbourhood of Falelatai, where in 1840 all was bush, there had been formerly extensive villages; whilst the road over the mountain, leading across from that place to Fasito'otai, a distance of nine or ten miles, was at one time lined with detached habitations, so that the natives, in describing it to me, have often said that a child might have travelled from one place to the other alone, the parents feeling no anxiety about it, in consequence of the houses being so near to each other along the whole distance. At the time I often traversed it, the track was quite deserted, not a house being found throughout the whole distance; but ample evidence still existed of former settlements. Even as late as 1829 a populous village existed midway between the two places; the site of which, at the time I visited it, was comparatively clear. Many of its inhabitants were killed in the war which devastated the district of A'ana, in 1830; and the survivors were scattered among other villages. Disease also did its part towards the depopulation of the islands,

since the remedies of the people were few, and their habits and mode of life favoured its progress.

Of the population in 1845 it is possible to speak with tolerable accuracy, since a successful census was made at that time. But even then, through native prejudices, it was difficult to obtain correct returns from some of the districts. It was considered that the population at that time was about 40,000; an underestimate, probably, but it certainly did not exceed 45,000.

The Samoans generally are a fine race of men, their average height being 5 ft. 10 in. Many, both male and female, have very handsome figures, and would be fine models for a sculptor, whilst some of the younger females are very good-looking. Their complexion is brown, but it is difficult to name a particular shade, as they present a great variety of colour. Fishermen and others much exposed to the sun are darker than those not so much exposed. La Perouse, who saw them before they began to use clothing to any extent, describes their colour as closely resembling that of the Algerines and other nations on the coast of Barbary. Mr. Heath speaks of them as of gipsy brown colour. An olive brown is also a term which correctly describes the complexion of numbers; others, again, are of a darker brown, but still very far removed from the dark chocolate colour, or Vandyke brown, of the Tannese and other islanders of the Western Pacific. The features of the Samoans are rather flat, but their teeth are regular and good. The colour of the eyes, as also that of the hair, is usually black, excepting in a few cases of albinos.



A CHRISTIAN NATIVE CHIEF.



MAMOE FAFINE, A CHRISTIAN WOMAN.

In their heathen state the cast of countenance of the males was most forbidding, and when at all excited, ferocious; an appearance which was much increased by their long black hair, which either hung loosely over their shoulders, or was worn twisted up in knots of various shapes, on the crown, or back, or sides of the head. Albinos were occasionally found, whose pink eyes and white skins formed a strange contrast to the rich brown colour of their associates, and whose unpleasant and sickly appearance tended to reconcile a European to the tanning he himself might be undergoing. The Samoans disliked the white colour of the Europeans, and often jocularly said to me, when alluding to my sunburnt appearance when much exposed, 'Why, you are becoming as handsome as a Samoan!'

The natives are active, and perfect adepts in the management of their beautifully made canoes, of which they make constant use. They also show great skill in the use of their various weapons; and are expert climbers, so that the ease with which they climbed a cocoanut tree was really astonishing. Stripping a small piece of bark from a bough, the climber made a circlet of the bark and placed each end over his big toe, thus fastening his feet together, at about 18 inches apart. He then clasped the tree in his arms, and by placing the soles of his feet against the rough bark of the tree so as to secure a hold, he drew himself up still higher, his feet being still pressed against the trunk of the tree. A number of such movements successively repeated enabled the climber to speedily reach the top of the tree, often a height of from 50 to 70 feet, when

he commenced throwing down the nuts, holding on with one hand only, so as to leave the other free with which to twist the nuts from the stalk. It was a strange sight to see a man thus hanging from such a height, and to watch him pass quite round the tree, or cross over through the middle of the plume to the other side, simply holding to the thick stems of the leaves. Notwithstanding all their coolness and adroitness, the natives sometimes lose their hold through a dry stalk breaking away. Then they fall to the ground with fearful violence, to be either killed or severely injured. Sometimes the grown men cannot muster courage enough to undertake this difficult task; but, on the other hand, it is a common thing to see mere boys climbing the high trees with perfect ease.

The Samoans are expert swimmers, being almost as much at home in the water as on the land. It is interesting to watch the ease of their movements, and their coolness under circumstances which would sorely perplex a European. Their canoes are often frail, liable to capsize and pitch the occupant into the water; but this does not trouble them greatly, as they easily right their canoes, even in a heavy sea. Should a canoe be swamped in very bad weather, as is sometimes the case, the bulk of the crew leap into the sea and hold on to the sides of the canoe, whilst others bale out the bilge quickly, and, when all is ready, the others leap into the canoe and proceed on their way. At times, however, the outrigger breaks, and this is a more serious matter, as it renders the canoe unmanageable, and necessitates the crew swimming alongside and guiding the canoe to the beach, no matter at what distance from the shore

the accident may have happened. I have seen the crew of a disabled canoe swim several miles holding on to their canoe, others in a companion canoe keeping alongside of them, in case of greater danger arising.

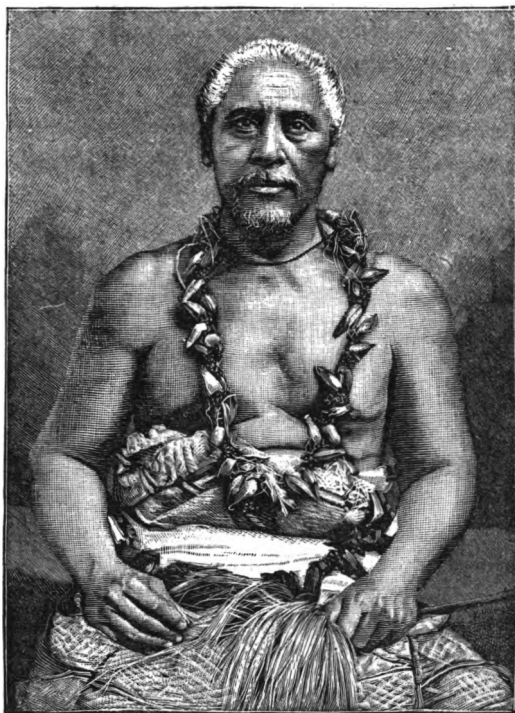
The natives dive well, and are able to keep under water for a long time, but some more than others. I have watched a young man plunge into a bathing-place, and after searching about take up a large stone, turn over on his back, and stretching himself full length at the bottom place the stone on his chest, and lie motionless as a corpse, and when wearied jerk the stone from him and rise to the surface. The Rev. S. Ella says, 'One of my teachers went down 30 fathoms, and fastened a rope to a lost anchor, with the result that on reaching the deck of the vessel blood burst from his ears and nostrils, and he became permanently deaf.'

The population was divided into five classes, viz.—*Alii*, *Taulāaitu*, *Tulafale*, *Faleupolu*, and *Tangata-nuu*. Comprised in these classes are others, as—*Songa*, *Soa*, *Taumasina*, *Atamai-o-alii*, and *Salelelisi*, who were all attendants of chiefs, and privileged persons.

The *Alii*, or chiefs, constitute the highest class, and are of various ranks and authority; but the latter is often slight. The regal or highest title of all was *Le Tupu*, literally 'the grown'; that of *O le Tui* being the next in importance. The latter title, *O le Tui*, always having the name of the district conferring it added, as—*O le Tui A'ana*, 'the Lord of A'ana'; *O le Tui Atua*, 'Lord of Atua.'

I think this title, *O le Tui*, was the most ancient, and for a long time the only title used, as it is frequently found in the old traditions and records, with that of

Alii, whilst the title of O le Tupu for a long period never occurs. At some period of the nation's history, after a series of conquests in which the different districts conferring the titles were conquered, and their titles all



A SAMOAN CHIEF.

merged in the person of the conqueror, he either assumed or was allotted the significant title O le Tupu, literally, 'the grown,' and this title has been perpetuated; the possession of the smaller titles conferring the highest

or regal title, *O le Tupu*, as—*O le Tupu o Samoa*, 'the Grown, or the King of Samoa.'

The rank and precedence of other chiefs are indicated in some measure by the style of address adopted towards



THE WIFE OF A SAMOAN CHIEF.

them. These are three, and consist in the different uses of the words *Afio*, *Sūsū*, and *Malii*. The first two terms are properly used only to chiefs of the higher ranks; the last is a more general term, and is employed

in general use as a polite form of address. It was also permissible to use the term *Maliu* to chiefs of the highest rank, without giving any offence, and it was often so used in the event of the speaker being ignorant of the precise rank of the person to whom he was speaking. Formerly the chiefs were very exacting in the proper use of these terms, when addressed by inferiors, but their scruples have been much lessened since their contact with Europeans; though the custom largely prevailed during my residence amongst them, and it was always considered a breach of politeness to address a chief in the same manner as a common person, unless the parties were on intimate terms. They overlooked an omission to do this in a European, but were naturally pleased to hear even them conform to their notions of politeness. I have heard a missionary purposely address chiefs of high rank in common language, and listened to their comments upon such a breach of good manners. Surprise was often expressed at such an action, and sometimes anger shown, but more generally the tone assumed was that of apology for his ignorance, and surprise at the want of good breeding thus manifested.

An interesting fact connected with the Samoans is the existence of a chiefs' language—one, that is, which is used exclusively when speaking to a chief, whether he be addressed by another chief of inferior rank to himself, or a person of low rank. It is never used by a chief when speaking of himself. Persons of high rank, when addressing others, and talking of themselves, always use ordinary language, and sometimes the very lowest terms; so that it is often amusing to listen to

expressions of feigned humility from a proud man, who would be indignant indeed were such language used to himself by others.

Some chiefs of high rank were termed *Ali'ipa'ia*, or sacred chiefs, to whom great deference was formerly shown. Twelve of these, viz. *O le Tui A'ana*, *O le Tui Atua*, *Tonumaipe'a*, *Fonoti*, *Muāngututi'a*, *I'a mafana*, *Tamafainga*, *Malietoa*, *Tamāsoālii*, and *Natoaitetele*, were all addressed by the highest phrase, *Afio*.

Six other *alii pa'ia* were addressed by the term *Sūsū*; these were *Lilomaiava*, *Mataafa*, *O le Manu'a*, *Fiāmē*, *Salima*, and *Lāvāsī'i*.

To four other chiefs the word *Afio*, or highest style of address, was applicable, although they were not *alii pa'ia*. These were *Taimalieutu*, *Tō'aleafoa*, *Liutele*, and *Afamasanga*.

The *Ao*, or titles, of these chiefs were in the gift of various places; two or three districts at times having the same; whilst Manono had three. The titles mentioned were in the gift of the following places:—

TITLE.	IN THE GIFT OF
Pe'a, Tonumaipe'a, } and Manupufanua }	Manono; the former also by Satupaitea.
O Lilomaiava . . .	Safotu, Sasava, Palauli, and Nofoa.
O le Tui A'ana . . .	Leulumoenga, or A'ana generally.
O le Tamāsoālii . . .	Tuamasanga and Safata.
O le Natoaitetele . . .	Sangana, Tuisaman, Saaumatangi, and Laumua.
O Mataafa	Faleata.
O le Tui Atua	Lufilufi and Atua generally.
O le Manu'a	Sanapu and Safata.
O le Fiāmē	Samatau.
O le Salima	Vaialele.
O Lāvāsī'i	O le Fangā.

Other districts on Savaii doubtless claimed some of these titles, but those given will be sufficient for illustration.

The power of the chiefs varied considerably, and it was often very limited ; but some chiefs of high rank possessed a good deal, and have frequently used it in a very tyrannical manner.

The *Taulā aitu*, 'anchors of the spirits,' from *taula*, 'an anchor,' and *Aitu*, 'spirit,' formed the priesthood, and possessed great influence over the minds of the people. They may be classed under four heads ; viz. Prophets or Sorcerers, Family Priests, Priests of the War Gods, and Keepers of the War Gods. Of these a full description will be found in Chapter IX.

The *Tulafale* were a very powerful and influential class, the real authority and control of districts being frequently centered in them. They were the principal advisers of the chiefs ; the orators were usually selected from their number ; the *Ao*, or titles of districts, were always in their gift ; and they had the power, which at times they did not scruple to use, of deposing and banishing an obnoxious chief. They were generally large land-holders, and, in some places, as at Leulumoenga, on Upolu, and Matautu, on Savaii, they comprise the leading families, and have the entire control of the settlement. Sometimes they are brought under the power of the chief of the district or settlement ; but, as a rule, they are a sturdy class, and do not scruple to speak out plainly to those above them when needed, often saying very unpalatable things, and acting in a determined manner, should the conduct of a chief be obnoxious to them. In many respects the *Tulafale* of

Samoa correspond with the *Rangitira* of New Zealand. As to their power, there have been instances known in which this class, in combination with the *Faleupolu* of the district, have banished their chief, or chiefs, on account of their tyranny and oppression. On such occasions the offending chief was taken to Tutuila, one of the more easterly of the group, whither he was accompanied by a large number of the people of his district. Intelligence of such an event being about to take place was always sent to the chiefs and people of Tutuila, who prepared for the arrival of the banished chief and his attendant party. After the latter had met the Tutuila authorities, and informed them of the fact of their having brought their chief to commit him to their custody, the prisoner was landed from his canoe, and made to run the gauntlet from the beach to the settlement; the inhabitants of the district forming two lines, between which the chief ran, whilst he was belaboured with sticks, pelted with stones, or subjected to other indignities. It was a fortunate thing for him if he escaped with only bruises, as sometimes severe injuries were inflicted upon him, and even life sacrificed.

Tradition tells of a chief of Savaii, who was banished for his tyranny, and also of several *Tui A'ana*. With one of these some very interesting circumstances were connected. The party conducting him reached Tutuila in the evening, and his landing was deferred until the morning. During the night the captive chief signified to some of his attendants his unwillingness to submit to the indignities about to be inflicted upon him; at the same time stating his wish to commit himself to the wide waste of waters, in the hope of finding

a refuge in some distant island, or perish in the attempt. He succeeded in exciting the sympathy of his companions, and taking advantage of a favourable wind that was blowing they cast off their frail vessel from her moorings, hoisted their sail, and steered away from the island. Singular to relate, after enduring great hardships and privations, by following an easterly direction they reached Rarotonga, an island 800 miles distant from whence they had started. As they neared the island, they were distressed with apprehensions respecting the reception they were likely to meet with from the people of the unknown isle. They were soon relieved on this head, since they were kindly received, and welcomed, and conducted to the chief of that part of the island, who allotted to them a district in which to dwell. As they became able to hold intercourse with the people of Rarotonga, they were much astonished to find that the island to which they had come was originally peopled by Samoans, their own countrymen. These had formerly emigrated from Samoa, under two adventurous leaders, Tangiia of Upolu, and Matea of Manua. The descendants of these early Samoan voyagers and colonists treated their unexpected visitors with much kindness, and gave them valuable help, the new-comers settling down in their new home, and naming a variety of places and objects in their allotted district after similar places in A'ana, Upolu, from whence they had come.

Many years rolled on, and at length a descendant of this very banished chieftain, named Malie, came to Samoa as a native teacher and evangelist, and especially charged by his family to inquire into the particulars

of the banishment of their ancestor. I had the pleasure of hearing from Malie the foregoing narrative, and recording the details. I was also interested in observing the delight Malie exhibited on finding that there were in A'ana names of places corresponding to those he mentioned as having been named in Rarotonga by the banished king and his party. The name of this teacher was originally Tuia'ana, after his ancestor, the banished chieftain; but he informed me, that on the return of John Williams from Samoa, he found that Malietoa was then the Tui A'ana, on which his name was changed to that of Malietoa; but his name was usually contracted, and he was called Malie, or, as he himself pronounced it, Marie, changing the l into r. He was also at times called Matatia.

The tradition of Tui A'ana having been banished in the olden times was well known to the chiefs from A'ana who accompanied me when we met with this teacher; but they knew nothing of his ultimate fate, or of his party, who were supposed to have been blown off the island and perished in the *moana uli*, 'the deep blue sea.'

The most recent case of banishment of chiefs by the people of A'ana, was that of the two brothers of I'amafana, Tupō and Tupua, who were banished to Tutuila, as the result of the war of succession waged by the adherents of the three brothers; I'amafana, the eldest brother, being victorious.

The following boat-song is on record as having been sung by the party taking these two chiefs to their destination :—

'Taima e, talitali mai,
Le vaelua, ua a'u au mai.'

'Tai-ma-e, wait for me,
The separated two I am bringing.'

The *Fale Upolu* (house of Upolu) are the next in rank and importance. They are also considerable land-owners, and possess much influence. They supply the chiefs with food, receiving from them native property in return, which payment is called *Tōnga*, and consists of mats, siapo, or canoes. Sometimes foreign property is given instead of native, when the payment is called *Oloa*. Individuals of this class sometimes take part in the discussions of their public assemblies, and in a variety of ways make their influence felt.

The class called *Tangatā nu'u* (or men of the land) are a useful class, although in some sense looked down upon. Their employments are varied: bearing arms in time of war, or cultivating the soil, fishing and cooking, in time of peace. In the distant past their lot was often a hard one, and they smarted under the tyranny of their masters, but of late years things have changed, and their position has been greatly ameliorated. They often attached themselves to some particular chief, varying in numbers according to his influence. The Tulafale, Fale Upolu, and even some chiefs, were accustomed to pursue the different handicrafts common to the people.

The attendants attached to the families of some of the higher chiefs occupied an important position, and claim a distinct notice, although they are included under one or the other of the classes before alluded to. They were known under the special names of *Songa*, *Soa*, *Atamai-o-alii*, *Taumasina*, *Fa'atama*, and *Salelelisi*. These officials sustained among them the offices of barbers, cupbearers, messengers, confidential advisers, trumpeters or shell-blowers, and buffoons, as well as constant personal attendants upon chiefs of high rank.

They were not very numerous, but were considered as a whole quite a privileged class.

I do not think that direct slavery can be said to have existed amongst the Samoans at any time, though perhaps at times the conditions of the *tangata nu'u*, and especially of the captives taken in war, *tangatā taua*, was little if any better than slavery. These unfortunates were looked upon with great contempt by their masters, and many a haughty chief of the olden time would have thought much less of taking the life of one of this class than that of a favourite pigeon.

There were also hereditary family names, but the *Ao*, or titles, given to chiefs of rank, were in the gift of constituencies, i. e. the different settlements or districts to which they belonged. If the head of a family holding a title was supposed to be near death, his friends and relatives were summoned, when he conferred his family name upon his eldest son, or upon an adopted son, in the event of his being childless. The bestowment of the *Ao*, or title of the higher chiefs, was a much more difficult matter, and often required much consideration. Upon the death of a chief of rank, his *Ao*, or titles, always reverted to the district or settlement conferring them; the authorities of which were very tenacious of their right to bestow them. Sometimes the dying chieftain nominated his successor or successors, but, unless these nominations were agreeable to the holders of the titles, they would not accede to them. The late widely known Malietoa, the first of his family to hold the regal office, held amongst other *Ao*, those of *O le Tui A'ana*, and the *Tui Atua*. On his death-bed, he nominated his successors, but as the nominations did

not give satisfaction to the different constituencies represented, they refused to sanction them, and left the matter in abeyance. In A'ana the parties were divided, but, as the chief nominated was backed by a powerful following, his title was often acknowledged in courtesy, although it was not formally bestowed upon him. At other times the nomination of the chief was completed without difficulty; but as there were often many competitors for the honour, especially for the higher ones, they have always been fruitful sources of contention and difficulty, and at times of bloodshed.

Until a comparatively recent period, the government of Samoa appears to have approached more nearly to that of Tahiti and the Sandwich Islands, which is monarchical, than would be supposed from its present condition. Perhaps it may be best described as a combination of the monarchical and patriarchal forms. Although for a long series of years, perhaps for ages, the whole group was nominally governed by one head, in whom the supreme authority was vested, the different districts were governed to a considerable extent by their own local authorities and chiefs, who in many respects were independent of each other. Heads of families also possessed great power over their relatives and dependants, which they used as they pleased, and were irresponsible to any other authority.

When the five distinct titles of the *O-le-Tupu* were centered in one person, his power was great, and extended over the whole group; since although Tutuila and Manu'a do not appear to have any distinct title to bestow in the election of the *Tupu*, they were fully represented by Lufilufi, the Laumua, or leading settle-

ment of Atua, the district most in contact with the eastern islands. Manono, also, although not appearing to have any title to give, was always consulted as to the choice to be made.

There are three great families which comprise the aristocracy of Samoa, whose ramifications spread more or less through the whole group, and to one or the other of which every chief is referable, no matter what his rank or title may be. These three families are: *Sa Mataafā*, *Sa Malietoa*, and *Sa Muangututi'a*. I am not certain if this statement holds good with respect to Manu'a, but I rather think it does. For a long series of years the possession of the much coveted title of *O le Tupu*, was confined to members of the *Muangututi'a* family, but in the case of recent *Tupus* this restriction has been broken through.

Upon the death of Safe-o-fafine, the last king in the line of the family of *Muangututi'a*, the title remained vacant for a considerable time, but was at length usurped by a *taulāaitu*, or war-priest of Manono, named *O le Tamafainga*, who not only assumed the attributes of king, but also those of a god. He was a tyrant, and from his being worshipped as a god his authority was great. Although this was keenly felt and smarted under, in the hope of, in some measure, escaping from his tyranny the people of A'ana were led to confer their title of *Tui A'ana* upon him; but they soon found out the mistake they had made, as his rule became more oppressive and his tyranny worse. The remaining titles were, however, soon obtained, and he was proclaimed *O le Tupu-o-Samoa*, and thus for the first time for many generations this dignity passed from the family which

had so long held it. Not only did A'ana lose the dignity she had so long held, the district also lost the honour of being the royal residence, as the Tamafainga continued to reside on Manono, of which place he was priest or war-god. He did not long enjoy his honour, for as his tyranny increased so did the hatred of the people of A'ana, until at length his conduct became so hateful that they rose against him, and killed him in the year 1829, just before John Williams visited Samoa for the first time. A fierce and bloody war was the consequence, during which the power of A'ana was broken, and the beautiful district laid waste and devastated.

Some time after Le Tamafainga's death the *Ao* or titles were conferred upon Malietoa, the first *Tupu* of that name, and the first of his family who had been raised to that dignity; but his power and influence, although great, were less than that exercised during the reigns which had preceded him. Malietoa had long striven to obtain this much-coveted dignity, but he did not long enjoy it. At his death he endeavoured to adopt the unusual course of dividing the hitherto united five titles held by one person, expressing a vain wish that no other *Tupu* should succeed him in the dignity. His desire was that, as he was the only one of his family who had attained that dignity, his name might descend to posterity as the last King of Samoa, and that after his death the *Ao* should be divided amongst the three relatives he named. His brother Tai-ma-le-langi succeeded to the family name of Malietoa, and was, I believe, elected as *O le Tupu-o-Salafai* by Savaii; but A'ana and Atua long declined to recognize the claims of the aspirants to their titles, further than as a matter of courtesy.

For several years after I left the island in 1845, the largest amount of power was held by the Malo or conquering party, which was represented by Manono and Safotulafai, but in many things the different districts acted independently of each other, being represented by their *Laumua*, or leading settlements. These were five, viz. two on Savaii, Saleaula and Safotulafai, with three on Upolu, viz. Leulumoenga, representing A'ana; Sangana, or Sa-aui-matangi and Laumua, representing Le Tuamasanga; and Lufilufi, representing Atua and the islands to the eastward. These five *Laumua* with Manono might at that time be considered as holding the balance of power throughout the group, the authorities of the eastern islands being very much led by the decision of the larger islands.

Of all these centres of influence, Manono at that time was the most powerful, having obtained that position through the prowess of its people in naval warfare. They have long been famous for their prowess on the sea, and are able to command the services of a large fleet of canoes, as well as being the owners of the strong natural fortress of Apolima, whither they could retire in case of defeat. For a long period Manono was a firm ally of A'ana, which place was celebrated for its prowess on land; so that the two, when united, were usually a match for the rest of the group. During the last fifty years great changes have taken place in the political condition of the group.

But little ceremony was used in the installation of chiefs, even of the highest rank, this being the separate act of the several districts conferring the *Ao*. The *Ao*, or title of A'ana, was usually bestowed first,

and, upon agreeing with the other settlements upon whom they should confer their *Ao*, they dispatched two or three of their number with authority to perform the ceremony of conferring the title, viz. to *Alanga*, or proclaim him. These deputies proceeded to the residence of the chief selected, and whether they found him seated in conclave with his friends and attendants in front of his dwelling, or amongst his family within, they immediately entered his presence and, laying aside the usual etiquette, remained standing before him, whilst they proclaimed his accession to the title, each member of the deputation successively shouting five times running with a loud voice the war-cry of *U-ū-ū*, the last syllable being very much prolonged. This portion of the ceremony completed, the deputies immediately prepared to return; but they were usually requested to remain whilst some valuable mats were brought forth and laid before them. After this they returned to their companions to announce the fulfilment of their mission, leaving the chief to enjoy the congratulations of his friends upon his having acquired the much-coveted dignity.

After a week or so had elapsed, the whole of the principal men of the district conferring the title proceeded in a body to pay their respects to their newly elected chief, taking with them a large quantity of food, as also the *Tualua* (water-bottle), *O le To* (strainer), and the *Tanoa* (ava-bowl), the different articles required in the preparation of the *Ava*—the drink essential to the proper carrying out of subsequent ceremonies—the presentation of which concluded the inauguration ceremonies, after which the chief was publicly recognized as *O le Tui A'ana*, 'Lord of A'ana.'

In an old tradition relating to Atua mention is made of a mat being thrown down in the presence of the assembled *Tulafale* and chiefs, on which the chief-elect was to seat himself, in token of his acceptance of the appointment; but whatever other ceremonies were used, the principal one was the *Alanga*, or public proclamation of the chief, that is, his open recognition by the deputies.

Upon the title of *Le Tui A'ana* being conferred, the other districts soon followed the example, and upon the whole number of titles being acquired it was said of the possessor, *Ua tafa'i fa, ua o'o-i le Tupu* (four centre in one)! 'He has attained to "the grown."' Upon this the fortunate chief assumed the title of *O le Tupu-o-Samoa*, and shortly after commenced a circuit of the islands, to receive the homage and congratulations of the different districts. The announcement, *Ua afio mai le Tupu*, 'The king is approaching,' caused great excitement and stir in the various settlements, in the way of preparation for the expected visit.

During this royal progress the *Tupu* was accompanied by a large number of attendants and followers, who were called *O le Aumānga*, who were accustomed to act in a very arbitrary manner, damaging the plantations through which they passed, and laying violent hands upon whatever they chose to take, whether pigs, poultry, or vegetables.

The king was preceded by his *Songa*, or cupbearer, who carried his drinking-cup either hanging from his neck or suspended from a piece of young cocoanut-leaf (*i'ui'u-launiu*). This official also carried a large *Pu*, or conch-shell, which he frequently blew to announce the approach of the *Tupu*, who followed

after at some distance on foot, accompanied by his principal wife, who usually carried a birdcage containing his *Manu alii*, or chief's bird. A considerable space was allowed to intervene between the king and his retinue, who followed according to their rank. Large quantities of food—pigs, vegetables, fish—were presented at various periods to the king by the different districts, in return for which numbers of valuable mats were bestowed upon the various families who had given the food. These mats were called *Tonga*, and when they were to be given, the districts were summoned to *tali Tonga*, or receive property in payment for the food given, a custom which is connected with a very curious system of exchange of property which prevailed extensively throughout the group, but which is gradually changing in consequence of altered custom. The native property thus distributed was furnished by the family connexions of the *Tupu*, who frequently smarted severely under the burdens laid upon them by the many demands made in order to support the dignity of their head. In the discussions which always preceded the final decision of a district as to the eligibility of the chief upon whom they were about to confer their *Ao*, the extent of wealth in native property as well as power of the candidate's family were topics freely discussed.

Certain kinds of fish were considered sacred to the *Tupu* and the leading settlements. In the event of the *Ao* being still in the keeping of the district, the *Laumua*, or leading settlement, claimed the right to receive the sacred fish. Various kinds of food were also taken to the king, which offering was called *O le Taro pa'ia*, 'The sacred taro.'

CHAPTER IV

THE POLITICAL LIFE OF SAMOA

THE Samoan islands are divided into districts, which are subdivided into settlements, and these again into villages. The great divisions or districts are quite independent of each other, their boundaries being well known, and the care of them committed to the two nearest villages on either side, the inhabitants of which were called *Leoleo-tuaoi*, or boundary-keepers. Formerly a feeling of irritation constantly existed between such villages, and, as in other lands, border feuds were frequent.

The boundaries of the different settlements were well defined, and each place zealously defended its rights. The lands of each settlement were again subdivided and owned by individual proprietors; but if the ownership of these various claimants by any means became obscure and difficult to substantiate, the boundaries of the villages were well known and respected; thus to the very mountain-tops the land had its owners. In the event of the inhabitants of one village trespassing upon the lands of another village to cut down any of the few kinds of timber considered

valuable, resistance was offered, even by force of arms if necessary.

The local affairs of each settlement were under their immediate control, and were discussed and decided upon in a public assembly composed of the leading men of each village or district. More weighty matters, such as declaring war or making peace, the appointment and installation of chiefs, or indeed any matters of general importance to the whole district, were deliberated upon in a general *fono*, or parliament of the whole district, composed of representatives of all the different settlements and villages of the district. Each district had a leading settlement called its *Laumua*.

It was the province of the *Laumua* to convene the *fono*, or general assembly of its respective districts, to announce the object for which it had been summoned, to preside over its deliberations, to arrange disputed or knotty points, as well as to sum up the proceedings and dismiss the assembly; in fact, to sustain the office of chairman. These meetings were usually conducted with much formality and decorum, the general *fono* of the district being always held in the open air, in the great *malae* of the leading settlement, or *Laumua*.

The *malae*, or *marae*, as it is sometimes called, is a large open space reserved for public assemblies, around which the representatives sit in little groups, each group having its proper position assigned to it, and also the precedence it took in addressing the meeting, which arrangement was scrupulously adhered to. The speakers might be either *chiefs*, *Tulafale*, or *Faleupolu*; the former occasionally addressing a *fono*, but usually the class called *Tulafale* were the principal speakers. Each chief had

generally a *Tulafale*, who acted as his mouthpiece; and each settlement had its *Tulafale sili*, who was the leading orator of the district.

The deliberations of these councils were often unnecessarily and tediously lengthened by a foolish custom, which was always observed, to which the speakers adhered with much pertinacity. There were always a certain number of heads of families in a settlement who alone were permitted to address an assembly in the *malae*; sometimes there were nine, as at Leulumoenga, or seven, as at Fasito'otai, whence the former place was spoken of as the *Faleiva* (nine houses), and the latter the *Falefitu* (seven houses). Much stress was always laid upon the privilege of addressing a public assembly, therefore when the time came for a particular settlement to address the meeting, the whole of the speakers stood up and contended amongst themselves for the honour of speaking on that day. Sometimes, and especially if the subject was important, the palm was quickly yielded to the speaker generally acknowledged to be the most effective, but on ordinary occasions they contended long for the honour. A quarter of an hour or twenty minutes was a very common time for a speech. They managed to speak in rotation, and although they might not be able to exercise the privilege very often, they all liked to assert their right to speak, and to exhibit their *to'oto'o-launga*, or orator's staff.

When all but one sat down, he commenced his address by carefully going over the titles of the various districts and great divisions of the islands, each having a distinctive complimentary title by which it was always known and spoken of, quite apart from those conferred upon the

different chiefs; and the omission of any title of a district at the enumeration of names of districts at a public meeting was looked upon as an insult, the long time occupied in this complimentary recitation being further lengthened by the speaker deliberately prefixing an apologetic preface to each name of place or chief.

As the orator proceeded, his party sat around him and acted as prompters, refreshing his memory, giving him topics on which to touch, or recalling him when going astray. It was often very amusing to notice how quietly the orator took all this interruption, and how coolly but dexterously a speaker would retreat from a position or statement he found was obnoxious to his party. Sometimes, if he became wearisome, his companions would tell him to sit down and hold his tongue—advice which at times might well be given and acted upon in more civilized assemblies.

Many of the speakers were eloquent, and when the subject was an exciting one I have sat for hours listening with pleasure to their addresses. Their style of speaking was often figurative, and as their addresses frequently contained allusions to their old traditions and past national history that were highly interesting and instructive in their mode of speaking, such occasions afforded good opportunities for hearing the Samoan language to advantage.

These public assemblies, whether general or district, took place in the open air, and always commenced in the cool of the morning. In the early dawn the families of the speakers were astir, and a young man from each took the family orator's staff, and proceeded to the *nofoā fono*, or seat of the family orator, in

the *malae*, where, driving the staff upright into the turf, he sat down beside it and waited the arrival of the orator represented by the staff. At sunrise the meeting was usually assembled and business commenced.

In A'ana the nine speakers of Leulumoenga were privileged to sit on seats or three-legged stools, which were placed at a little distance in front of their party, whilst the rest of the assembly, high and low, sat cross-legged upon the turf. I do not know if this privilege of sitting at such gatherings was common to all *Laumua*, but even at Leulumoenga it was only asserted upon special occasions.

A speaker was seldom interrupted in his address, and all were heard patiently, however unpalatable their addresses might be. Sometimes, however, a speaker from another party presented himself to correct a misstatement, or oppose the position taken up by the party addressing the assembly, when a great deal of wrangling took place between the speakers. As a rule, each little group of speakers had a few trees to shelter them, which was very needful, since their meetings were continued throughout the day, in spite of a burning sun; but a heavy shower of rain caused the assembly to be abruptly concluded or else adjourned.

The villages within the radius of a few miles from the place at which the *fono* was held provided a quantity of food, which was taken by the parties providing it to the head of their family, if in attendance at the *fono*, who directed its distribution, first supplying visitors from a distance. Bowls of *ava* were also brought and distributed in like manner. Business proceeded whilst the refreshments were handed round; but this was generally

arranged so as to be at the time when the representative of some unimportant district had the attention of the meeting, the address on such occasions becoming jocose, and at times even ludicrous, when the speaker recognized it useless to attempt gaining a hearing by any other style of address.

It was customary for each speaker, as well as others, attending a *fono* to carry baskets of plaited cocoanut-leaves containing cocoanut-fibre for plaiting cinet, in which employment they busily occupied themselves during the whole proceedings, laying it aside as they rose to speak, and resuming it again immediately on sitting down.

The general *fono*, or parliament of a district, was at times convened by the *Laumua* at the suggestion of one or more settlements; at other times, in consequence of intercourse it might have had with other *Laumua*.

On summoning the various districts the messengers usually gave information of what was to form the principal topic of discussion, and each district deliberated upon it beforehand, and came prepared accordingly; but it sometimes happened that, in case the leading *Laumua* was apprehensive of not being able to carry its point, its principal men passed from place to place in a body, and discussed the matter separately with each district, prior to the general *fono*; a custom having somewhat the same effect as the modern caucus.

In all the principal divisions of the islands there were some settlements, in addition to the leading district, which possessed greater influence than others. In A'ana, the division with which I was most familiar, there were two important settlements that had to be consulted

in addition to Leulumoenga, viz. Fasito'otai and Fasito'outa. These had the privilege of following the opening speech, and their decision was often final, the other places adopting pretty much the tenor of their addresses; but this was not always the case. So great was the influence of these places, that it required the presence of the representative of one or the other of them to render valid the proceedings of the assembly, so that in case both absented themselves from the meeting, the *fono* dispersed without entering upon business.

The topics discussed at these meetings varied greatly, from matters affecting the wellbeing of the whole community, to those of trifling import. Intercourse between the natives and Europeans of late years has greatly perplexed and distressed them. With native matters they were familiar, but they are sorely puzzled with European complications. There was also, even in the past, a great want of co-operation amongst the several districts, as well as of power to enforce their decisions, which often caused their attempts at legislation to fail.

Official intercourse between the settlements or districts convening meetings, with other matters of business, were always conducted by means of specially appointed messengers, each settlement having a different name for its messengers.

The duty of summoning warlike meetings, carrying messages as to a projected attack, or means of conducting defence, was generally, if not always confided to one settlement, whose messengers were entrusted with the discharge of these duties. In A'ana this duty devolved upon *Nofoal'i*.

The deference shown in the general *fono* was great. As these meetings were always held in the open air, the public footpath frequently passed through the *malae*, where they were held, so that the continual passing and repassing of persons would have occasioned much annoyance, were it not that by universal custom the road passing through the *malae* was always closed when a *fono* was sitting. In consequence of this well-understood rule, all persons or travelling parties of whatever rank left the pathway at some distance before reaching the place of meeting, and taking a wide circuit, so as to avoid the assembly, hurried past, as though feeling themselves on forbidden ground. So universally observed was this custom, that the omission of it by a party passing through the assembly was considered as an insult, and looked upon as a *soli* or trampling upon the company assembled, and through them, upon the entire district. Formerly, in such a case many armed men would have rushed upon the intruders with clubs and spears, and made them pay dearly for their rashness. Although less particular than formerly, even at the time I left the islands such an intrusion would have met with strong disapprobation; and in some places chastisement would have been added. I have sometimes seen a foreigner who was either not aware of the custom, or chose to disregard it, pass through an assembly, and have heard murmurs of disapprobation from many; whilst others apologized for him, and attributed his offence to want of politeness or ignorance. In their heathen state foreigners equally with natives would have been punished, and perhaps slain for such an intrusion. The usual attention to

etiquette on such occasions was shown when a message had to be sent from one party to another during the sitting, when the messenger sent always passed behind any intervening group.

In the judicial proceedings of the *fono*, the punishments may be classed under two heads, *O le Sala*, and *O le Tuā*; the former consisting of the destruction of houses, live stock, and plantations, with, at times, the seizure of personal property and banishment; the latter consisting of personal punishment.

The severe punishment of *O le Sala* was usually inflicted by the whole available force of the district awarding it. Sometimes it was tamely submitted to, but at other times resistance was offered, if the culprits felt themselves strong enough to do so, when desperate encounters followed; and these at times gave rise to general wars. The *Sala* was also at times inflicted by one family upon another, if the aggrieved party was strong enough. This, although irregular, was connived at by the leading members of the community; but if the punishment was considered excessive, they would then interfere. One great evil attending this mode of punishment was, that at times the whole family, or even district, suffered for the offence of one of its members, so that not only did all suffer from the loss of property, but, when, as was sometimes the case, banishment, *fa'ateva*, was added to destruction of property and dwellings, many suffered from the punishment.

Upon a *fono* deciding upon this punishment, it was usual to carry it into effect immediately. In that case, the leading men of the settlement, rising from the

place of meeting, proceeded towards the residence of the obnoxious family, attended by their followers, where they quickly seated themselves upon the ground in full view of the family they had decided to banish. The latter often heard of the sentence in sufficient time to enable them to remove their mats and other household property to a place of safety; but the live stock generally fell into the hands of the expelling party, who reserved them to feast upon after the work of the day.

Formality was still the order of proceeding, and the anxious family had yet a little time to make preparations for their departure, as one of the judicial party rose to make a speech, or *fai fetalaiinga*, for the benefit of the head of the doomed family, in which he informed him of the decision of the *fono*, and that they had come to enforce it. On the conclusion of this speech one of the judicial party rose up and commenced to ring the breadfruit-trees, so as to destroy the part above the injured bark, leaving the stump alive, and uninjured, from which in a short time young shoots sprang up, bearing fruit after two or three seasons. The commencement of this work of destruction was either the signal for resistance to be offered, or for the family to gather up their belongings, and remove from the dwelling with sad hearts, to commence their solitary journey as outcasts on the road, whilst their house was set on fire and destroyed.

Whilst these proceedings were going on, if no resistance was offered, the old men sat around the spot, quietly plaiting their cinet, and chatting together apparently quite unconcerned, and waiting for the

return of the young men who had been dispatched to plunder the taro-patches, or else, watching with interest the chasing and killing the pigs around, ready for the feast which was soon to be prepared. On the whole of the provisions being collected, they were cooked and eaten by the expelling party, who then returned to their homes. It was a sad sight to witness this driving a family from their homes, and sending them out to wander on until they reached a spot where some friend would give them land on which to build a home.

Sometimes the sentence was to go forthwith and destroy the breadfruit-trees, without expelling the family or burning their homes. The length of time the banished party remained absent from their village varied much. Their term of banishment was never specified, nor the place to which they were to go made known, unless on very particular occasions. It was generally considered sufficient to know that the expelled party were on the road; and they might take shelter wherever they liked, beyond the limits of the village or settlement from whence they had been expelled. Sometimes they were specially warned to remove to a distance.

Should the expelled party be influential, it sometimes happened that, having acknowledged the power of their settlement by submitting quietly to punishment, some friend would suggest to his companions that, their authority having been asserted and acknowledged, it would be desirable to recall the banished party, so as not to lose strength. Should this suggestion prove agreeable, those who had previously

decreed the banishment went in a body to the place where the refugees were to be found, and made a conciliatory speech, telling them to *fa'a molemole* (make smooth your hearts), and return to their settlement. This generally healed the breach, but sometimes it took more to smooth the ruffled hearts; and the banished parties remained absent for years, or permanently located themselves in another settlement, which they found no difficulty in doing, from the extent of their family connexions.

It occasionally happened, however, that the term of banishment was very lengthened, especially when the sentence had been pronounced in a full *fono*, and where the offence had been great. One such case came under my notice. A powerful A'ana chief had committed adultery with the wife of a Manono chief, in consequence of which he had been banished to Savaii. Manono remained quiet as long as he absented himself and respected their prohibition of not returning to A'ana, a violation of which would have occasioned war. A'ana was a conquered district, but this chief had powerful family connexions on Savaii, who belonged to the Malo, or victorious party, to whom he went and lived under their protection for several years. Although afraid to return openly to A'ana, I was assured that he paid frequent night visits there, to consult with his friends and partisans. At length, after many unavailing attempts had been made by his friends on Savaii to induce Manono to consent to his returning to A'ana, his friends on Savaii called a meeting, at which it was determined to muster a large armed party and take him back to his home in face of the

prohibition. They called at Manono on their way, and informed the principal men of that island of their resolve ; and the Manono people, seeing that they were determined as to their course, thought it prudent to cease their opposition, and forgive the offence. The Savaii party then quietly accompanied the chief to A'ana, and reinstated him in his former position. After his reproach had been removed, he preferred returning with his friends to Savaii, where he continued to reside.

The other class of punishment, noticed under the head of *O le Tuā*, was personal, and, like the former, was inflicted immediately sentence had been pronounced, in the presence of the whole assembly. This punishment was awarded for the following offences: theft, insulting travelling parties, preparing pitfalls, and taking the comb out of a married woman's head.

Amongst these punishments may be noticed the *fa'afaoa*, which consisted of compelling the delinquent to inflict severe wounds and bruises upon himself, by beating his head and chest with a large stone, until the blood flowed freely. If there appeared any disposition on the part of the culprit to inflict merely slight wounds, the chiefs assembled immediately ordered him to strike harder ; which command was further speedily enforced by the prompt and unsparing use of a war club, if necessary.

O le-ū-tevi, or causing to bite the *tevi*, a poisonous and acrid root, was a common and very painful punishment. On biting the root the mouth swelled greatly, and the sufferer experienced intense agony for a considerable time afterwards.

Catching poisonous spined fish in the hand after they had thrown them in the air was another severe personal

punishment, commonly inflicted at *fonos*. This fish was covered with sharp-pointed spines, and the punishment consisted in making the culprit throw it into the air, and then catch it in his naked hand as it fell. Whenever a spine entered the hand, it caused great agony and suffering.

O le fa'a-lā-ina, or exposure to the sun, was another punishment commonly inflicted for theft. The culprit's hands and feet were tied together, and a pole passed through them, when he was carried to a public place, and placed in the broiling sun, to be exposed to the intense heat for many hours together. On other occasions the offender's feet were tied together, and he was then hoisted up to the top of a tall cocconut-tree, and suspended head downwards, for many hours together. These five punishments have now mostly if not entirely become obsolete, and fines of pigs, property, &c., have taken their places.

In cases of murder or adultery, the common mode of making compensation to the injured party or their relatives was by the *Ifonga*, or bowing down, accompanied with a *totongi*, or payment of a fine. In case the offending party thought it prudent to tender this satisfaction, he collected some valuable mats, in number and quality according to the nature of the offence, and with his friends prepared to make his submission. When it was thought necessary to appear very humble, the parties took pieces of firewood, stones, and leaves with them, to signify that they put themselves entirely into the power of the aggrieved party, who might kill, cook, and eat them, if they thought proper. On nearing their place of destination, which they usually managed to reach

before or by daybreak, the culprit wrapped some valuable mats around his body, and with the rest of his party proceeded to the place where they intended to make their submission. If the offended party was a chief, they proceeded at once to his residence, where, prostrating themselves before his house, they awaited in silence his decision. The position assumed on such occasions was that of bowing on their hands and knees, or sitting cross-legged, with the head placed between the knees.

Immediately on their arrival becoming known, the chief was informed of it, and this was the critical time for the anxious party outside the dwelling. The *ifonga*, however, was usually deferred until it had been ascertained that the angry feelings first felt had in some measure subsided; but it occasionally happened that the injured party were unable to control their passions on seeing their enemy prostrate before them; in which case they rushed out spear and club in hand to inflict summary chastisement upon the humbled company. Some of the latter, who were on the look-out for such a contingency, narrowly watched the movements of the party within the house, and were ready to give prompt notice of any meditated onslaught, so that the whole *ifonga* were ready to take flight on the first notice of an onslaught, either to the bush, or else to their canoes. Severe wounds were often given in such cases, and sometimes even lives were sacrificed, where the look-out had been carelessly performed, or the onslaught was unusually fierce.

Generally speaking, the *ifonga* or submitting party were well received, and a messenger dispatched to invite

them to rise and enter the dwelling to *fai fetalainga*, or hold a consultation. The payment of property was then tendered, accompanied with an apology on behalf of the transgressor by one of his companions. The chief and his friends replied, and sometimes vented their displeasure upon their visitors in no very measured terms. To this wordy chastisement the *ifonga* replied with all due submission, took their leave and retired, heartily glad to escape with their lives, or indeed with whole heads and limbs.

On one occasion an A'ana chief of high rank, named Tui-one-ula, had a quarrel with a Manono chief when they met at sea fishing within the reef off Mulinu'u; words led to blows, ending in a fight in which the Manono chief was killed. They were alone, and fought with their paddles, but Tui-one-ula being the more powerful of the two, killed his opponent. It would seem to have been a chance blow, and unpremeditated, at the most amounting to manslaughter, but a general cry for vengeance arose on the part of the deceased chieftain's relatives, who considered Tui-one-ula a murderer, and demanded his punishment. Preparations for war were therefore quickly made by Manono and her allies, to lay waste his district. The offender also prepared for resistance. He retired to his inland fortress, summoned his allies, and seemed determined to defend himself, so that war seemed inevitable.

Many meetings of the district were held to discuss the matter and try to avert the conflict. As a last resource, a large and influential meeting of chiefs and leading men from many places around was convened at Fasito'otai, a settlement in A'ana some few miles

distant from where the conflict seemed likely to be. This meeting was largely attended, and the matter long and earnestly discussed, with the result that late in the afternoon a decision was arrived at that a large deputation should at once proceed to interview Tui-one-ula, and try to get him to *ifo*, and tender a fine in expiation of his offence. At the same time I was asked to form part of the deputation and back up their pleading.

It was late when we started, and by the time we reached the beach where the road branched off into the forest track that led to the fortress it was quite dark, so that torches had to be kindled to light the track. The *olo*, or fortress, was on the mountain side several miles inland, and thus occupied a commanding position, overlooking the track from start to finish. We knew this quite well, as also that the bush on either side swarmed with armed scouts, who would closely watch our travelling party, which was a large one. This was quickly recognized by a portly Manono chief and native teacher, who had been asked to head the company, but whose heart very soon failed him, so that he begged to be allowed to relinquish the leadership and go to the rear, as he feared a *pulufana* (musket-ball) would soon be sent through him if he led the advance. His request was granted amidst much laughing and jeering at his bravery, Sikioni, or Moepou, a fine young A'ana chief, taking his place.

We then started through the forest, the winding track being lit up with the many torches carried by the company. After an hour's walk or so we neared the fortress, and very soon met signs of watchfulness and

defence. As we moved on our way we were challenged, and had to explain our presence ; but the outposts were soon passed, and at length we drew near to the entrance of the fortress itself, where our business was more formally inquired into. We sent in our request for a personal interview with the chief, stating our object in thus seeking the interview. As a matter of fact, he had long been duly informed of our approach, as also of the object of our visit, so that very soon the messenger returned with a request that a certain number of chiefs and *tulafale*, mentioned by name, and myself would wait upon him. We were thereupon led through the passage leading to the *olo*, and soon reached the inner chamber, where we found the chief. We were all well known to him, and friendly, so that we soon entered upon business and explained our message. At first we were met with what seemed to amount to an almost curt refusal. Why should he run the risk of almost certain death, and not be able to defend himself? Better stand the chances of war, and die fighting, if it came to that. After some discussion we could see that he wavered, and at length he promised to consider the matter, and let us know his decision in the morning. We were satisfied, and took our leave, glad to get clear of the evidences of turmoil and confusion visible on every hand, yet thankful for what seemed to be a favourable result to our mission. In the morning we were informed that the chief would make his *ifonga* on a certain day, which he did, and tendered his fine in expiation of his offence. With the exception of a threatened assault by a young man, a relative of the deceased chieftain, but which was prevented by some

of his own friends, Tui-one-ula was well received, and the threatened war happily averted.

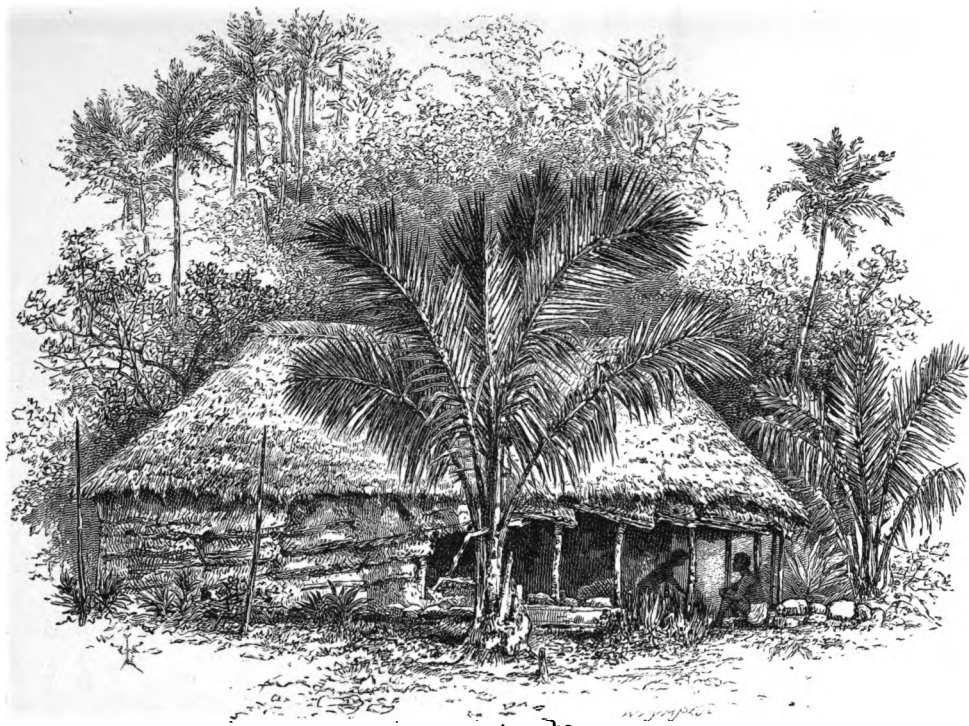
In cases of adultery, especially amongst the lower ranks, payment only was taken to the injured party; but if this was not accepted, and the offence unexpiated, the injured party and his friends watched for an opportunity to wreak their vengeance upon the offender, or the first person belonging to his settlement they could catch.

The *ifonga* is also the usual mode adopted by a conquered people on submitting to their conquerors. On such occasions there was often much bloodshed, but the poor wanderers were driven to this extremity by being hunted and half starved in the woods. It was also used occasionally by parties who were desirous of securing help from their more powerful neighbours after a defeat.

Sometimes other punishments were inflicted, as *O le ta-o-le-isu* (tattooing the nose), also *O le tipi o le talinga* (splitting the ear), both of which marks of degradation were at times inflicted for certain offences.

In the only case of deliberate execution for a crime (murder) that occurred during my residence on Samoa the victim was bound to a tree, the rope being fastened around the legs and then wound slowly but tightly upwards, the wretched criminal meanwhile shrieking fearfully, and beseeching his executioners to kill him with an axe, or otherwise put an end to his misery. This execution took place in Atua, and was the result of a long and anxious native trial, and much discussion as to the mode of execution that should be adopted. The one chosen was decided upon as being more in

unison with native custom than hanging. The culprit's name was Toi, and his crime a most revolting family murder, in which he sacrificed five or six lives. For a very long time he evaded capture, being sheltered in the mountains, but was at length hunted down and executed.



SAMOAN HOUSE.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC HABITS OF THE SAMOANS

THE dwellings of the Samoans often present a very picturesque appearance, especially as seen embowered in the beautiful breadfruit and cocoanut groves which surround them. The Samoan house is generally elliptical, but at times circular, when it resembles an immense beehive. The roof is supported by three centre-posts, and a number of smaller ones are placed under the eaves about three feet apart. These are usually about four or five feet in length. Formerly only the elliptical and circular forms were used by the Samoans in the construction of their dwellings, but latterly many houses have been built after the Tongā model, which is found better adapted to resist the high winds so common at one season of the year. These, called *afolau*, are often built in a very substantial manner, the centre part of the roof being supported by a double row of posts and cross-beams, from which rise centre-posts, in addition to those which support the eaves.

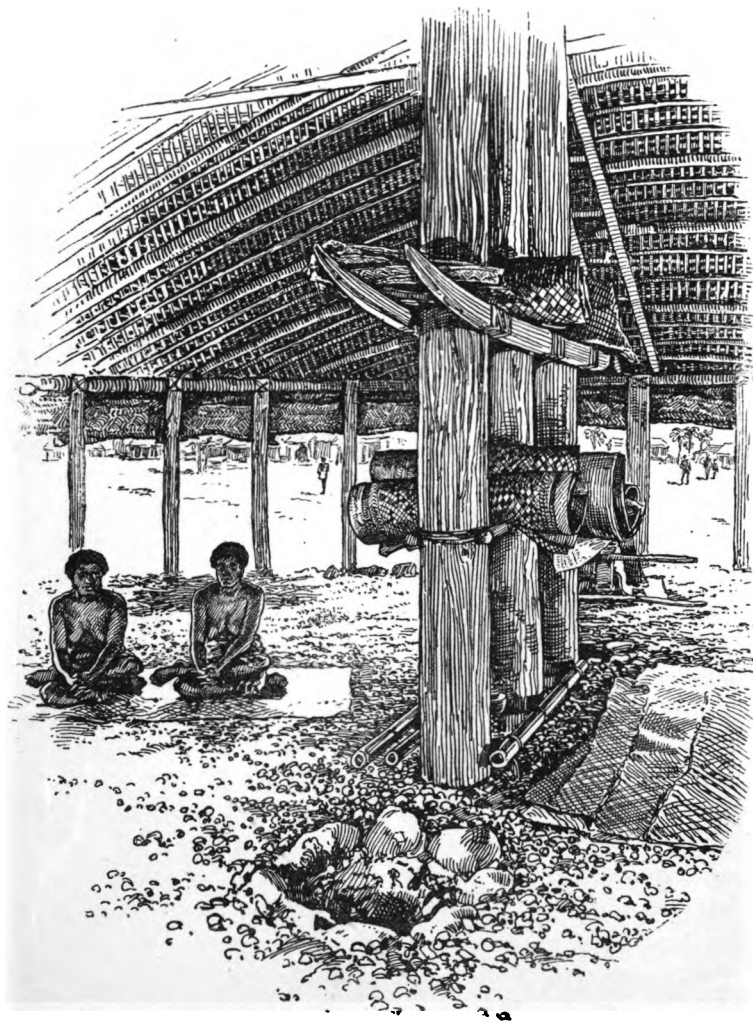
All dwelling-houses are partly enclosed with thatch, neatly tied to sticks planted upright in the ground and fastened to the eaves, or else protected with blinds of

plaited leaves, which can be raised or lowered at will, and form a slight shelter from the weather. In the elliptical form the eaves are of an even height all round, but in the *afolau* the front end is raised much higher than the back.

Roofs of the best houses are made of breadfruit wood, and these, if well built, will last many years, although not a single nail is used in their construction, the various parts being lashed together with cinet. The thatch, made from the leaves of the wild sugar-cane, is the only part liable to decay, but even this, if well made, lasts for four or even six years.

The houses of the principal chiefs were formerly surrounded with two fences, the outer of which was formed of strong posts or palisading, and had a narrow zigzag entrance several yards in length, leading to an opening in the inner enclosure, which was made of reeds, and which surrounded the dwelling at a distance of four or five fathoms. Of late years, however, the habits of the people have greatly changed for the better, thus rendering many of the precautions so long adopted unnecessary; hence these enclosures have for the most part disappeared, and the houses of all alike are now left open.

The ground immediately surrounding a dwelling was usually covered over with sand or small stones, by which means an appearance of neatness was secured and the growth of weeds checked, whilst whatever rubbish might accumulate during the day was carefully removed every morning. Immediately in front of the strip of pavement before the house might often be seen a well-kept grass plot, where the family seated themselves to enjoy the



INTERIOR OF SAMOAN CHIEF'S HOUSE.

cool of the evening breeze ; or upon which, during a fine day, the females of the family spread newly made *siapo* or other articles to dry in the sun.

A layer of sand, coral *débris*, or small stones was spread upon the floor of the house, which, again, was covered over with coarse cocoanut-leaf mats, these being frequently shaken, so that the floors were kept clean. Should the floor be covered with sand, some leaves were spread over it, to prevent its sticking to the mats. Finer mats were spread upon the floor for sleeping on at night, or for use of visitors by day ; but these were always carefully rolled up when not required.

The sleeping accommodations of the Samoans were very scanty, a mat or two spread upon the floor, a pillow made from a piece of thick bamboo cane, raised three or four inches from the ground, with a large piece of native cloth for a covering, usually comprising the whole. Sometimes a *tainamu* was used. This is a contrivance which does duty for a mosquito curtain, and consists of a large piece of *siapo* fastened to a string running along the centre. This was suspended over the sleeper, and formed into a kind of small tent by two bent sticks placed in the upper part of the *siapo*. Savaii is credited with the invention of the *tainamu*.

As a rule, the floors of the dwellings were dry, but the constant effects of the night dews, to which the natives were unavoidably exposed, were most injurious to health. The houses mostly consisted of one compartment, men, women, and children herding together in common ; but the young men mostly slept by themselves in the *faletele*, or great house, which was a favourite

gathering-place for all bachelors. They also frequently built for themselves a shed, or light framework on piles over the sea—*pae*, as they were called. These were placed well out from the beach, and the floors raised several feet above the water, where the natives could sleep without being annoyed by the mosquitos. Unmarried females, especially those of high rank, were carefully watched by several attendants, both male and female, who were appointed for the purpose, some of whom were always in attendance. The females slept by the side of their mistress, whilst the males either watched throughout the night, or else slept in the front part of the house.

Until within a few years of my leaving the islands, chiefs of rank were always watched with care during the night by several armed attendants, who either sat in some part of the dwelling in which their master slept, or else patrolled around to guard against an attack on the part of men who were deputed to take the lives of rival chiefs. This was especially the case with the family of Malietoa, where the attendants were called *Tau-masina*, and kept a fire burning during the whole night, around which they watched. Notwithstanding this constant watchfulness, chiefs of high rank sometimes fell victims to the superior stealth or stratagem of the parties plotting their death. The assassins employed on this secret service of death were called *Aitu-tangata* (men-spirits), and were usually trusty dependants of a rival chief. They always came at night, with their bodies profusely oiled, either entirely naked or with a simple *maro*, or girdle, tied loosely around their loins, so that if grasped by a pursuer they might escape,

whilst the *maro* was retained. The great object of the assassin was to reach his victim when in a deep sleep, so that he could creep stealthily upon him and thrust the barb of the sting ray into his loins or side. If the assassin could reach his victim, and thrust the small dart into the sleeping man's side or groin, he instantly fled, and often escaped, since it was difficult to seize him, his body having been profusely oiled. Sometimes he was overtaken, when the spear or club quickly did its work of vengeance. The weapon used for this midnight murder, the barb of the sting ray, although simple, was sure and deadly in its action, so that if buried in the flesh, death speedily followed. This was often the case; but at times the wounded man was able to pluck the barb from his body before the jagged extremity was drawn into the muscles, and thus saved his life. Unless this was done quickly, the barb speedily buried itself in the flesh, causing violent inflammation and almost certain death.

Usually chiefs of high rank slept with no better protection and accommodation than the common people, but sometimes the spot where they lay was partially enclosed by a roll of matting, unrolled and placed upright, thus forming a temporary enclosure which could be removed at pleasure.

Upon the marriage of a chief with a lady of rank, the site selected on which to build their house was formed into a *fanua-tanu*, or paved ground, by the united labour of the inhabitants of the entire settlement or district, as the case might be, according to the influence of the parties. By this means a raised terrace of stones was formed from fifty to seventy feet square, and often

many feet in height, on which the house was built. This widespread custom prevailed throughout the whole group, not only in the case of dwelling-houses, but also in sacred edifices or buildings, *fale-aitu*, houses of the gods. These also were always built on *fanua-tanu* by the people of the district or settlement. In some remarkable instances these raised stone terraces or platforms were of very massive construction, which seem to have been the work of an earlier but now extinct race of men. The same stone platforms, as foundations for sacred houses or temples, are found throughout Polynesia, and also in many of the islands to the north-west. The late Mr. H. B. Sterndale describes some remarkable cyclopean remains of such stone platforms he visited in the Caroline Islands, from which group he thought this custom of building such structures had spread widely throughout Polynesia.

The furniture and household utensils of the Samoan house of the olden time may be soon described. On entering the generality of dwellings, nothing in the shape of chair or table met the eye, but suspended from the rafters, or thrust into the thatch, were to be seen fishing-spears, fishing-rods and nets, axes, clubs, bows and arrows, with various baskets containing turmeric and other articles used in the preparation of native cloth, with water-bottles and other utensils. Upon a couple of poles lashed lengthways to the centre posts of the house were piled the fine mats used for spreading on the floor for visitors, as also sleeping-mats and bamboo pillows, with frequently bundles of *siapo*, or native cloth. In the back part of the house was the *fata*, a rude kind of stage, upon which were piled bundles of the more

valuable native property, consisting of the finer mats, called by the general name of *Tonga*; whilst from one of the side posts might be seen suspended the large *ava*-bowl (*tanoa alofi*), with the usual cocoanut-shell drinking-cup. Baskets of food were slung from a stand called *O le to'o-tū*, which was fixed upright in the ground. These, with a few other articles used in the preparation of native cloth, such as the *pāpā*, on which it is joined together, the log of wood with which it was beaten, with occasionally a large canoe, comprised the furniture usually found in a Samoan dwelling of the olden time.

In addition to these articles, some beautifully tame doves or pigeons were constantly seen, either perched on small sticks or confined in cages; the former thrust into the thatch, on which the birds contentedly rested. These pets were rendered very tame, much care being bestowed upon their feeding and training; whilst they were made the constant companions of their owners, whether working in their plantations, enjoying the cool of the evening in the front of their dwellings, or journeying by land or by sea. At all times these favourite birds formed their companions. In many cases the birds, both pigeons and doves, were taught to fly from their perches, wheel round, and return to their master's hand when tired, or upon the slightest jerk being given to the string by which they were tethered.

The dress of the Samoans in their heathen state consisted of the *maro*, or girdle, the *titi*, and *lavalava*; but these were often mere apologies for clothing, since both sexes, but especially the males, frequently appeared in little better than a state of nudity, whilst all children went entirely unclothed until ten or twelve years of age.

The *maro*, worn only by the males, was a narrow belt woven from the bark of trees, and worn around the body, passing between the thighs. This belt was mostly



ORDINARY SAMOAN (HEATHEN) DRESS.

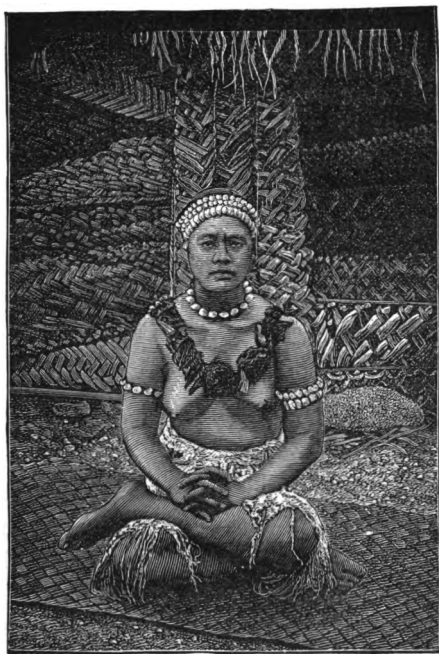
worn in battle. The *titi*, formed of leaves of the *ti* plant (*Dracaena*), was a favourite dress with both sexes, and worn in travelling, fishing, working, as well as at other times, whether in the house or at their various games,

so that this primitive and leafy girdle was in constant use throughout the day when anything in the shape of dress was to be worn, and only laid aside at night on retiring to rest. Sometimes, also, when a mat girdle was worn a small *titi* was fastened outside. This leafy girdle is still worn as much as ever, but of a larger size, as it is found cool and serviceable, especially when the wearer is working or fishing.

The *lavalava*, also common to both sexes, was made of native cloth or *siapo*, and also various kinds of mats. Before the contact with Europeans, and indeed for some time after, the use of *siapo* as an article of dress was confined to a few unmarried females of the highest rank, *O Tausala*, titled ladies; all others being prohibited from wearing it upon pain of heavy chastisement. The privileged few only wore it in the house. For a long time past this rule has been broken through, and *siapo* is now worn by all persons of either sex. The finer descriptions of mats (*ie tōnga*) were worn by unmarried females at their dances, but on ordinary occasions strong shaggy mats, woven or rather plaited from the bark of trees, were worn. Since the introduction of Christianity large quantities of cloth, print, and calico of European manufacture have been brought to the islands, and are eagerly bought by the natives.

Fond of ornament, the Samoans were accustomed to bestow much attention to decorating their persons after the native fashion. Necklaces of either shells, sharks' teeth, or flowers, and latterly of beads, were highly valued and sought after. Frontlets of small shells, garlands of flowers, as also pieces of mother-of-pearl shells, were worn on the forehead, whilst rings made of various materials

decorated the arms. These were made of either coconut or sea-shells, which were rubbed to the desired width and thickness on a stone, much labour being often bestowed in the operation.



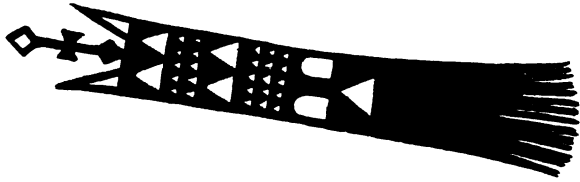
SAMOAN (HEATHEN) WOMAN OF RANK.

One method of ornamenting the body was painful and singular. This consisted in burning indelible marks upon the upper part of the arm and chest by applying to the spot a piece of lighted wood or a small roll of cloth forming a rudely made moxa, which was held closely for

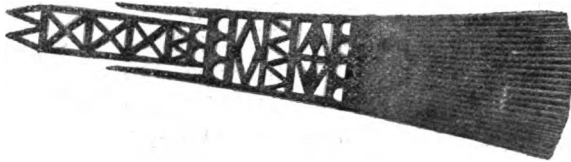
some time to the skin, by which means deep marks were burnt, leaving when healed these much-prized but hideous marks as the result. Sometimes, to vary the ornament, the heated bowl of a tobacco pipe did duty in place of the moxa, leaving a raised ring on the skin instead of the mark before described. Such marks were also used as mourning tokens, or mementos of deceased friends. Sometimes, too, in Samoa, as in other groups, a joint of a finger, or a finger itself, was cut off in memory of a deceased friend; but both customs have long since become obsolete, or nearly so.

Head-dresses (*tu'inga*) were used in war and dancing. *O le pale*, frontlet or crown, was also a head-dress in common use amongst the higher ranks. The *tu'inga* was a small mat or framework covered with hair or red feathers. There were three sorts of *tu'inga*: one of ordinary human hair; another of brown hair (dyed); and a third, *O le tu'inga ula*, or *red tu'inga*, made with costly and much-valued red feathers. These with the *pale*, or crown, were the usual ornaments of the high chiefs, and from the mention of them made in some of the very old traditions, they would appear to have been very ancient and distinctive tokens of rank. The *tu'inga ula*, or *red tu'inga*, was a small mat carefully covered over with highly valued crimson or scarlet feathers, obtained from a species of parrot found in the Fiji Islands and Tonga. In Samoa these feathers were rare and costly; but some chiefs possessed them in sufficient quantities to form armlets and other ornaments, as well as the *tu'inga* and *pale*, which were much prized. Some beautiful red feathers were also obtained from one or two Samoan varieties of parouquet,

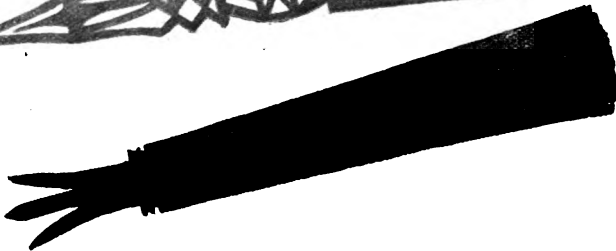
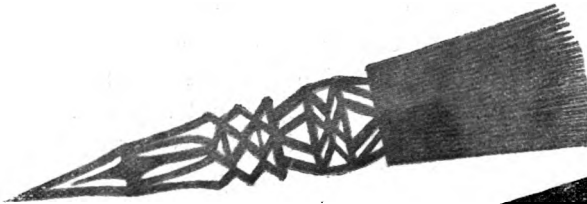
but those obtained from Fiji and Tonga were the most valued.



[Percy Smith, Esq.]



ANCIENT COMBS FROM SAMOA.



By permission of]

Great attention was bestowed upon the hair by both sexes, women usually discharging the duties of head-

dressers, unless in the families of chiefs of rank, where the *Songa* performed them. In the olden days some of the needful operation in hair-dressing caused much pain, but the introduction of razors and scissors has remedied this. Before the advent of these useful articles, the nearest approach to the razor consisted of



SAMOAN WOMAN.

two cockle-shells, with the sharp edges of which the beard was clipped, unless the wearer chose to submit to the more effectual but torturing plan of having it plucked out by the roots; whilst a shark's tooth supplied the place of scissors, with which instrument the hair of the head was rasped off whenever it was thought needful to remove it. In the case of children this was often

required, so that the advent of razors and scissors caused great rejoicing. I have often been amused to hear the remarks made by old men when describing the torture they endured under the use of cockle-shells, and sharks' teeth, and exulting in the luxury of being able to shave, as they were then doing, without soap, and with a razor so blunt as to be considered useless by a European.

In their heathen state the Samoan males always wore their hair long, whilst the females kept theirs short. This they accomplished by singeing it off with a piece of lighted *toe* bark. Five different names were used to designate the various descriptions of human hair, as it ranged from the straight and glossy type of the Malay to the woolly hair of the Papuan. The men wore their long hair either hanging loosely over the shoulders or tied up in a knot, called a *fonga*, which was worn either in front, or on the back, crown, or sides of the head, as fashion dictated; indeed, they had twelve different styles of wearing the hair, each distinguished by a separate name denoting the position of the *fonga*.

It was considered a great insult to enter the presence of a superior with the hair tied up, and therefore on such occasions the band confining it was removed, and the hair allowed to fall loosely over the shoulders. A neglect of this observance was regarded as an act of defiance, and resented accordingly. The same etiquette was observed in the case of equals, unless on terms of intimacy. A similar mark of respect is often shown by the Chinese in their intercourse one with another.

In addition to these various modes of dressing their

natural hair, the Samoans used three descriptions of wigs for a head-dress in war and at their dances. These were formed of human hair plaited to a kind of network and worn as frontlets.

Females had seven different styles of dressing their hair, each distinguished by a name denoting the kind of frontlet worn, or preparation used in dressing their hair. Thus one signified that *pulu*, or breadfruit pitch, had been used to stiffen the hair; and another, that a particular kind of brown earth or clay had been used as a pomade, which, when dressed with lime-water, gave a much-desired shade of golden-brown to the hair. The *Tutangita* was a style restricted to young females during their virginity. In this the centre of the head was shorn from the crown backwards, whilst the side hair was allowed to grow long and hang loosely down over the shoulders.

The ordinary diet of the Samoans consisted of vegetables and fish, which they procured in great abundance, and of excellent quality. They had also large numbers of fowls and pigs, but these were usually reserved for the visits of travelling parties. The woods also abounded with pigeons, doves, and other birds, which were caught in large numbers in some localities for food at certain seasons of the year.

Much order and, in case of chiefs, some ceremony was formally observed during meals, in their heathen state. Chiefs of rank, called *Alli pa'ia*, or sacred chiefs, always partook of their meals separately, since whatever they touched was supposed to partake of their sacredness, so that all food left by them at the close of a meal was taken to the bush and thrown away, as it was

believed that if a person not belonging to this sacred class ate of it, his stomach would immediately swell from disease, and death speedily ensue! Some chiefs of inferior rank permitted their wives to eat with them, but, generally speaking, the women and children partook of their meals alone, not being allowed to eat with men. This restriction has now been completely swept away.

Two regular meals a day were usually taken by the Samoans, one in the morning and the other in the evening; but they seldom refused food when obtainable, and were thus frequently eating. The food, excepting the made dishes, was always cooked in the usual Polynesian style, being steamed in the native oven, whether fish, fowl, meat, or vegetables. I obtained the names of fifty different dishes or kinds of cooked food, many of them being highly esteemed by the natives, and some were very palatable to Europeans. Nine of these dishes were suitable for the sick.

After each meal the Samoans were accustomed to wash their hands by having water poured over them¹; or, in the absence of this convenience, by tearing off a piece of the juicy stalk of the banana plant and rubbing it over their hands.

The different members of a family attended to the various domestic duties amongst themselves, but in the households of chiefs of rank other attendants were kept in addition to the family connexions. These were *O le Songa*, *O Atamai-o-alii*, *O Fa'atama*, and *O Salelelisi*. Of these, the *Atamai-o-alii* (spirit of

¹ See, for reference, 2 Kings iii. 11, 'Elisha the son of Shaphat, which poured water on the hands of Elijah.'

wisdom of the chief) may be first noticed, since they occupied the position of counsellors or prime ministers, and were continually consulted when the chief required advice. Occasionally this official filled the office of shell-blower or trumpeter, walking, like the *Songa*, before the chief when on a journey, carrying a conch-shell, which he blew continually to announce their approach. They were also employed as special messengers, and on difficult negotiations. The *Songa* performed the duties of barber, cup-bearer, trumpeter, and special messenger. Whenever the chief chose to undergo the torture, the *Songa* clipped off his beard with a couple of cockle-shells, and also, as occasion required, was expected to *futipongaisu*, or pluck the hair from his master's nostril. When he officiated as cup-bearer he seated himself before the chief, and on being required to hand the cup, held it to be filled by another official, and then presented it to his master. This office was a very privileged one, since the *Songa* might indulge with impunity in any jocular behaviour he chose, or appear in any dress, whether much or little, much after the manner of the old English jester, or court fool.

O le Salelelisi (the quick flyer) appears, however, to have more especially sustained the office of jester, or court fool; and a high-chief's retinue was not considered complete without one of this class, who enjoyed even greater license as to behaviour than the *Songa*. Persons of this class belonged to one particular village of Upolu; but individuals of their number roamed about, attaching themselves to various chiefs as their inclination led them.

O le Fa'atama (to be as a father) was a trustworthy official, or kind of steward, much thought of, and to whose care many things relating to the household were confided.

Besides these, there were always a number of other dependants in a chief's retinue. *Taule'ale'a* (young men) worked on the plantations, prepared food for the household, bore arms in times of war, and were ever ready to carry out the commands of their chief, no matter how tyrannical.

The female attendants of a family were either related by blood or marriage to the families in which they resided ; but unmarried females of rank had attendants styled *O le soa* (companions), who were either male or female, and through whom all negotiations respecting courtships or marriage were conducted. Chiefs of rank had also *soa* in attendance, but these were always male.

Much etiquette was observed by the Samoans in their intercourse with each other, and many customs and habits had either been handed down from past generations, or had sprung up, which must have been excessively irksome and oppressive. A rigid attention was exacted to all of these, no matter how galling, and any omission or breach of them was a certain cause of offence, which often issued in a quarrel, and sometimes bloodshed.

These causes of offence were numerous and varied ; some very simple and even ludicrous, such as stepping over a person's leg that might be stretched out on the floor ; standing upright before another person who was seated ; throwing a piece of food or other simple

article over the head of another; as well as omitting to make a circuit so as to avoid a company seated near a public pathway, during a *fono* or meeting of parliament. These were all great insults, and fruitful sources of quarrel, and, at times, of war.

If a person seated in a house saw another approaching, and called for some food to eat, this gave immediate offence, as it was considered that his action was equivalent to asking for vegetables to eat with the body of the person then approaching. Or, again, if an individual seated in a house required a knife, and called for one to be brought him without first offering an apology to any person who might be seated near him, a grievous insult was offered, as it was considered that the offending person had called for a knife or hatchet with which to cut up the body of the person sitting near him. If a cocoanut were broken in a house by a person at the time that another was approaching, a quarrel immediately commenced, breaking the cocoanut under these circumstances being considered equivalent to expressing a desire to smash the approaching person's head. If a person approached a dwelling in which another happened to be cutting anything with a knife, the latter immediately ceased cutting until the stranger had been welcomed and was seated, lest the new-comer should imagine that the article being cut represented his own body undergoing mutilation. Or, if any persons were working, chopping wood, or beating *siapo* on a block, they were compelled to cease their work every time a person passed; since to continue would be regarded as equivalent to beating the person passing. If the spot where the work was proceeding was enclosed,

the work might continue without fear of giving offence. These customs were also observed towards children if they were of higher rank than the persons approached.

Carrying a lighted torch past a chief's house was another great insult and cause of offence, the attendants of the chief rushing forth club in hand to avenge the indignity offered. Thus if a travelling party carried lighted torches, they always extinguished them on approaching the dwelling, and passed the place in darkness, lighting their torches again after they had passed the house.

In olden times, many other vexatious customs pressed upon the people, and troubled them greatly in their social intercourse, which are now obsolete, though at times the old leaven will show itself. Some two or three years before I left the islands an instance of this occurred. A quarrel was pending between two villages of Atua, when a party from one village passing through the other, found a fishing net hung out to dry on the beach, which they immediately gathered up and cut to pieces with a hatchet, such an action representing the cutting to pieces the body of the owner. In this case the insult was designed. As soon as the people of the village knew of it, they watched for some person of the offending village on whom they could revenge themselves. After a time their turn came, as one day they met a poor fellow returning from his work, whom they literally hacked to pieces. Of course his fellow-villagers sought further revenge, and slew one or more victims. After a time the quarrel was ended by the intervention of some neighbouring villages.

Dedicating the body of another person to *moso*, to eat; threatening to cook or bake the throat (*tunu lou pona ua*) of the person insulted, or consigning him to the *Fafā* (Hades), as a curse, were all fearful imprecations, and fruitful sources of quarrel and bloodshed. A fifteen years' peace was broken by the stupid recrimination of two villages on Savaii. An orator of Safotulafai, in a public assembly, compared the people of Palauli to *fingota-fano-loa* (shell-fish obtained on the last day of the moon's age), which are then watery and without substance or heart; in fact, calling them poltroons. Palauli retaliated by baking a large pig and taking it to a travelling party from Safotulafai, resting at their village, and with much formality and ceremonious speech telling them that it was *O le Tangaloa-tea* (the white Tangaloa), that being the name of the official messenger of their district. Of course this gross insult could not be passed over. Safotulafai at once took up arms, and notwithstanding every effort to prevent it, war ensued, and many lives were lost in consequence of a ridiculous comparison.

The sacredness attributed to many chiefs of high rank gave rise to observances which were irksome to their families and dependants, since whatever they came in contact with required to undergo the ceremony of *lulu'u*, or sprinkling with a particular kind of cocoanut-water (*niu-ui*); both to remove the sanctity supposed to be communicated to the article or place that had touched the chief, and also to counteract the danger of speedy death, which was believed to be imminent to any person who might touch the sacred chief, or anything that he had touched; so great was

the mantle of sanctity thrown around these chiefs, although unconnected with the priesthood. Thus the spot where such a chief had sat or slept was sprinkled with water immediately he had left it, as were also the persons who had sat on either side of him when he received company, as well as all the attendants who had waited upon him.

This remarkable custom was also observed on other occasions. It was always used on the occasion of deposing a chief, and depriving him of his *Ao*, or titles, in which case the ceremony was performed by some of those who had either conferred the titles or had the power to do so. In the case of O le Tama-fainga, the usurper who was killed in A'ana in 1829, his body was first sprinkled with cocoanut-water, and his title of *O le Tuia'ana* recalled from him, before he was hewn in pieces. The ceremony consisted of sprinkling the body with cocoanut-water, and the officiating chief or *Tulafale* saying, 'Give us back our *Ao*,' by which means the title was recalled, and the sacredness attaching to it was dispelled. It was also used over persons newly tattooed, and upon those who contaminated themselves by contact with a dead body. In each of these cases the ceremony was carefully observed, and reverently attended to, as very dire consequences were considered certain to follow its omission.

The Samoans were fond of visiting, gadding about, *tafatafao*, so that travelling parties were continually passing from settlement to settlement. These journeys were undertaken from love of change and pleasure, and were eagerly sought after and enjoyed ;

being accompanied by a continual round of boxing-matches and sham fights, feasting by day and dancing by night; many of the dances, one especially, and that the most popular night dance, being most obscene and objectionable in all its details. Sometimes these journeys were undertaken as a means of securing a temporary cessation in the constant demand made upon the plantations and provision-grounds of the settlement, when getting exhausted. If food began to grow scarce, a journey was planned, and the taro-patches having been put into good order, the whole community, or the bulk of them, started on their journey with light hearts, and equally light travelling equipage, trusting to the hospitality of their entertainers to supply their wants. Meanwhile their plantations were left to grow and their groves to thrive under the care of the few persons left in charge.

Having reached the nearest settlement, they stopped for the night, and were treated to the best of everything the settlement or district could afford. Upon the travellers reaching a district they bathed, and then scattered themselves in various directions, taking up their abode with little ceremony in the different houses of the district, where the best accommodation was always given up to them. The heads of the travelling party proceeded to the *Faletele*, literally the guest-house of the district, which was specially appropriated to visitors, and where their formal reception took place. Shortly after the visitors had settled themselves, they were visited by some of the leading men of the settlement, when many complimentary speeches were made on either side. After a time the visitors were left

to themselves, whilst the whole settlement was more or less alive with the bustle of preparing a suitable entertainment for the visitors. At such times sad havoc was made amongst the fowls and pigs of the settlement, the people generally being desirous of treating their visitors hospitably, so as to ensure a similar treatment for themselves at some future time, when their return visit should be made. In case the progress of the travellers had been announced beforehand, and a large party expected, preparations were made on a large scale many days and even weeks before the time appointed; quantities of fish being caught and partially re-cooked from time to time as required.

The next day the party proceeded onward to the nearest settlement, where they were entertained in a similar manner at each place; the young people gathering into parties for amusement, whilst their elders sat to discuss politics or the news of the day. Thus they continued passing from place to place throughout the entire journey, until, after a lengthened absence, they reached their homes, to find their plantations thriving, and in a fit condition to afford them a good supply. But the relief gained was merely temporary, since they speedily had to entertain a succession of visitors in the shape of their late entertainers, who, finding their own plantations needed rest, started off to pay return visits, and enjoy the excitement of a lengthened tour.

Many evils were attendant upon this system. In the olden days it led to much dissipation and immorality, as well as fostered lazy and dissolute habits to such

an extent that very few young men cared to settle down and work so as to provide for the family wants unless compelled to do so from dependence upon a chief, but spent their time roving from place to place in careless indolence. Of late years this system has been greatly modified, as the natives have become more chary of their property, and learned to depend more upon their own individual efforts.

CHAPTER VI

AMUSEMENTS, TRADES, AND EMPLOYMENTS OF SAMOA

OF amusements indulged in by the Samoans none were more popular than the dances, of which there were five kinds. The greatest favourite was the *Po-ula* (night of play or pleasure). This was an obscene night dance, and a constant source of enjoyment, especially when any visitors were present to take part in it. As the evening set in, the spectators as well as dancers began to assemble, after much care had been bestowed upon their dresses and general make-up. The only covering of the males consisted of the *titi*, or girdle of leaves, often not more than seven or eight inches in width, and about the same in depth, whilst that of the females consisted of a white or red shaggy mat around the loins, the upper part of the body being uncovered. Both sexes paid great attention to their hair, that of the males being long and allowed to hang loosely over the shoulders, whilst the females, who wore their hair short, stiffened it with *pulu*, breadfruit pitch, or else dressed it with a pomade of a certain kind of light-coloured clay, which was afterwards washed off with lime water, thus dyeing the hair to a much-coveted brown colour. Arm-

lets, frontlets, or garlands of flowers, when procurable, with some large blue or other beads, completed the gala dress of both sexes, not omitting cocoonut and other scented oils with which the company profusely anointed themselves.

When all were assembled, the performance commenced with the *Tafua-le-fala*, which consisted of beating a roll of matting as a substitute for a drum. After this one of the performers commenced singing a song, the rest of the company joining in the chorus. These songs varied as to the subject, but they usually contained figurative allusions to persons, things, or local matters, and their force is lost in translation. At the conclusion of this song the roll of matting was again beaten, but by another performer. Then two of the performers commenced another song, the whole assembly joining in chorus as before. These introductory songs being finished, dancing was commenced by children, who, after amusing the company for a little time, sat down. This was followed by another song from a fresh performer; after which five men stood up and commenced dancing; these being succeeded by five women, and after a short interval the whole number commenced dancing together, each sex forming distinct companies. Singing was continued the whole time to the same tune, but with different words, which was the case throughout the whole performance.

The last set dance was performed by a single individual, who might be either a woman of rank or a chief, the performance being introduced by two of the dancer's attendants. None but skilled dancers ventured to exhibit in this manner, as the slightest blunder or

failure was the occasion of lasting reproach, alike in joke or song.

When this skilled dance concluded, the males who had danced exchanged girdles, and commenced a variety of antics and buffoonery which formed a prelude to the closing saturnalia, of which a description is inadmissible here, but which was always received with shouts of laughter and approval from the onlookers. Regrets are often expressed at the manner in which these obscene dances have been discouraged by the missionaries; but such sentiments can be uttered only in ignorance or oblivion of the true character of the dances and their tendency. Even as late as 1839, Commodore Wilkes spoke in terms of strong condemnation of these dances, as witnessed by some of the officers of the expedition; but what they saw would convey no correct idea of the dance as conducted by the Samoans during the times so aptly described as 'the days of darkness.'

O le ao-siva, as its name implies, was a day dance, and much less objectionable than the *Po-ula*. This dance was practised exclusively by the higher ranks, and, unlike most of the other dances, consisted of a variety of graceful motions and gestures.

O le siva-a-ofe was very popular with the young people of the inland villages, each performer blowing a pipe or flute of bamboo whilst dancing. The action of dancing on all occasions, excepting the *ao-siva*, consisted of throwing the arms and legs into a variety of strange attitudes, leaping up and down, or turning round; but almost all the motions, especially those of the females, were of a lascivious character. Clapping of hands was a usual accompaniment to these amusements.

Musical instruments were few and simple, consisting of a drum, a flute, and two or three kinds of pipes. The flute, *O le fangufangu*, made of bamboo, was a favourite instrument with the young, and from it they produced a variety of plaintive notes.

O le fa'aalii was a kind of pipe, similar to the Pandean pipe, but smaller. There were also four other simple descriptions of pipes, much used by children in their games, which were called *O le-faa-alii-lau-ti*, *O le-fa'a-ili-au-lauti*, and *O le pu-masoa*.

Another instrument, *O le fa'a-ili-niu-vao*, was a pipe producing louder sounds than those before mentioned. It was formerly much used by parties of warriors on their march, or at their general musterings and reviews—*aungāau*.

O le pu (bull-mouth conch-shell) was much used for parade and show in times of peace, and also for signals or triumphs in war.

O le Nafa, the Samoan drum, or as it was called, *O le fa'a-alii*, was formed by hollowing out a part of a log, leaving a narrow longitudinal mouth. It is now rarely seen, but is closely copied in the *longo*, an instrument derived from *Tonga*, excepting that the Tongan instrument is longer. When beaten, the *Nafa* was struck with two short sticks, the drum itself being laid on its side and bedded upon cocoanut-leaf mats, by which means contact with the ground was prevented, and a better sound produced. Formerly the use of the *Nafa* was restricted to seven families, viz. those of Malietoa, Ama, Ale, Asi-o-langi, Mata-afa, Lilomaiava, and Sa Peā.

O le pulotu, or *O le fa'a-alii-la-iti*, a small instrument

used to accompany a solo, was formed by fitting loosely a thin slip of board into a bed of close-grained wood. It was beaten with two small sticks, and although the sounds produced could not have been very pleasing, it was used exclusively by the higher chiefs, some of whom were considered to excel both in this instrument and in that of the *Nafa*.

The Samoans were fond of singing, many of them having good voices, but their singing was mostly in a minor key. *O le vila* was a favourite mode of song. This commenced with a solo, followed by a general chorus, all joining in clapping hands.

O le siva-ta-lalo was an amusement consisting of the performers continually striking the hand upon the mats on which the company might be seated.

O le solo, a species of chanting, was much in use for some kinds of poetry; whilst *O le faa-ngono*, or story-telling, was a very popular amusement with all classes, and much practised. Their stories were always told impromptu, and many persons obtained much celebrity from the entertainment they afforded by their fictitious narratives.

Sports were common, such as boxing-matches, foot-races, wrestling, club-fights, sailing in canoes, and kicking-matches, in which latter sport the combatants endeavoured to kick each other down. Pulling, or trial of strength, was similar to the English tug of war, in which each side aimed to get possession of a pole held between them. There was also a game played by a given number of young men who chose sides, the game appearing to resemble the English game of prisoner's base.

The club fights of the Samoans were very severe and even savage encounters, the combatants fighting with the large butt ends of cocoanut-leaves (*lapalapa*), large clubs in fact, which were very heavy and tough. Armed with these formidable weapons they made furious onslaughts on each other, and broken heads and arms frequently followed as the result.

The game *O le Tolonga* consisted of throwing a heavy stick or staff, after the manner of a spear, to a considerable distance. It required much strength of arm as well as skill to be done effectually. A young cocoanut-tree was cut down and planted, butt uppermost, in the ground to form the target for the player. The sport consisted in throwing the staff on a curve, so that it should fall upright and remain sticking into the target. Whenever this was effected, a point was gained in the game. In this sport, as in most other games, the defeated party prepared an oven of food, of which all partook.

Annual feasts or revels were held in some districts in honour of their war-gods. One, 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 feast, which is more fully described in the chapter on mythology (Chap. IX), was accompanied with club and sham fights, boxing and wrestling-matches, dances, and the usual revels and obscenities, which followed each other in quick succession during the days the feast lasted. After a short interval the A'ana festival was followed by that of Atua, called *O le amo-o-Atua-ia Tupua-le-ngase*, the carrying of Atua to *Tupua-le-ngase* (Jupiter). This feast was similar to

that of A'ana, but differed from it in its being celebrated in two different *malae* in succession, one called Moamoa in Falefā, and the other Falepapa in Lufilufi.

Many games were practised by all ranks to while away their idle hours. Of these the most important was called *O Lafongā-tupe*, or throwing; at which none but chiefs were allowed to play. A large mat was spread, the players, four in number, seating themselves one at each corner, each player being provided with five round pieces of cocoa-nut shells nicely polished. One of the party placed a piece of shell on a small square mat which lay in the centre of the large mat, and the aim of each player was to strike off the shell placed there by the first player, and leave his own shell in its place.

O le Talinga Matua, also called *O le Lupeinga*, was a game of counting, played by two persons sitting opposite to each other. One of them held up his closed hand to his companion, and immediately after showed a certain number of fingers, quickly striking the back of his hand upon the mat, directly after. His companion was required to hold up a corresponding number of fingers immediately after, in default of which he lost a point in the game.

O Fuanga consisted in throwing up a number of oranges into the air, six, seven, or eight, and the object was to keep the whole number in motion at once, as the Chinese jugglers do their balls. *O le Teaunga* was also played with a number of oranges, but in this game they were thrown up backwards.

O le Tāngāti'a was playcd by many persons at once, each one endeavouring to propel a small light rod of

the *Fu'afu'a*, from which the bark had been peeled off as far as possible. The forefinger was placed upon the head of the stick, when it was thrown down and caused to glide over the ground to a distance of thirty or forty yards or more.

Hide-and-seek, with the English schoolboy's game of cat, but played in the water instead of on the land, completed the list of Samoan games.

Some curious sports or buffoonery were practised for about ten days after the burial of a person of rank, to while away the tedium of the night watches required during the time of mourning.

Of late years the English national game of cricket has been introduced into Samoa, as well as into various other groups, to which the natives have become much attached, and in which game many of them have attained great proficiency.

Amongst a people so much at home in the water as are the Samoans, aquatic sports will naturally be supposed to excite much interest. All classes were fond of them, and the perfect manner in which they had mastered the art of swimming enabled them to indulge in such pleasures with a fearless boldness quite surprising to Europeans. I have often been delighted to watch the joyous sporting of the natives amidst the wild billows on some parts of the islands where the coast is bold and rugged.

O le Turi-oso-ifo, or leaping quickly in succession from some bold rock or part of the coast into the deep sea beneath, is another favourite pastime with the young of both sexes. On these occasions they constantly leapt feet foremost into the dark waters below, keeping up

the amusement for hours together. At times their sport would be disturbed by an unwelcome intruder in the shape of a shark, but, unless it was the much-dreaded *Tanifa*, even this interruption failed to cause much alarm, but the cry of *O le Tanifa* was the signal for the whole party to beat a hasty retreat to the shore.

O le Fa'ase'enga, or causing to glide, was also a favourite canoe pastime. For this a small *paopao* or single fishing-canoe was used, and the sport consisted in paddling out to meet the smaller rollers formed by waves in their passage inshore, after they have spent their strength upon the reef. The stern of the canoe is turned towards the advancing surge, and immediately its contact is felt the steersman either briskly plies his paddle or simply steers his canoe, whilst it is rapidly carried forward upon the crest of the wave. Sometimes a fleet of half a dozen or more canoes may be seen manned by children, who shout at the top of their voices, and whirl their little paddles with delight as they glide swiftly along. A capsize is rewarded by shouts of derisive laughter, and many jokes upon the unskilfulness of the little sailor.

O le Folaulaunga, or sailing about, is an amusement practised by all ranks and ages, for which a stiff breeze is required, during which many canoes may be seen gliding over the lagoon. A party of young men and lads often club together and build a rude kind of double canoe or raft. It is provided with a very large mat sail, and often affords much amusement to the owners, who may be seen sailing over the lagoon for hours together, quite heedless of the scorching sun.

Canoe races were also very common during short

voyages, or on other occasions, and often afforded much amusement. It was seldom that two canoes could sail together without racing to test the speed of their respective canoes.

Catching pigeons and other birds was also a great source of pleasure to numbers, the various plans adopted being fully described in the chapter on Natural History, Chapter VIII.

The manufactures common to the Samoans were simple but various, some being common to all places and parties, whilst others were confined to certain localities, and practised by fraternities, who zealously guarded their privileges from any infringement. Some employments were restricted to females, others were practised by males only; whilst some, again, were followed by both sexes. Amongst these may be noticed the manufacture of nets, mats, *siapo*, cinet, and such like, whilst their trades consisted of house-building, canoe-building, tattooing, and other occupations.

As it is interesting to glance at the progress made by such a people as the Samoans in their manufactures, trades, &c., before they had much contact with Europeans, I give a list of the various employments, trades, and manufactures practised by the Samoans in their heathen state, thirty in number, remarking that the prefix *O le tufunga*, or general name for workman, is always used before the name of each trade.

TRADE, &c.

<i>O le tufunga Fau fale</i>	House builder.
<i>Fau va'a</i>	Canoe builder.
<i>Ta va'a</i>	Maker of small canoes.
<i>Ta umete</i>	Wooden bowl maker.
<i>Ta foe</i>	Paddle maker.
<i>Olō pā</i>	Fishing-bait maker.
<i>Fai puletae fe'e</i>	Baits for catching cuttlefish.
<i>Sui la</i>	Sail maker.
<i>Tanafa ma autā</i>	Drum maker.
<i>Fai lenga</i>	Preparer of turmeric.
<i>Tutu lama</i>	Preparer of lampblack.
<i>Ta uatongi</i>	Club maker.
<i>Ta tao</i>	Spear maker.
<i>Fai fanga ofe</i>	Maker of split bamboo fishing-pots.
<i>Fai fanga ula</i>	Maker of lobster-pots.
<i>Sele ulu</i>	Barber.
<i>Ta tatau</i>	Tattooer.
<i>Tosi au</i>	Maker of tattooing instruments.
<i>Olo tupe</i>	Maker of tupe, used in games.
<i>Fai mātau</i>	Fish-hook maker.
<i>Fai upenga</i>	Fishing-net maker.
<i>Fai matau</i>	Stone hatchet maker.
<i>Fai upenga</i>	Net maker.
<i>Langa ie</i>	Mat weaver, for wearing.
<i>Langa fala</i>	Mat weaver, for house.
<i>Fafine fai siapo</i>	Siapo maker.
<i>Fai masoa</i>	Arrowroot maker.
<i>Langa ili</i>	Fan maker.
<i>Ato Mamano</i>	Basket weaver.
<i>Pola mamano</i>	Ornamental screen maker.
<i>Eili afa</i>	Plaiter of cinet.

Each principal trade or employment had its presiding god; that of agriculturists being *O le Sa*, and those of tattooers, *Taema* and *Tilafainga*, both female deities.

The manufacture of nets was mostly confined to the inland villages of two divisions of *Upolu*, and two

places on Savaii. On Upolu the following villages were famous for their skill:—Solaua, Falevao, Lalomaunga, Satufa, Piu, Mata, Matalaoa, Vainafa, Tilo, and Etemuri. The nets of various sizes and kinds were beautifully made, and in much request along the sea-board, where they fetched good prices, being paid for in native property. Sometimes the nets were bespoke; at other times hawked about in the different villages. The twine from which they were made was manufactured from the bark of the *fau*, the fibres of which were lightly twisted into small parcels, and afterwards rolled to the required size and length upon the bare thigh by the hand. I obtained the names of twenty-seven different kinds of fishing-nets which were in constant use. Pigeon and other bird-nets were also made at these inland villages.

Native cloth was extensively manufactured by the females of the various villages, but as the process has been so often described it is needless to repeat it here. The Tahitians differed from the Samoans in that they used the bark of the *mati*, a species of fig, and also that of the breadfruit in the manufacture of their *siapo*. Large quantities of *siapo* were formerly manufactured, but of late years the demand for it has much fallen off, European fabrics taking its place.

The manufacture of the different kinds of mats was also an important branch of female employment. These were made at all the different settlements, but some places and individuals were more celebrated than others. The fine mats were the most costly, and formed the principal medium of exchange, these mats being often of large size and of very fine plait, the general name

for such mats being *ie Tonga*. Special names were, however, given to different kinds.

Of these the most valued were the *ie taua* (renowned mats), and they might well be prized, since they often occupied five, six, nine, and even twelve months in their making. They were made from the *lau ie*, a large plant, whose leaves closely resembled those of the pandanus, but are larger. When plucked the prickly edges of the leaves were cut off with a shell, and the leaves then rolled up and baked in a native oven. This prepared them for a second process, which consisted of separating the inner or finer part of the leaf from the outer, the latter being laid aside for a coarser kind of mat. Even the stalk of this useful plant was valued, and made into corks for water-bottles. The finer portions of the leaf were next strung together, fastened to a bamboo pole, and placed in the sea, where they were allowed to remain until bleached, a process usually occupying from five to seven days, when they were rinsed in fresh water and placed in the sun to be further bleached, after which, when thoroughly dry, they were cut into little strips of various lengths and widths, according to the fineness of the plait required.

Upon the completion of one of these valuable mats a sort of 'American bee' was held. All the women familiar with the manufacture of these mats resident in the neighbourhood were summoned on a given day to bathe the mat. On the women assembling they proceeded to wash the mat in fresh water, and after well stretching it out to dry they adjourned to the house to partake of a feast, provided by the hostess to celebrate the completion of her mat.

There were also at least thirteen other kinds of clothing, sleeping, and house-mats made by the Samoans.

Large quantities of *afa* (cinet) were plaited from the cocoa-nut fibre, this being the constant and favourite employment of the men, more especially of the older ones, who might constantly be seen busily engaged in this useful employment, whether occupied in conversation or in their public assemblies.

Various dyes were prepared from vegetables and roots of trees. A beautiful crimson was obtained by mixing the inner bark of the root of the *nonufi'afi'a*, Malay apple (*Eugenia Malaccensis*) with sea-water and lime. Yellow was prepared from turmeric and oil. It was also obtained from the bark of the *nonu*, previously mentioned. A fine purple was procured from the young shoots of the mountain plantain, *soa'a*; and a brown by mixing the inner bark of the *pani* with sea-water. A black colour was imparted to various articles by burying them in the soft mud of a taro-patch formed in a swamp¹. These dyes were used in the preparation of various mats, native cloth, &c.

The art of canoe-building ranked high with the Samoans, and those devoted to it as a trade were regarded with much esteem. Savaii, from its extensive forests of the harder and more durable kinds of timber, was celebrated for its canoes, which were justly held in high esteem, and which without a doubt affords a strong clue to the constant mention of Savaii in connexion with many of the early Samoan voyages, and traditions still surviving respecting them. To such an extent has this been the case, that in the Maori

¹ Jer. xiii. 4, 5.

records of early Samoan voyages and settlements in New Zealand and elsewhere, the name of Savaii, as the starting-point of the several parties of voyagers and colonists, has been given such prominence that it seems to have in a great measure overshadowed the true starting-place, Samoa; and in very many cases to be spoken of as the fountain-head of such colonization rather than what it seems to have been in most cases, the last starting-place and port of call, as well as the home of the vessel; Samoa itself, the fountain-head of the several expeditions, being almost, and in many cases quite, overlooked. So much has this been the case that great confusion has arisen in many of the various attempts to fix upon the true origin of the extensive Samoan voyages and settlements of the past.

The Samoans excelled in the build of their canoes, and a nicely finished one was indeed a beautiful specimen of their skill, especially when we consider the scanty stock of tools with which the work was accomplished; these were stone hatchets of various kinds, with a large nail or small round stone for punching holes for the lashings. Now the work is easier, since iron hatchets take the place of stone, and at times other tools are added, and are much prized. When well built, Samoan canoes are watertight and substantial in their construction, although not a single nail is used in their framework, the whole being sewn or lashed together with cinet. They were also good sea-boats when under the skilful management of the natives, who made voyages in them which for difficulty and danger would often appal Europeans.

In the early days canoe-building was a very expen-

sive affair to all concerned except the builders. The amount of property paid, the large quantity of food consumed by the workmen and their attendants and relatives, together with the trouble occasioned whilst the work was in progress, rendered it a formidable task to undertake, except in the case of chiefs who were large holders of native property and had extensive family connexions. Still, a large number of canoes were built annually.

Upon the head of a family deciding to build a canoe, an additional quantity of taro was planted, and messengers were sent in various directions to beg or borrow as much native property as could be obtained. This being collected, and the crops of breadfruit and taro appearing satisfactory, the workmen were summoned. In effecting this, the negotiations required to be made with great care and tact, for the builders were a proud and independent set, ever ready to take offence and make exorbitant demands, especially if the head workman had obtained a name and renown. Generally speaking, the head of the family or some other influential member went to the place where the workmen were to be found, and proffered a valuable mat or good axe to the chief workman, and formally requested his attendance. This part of the business was always formal, being introduced by a set speech full of compliment and praise, at the close of which the property was tendered to the chief builder for his acceptance. The workman replied in a return set complimentary speech, and if he felt disposed to undertake the job he received the first instalment of the payment and appointed a day for commencing the work, after which

the visitors took their leave. Sometimes consent was not so easily given; the builders had so much work on hand that they had to refuse, in which case other builders were visited.

When the work was accepted, arrangements on both sides were made to commence. Shortly after a small party of workmen were sent to where the canoe was to be built to cut wood and get the *fono* or separate pieces roughly shaped out. After this the timber was left to season, and a definite period fixed to begin the work.

On the day appointed the canoe-builders presented themselves, master, assistants, and attendants, with a whole company of women and children, it being the custom for all the workmen to be accompanied by their families, the whole of the party being fed by the contracting party for a period of one, two, or three months, according to the time taken in the work. It is strange that such a custom should have been tolerated, but so it was, and as a consequence the builders often left a family so impoverished that it took them a long time to recover their position. Upon the arrival of the workmen they were received by the chief and his dependants with all due honour, and during their stay every effort was made to keep them in a good humour, so that the work might not be hindered. Prior to their arrival a quantity of well-plaited cinet, breadfruit pitch (*pulu*), and *u'a* (native cloth in an early stage of preparation) had been prepared in readiness for the work. This was now commenced in good earnest, a temporary shed having been erected for the work, and the spot where the

canoe was to be built formally *tapued*, so as to ensure quiet, and to compel all passers-by to make a detour and avoid the spot, thus doing homage to the work in progress. Persons of all ranks submitted to this exaction as long as required without murmuring. As the work proceeded, either the head of the family or some other influential member of his household daily seated himself with the workmen, watched the progress of the work, engaged in conversation with the workmen, saw that their wants were attended to, and prepared cinet for the work. An omission in this time-honoured custom, or any lax attention to the duties of host, was an insult to the builders not easily overlooked by them. Although destitute of other tools than stone hatchets of various sorts, the builders turned out their work neatly and satisfactorily. The joints were made and an accurate fit secured by covering one of the edges with turmeric, which, on the two edges being placed in contact, easily showed where alteration was needed. On the two joints being well fitted, a piece of native cloth covered with breadfruit pitch was placed between them, and the two securely sewn together on the inside with cinet, while the outer part remained flush.

The necessary payments were made according to the progress of the work, and always with much ceremony. A curious custom prevailed as to the payment of the builders. No formal agreement was made as to the amount to be paid, but payments were tendered at five different stages of the work, and in the event of the workmen being dissatisfied with the first two or three instalments, they very unceremoniously abandoned

the work until the employer apologized or came to terms; no other party of workmen daring to finish an abandoned canoe upon pain of bringing upon themselves the wrath of the whole fraternity of canoe-builders, in which case the offending parties would have their tools taken from them, be expelled their clan, and prohibited from exercising their calling during the pleasure of the fraternity. This was surely trades unionism rampant!

The five separate payments were made as follow:—

(1) *O le taunga*, given upon the first interview with the principal workman; (2) *O le oloa*, given on laying the keel; (3) *O le tao fanonga*; (4) *O le sa*, given on the completion of the sides. This last instalment consisted of five portions, each having a different name referring to the different stages of the work, viz. *O afū-i-vao* (covering in the bush), referring to the time the workmen were occupied in cutting timber for the canoe; *O le solinga* (the cutting); *O le afu o-le-tufunga* (the covering of the principal workman); *O le-afu-o-le-ava* (covering for the wife); *O le si'itanga-o-le-taumua* (the lifting up of the prow); and *O le salusalunga-o le taele* (the adzing smooth of the keel)—a mat or mats being set apart for each of these several payments, and each lot announced with much ceremony. The fifth and last instalment was given upon the final completion of the canoe, and was called *O le umusānga* (completion of the work).

This was a critical and difficult time, and during the payment strange scenes often occurred. On such occasions the builders seated themselves in a body in the open space in front of the house in which the payment

was placed, the chief with his family remaining inside the house, where a consultation was carried on as to the quantity and quality of the mats to be given in payment. When this point had been finally settled, the female members of the family arrayed themselves in the mats and walked forth in procession, an orator taking up his position in front of the house, and as each female came to deposit her mat the orator announced with much ceremony the name, pedigree, and description of each mat, after which it was taken to the workmen and placed before them. If the builders were satisfied, all passed off well. The workmen took their leave, and the company broke up with much expressed satisfaction; but if otherwise, strange scenes occurred; the builders abused, flattered, or coaxed by turns, as they endeavoured to obtain a larger amount of payment. The workmen were usually well aware of the number and quality of mats possessed by a chief or landholder, and if they found that he had kept back some particular mat they coveted, they spared no pains to obtain it.

Sometimes the paymaster pleaded poverty, but in vain. Such a plea was promptly met by the workmen asking him, if such were the case, what he meant by summoning workmen whom he was unable to pay, thus exposing his name to ridicule and derision in every direction; whilst sometimes they would wind up by telling him that he was a poor, mean, poverty-stricken fellow. If the builders succeeded in getting more property than had at first been offered, they were loud in their praises of the chief. He was a noble fellow, and his name would be celebrated in every direction. If otherwise, the builders departed, making the best of

their bargain, but heaping abuse upon the so-called miserly chief wherever they went.

After their departure the young men of the family proceeded to *Olo le va'a* (polish the canoe), which they did by rubbing it at first with coral and sand, and then afterwards with *ana*, a soft kind of coral used as pumice-stone. When all was complete the canoe was proudly taken for a trial trip, and shown far and near.

The Samoans had four kinds of canoes. The *O le paopao* was a small fishing-canoe made from a single log; the *O le va'a-alo*, a small fishing-canoe. The large single canoes, termed respectively *la'au lima* (five-barred), or six or seven-barred, as the case might be, were canoes varying in length from thirty, fifty, sixty, and even seventy feet, as required. They were balanced by an outrigger firmly lashed to the canoe on the left side at a distance of three feet if meant for pulling, but of five or six feet if required for sailing. The single canoes have a light and pretty appearance, the prow and stern being slightly curved upwards, so that merely the bosom or centrepart of an unloaded canoe rests upon the water.

The double canoe, *alia*, at present in use is not the original Samoan double canoe, but an adaptation of the Tongan double canoe. The original Samoan double canoe, *O le va'a-tele* (the big canoe), was much larger, and consisted of two canoes, one longer than the other, lashed together with cross-bars amidships, and having the thatched shed or cabin built upon a stage that projected over the stern, instead of in midships, as in the Tonga canoes. It was much larger than this canoe, but more difficult to manage, yet able to carry one or two *va'a-alo*, or small fishing-canoes, on deck as required.

These large double canoes have now quite gone out of use, and appear to have given place to the smaller double canoes.

House-building was also a very important trade, so that the *Tufunga fau fale*, or fraternity of house-builders, were numerous and influential. Their services were always required in the erection of all but the commonest of houses, and they were paid liberally, in addition to the large quantities of food provided for them and their families throughout the whole time of their engagement. The roofs of the best description of houses were always made of breadfruit, and were much valued, the erection of a breadfruit house of even ordinary dimensions being a very formidable affair. As in the case of canoe-building, the plantations were enlarged and well stocked, native property collected, and the builders summoned in the usual formal manner. At the time appointed the workmen and their belongings made their appearance, and were received with a formal welcome. The party usually consisted of a head builder with four or five assistants, who received regular proportions of the whole proceeds of their joint labour. At times their numbers were increased by one or two learners, and the married portion of the company were always accompanied by their wives and children, who from their roving habits were often a great nuisance, the children being pert and mischievous, and presuming much upon the estimation in which their parents were held.

The first care of the builders was to procure a quantity of breadfruit timber, the soft part of which was adzed off and the logs cut into lengths of three or four feet, and carried down to the beach or where the work-

shed was erected. Before the introduction of iron hatchets felling the timber was a very difficult undertaking, the workmen having only stone hatchets to work with. To procure this wood a party of workmen went into the bush early in the morning, taking with them six or seven stone hatchets, with which they continued chopping, or rather dubbing, at a tree the whole day before they could fell it, even if of only moderate size. At all events, such day's work was quite sufficient to render all the hatchets used in the work of no further use until fresh edges had been given to the battered tools by hard and laborious rubbing, in which employment the next day was usually spent. Having procured sufficient lengths of breadfruit timber and carried them down to the workshed, some of the less skilful workmen each took one of the short junks of wood, and having seated themselves behind it, commenced cutting a groove about an inch deep along its whole length. He next cut another groove at about an inch in its rear to an equal depth, and then chopped out the intermediate strip, thus proceeding to take off strip after strip from the round log until he had stripped an entire layer of about an inch in thickness, when another groove was sunk, and a second layer taken off in a similar manner until the whole log had been cut up. Each detached strip was about an inch square, and these were passed to more skilled workmen who chopped them tolerably round, after which a joint was prepared at each end, so that the different pieces could be fitted and tied together until they formed lengths of from twenty to thirty feet, as might be required.

In building a Samoan house the first thing was to

erect the centre-posts and stage connected with them. Hence, the rafters being prepared, a party was sent to search for logs of lasting timber suitable for centre-posts, and to cut down the scaffolding. The posts usually gave a great deal of trouble, as they were got in the mountains, and had to be dragged a long distance through the jungle to the coast. These posts, however, having been found and dragged to the site of the building, the *fata manu*, or the staging of birds, was erected, this being done in such a manner as to form a wide stage and ladder combined. The three centre-posts were next raised and placed in position, and the ridge-pole lashed to the top. The small pieces of breadfruit which had been joined together so as to form rafters were ranged along each side of the ridge-pole at about an inch and a quarter apart, and tied securely, so as to be kept in their places by being lashed to round pieces of breadfruit made to do duty for purlins, and placed in such a manner as to be ornamental as well as useful, these being kept in position by temporary posts. The sides of the house were completed first, and as soon as they were finished they were thatched, so that the breadfruit-wood rafters and purlins might retain their fresh colour. The thatch was made from the leaves of the sugar-cane twisted over pieces of rattan-cane cut into lengths of three or four feet. The workmen commenced thatching from the bottom, working upwards, and in a well-thatched house each *lau*, or set of leaves, overlaps the one before it about an inch, being fastened in several places to the rafters. If well put on, the thatch lasted for three or four years, the whole presenting a very neat appearance. The round ends of the house are next

added; and it is here that the master-workman exhibited his skill in the preparation of the *fau* purlins, or rounded pieces of breadfruit timber of various sizes, so as to allow of their tapering off at each end. Many of these pieces in the centre are four and even six inches in diameter, and taper off towards each end so as to form elegant curves, which give an appearance of taste and finish to the roof.

As in canoe-building, payments were made at different times and under different designations. (1) *O le taunga*, the first payment, was made on summoning the workmen. (2) *O le oloa* was paid when the centre-post, ridge-pole, &c., were erected, and usually consisted of two mats, the one valuable, the other inferior. (3) *O le sa* was given when the sides were finished, and was divided into seven portions, each having a distinctive name, which, as they illustrate a curious custom in house-building, may be given in full. One portion was given for measuring, *O le fuafuatanga*. A second for digging holes in which to place the centre-posts, *O le elengā pou*. A third was for placing in position the ridge-pole, *O le fa'aetanga-o-le-auau*. A fourth for preparing the *Fatunga*, *O le tau fatunga*. A fifth for cutting the rafters straight along the eaves, *O le vaenga-o-le-tulutulunga*. A sixth as a covering or garment for the workmen, in payment for the time spent in cutting timber in the bush. A seventh for lashing the rafters and cross-pieces together, *O le sununga-o-so'a*. (4) The fourth distinct payment was given when the house was quite finished and the workmen about to leave. This was the great payment of all, and frequently several hundred mats were paid by chiefs in this final payment, besides

the large bundles of native cloth, to say nothing of the vast quantities of food consumed by the workmen and their families during the progress of the work.

From the foregoing, as in the case of the canoe-builders, it will be seen how completely the employers were at the mercy of the workmen, whether of house or canoe-builders—organizations which were all-powerful and fully alive to their importance, as well as ever ready to assert their dignity. No formal agreement was ever made as to the price to be paid for the work, but at intervals the remuneration was given, and if the earlier payments were not satisfactory to the workmen, they at once left the work, took their tools and their belongings with them, and went to commence work elsewhere, leaving the unfortunate owner with his house half finished, and under a ban it was impossible to remove, as no other builders dared undertake the work thus left. I have often seen houses standing unfinished a long time pending submission to the builder's demands, from which there was no escape. Such were the olden customs amongst the builders of Samoa fifty years ago, and such the effects of what may well be termed the trades unionism of those early days.

O le ta Tatau (tattooing) was once in high repute with the Samoans, and may well be noticed as a trade or profession, once very thriving and highly paid. It is still practised, I believe, but not to anything like the extent of former days. The fraternity of tattooers were an influential and important body, presided over by two female deities, Taema and Tilafainga, whose patronage was regarded as most important to the success of the fraternity. The operation of tattooing,

although most painful, was submitted to by all males on attaining the age of twelve to fifteen and upwards, since it was looked upon as an initiation into the state of manhood, to shun which would be a disgrace. Women especially regarded the omission of the custom with disfavour, and freely expressed their contempt for those who failed to comply with this time-honoured custom and observance. Hence it was looked upon as an important period of life, and when a young chief was to be tattooed great preparations were made for the ceremony, and often costly presents were given to the operators. A curious custom prevailed in connexion with the initiation of a young chief to this ceremony. It was customary for a number of young lads, sons of the various *Tulafale* of the district in which he lived, to be operated upon with him at the same time, in order that they might share the sufferings of their chief (*Tale-i-lona-tinga*). These lads were not only tattooed gratis at the cost of the chief's family, but, after the distribution of property to the operators had been completed, each young lad was presented with a mat from the young chief's family, in recognition of the sufferings he had shared with his young master during the operation. This mode of tattooing was, however, rather looked down upon and spoken of contemptuously, being called *O le ta Tulafale*, and the markings were often carelessly done.

From the importance attached to this observance, the gatherings at the tattooing of a young chief were often large, and the occasion of much interest, not only to the family, but to the whole district. A number of operators were summoned, and crowds from all parts

flocked to witness the ceremony and take part in the feasts and sports usual on such occasions. Invitations were freely given in all directions, and whilst the visitors honoured the occasion with their presence, the family and district at whose expense they were entertained spared no trouble in their welcome.

As the day for the opening ceremony drew near the operators began to assemble, accompanied, as in the case of the canoe and house-builders, by their families and assistants, the principal operators bringing with them their cases of instruments, which, when complete, were called *O le Tunuma*. These were made from bones, either human or animal, the former, I think, being preferred. The bones were first rubbed or ground into thin, flat pieces, and then with wonderful care and skill cut so as to resemble a beautifully made small-tooth comb, the marvel being how the workmen, with no other tools than sea-shells, could accomplish such a feat, and it was wonderful to see how regular the teeth cut by such a simple process were. The combs were afterwards neatly fastened to a small reed handle, somewhat after the manner of a native adze. These combs were of various widths, from an eighth of an inch to an inch or an inch and a half or more, ten or twelve usually forming a set, which were highly prized by the owners. In addition to these instruments the operators provided themselves with a short stick, used in striking the comb or instrument into the skin during the operation, as also some burnt candle-nut powder, to form the pigment used in the markings.

A large shed was usually erected in the *malae* in which the ceremony was to be performed, and when

all was ready the opening scene commenced, a kind of military parade or sham fight—which was followed by the first distribution of property to the operators, this first instalment consisting of seven or eight good mats and twenty pieces of *siapo*.

The young chief then advanced, and, having laid himself down, the tattooers gathered around him, some holding his arms, others straining tightly the skin upon the small of his back, on which part the most skilful operator commenced the first part of the design. The instrument selected was dipped into the pigment provided, and then struck sharply into the skin by a blow from the stick, the instrument being shifted for each blow. The punctures were made rapidly, and the incisions placed as close as possible together, so that the marking might be dark, depth of colour and every part being well covered forming the chief beauty in tattooing. The comb was dipped into the lampblack as often as required, and during the interval thus occasioned an assistant wiped the blood from the punctured parts, so that the operator might proceed with his work. The operation was continued as long as the patient was able to bear the pain, some continuing the operation for several days in succession, while others were compelled to allow days to intervene before the inflammation had subsided, so as to enable the operation to be resumed. The style of tattooing in the Samoan group differed much from that in use in most other islands, the hips and thighs being the principal parts marked in Samoa.

The various markings were often skilfully drawn, and the whole had a strange and singular effect, giving the impression that the wearer had donned a suit of small



SAMOAN TATTOOING.

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clothes. The time occupied in marking a person of rank, and those tattooed with him, varied as they were able to endure the pain, but it frequently extended to a month or six weeks, during which time the family, the visitors, and dependants were engaged every evening in sham fights, wrestling and boxing-matches, or dances, which were always attended by much obscenity. When the operation was complete payment was given to the operators, consisting of a large number of valuable mats, sometimes to the extent of 600 or 700, and even at times to 1,000, besides large quantities of native cloth.

The next day the families of the lads who had been sharers of their chief's sufferings came to receive the payment allotted to them. Property was also distributed to those connected in any way with the family of the chief, and also in recognition of the large quantities of food they had supplied to the visitors during the ceremony. This, however, went but a little way towards indemnifying them, a sense of pride and the hope of being entertained in like manner themselves at other similar gatherings making up the deficiency.

The distribution of property having been completed, nothing remained but the important ceremony of *O le Lulu'unga-o-le-tatau*, the sprinkling of the tattooed. The evening before this all-important ceremony—or rite, as I almost think it may be considered—was performed, the operators and attendants provided themselves with lighted torches and proceeded to the *malae*, where they went through a variety of motions until, at a given signal, the torches were all extinguished simultaneously. A water-bottle was then brought out and dashed to pieces in front of the newly tattooed

party, after which the torches were relighted and strict search made for the cork of the broken bottle. Much anxiety was felt respecting this cork, or rather plug, since, if lost, it was thought to forebode the death of one of the tattooed party.

The next day these all underwent the ceremony of *Lulutu*, or sprinkling, which was performed by one of the operators taking cocoanuts and sprinkling the water over each individual of their number. After this the workmen took their leave and the company separated to their homes. The bottle of water was only broken before a chief, but the ceremony of sprinkling was performed on each one of the tattooed, whatever their rank might be. This singular custom appears to have been used, as in other cases, to remove what was considered to be a kind of sacredness attaching to those newly tattooed.

Any notice of the employments of the old Samoans would be incomplete without some reference to their treatment of the sick and the remedies they used. Although they had much sickness their remedies were few, and for the most part unreliable, notwithstanding the fact that the flora of the group included many medicinal plants and herbs of much value. In case of sickness, where the family could afford it, recourse was had to sorcery. The *Taulāaitu*, or anchor of the god, was summoned that he might intercede with the particular deity he represented to help them in their calamity. Sometimes relief followed the incantation used or remedies applied, but in numbers of cases the sickness terminated fatally, when all sorts of excuses were made by the *Taulāaitu* to account for the failure.

Of native doctors, strictly speaking, the best obtainable were the Tongan doctors, many of whom were found on Samoa. These men had a much better knowledge of the native herbs and plants than the Samoans themselves. Still, there were many Samoans who followed this particular employment.

The usual name for doctor in Samoan is *O le Fo-ma'i*, the word *fo* meaning 'to doctor,' 'to apply remedies,' &c. It is also used figuratively, for ceasing to be angry, allaying irritation, &c. Another meaning given to the word is 'to rub,' i. e. gently rubbing with the hand, as in the case of rubbing the grated arrowroot pulp when preparing it for washing, in which there would seem to have been a reference to a well-known remedy amongst them for easing pain, viz. that which was termed *milimili* (from *mili*, 'to rub gently with the finger'), and *lomilomi*—the first being a gentle rubbing of the head or other parts of the body with the tips of the fingers to ease pain; and the other, a slight pressure or kneading, something after the manner of what is now known as massage. When used skilfully and with a soft hand, either of these remedies was most effectual in relieving pain, whether in the muscles or nerves. The soothing influence of the *milimili* in the case of head or face-ache, or the *lomilomi* in the case of over-taxed muscles, was most comforting, and must be felt to be appreciated. Gentle friction with the hand and oil was also frequently resorted to with much success; indeed, I think that in many cases these simple remedies were more successful than their efforts with herbs and simples.

Samoa diseases were many. The moisture of the

climate, especially in some situations, and the usual mode of living common to the Samoans rendered them susceptible to much sickness, especially diseases of the chest and lungs, from which they suffered greatly. The open nature of their dwellings, added to their exposure to the heavy night dews and night air, with the all-pervading miasma arising from the constant decay of the rank vegetation, rendered their surroundings most unhealthy, and made them susceptible to consumption in its many forms; coughs, colds, inflammation of the chest and lungs, fevers, rheumatism, pleurisy, diarrhoea, lumbago, diseases of the spine, scrofula, and many other ailments afflicting them. Under the head of children's diseases, may be noticed prurient ophthalmia, thrush, hydrocephalus, &c., whilst diseases of the skin, especially a painful kind of wart, troubled them greatly.

In addition to the remedies already described, they had many others, but of these I am unable to speak with certainty. I have been informed of instances that have come under the observation of others in which very powerful and drastic herbs and plants have been used, apparently without any idea of their caustic nature. One case came under the notice of the Rev. Samuel Ella, on Upolu, which ended fatally, to the great surprise of the native doctor who had applied the drastic remedy.

If compelled to yield the pride of place as herbalists to the Tongan doctors, the Samoans were fearless and even daring in the use of the knife in disease; whilst in the treatment of broken limbs and wounds received in battle they were often most successful. At times they effected cures under the most unlikely circumstances. From their vegetable diet as well as the constant sea

bathing, their flesh seemed to heal more readily than that of others, so that they often survived treatment that would have proved fatal to Europeans. Bullet-wounds, severe contusions, and broken limbs seemed to trouble them but little, unless the wound was given by a blow from a slung stone, which was often very difficult to heal; but still, such cures were often effected, although the smashing of the bone by a stone was stated to be much more difficult to cope with than an ordinary bullet-wound. Their descriptions of how wounds were treated on the battlefield often surprised me. I well remember the case of a man, who had been speared in the chest by a jagged spear, which had broken off, leaving several inches in the wound. From the jagged teeth of the spearhead it was impossible to pull it back from the wound; the only alternative, as it appeared to those around, being to force the spear-head and part of the handle through the wound and pull it out on the opposite side. This my informant declared was done; and the man recovered!

A rude kind of *post-mortem* examination was very commonly practised amongst the Samoans upon their own account and responsibility, there being no official to take charge of such acts, which were determined upon by the family themselves, in hope of ascertaining the cause of death and the nature of the disease that had perplexed them; and in the event of any diseased organ or extraneous growth being discovered, it was at once burnt, in hope of checking the further spread of the disease.

In the hope of relieving pain, deep lancings or cuttings were sometimes made on various parts of the body, as

in the event of abscess or other deep-seated pain. This was a favourite remedy for such ailments with Samoan doctors, and often most thoughtlessly practised by them: hence veins were frequently cut, to cope with which they had no sufficient remedy, so that death often ensued. On one occasion a man was brought to me from a long distance who was dying from loss of blood. He had suffered greatly from pain in the head, and a native doctor had lanced the part and cut an artery, thus causing bleeding that could not be stopped. Death seemed imminent; his coffin was prepared, and the relatives summoned; but as a last resource they decided to take the man to me, a distance of several miles, hoping that I might be able to effect a cure. I had no proper instrument, but an improvised tourniquet fortunately enabled me to stop the bleeding, and the man returned home well, thus dispensing with his coffin for that occasion. The natives generally were greatly at a loss how to act in such cases, and many consequently bled to death.

One very remarkable remedy was common to the Samoans. As in the case of the derivation of the word *fomai*, or doctor, that of *folau*, to apply ointment or other external application to a wound or sore, is interesting. It takes its name from *folā*, to spread out, as mats on a floor, whence *folau*. The same word is used for going a voyage, and also for a ship. In the case of one application of this spreading out of a remedy, viz. that of *O le folau alamea*, we have an ingenious remedy, as also a singular illustration of an old time cure.

The *alamea* is one of the many-rayed spiny Echinoderms common within and upon the reefs surrounding

many parts of the islands, and as the Samoans always go with bare feet, they frequently tread upon the spines, and suffer greatly from the contact; but this has led to the discovery of a remarkable remedy. When the *Alamea* is trodden upon by a native, it is at once



SAMOAN ELEPHANTIASIS.

turned over, and the under side of the *Alamea* is applied to the wounded foot, when the broken pieces of poisonous spines are sucked out, and the foot quickly heals; thus affording a strange illustration of an old time remedy, 'a hair from the dog that bit one.'

Among the many diseases that afflict the Samoans, elephantiasis is one of the worst; arms, legs, and other parts of the body being affected by it, thus causing a great deal of suffering and inconvenience to

those afflicted with it, especially when it attacks the internal organs of the body. Its common Samoan name, *O le vaetupa*, is as suggestive to a Samoan as our name is to us; *tupa* being the name of a species of land crab, with very large claws; hence the name *vaetupa*, 'crab-claw leg.' Another name for it is *O le fe'efe'e*, but the first given is the most common. This disease is very common amongst the Samoans, and painful as well as unsightly, yet when fully developed, in either arm or leg, many natives pursue their ordinary vocation, although sadly hampered and distressed by their deformity. One whom I knew, Fa'atau-velo, was a renowned warrior, although one of his arms was swollen to an immense size. He was a great spearman, and could throw a spear with equal precision with either the whole or diseased arm; hence his name *Fa'atau-velo* or 'throw a spear equally well with either hand.' An old fisherman was constantly busy with his avocation, notwithstanding his deformity. As a rule natives only suffer from this disease, but I have known Europeans, both male and female, to be afflicted with it.

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGES, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS

IN contracting marriage the Samoan woman was sometimes able to follow her own inclination or affections, but generally speaking the family were the contracting parties, a union often being proposed or arranged by the parents without any reference to the woman's feelings. In case she refused, or manifested any disinclination to yield her will, she was often subjugated to harsh, and even brutal treatment.

Sometimes both parties were betrothed when mere children, whilst at other times a child of tender years was affianced to a man old enough to be her grandfather, through the mercenary or political views of the contracting parties, who hoped to benefit by the alliance. A vast amount of misery was thus often inflicted upon children by their parents, and this, although much modified of late years, has not been entirely abolished.

Amongst the middle and lower classes, courtship was usually a simple affair, easily arranged, and successfully carried out; but amongst the higher ranks it was often the reverse. In the former case, if a young man desired to marry a girl, he either made known his wishes by

means of a friend, *soa*, or else, preparing an oven of food as a present, he posted off with it himself to the family of the young girl. If this was refused, it was an intimation that his attentions were discouraged; but if accepted, it was understood that his visits would be approved by the family, and the marriage was soon arranged, a few days, or at most weeks, being thought sufficient delay. On the occasion of such marriages but little ceremony was used. Presents were exchanged between the two families, and the young man removed to the house of the young person of his choice, became an inmate of the family, and took his share of its duties. After some time had elapsed he was at liberty to remove his wife to his own family residence, or commence housekeeping for himself.

Amongst the higher ranks, however, proposals for marriage were always made through the medium of a third party, or *soa*, literally a companion. Hence, if a chief desired to marry a lady of rank, he sent his *soa* to her residence, and commissioned him to use every means in his power to obtain her consent, and that of her family, to the marriage. This messenger was accompanied by a retinue, who were the bearers of a quantity of food, sent as an introduction to the lady and her family. If the present was accepted, it was known that the proposal would be entertained, and the *soa*, with his company, took up their abode near the dwelling, and endeavoured in every way to further the object of their visit. If the present were refused, it was accepted as a rebuff, and the crestfallen party retired to report their ill success.

It sometimes happened that the messengers of three

or four rival candidates were permitted to remain and struggle for the prize, thus, at times, causing many amusing scenes, as the messengers not only sought to influence the lady herself, but also strove to gain aid from her attendants, in their favour. The several suitors also came in person, and endeavoured to make themselves attractive by every means in their power. Political and family interests were also mixed up in the question, and many consultations were held by the family as to which of the offers held out the greatest inducements. This rivalry continued for some time amidst much coquetting on the part of the fair one, until at length she formally announced her choice, leaving the messengers of the disappointed ones to withdraw, chagrined at their failure, whilst the successful candidate made preparations for the approaching nuptials. Some months were usually allowed to elapse before the marriage took place, the interval being employed by the family and political connexions of the bridegroom-elect in collecting a large quantity of food, canoes, and European property, which were all taken to the lady's family, either before or at the time of marriage. This gift was termed *O le oloa*, and in return for it the bride's family gave large quantities of native property, consisting of valuable mats and native cloth, the return gift being called *tonga*. This custom of the bridegroom's family giving *oloa*, and the bride's relatives returning *tonga*, was observed in all future exchanges of property between the two families.

The set time for the marriage having arrived, large numbers of the people flocked from all parts to the settlement where the bride resided, all eager to witness

the ceremony, engage in the sports, and partake of the feasts liberally provided on such occasions. The bridegroom, with his retinue, followed, bringing large quantities of food and other articles as a present.

The marriage ceremony commenced with the *alalafanga*, which consisted of visitors and strangers clapping their hands; after this a distribution of *tonga* to the bridegroom and his family took place. This was followed by the consummation of the marriage, *O le avanganga*, the degrading details of which are utterly unfit for publication. This was followed by much feasting, dancing, sham fighting, with wrestling and boxing-matches, continuing for many days, accompanied with the never-failing scenes of lewdness and dissipation that were the constant associations of such gatherings; after these the visitors took their leave, some to long for the speedy return of such another gathering, others to fight over the distribution of the property awarded to them.

When the newly married couple selected a site for their future dwelling, another gathering of visitors took place for the purpose of forming a *fanua tanu*, or platform, a raised terrace of stones on which to erect their dwelling in accordance with old established custom. Shortly after this mark of respect had been paid, it was rewarded by another distribution of food and native property. After the lapse of two months another exchange of property took place, the wife's relations giving presents: the husband's relatives returning the compliment with a large quantity of food. The various ceremonies, before noticed, as attendant upon a marriage, were only observed on the marriage of persons of rank; on other occasions but little form or ceremony was used.

Polygamy at one time was largely prevalent, many chiefs of rank having seven or eight or even more wives at a time. There were generally one or more principal wives, who kept the others in subjection, often exerting their authority with a very high hand. Formerly, a discarded wife of a chief, or one who had voluntarily left her husband, was prohibited from marrying another man, unless the latter were powerful enough to set this prohibition at defiance. As illustrating a custom common at one time in Samoan society, I may mention that many women have assured me that when it is seen that the husband was resolved upon adding another wife to his harem, the principal wife often selected her own sister or sisters, and endeavoured to get them added to the family roll of wives, so that she might have some control over them. This plan was frequently adopted to avoid strangers being brought into the family. Such a custom was apparently known in the olden days, as evidenced by Leviticus xviii. 18. I knew one European who had a plurality of wives, but who seemed ashamed of his action, as also at the manner in which he had allowed himself to be dragged down by native custom.

Various customs were common to the Samoans in connexion with the birth of a child. During pregnancy the woman allowed her hair to grow long, alike as an evidence of her condition, and in deference to the received opinion that the child would thrive better in consequence. After two or three months had elapsed, the first present of food was brought by the husband's relatives; if he had any sisters, by one of them. If the wife were a woman of rank, this offering consisted of thirty, forty, or even fifty pigs; but if she were the wife

of a *Tulafale* only, of eight or ten. Some time after this, an offering was taken to the mother in honour of the expected child, which also consisted of pigs, the gift varying from two to three, up to fifty, according to the rank of the mother. This was called *O le popo*, 'of the child,' and strangely enough so named from the fact that the expressed juice of the *popo* or ripe cocoanut was the first food given to an infant. In case of a woman of rank, two months before the birth of the child the *afua* was observed, which consisted of each *Tulafale* or land-holder of the district bringing a present of a pig, the number frequently amounting to fifty, and even to one hundred. One more donation of food remained to be made by the husband's relatives and political dependants, called *O le taro-fanaunga*, the *taro* of birth, which consisted of a large quantity of provisions. These, with all the previous donations, were taken to the wife's relatives, and by them distributed among their friends and political connexions. Having made these various offerings of food, the husband's relatives awaited the birth of the child, and when within a month of her confinement the wife proceeded to her own family to be confined.

Hitherto the wife's family connexions have been the receivers of property, but now in return they collect large quantities of native cloth and mats, to be given in payment for the provisions previously brought them by the husband's relatives. This property was usually divided into five different portions, and distributed after the birth of the child.

As with the Hebrews of old, the act of birth was generally easy, and the female was soon enabled to

busy herself about her domestic duties, sometimes even a few hours after the event. In all cases very shortly after birth both mother and child were bathed in cold water, sometimes in the house, but oftener in the sea, the mother taking her infant to the beach and quietly bathing both it and herself. In the olden times the birth of a child was always announced to the neighbours by a man standing in front of the house and shouting, with a loud voice, several distinct war-cries, or *U-u-ū*, five for a male, and two or three for a female.

During the first eight or ten days the child was fed entirely upon the expressed juice or milk of the old cocoanut, after which it was put to the breast, and also fed with vegetables previously masticated by the mother. Of late years many females have broken through these restrictions. About the eighth day the child's head was shaved by being scraped with a shark's tooth, as a substitute for a razor, and soon after this the property which had been collected by the wife's family connexions was distributed to the husband's relations. On the conclusion of this ceremony great rejoicings were held, and the event celebrated by much dancing, boxing-matches, club fightings, and other games, and then the visitors separated, taking with them the property they had received. When the child was able to sit upright another feast was provided by the family where the mother was staying, in honour of the event, the same custom being afterwards observed on three separate occasions, viz. on the child's being able to crawl on the floor, to stand upright, and also to walk. A custom answering to circumcision was universally practised throughout the whole Samoan group.

The prevalence of polygamy amongst the Samoans was a fruitful source of quarrels, and a bar to happiness in many families ; but for all that the Samoans were fond of their children, in pleasing contrast to the hard-heartedness of the natives of many other islands. The desire for offspring was strong amongst Samoan women, who may in some respects be said to rival the Hebrew women, so that in case they had no children of their own they frequently adopted the children of others.

Children were subject to a strange training, or as a rule brought up without any real training at all, save such as tended to evil. At one time they were indulged in every wish, at another severely beaten for the most trivial offence, and then shortly after an oven of food was prepared, as a peace-offering to appease their offended dignity. In consequence of the manner in which families usually lived the children were accustomed to witness all kinds of evil, and encouraged to follow deception as a virtue, the only evil attaching to a crime being that of detection. Hence by example, as well as by teaching, children were trained in the habits of deception by their parents and others, an acquisition of which they usually proved themselves but too apt scholars.

During their heathen state, interment in a rudely built stone vault or cromlech, for the higher ranks, or in a shallow grave for the commonalty, was the most common mode of burial chosen by the Samoans, but occasionally other methods were adopted, such as rudely embalming the body, putting it into a canoe and sending it adrift on the ocean, or placing it on a stage erected in the forest, where it was left to decay, after

which the bones were collected and buried. Upon the death of a chief his body was usually deposited in a family vault, the sides and bottom of which were formed of large slabs of sandstone or basalt, both of which are found on various parts of the islands. The grave or vault was covered over with a large slab of the same material, thus forming a kind of cromlech, sometimes of large and massive dimensions.

The family of the late Matetau of Manono have one, which I have seen, on Nu'ulopa, and which was a good specimen of its kind. The head being considered a sacred part, the bodies of chiefs were frequently buried near their habitations until decomposition had set in, when the head was severed from the body and re-interred in some family burial-place in the mountains, to save it from insult in the time of war. Sometimes a chief died at a distance from his own settlement, when after a time his body was brought to the family burying-place with much ceremony and a kind of military show, called *O le langi*. It was followed by, or rather in part consisted of, sham fights, boxing-matches, and dances, which took place after the skull of the deceased chieftain had been placed in the tomb. It was usually borne thither on a kind of stage and accompanied by a large number of armed men.

On ordinary occasions the body was prepared for burial within a few hours of death, but if the deceased were of high rank it was otherwise, and many customs and observances were attended to which were omitted at the ordinary funeral; indeed, the full burial obsequies were seldom adhered to but on the occasion of the death of chiefs of rank. The generality of persons

were quickly buried, with little ceremony, the body being laid in a shallow grave either wrapped in folds of native cloth or enclosed in a rude coffin or box, sometimes formed from a portion of an old canoe, but more generally hollowed out from the trunk of a tree.

On a person being taken seriously ill messengers were sent to the various relatives, who hastened to the spot bearing with them property, as an offering to present to the sick man and his family. In case death was likely to ensue, some of the more valuable mats were brought and laid upon the body of the dying chief, in order to minister to the constantly expressed wish that at the time of death the sick might have the consciousness of being surrounded with valuable property. This curious custom was observed in all ranks, with children as well as grown persons. In the event of the illness of a chief of rank, his female relatives first hastened to attend him, and these were quickly followed by the different male members of his family, in case his illness increased. These brought property wherewith to consult the oracle of the district as to the occasion and probable termination of the disease. The sister of the sick man was also closely questioned as to whether she had cursed him, and thus caused his illness; if so, she was entreated to remove the curse, so that he might recover. Moved by their pleadings the sister took cocoanut-water in her mouth and ejected it towards or upon the body of the sufferer, by which means she either removed the curse or expressed her innocence of having called down any malediction upon him. This strange custom was called *O le pūpūnga* (rinsing the mouth), and all parties were desirous that it should be

performed in all cases of illness, since great dread was felt of the dire effects of a sister's curse. Visits of sympathy were also made by persons from all the surrounding districts, who came to pour forth lamentations both real and feigned at the illness of the chief, as well as feast upon the viands always provided on such occasions; yet but little if anything was attempted, or in fact could be attempted, towards relieving the sufferer, save consulting the oracle or priest.

In the event of all the means used proving ineffectual, and death appearing imminent, a strangely wild scene 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 poured as an offering of affection and sympathy to their departing friend. It was also hoped that such inflictions might be the means of propitiating the gods, so that they would be induced to avert the threatened calamity.

In the midst of all this confusion and uproar, the voice of a *tulafale* might be heard calling upon the god of the family in the following terms—'Moso, what does all this mean? Give back to us our chief. Why do you pay no respect to us, *faleupolu*?' 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 the chief. But, suddenly, seeing that all his appeals were vain, and that the chief was dead, he lost all patience and began to abuse the god Moso in no measured terms. 'O thou shameless spirit, could I but grasp you, I would smash your 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.'

Immediately after death, all the mats on the floor of the house were thrown outside, and the thatched sides of the house were either torn down or beaten in with clubs; whilst the relatives and assembled crowds wrought themselves to frenzy, uttering piercing cries, tearing their hair, and wounding their bodies by repeated and heavy blows from stones and clubs.

After a short time the body was laid out by women, no males being allowed to assist, and when that was finished four women seated themselves around the corpse, one to each limb, where they watched in silence, no one being allowed to speak above a whisper. These women remained until relieved by others; and unless thus relieved, no one could leave their post, no matter how urgent the call might be. If the relatives were all assembled, the body was speedily buried, unless it was to be kept above ground and placed upon a stage, or rudely embalmed, as was the custom in some families; but if any relatives had not arrived, for whom it was considered desirable to wait, a large pile of *siapo* was formed, called an *epa*, on which the corpse was laid to await the arrival of the expected friends, the upper piece of *siapo* being frequently removed as decomposition advanced. It sometimes happened that distant friends were delayed, so that the body had to be buried before they arrived. The house in which the body lay, as well as any person approaching it, were considered sacred; none of the watch even being allowed to handle food, all being fed by others.

On the body being laid in the grave, the *Ilamutu*, or near relative of the deceased, a sister, if one survives, seated herself at the head of the grave, and waving a piece of white cloth over the body, commenced an address to the dead. 'Compassion to you. Go with good will, and without bearing malice towards us. Take with you all our diseases, and leave us life.' Then pointing towards the west, she exclaimed—'Misery there.' To the east, 'Prosperity there.' Into the grave, 'Misery there; but leave happiness with us.' Valuable mats and other property were sometimes buried with a corpse, and the grave of a warrior was surrounded with spears placed upright in the ground, whilst his musket and war-club were sometimes placed upon the grave and allowed to decay, no one presuming to touch them. I once saw a musket thus placed upon the grave of a warrior at Matautu, on Savaii, which had fallen to pieces from long exposure to the atmosphere. A few little trinkets and playthings may be often seen lovingly placed upon the grave of some beloved child, as with us, in fond remembrance of the dead. Graves were sometimes marked by stones placed around them, inside of which sand or coral *débris* was spread, whilst a railing of the beautiful *ti* plant, with its handsome plumes, at times gave the whole a picturesque appearance.

The funeral obsequies of a chief of rank lasted from ten to fifteen days, during which time the house in which he died was watched night and day by men appointed for the purpose. After burial, and until the days of mourning were ended, the days were usually spent in boxing and wrestling-matches, with sham fights; the nights being occupied with dancing and practising

a kind of buffoonery, common to these seasons of mourning for the dead. This was called *O le tau-pinga*, and in it the performers amused themselves in making a variety of ludicrous faces and grimaces at each other, so as to see who could first excite laughter; thus seeking to while away the hours of the night. These amusements were kept up until the ten or fifteen days of mourning were expired.

If 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 *Fafa*, whence it either made its way to the *Nu'u-o-nonoa*, 'the land of the bound,' or else to the *Nu'u-o-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* 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 corpse. The insect was supposed to have received the spirit of the dead, and no further fear was felt respecting its reappearance; but where the person died in battle, or from other cause at a distance, so that the spirit could not be obtained, the surviving relatives were often troubled and disturbed by visits from the restless, homeless warrior.

A rude kind of embalming, called *O le fa'a-Atua-lālā-ina* (made into a sun-dried god), was formerly practised in Samoa by two families, Sa-le-Tufunga, and Sa-Mataafā, the former being a branch of the latter family.

It was practised more generally, and continued longer by the Mataafā family. So late as 1841, I saw several bodies in the family burial-place of this family at Aleipata on Upolu, which were preserved in this manner. Although the spell of sacredness which had formerly surrounded them had been broken, they were still watched over and protected with care. I am not able to speak as to the probable age of these mummies, but they had evidently lain there a number of years. Some older bodies which had been long preserved there were buried not long before my visit.

CHAPTER VIII

NATURAL HISTORY OF SAMOA

THE natural history of Samoa presents much that is interesting to naturalists, since, although at the first contact with Europeans the mammals were most limited, the birds peculiar to the group were numerous, and of many species, one of them at least being not simply unique but original and isolated, Samoa being its only known habitat, and even there it is fast becoming extinct. This bird, the now celebrated *Manu Mea*, or red bird of the natives, the (*Didunculus Strigirostris*) tooth-billed pigeon of science, is the sole known representative of the long extinct dodo, and as such has excited much interest in the scientific world. A small species of *Apteryx* (*O le Puna'e*), the springer-up, was also found on Samoa. It is smaller than the New Zealand species, but closely resembles it otherwise. This bird also is nearly extinct.

At the time of first contact with Europeans the only mammals found on Samoa were dogs, cats, pigs, and rats, the three former, if not the latter, having been apparently introduced into the islands by the original settlers, or from later intercourse. Others have since been introduced, and have thriven well, horses, cattle, and goats being now abundant.

The dog, *Maile* or *Uli*, from *u*, to bite, and *li*, to grin, or show the teeth, was found on all the islands, but the breeds having become so much mixed it is difficult to say what was the original stock. I think it was a small breed, with sharp-pointed ears, traces of which are sometimes seen. Dogs were formerly eaten by the Samoans, as at other islands; of late years, however, the practice has been discontinued. Many dogs had run wild in the forests, and occasionally came down to the settlements and made a dismal howling as they prowled about and searched for food. I once got a glimpse of one at a distance, in the bush, but it was very shy.

The pig (*Pua'a*), or root-bolter, from *pu*, to bolt or swallow whole, and *a'a*, root, was much esteemed for food, and reared largely. The present breed is much superior to the gaunt-looking animals shown in Capt. Cook's *Voyages*, as found by him on some of the islands, the breed having been improved from outside contact. Although not generally eaten at their ordinary family meals, pigs were largely consumed by the natives on many occasions, such as festivals of various kinds and large family gatherings. They were also largely sold to shipping, and from being mostly fed with cocoanuts, were delicate eating and much appreciated. Wild pigs were abundant in the forests, and were frequently hunted by the natives for food, although the flesh is stronger than that of the tame pig. In their wild state they are often very fierce, especially the old boars, which, when brought to bay, frequently inflict dangerous wounds, difficult to heal.

The cat, *Ngosi*, or *Ngeli*, was also known as *pusi*, and largely domesticated, being found in most houses.

These animals have also become wild in great numbers, and prove most destructive to many kinds of birds, especially those roosting in stumps and low bushes. One or two species of great interest have been almost exterminated by them of late years, especially the *Manu Mea* and Apteryx, both of scientific value.

The rat, *O le Imoa*, not much larger than a good-sized field-mouse, is sometimes very troublesome and destructive. A curious circumstance respecting this animal may be mentioned. The bait used in the capture of the *fée*, or cuttlefish, is made of wickerwork in the shape of a rat, in which are placed small stones, so that it forms a sort of child's rattle. The origin of this singular custom, as described in an old tradition, is as follows:—The rat and the cuttlefish fought, and the cuttlefish was defeated; hence long-cherished anger and feud has existed between them. In consequence of this, whenever the rat-shaped bait is rattled before the cuttlefish, its anger is excited at the sight of its old opponent, causing it to spring upon the bait and be captured. This old tradition of the feud between the rat and the cuttlefish is well known to the natives, and often quoted by them in their speeches.

Of bats there are two species—a large one, *O le Pe'a* (*Pteropus ruficolus*), or flying fox, and a smaller one, resembling the English species. The *pe'a* is found in large numbers, and is very destructive to fruit of various kinds, upon which it feeds, especially the banana, and which at times causes them to be great pests. A curious circumstance happened in connexion with these bats in 1839, when, after a serious outbreak of an epidemic had successively attacked both Europeans and

natives, as well as animals also, it seized upon the bats, or flying foxes, and devastated them in great numbers; so much that scarcely a bat could be seen about at one time. This was so marked, that the natives, as their custom was, commemorated the circumstance in a song which was generally sung, and which concluded with the words, *E leai se pe'a e lele*, 'not a bat is flying.' At one time it seemed to be so, the bulk of them having been swept away. After a time, however, their numbers increased, and later on they became as numerous as ever.

A large species of gigantic land-crab, *O le ūū* (*Birgus Latro*), the robber-crab, is found in many parts of the islands. It inhabits caverns and crevices of the rocks, especially on the coast near the sea-shore. It is of strange appearance and singular habits, and feeds upon cocoanuts, which it handles in a peculiar manner. At one time I kept two large ones tethered at the foot of a cocoanut-tree, so that I could study their habits.

In Darwin's *Naturalist's Journal* he speaks of a species of this crab, as found in Keeling Island, in the Indian Ocean, and from his description I think it is identical with the species found in Samoa. They are of large size, and have powerful claws, the fore-arms being of sufficient length to enable them to clasp and climb a cocoanut-tree of from two to three feet diameter. Under the tail each crab has a bag or sac containing from half a pint or more of clear lightly-coloured oil.

The two I had were captured on a rocky coast on the north-east part of Upolu, where they are found in large numbers. Their natural mode of feeding was stated by the natives to be extraordinary. They were said to peel

off the husk of the nut with their powerful claws, and then to climb the tree with it and let it fall, so as to break it, thus gaining access to the nut. Darwin doubts the fact of their being able to climb a cocoanut-tree, but I have frequently seen them do it in my garden, my captives often climbing to a considerable height. As to their climbing the trees and throwing down the nuts, I should imagine they might be able to do this, but I have never seen them do it, their food being always broken up for them. If the necessity arose, I am convinced that they would be perfectly able to break the nut with blows from their powerful claws. The same species of crab, or one allied to it, is said to inhabit a single island to the north of the Society Islands¹.

Birds are found in much greater variety in Samoa than in islands to the eastward. They comprise pigeons, doves, ducks, plovers, herons, rails, and swallows, with many others.

The pigeon (*Columba Oceanica*), *O le Lupe*. *Lupe* is the general name for pigeon, but the prefix *O le* is generally used. They are very numerous, and of more than one variety, one especially elegant bird being the *Fiaui* (*Carpophaga Castaneiceps*). This pigeon is not only of elegant shape, but has a white ring round the neck. As a general rule pigeons, with several varieties of doves, are great favourites with the Samoans, who tame them and keep them with great care, teaching them to fly to a distance when tethered to a string. As thus secured they fly round and round, either for the amusement of spectators or else as decoys for the fowler, when

¹ See *Proceedings of the Geological Society*, 1832, p. 17, and Bennett and Tyerman's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 33.

catching wild pigeons in the mountains. When fatigued, or on feeling the slightest jerk on the string by which it is tethered, the bird returns to the hand or perch of its owner, and nestles beside him. This custom of taming pigeons has long been known to the Samoans. Bougainville, who visited the group in 1768, found them surrounded with these pets, of which he says, 'The islanders amuse themselves in their leisure hours by taming pigeons. Their houses were full of wood-pigeons, which they bartered with us by hundreds.'

The Samoans have a strange custom of giving different names to pigeons caught at four different periods of the moon's age; thus, (1) *Lupe-o-atoa*, pigeons caught at the full of the moon; (2) *Lupe-a-fanoloa*, pigeons caught when there is no moon; (3) *Lupe-o-maunu*, pigeons caught at the wane of the moon; (4) *Lupe-o-pupula*, pigeons caught at the increase of the moon. These birds are caught with nets, springes, and bird-lime, but these will be more fully noticed later on.

There are five species of doves found in Samoa, the most beautiful of which is the *Manu mā* (*Ptilonopus Perousei*), the bashful bird of the natives. It is a very shy bird, whence its name; but when trained it soon becomes domesticated like the pigeon. It is of lovely plumage, and is always a great pet with its owners. The top of the head is purple, the wings green, the underpart of the body dirty white, and the breast streaked with red, white, and dark purple, something after the fashion of the anemone. It is said by the late Dr. Bennett of Sydney to accord with the purple-crowned pigeon.

Another species of dove is the *Manu tangi* (*Ptilono-*

pus fasciatus), or crying bird of the natives. Its head is pale crimson, back green, breast and abdomen dirty yellow and light green. Another dove, called by the natives *O le Manulua*, is mostly of a green colour; not so gaily coloured as those just described, but still a very pretty bird.

Two other ground-doves may be mentioned, *O le Tui* and *O le-Tu-ai-meo*. The latter is described by the late Dr. Gray of the British Museum, in the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society*, 1856, Part VII, with a coloured representation, under the name of *Calænus phlegænas Stairi*. I have since ascertained that distinct names are given to the male and female of these birds, the male being called *tu-tau-ifa*, and the female *tu-ai-meo*. All of these varieties of doves were kept as pets by the natives, and found in most of their houses.

The water-hen (*Porphyrio Samoensis*), *O le Manu alii*, or chief's bird of the natives, was a great favourite with them, being commonly kept in cages, and taken with them on their journeys, as well as petted in their dwellings. In their wild state these birds were often very destructive to the taro-patches, digging up and devouring the roots of the young plants; but when tamed they were greatly prized.

The Samoan nightingale, *O le Manu ao*, or bird of the morning, has a melodious song, which it commences early in the morning, varying its notes from those of a lively strain to tones mournful and plaintive. It also sings at intervals through the night.

Some other birds may be briefly described. *O le Tūtū-ma-lili* (*Merula vanicorensis*) is a small bird resembling an English blackbird, but having no song.

O le Senga (*Coriphilus fringillaceus*), one of the honey-eating parrots, is a pretty little bird, usually seen in great numbers feeding upon the blossom of the cocoanut and other palms. So intently eager are these birds when feeding upon the glucose in the cocoanut-blossoms, that they not only become an easy prey to the fowler, but have led the natives to enshrine this eagerness in the word *pafunga* (to settle on the blossoms), as the *senga* does on the bud of the cocoanut. It is also used in reference to a man who having an abundance of food or property delights in it, '*Ua pafunga mai tāumafa.*'

O le Tolai-ula (*Myzomela nigriventris*) is another honey-eating bird, its plumage being glossy black, with a scarlet head and breast.

O le Ti 'otala (*Todirhamphus Pealei*), the kingfisher, is a comical bird resembling the English kingfisher in appearance, but different from it in habit and food, being seldom found near the water, and feeding upon worms and grubs. It is not so clumsy-looking as the Australian laughing jackass, but resembles it in size and many of its habits, yet wanting its wild song. A second species of kingfisher is called *Todirhamphus recurvirostris*.

O le Sengā-Manu is a very beautiful little bird of a brilliant metallic green, and feeds on seeds. The ordinary *Senga* is sometimes called *O le Senga Samoa*, to distinguish it from the *Senga Ula*, or red *Senga*, the Fijian parroquet (*Lorius solitarius*), introduced into Samoa, and kept by the natives for the sake of its crimson feathers, which are much valued for ornaments.

Of herons there are three varieties, lead colour, pure white, and speckled. They are called by the natives *Matu'u*, and classified by Peale as *Ardea Abbineata*.

One or two species of swallow (*pe'ape'a*) build their nests in caverns, the nests at times presenting the appearance of edible birds' nests, from the quantity of glutinous scum with which they are built.

O le Tuli is the general name for plover, of which there are vast numbers; as also sandpipers, &c.

O le Iao is another species of glucose-eating bird of a light olive-brown colour, and of active restless habits, much accustomed to banding together and tormenting a stupid kind of bird called *Le Aleva*, the Samoan cuckoo (*Endynamis Taitensis*), which they chase with much eagerness.

One species of owl, *O le Lulu* (*Strix delicatula*, of Peale), and many other varieties of birds, including wild ducks, or rather teal, which are plentiful and good eating.

Sea-birds are numerous, and include *O le Tava'e*, the tropic bird; *Le Atafa*, the frigate-bird; *Le Ngongo*, the gull; and the sooty tern, *Le Manu uli*, the black-bird of the natives. A bird that burrows in the ground, *Le Taio*, was often taken inland amongst the mountains. Other varieties were also found, but those instanced may suffice.

One species of Apteryx, *O le Puna'e*, or springer-up (*Pareudiastes Pacificus*), was found on Samoa. It is smaller than the New Zealand Apteryx, but resembles it in other respects. It burrows in the ground and derives its name *Puna'e* from its sudden appearance as it comes to the surface, from *Puna*, to spring, and *e*, upwards. It is a timid bird, and is seldom seen far from its haunts in the interior of the islands. I tried in vain to obtain specimens of this bird, the constant answer

being that no trace of them could be found. It was formerly abundant, and much sought after by the natives for food, who hunted it with nets and dogs trained to discover which of their holes were occupied. Of late years they have been destroyed in large numbers by the wild cats, so that they bid fair to become soon extinct.

One of the curiosities of Samoan natural history is *Le Manu Mea*, or red bird of the natives, the tooth-billed pigeon (*Didunculus Strigirostris*, Peale), and is peculiar to the Samoan islands. This remarkable bird, so long a puzzle to the scientific world, is only found in Samoa, and even there it has become so scarce that it is rapidly becoming extinct, as it falls an easy prey to the numerous wild cats ranging the forests. It was first described and made known to the scientific world by Sir William Jardine, in 1845¹, under the name of *Gnathodon Strigirostris*, from a specimen purchased by Lady Hervey in Edinburgh, amongst a number of Australian skins. Its appearance excited great interest and curiosity, but its true habitat was unknown until some time after, when it was announced by Mr. Strickland before the British Association at York, that Mr. Titian Peale, of the United States Exploring Expedition, had discovered a new bird allied to the dodo, which he proposed to name *Didunculus Strigirostris*. From the specimen in Sir William Jardine's possession the bird was figured by Mr. Gould in his *Birds of Australia*, and its distinctive characteristics shown; but nothing was known of its habitat. At that time the only specimen known to exist out of Samoa were the two in the United States,

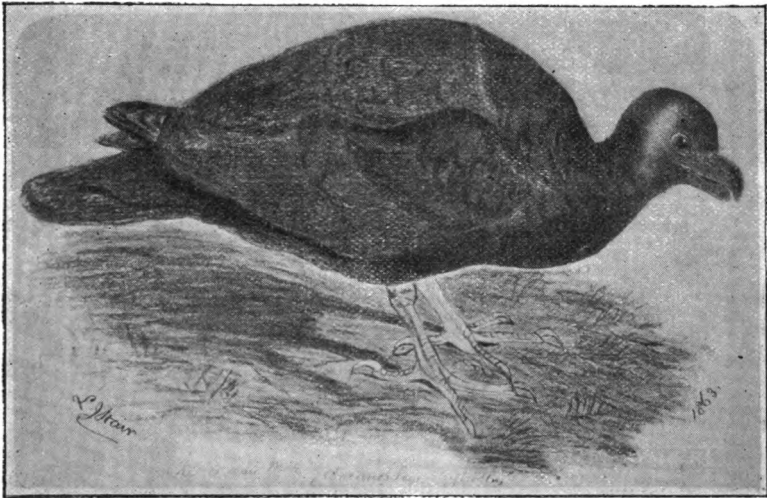
¹ *Annals of Natural History*, vol. xvi. p. 175.

taken there by Commodore Wilkes, and the one in the collection of Sir William Jardine, in Edinburgh. The history of this last bird is singular, and may be alluded to here.

To residents in Samoa the *Manu Mea*, or red bird, was well known by repute, but as far as I know, no specimen had ever been obtained by any resident on the islands until the year 1843, when two fine birds, male and female, were brought to me by a native who had captured them on the nest. I was delighted with my prize, and kept them carefully, but could get no information whatever as to what class they belonged. After a time one was unfortunately killed, and not being able to gain any knowledge respecting the bird, I sent the surviving one to Sydney, by a friend, in 1843, hoping it would be recognized and described; but nothing was known of it there, and my friend left it with a bird dealer in Sydney, and returned to report his want of success. It died in Sydney, and the skin was subsequently sent to England with other skins for sale, including the skin of an Apteryx, from Samoa. Later on the skin of the *Manu Mea* was purchased by Lady Hervey, and subsequently it came into the possession of Sir William Jardine, by whom it was described. Still nothing was known of its habitat,—but this bird which I had originally sent to Sydney from Samoa was the means of bringing it under the notice of the scientific world, and thus in some indirect manner of obtaining the object I had in view.

After my return to England, in 1846, the late Dr. Gray, of the British Museum, showed me a drawing of the bird, which I at once recognized; as also a drawing of a species

of Apteryx which had been purchased in the same lot of skins. A native of Samoa, who was with me, at once recognized both birds. Dr. Gray and Mr. Mitchell (of the Zoological Gardens in London) were much interested in the descriptions I gave them, and urged that strong efforts should be made to procure living specimens. But no steps were taken to obtain the bird until fourteen



O LE MANU MEA, OR RED BIRD.

years after, when having returned to Australia I was surprised to see a notice in the Melbourne *Argus*, of August 3, 1862, to the effect that the then Governor of Victoria, Sir Henry Barkley, had received a communication from the Zoological Society, London, soliciting his co-operation in endeavouring to ascertain further particulars as to the habitat of a bird they were desirous of obtaining; forwarding drawings and particulars as far

as known, at the same time; offering a large sum for living specimens or skins delivered in London. I at once recognized that the bird sought after was the *Manu Mea*, and gave the desired information and addresses of friends in Samoa, through whose instrumentality a living specimen was safely received in London, *via* Sydney, on April 10, 1864, the Secretary of the Zoological Society subsequently writing to Dr. Bennett of Sydney, saying, 'The La Hogue arrived on April 10, and I am delighted to be able to tell you that the *Didunculus* is now alive, and in good health in the gardens, and Mr. Bartlett assures me is likely to do well.'

In appearance the bird may be described as about the size of a large wood-pigeon, with similar legs and feet, but the form of its body more nearly resembles that of the partridge. The remarkable feature of the bird is, that whilst its legs are those of a pigeon, the beak is that of the parrot family, the upper mandible being hooked like the parrot's, the under one being deeply serrated; hence the name, tooth-billed pigeon. This peculiar formation of the beak very materially assists the bird in feeding on the potato-like root, or rather fruit, of the *soi*, or wild yam, of which it is fond. The bird holds the tuber firmly with its feet, and then rasps it upwards with its parrot-like beak, the lower mandible of which is deeply grooved. It is a very shy bird, being seldom found except in the retired parts of the forest, away from the coast settlements. It has great power of wing, and when flying makes a noise which, as heard in the distance, closely resembles distant thunder, for which I have on several occasions mistaken it. It both roosts and feeds on the ground, as also on stumps or low

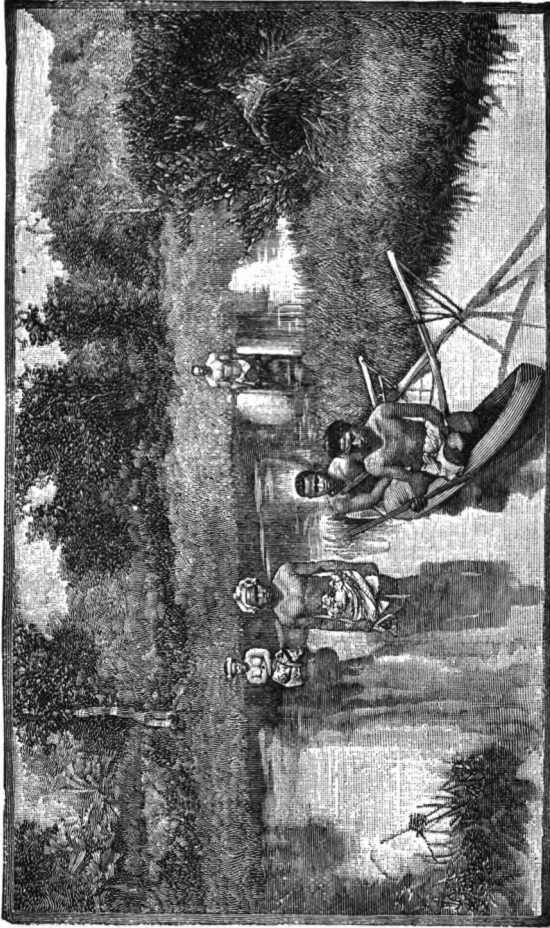
bushes, and hence becomes an easy prey to the wild cats of the forest. These birds also build their nests on low bushes or stumps, and are thus easily captured. During the breeding season the male and female relieve each other with great regularity, and guard their nests so carefully that they fall an easy prey to the fowler; as in the case of one bird being taken its companion is sure to be found there shortly after. They were also captured with birdlime, or shot with arrows, the fowler concealing himself near an open space, on which some *soi*, their favourite food, had been scattered.

The plumage of the bird may be thus described. The head, neck, breast, and upper part of the back is of greenish black. The back, wings, tail, and under tail coverts of a chocolate red. The legs and feet are of bright scarlet; the mandibles, orange red, shaded off near the tips with bright yellow.

The seas around Samoa swarm with an abundance of fine fish, many of them most delicious eating; so that on all sides they afford an inexhaustible supply of valuable food. I have the names of 145 varieties of salt-water fish, and eight of fresh-water; whilst there are many others whose names I failed to obtain. Thirty-seven varieties of crustacea and mollusca were in common use as food by the natives, many of them being considered great dainties even by Europeans.

One species of soft shell-fish, in shape somewhat resembling the ancient Trilobite, *O le volo*, formed a most delicious adjunct to the breakfast-table, or indeed to any meal through the day. This fish embedded itself in the sands and soft mud near the shore within the reefs, as we knew it on the west side of Upolu, and was eagerly

sought after by the women in their daily search for shell-



SAMOANS FISHING.

fish, and who were familiar with its haunts. It was, I think, the most delicious shell-fish I have ever eaten.

The *modes of fishing* as practised by the Samoans, not merely for food, but also for amusement, were very numerous. I was surprised to find the great variety of modes of fishing adopted by them, each having a distinct name, and often exhibiting much ingenuity. Including the modes adopted by females in their search for shell-fish, I obtained the names of one hundred different methods of fishing used by the Samoans; thirty-four of which were with nets, seven with spears, sixteen various, seventeen for shell-fish, and twelve with baskets and pots. Some kinds were restricted to particular places, and were unknown or unpractised in other parts of the islands; others again were common throughout the group. Several required the united efforts of numbers, whilst not a few were attended with danger. Men, women, and children employed themselves in some one or other of these different methods of fishing, respecting the more interesting of which a few notices may be acceptable.

Sharks were caught in several ways, the most daring of which was *O le Lepingā Malie*. In this mode of fishing the fishermen proceeded out to sea in their canoe provided with baits attached to a line of good stout rope, formed into a running noose. On getting outside the reef, the fishermen threw over the bait, the rope that held it being left to hang loosely alongside, whilst the end of the rope was fastened to one of the thwarts of the canoe, which remained seldom more than a few inches out of the water, in midships, or aft.

Upon a shark approaching the bait, the line to which the bait was attached was slowly drawn towards the canoe, the shark following; and when drawn opposite

the person who had the charge of the line, the noose was dexterously thrown over the head of the shark, and drawn tightly in. The shark plunged furiously, and sometimes wounded its captors, but was speedily killed by heavy blows on the head from a stout club carried in the canoe for the purpose. Sharks were also captured both within the reef and out at sea.

O le Alele was a difficult but very exciting mode of chasing large voracious fish, in which several canoes, manned with picked crews, were generally employed. Upon the *taumua*, or prow of each of the larger canoes, stood an expert and fearless spearman, armed with an iron-headed spear, whose duty it was to watch the object of the chase and spear it if possible before it reached deep water. Very large sharks were often caught in this manner, as were also turtle. This mode of fishing, *O le Alele*, is only practicable within the reef, where the shallowness of the water, in places, makes it difficult for a large fish to escape detection. A still, bright moonlight night is most favoured for the sport.

Sometimes a shark attacked this way has been known to turn upon the pursuers when hard pressed. I once saw a *vaa alo* (three-barred fishing-canoe), at Manono, which had been seized by a *tanifa* a short time before my visit. The sides of the canoe were at least 2 feet in depth, in midships where the shark had seized it. The monster had grasped the canoe in its frightful mouth, placing the upper jaw upon the gunwale, and its lower jaw under the keel, leaving the marks of its teeth deeply indented on its side. The crew, whom I knew, two men and a boy, were fishing, and coming in contact with this monster thoughtlessly gave chase, although only armed

with common fish spears, and so harassed it that it turned savagely upon them, and dashed full speed towards the canoe. The lad was sitting on the centre seat, and seeing the savage fish making directly towards him, he sprang out of his seat on to the outrigger just in time to escape the jaws of the monster, the upper part of which remained resting for some little time on the gunwale of the canoe just where the boy had sat a few seconds before. The boy and his companions were dreadfully frightened, but were unable to attack the shark for want of better weapons; indeed, their whole attention was needed to prevent the canoe from being upset, in which case one or more of them would certainly have lost their lives. After gazing savagely at the crew for a time the shark loosed its hold and made off, the crew gladly hastening homewards.

Bonito (atu) were caught by the mode *O le alongā-atu*, which was a favourite mode of fishing. For this, a *vā'a alo*, or three-barred fishing-canoe, was preferred, with a crew of two or three, or at most four persons. These were provided with a single rod, made of a moderately stout bamboo; a strong line, and hook of mother-of-pearl shell, ingeniously made to represent a small flying-fish, which were the things considered necessary; yet accompanied, as we shall see, with much skill and tact. Only one of the party angled, and he always sat in the stern of the canoe and acted as steersman. The rod, which was bent at the top, was allowed to hang astern, and as the canoe was paddled forward, the shell hook which answered for a bait, being furnished with feathers on either side to increase the deception, dipped in and out of the water, so as to closely resemble a small flying-

fish in flight. The illusion was perfect, so that the bait was readily taken by the *bonito*.

Within the reefs sand-mullet (*anae*) were caught in large quantities. The net or nets were usually the property of a whole village, or individual proprietors. On the day of using they are taken out to the lagoon, and dropped so as to form a circle, around which the fishing-party assemble, either in the water or in canoes, to watch the progress of the sport, or to try and catch the fish as they leap over the net in their efforts to escape. When the circle is complete and the net made secure, many of the fishermen enter the circle with their hand-nets to secure the fish. Many fish leap over the net, some of which are caught by those outside the circle, whilst others escape altogether.

The most laborious of all the different kinds of fishing is the *O le Lau loa*, or long *Lau*, practised by the Samoans, but it is also the most exciting and productive. On a *Lau loa* being determined upon, a meeting of the whole district is summoned, at which all the preliminaries are settled, such as the number of fathoms of *lau* to be provided by each village, and the day on which the work is to be commenced, &c. The young men of each village are sent into the woods to collect a quantity of the bark of the *fau*, a species of hibiscus, from which to make the needful ropes. Others again cut down large quantities of cocoanut-leaves, from which they strip the narrow leaflets to be fastened along the ropes, so as to form a kind of *chevaux de frise*. The inhabitants of one village, instead of furnishing *lau*, engage to provide a large funnel-shaped bag or sack, made of stout mats, strongly sewn together.

The Samoans generally wait until the tide is full at daybreak before they dip the *lau*, which is always taken out towards the reef with a full tide, so that it may be arranged and got into position by the time the tide is ebbing. On the morning of the fishing the beach and different parts of the lagoon present a busy and animated appearance, as canoe after canoe pushes off, until everything that can be patched up sufficiently to float for a few hours is called into requisition; whilst numbers may be seen wading leisurely out towards the reef to the appointed rendezvous, the men armed with fish-spears and the women carrying their *olo*, or fishing-baskets.

On reaching the appointed spot, the canoes carrying the *lau*, or twisted cocoanut-leaves, take up their appointed stations, where each portion is to be run out into the lagoon and fastened together, arranged somewhat in the shape of a funnel, the mouth of which is often several hundred yards wide, so as to enclose as many fish as possible whilst on their way back to the open sea with the receding tide.

Looking towards the reef, the ends of this leafy barrier are brought together and fastened to the bag or sack destined to receive the fish, the mouth of which is widely distended, the upper part being kept on the surface by floats of a buoyant kind of wood, and the lower side pressed down upon the sandy bottom by large blocks of coral. This being arranged and secured, and the tide having run well out, preparations are made for contracting the enclosure, by gradually shortening the two sides of the leafy screen, which is done by cutting the *lau*, about midway of its length, on either side, and

carefully drawing it towards the receiving-bag, thus forming a double barrier, until both ends are joined, and the enclosure completed. Usually a large quantity of fish are taken, since slight as the barrier is, the fish are too terrified to force their way through and escape.

The more dangerous of the captives are usually speared first—a necessary precaution, since many are armed with formidable weapons; one especially, a species of *ray*, having a weapon at the end of its tail closely resembling a veterinary surgeon's fleam, by means of which fearful wounds are sometimes inflicted upon the unwary fisherman.

When the fish have been driven into the sack and secured, the mat bag is carefully towed towards the shore, and landed on the sands, when the fishermen, sitting down, watch or else assist the *tautai*, or leading fisherman for the day, to assort and divide the spoil, every family having a share allotted to it.

A scene of this description, as afforded by the fishermen seated on the beach—assorting and dividing their catch of fish—afforded a striking illustration of the 'net cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind: which, when it was full, they drew to shore, and sat down, and gathered the good into vessels, but cast the bad away' (Matt. xiii. 47, 48).

Both land and sea snakes were found on Samoa and the neighbouring seas; the former being harmless, but I think the latter are venomous; yet though I have often seen them and watched them, I never knew of any accident occurring from their bite. On crossing the straits between Upolu and Savaii, I have at times had them lifted into the boat to examine them. They

appeared vicious, and bit furiously at whatever was put near them. The land snakes I have seen were of a greenish colour and of sluggish habit, but perfectly harmless. They were formerly used by the Samoan females as neck ornaments at their dances. The girls who affected this strange kind of adornment went into the forest, and having secured two or three specimens of live snakes, returned to the settlements to wear their singular necklaces at the night dances. I believe there are some two or three varieties, two of which are called *Ngata-ula* and *Ngatauli*.

As far as I know snakes are not found on any of the islands to the eastward of Samoa, but are found, I think, in New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands. Sea-snakes are, I think, found in nearly all the groups.

Another singular and remarkable feature of Samoan natural history is found in what may be called the day and night chorus of cicadae, or, as the natives call them, *O le Lingolingo* and *O le Ālisi*, the former keeping up their unceasing chorus throughout the day, and the latter from a little before sunset throughout the night. Apparently, as if from some unseen or unheard but well-understood signal, the day locusts or cicadae, which have kept up an unceasing cry throughout the day, suddenly stop, so that for a short time not a sound is heard; and then all at once the *Ālisi*, or night cicadae, commence their cry simultaneously, and continue it throughout the night. So marked is this wonderful circumstance as heard throughout the year, that the time of change has been recognized as an established hour of the day and well-known mark of time, and when travellers meet on a journey, or describe their doings on their return,

instead of asking, 'Where were you at sundown?' they ask, 'Where were you *tangisia*?' or 'Where were you cried?'

Leeches are found in the swamps and streams, but the most singular kind is a very small species, a little over half an inch in length, that is found upon the leaves of certain forest trees. These diminutive tormentors often attach themselves in a very unpleasant manner to any animal or man that may be passing by, usually selecting the corner of the eyelid on which to fasten, thus causing much discomfort and annoyance, especially in moist weather. Hence this pest, as also the stinging-tree, or nettle-tree, of the Samoan forests, are to be avoided. The natives, however, suffer more inconvenience from this cause than Europeans.

One other curious example of Samoan natural history remains to be noticed in a remarkable sea-worm, *Palolo*, of the natives. It is most singular in its habits and history, and is much prized by the natives as an article of food. This remarkable worm, *Palolo* (literally luscious crab, for I imagine the *pa* to be simply a contraction of *pa'a*, the name for crab), rises from the reefs at certain places of the islands in the early part of two days only—in the months of October and November in each year, and is never seen at any other time. They appear with great regularity during the early mornings of two successive days in each of the two months mentioned, viz. the day before and the day of the moon's being in her last quarter, showing, however, much greater numbers on the second day than on the first. After sporting on the surface of the sea for a few hours on each day, they disappear as mysteriously as

they came, and none are ever seen until the return of the next season, when they repeat their visit under the same mysterious conditions.

In size they may be compared to small straws, and are of various colours and lengths, green, brown, white, and spotted, whilst in appearance and mode of swimming they may be said to resemble small snakes. They are brittle, and if broken each piece swims off as though it were an entire worm.

From specimens which I left at the British Museum in 1847, the late Dr. J. E. Gray described this curious worm in No. clxix, p. 17, of the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society*, London, under the name *Palolo*, Gray.

CHAPTER IX

MYTHOLOGY AND SPIRIT-LORE

THE religious system of the later generations of the Samoans differed widely from that of still older generations, and also from the religious worship of the Tahitians and other groups surrounding. They had no idols or teraphim, neither were they accustomed to offer human sacrifices to their idols; still, they were burdened with superstitions which were most oppressive and exacting.

It is difficult to arrive at anything like a clear and connected account of their mythology, as native statements are often vague and conflicting. I give some particulars which I gathered from intelligent natives, 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 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 unreliable, as they are likely to have been in later years.

The Samoans 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* were poured out 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 *Anava*.

Several classes or orders of spiritual beings seem to have been recognized in Samoan mythology.

1. *Atua*, or the original gods who dwelt in *Pulotu* (a Samoan Elysium), as also *i le Langi*, or heavens.

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 *Le faa-Atua-lala-ina*, or made into a sun-dried god, as were also certain objects into which they were supposed to have been changed, which were called *Tupua*, and held to personate them.

3. *Aitu*, a class which included the descendants of the original gods, or rather all deities whose aid was invoked or whose vengeance might be denounced by the various classes of the priesthood. Of this class of deities some were supposed to inhabit *Pulotu*, others held sway in *Fafā*, or Hades, whilst one, *Mafui'e*, was supposed to take up his abode in the volcanic region *i lalo*, or below, which was called *Sā-le-Fē'e*, of or pertaining to the *Fē'e*.

4. *O Sanali'i*, which term I think may be said to include ghosts or apparitions. These seem to have been regarded as an inferior class of spirits, ever ready for mischief or frolic, but who do not seem to have been represented by any class of priesthood, or to have had any dwellings sacred to them. The term is also used respectfully for an *Aitu*, or god.

The *Atua*, or original gods, who are described as

dwelling in the *Langi*, or heavens, were considered the progenitors of the other deities, and believed 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 Tangaloa, or, as he is sometimes called, Tangaloa-langi, Tangaloa 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 mention is made of other divinities or helpers, Tangaloa-tosi, also styled Ngai-tosi (Ngai the marker), and Ngai-va'a-va'ai (Ngai the seer or beholder), also called Tangaloa-va'a-va'ai. These two helpers are introduced as being sent by Tangaloa 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 appears to be an indistinct reference to the phenomenon of the elevation of portions of the land by volcanic agency, or, as tradition puts it, the successive elevation of the earth by means of the far-famed fish-hook of Tangaloa, described further on.

The son of Tangaloa was the Tuli (species of plover). Tuli went down from the heavens to the surface of the ocean, but found no place on which to rest, and 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 states that, in answer to Tuli's complaint of want of a resting-place, Tangaloa 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 his dwelling-place. On going thither to take possession of his new home, 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 Polynesia¹.

This tradition also gives the history of the worm of the earth. Păpă-taoto, the reclining rock, was succeeded by Păpă-sosolo, the spreading rock. Păpă-sosolo was succeeded by Păpă-nofo, the sitting rock. Păpă-nofo was succeeded by Păpă-tu, the upright rock. The rock was succeeded by the earth or mould (*o le eleele*), which was then spread over with grass (*ona ufitia ai lea o le eleele e le mutia*). After this the *fue* (convolvulus) grew and overcame the grass. Tuli returned to his father, Tangaloa, having obtained his land, but there was no man to reside on it. His father said to him, 'You have got your land. What grows on it?' Tuli answered, 'The *fue* (convolvulus).' His father told him to go and pull it up, which he did, and on its rotting, produced two grubs (*ilu*), 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 Tangaloa-tosi, or Ngai-tosi, or, as he was also called,

¹ In Darwin's *Journal of Researches*, p. 380, he says: 'Waders, first colonists of distant islands.'

Ngai the marker, and Tangaloa-va'a-va'ai (Tangaloa the seer), Ngai-va'a-va'ai (Ngai the seer or beholder), who were told to operate upon 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*. They then proceeded to give sight by forming 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 describe 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: as the elbow, *O le-tuli-lima*, and the knee, *O le-tuli-vae*¹.

On the formation of the 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 Tangaloa to proceed to the earth and 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.

In connexion with this history of Tangaloa it may be mentioned that occasional visits are stated to have been

¹ Tuli is the general name for plover, of which there are several species in Samoa; and it is remarkable that one species, *Charadrius fulvus*, is called by the natives *O le tuli-o-Tangaloa*.

made to the abode of the august Tangaloa 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.

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 Pulotu. Many beautiful emblems were chosen to represent their immortality, as some of the heavenly bodies, such as Lii (the Pleiades), Tupua-lengase (Jupiter), also Nuanua (the rainbow), and La'o-ma'o-ma'o (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 title of Tupua.

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, as well as the tutelar deities of the various trades and employments. Some of them, as Savea-se'u-leo and Nā-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 were the national gods of war ; but in addition to these were many other war-gods invoked by different settlements, as local war-gods, of which may be mentioned Moso, Sepomalosi, Aitu-i-Pava, and Le Tamafainga. 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 their vengeance was shown. Pūpū-i-toto (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 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 cloke over their delinquencies by attributing them to the gods. Many a faithless wife and many a murderer have secured themselves from punishment in this manner.

As every settlement has its local god of war in addition to the national war-gods, so every family has its own particular *aitu*, or tutelary deity, who was usually considered to inhabit some familiar object. One family supposed their god to possess 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, 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 continually seeing the same fish killed and eaten by others around them. In the case of local or district

war-gods the entire district were careful to protect their chosen object of reverence from insult. Still, it often happened that if the gods were not propitious to their suppliants, torrents of abuse were heaped upon them ; but, as a rule, the chosen deities were much dreaded. Many of these gods were supposed to dwell in the Fāfā, or else in Sā-le-Fe'e, whilst others ruled in Pulotu.

O le Fāfā, Sā-le-Fe'e, and Pulotu are places which occupy a prominent position in Samoan mythology, and seem in some manner to be connected the one with the other.

O le Fāfā (Hades) is alike the entrance to Sā-le-Fe'e, the Samoan Tartarus, or dread place of punishment, and also to Pulotu, the abode of the blest ; the one entrance being called *O le Lua-loto-o-Alii*, 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 Sā-le-Fe'e. The idea of the superiority of the chiefs over the common people was thus 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-o-Aitu*, or land of 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-nga-tā, and other deities who hold sway there, whilst the significant name itself is, I think, simply another name for Sā-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 *Sā-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 now have no knowledge or record whatever, save the name. All these facts point to it as a name of deep significance and meaning in the history of the past, whether in connexion with the history of the ancestors of the present race of Samoans or, as many think, with the records of an earlier, but long since extinct, race. A halo of mystery and romance seems thrown around the name which has been selected as the name of the war-god of A'ana, *O le Fe'e* (octopus). At some future time light may be thrown upon the subject, but at present all seems mysterious.

The disembodied spirit was supposed to retain the exact resemblance 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 Savaii, the most westerly of the group, and towards this 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 from whence it started, where it dived into the sea and swam to the nearest point of *Tutuila*, 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, the most westerly island, where it finally dived into the ocean and pursued its solitary way to the mysterious Fāfā. At the west point of Upolu the land terminates in a narrow rocky point, which is still known as *O le fatu-osofia* (the leaping-stone), from which all spirits were said to leap into the sea *en route* to the Fāfā. This was a 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 who, after he became a Christian, built his house upon this haunted point.

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,' which was 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 an insult.

The war-clubs of renowned warriors, *anava*, were regarded with superstitious veneration by the different members of their families. Prior to an engagement various rites and ceremonies were observed towards the war-clubs, which were considered essential to their owners' success in battle. 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 Tama-ma-teine* (boys and girls), so called from the number of poor children he had slain with this club 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 is termed *anganga* in a general sense, but *atamai* is also sometimes used for the mind; but this latter word more properly expresses wisdom, cleverness, instinct, or skill in manufacturing. *Mauli* is also a term occasionally used for the spiritual portion of a man, but in a restricted sense. In case a man had been very much startled he would say, 'My *mauli*, or spirit, has been startled' (*Ua sengia lo'u mauli*). In this connexion it may also mean, 'My heart is startled.'

The priesthood, *Taula-aitu* (anchors of the spirits)—from *taula*, an anchor, and *Aitu*, spirits or gods—were divided into four classes, viz. priests of the war-gods, keepers of the war-gods, family priests, and prophets or sorcerers.

1. The *Taula-aitu-o-aitu tau* (anchors of the priests of the war-gods) were important personages, being consulted upon all warlike occasions. This class invoked the assistance of various war-gods, but most of all *Nafanua*, a female deity who was revered by the entire population, and who in conjunction with *Savease'u-leo* may be considered the national gods of war. In

addition to these, however, each district had its own war-god.

It was one of this class, the representative of Le Tamafainga, 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'atāu-o-aitu-tau* (war-ships of the war-gods), next claim our 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 at the masthead of the sacred canoe. In the Tuamasanga it consisted of 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 or 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 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 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 were engaged in warfare, but the other emblems were only taken in canoes.

In connexion 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 a remarkable instance of one having been found by the late Mr. H. B. Sterndale of Samoa, in some cyclopean remains placed on a cromlech in an extraordinary mountain burial-place in the district of Le Tuamasanga¹. In the midst of these remains he came upon 'an inner chamber or cell about 10 feet square. The floor was of flat stones, the walls of enormous blocks of the same placed on end. The roof was of inter-twisted trunks of the banyan-tree, which had grown together into a solid arch. In the centre was a cromlech, about 4 feet high, formed of several stones arranged in a triangle with a great flat slab on the top. Upon it was what appeared to be another small stone, but which on examination proved to be a great conch-shell, white with age, and encrusted with moss and dead animalculae.' This strange relic of the distant past had evidently been placed on the cromlech as a sacred relic, as was the common custom in bygone days at the time of the burial of the occupant of this mysterious tomb, whether king or priest none could tell, but certain it is that it was some one of great renown amongst the people of his day.

3. O Taulā-aitu-o-ainga (anchors of gods of families, or priests of families) are the next class to be noticed. These summoned the aid of various gods, such as Moso, Ita-nga-tā, Sepo-malosi, O le alii-tu-maunga, O le Tama-fainga. This office was also sometimes held by the head of the family or his sister. If held by the former, it

¹ They are described in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1890.

gave him great power and authority over the different branches 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 aforementioned deities was 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 inquiries or deliver demands. The approach or presence of the god was indicated by the priest commencing to gape, yawn, and clear his throat, 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 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 chief's 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 and property, accompanied with severe threats of vengeance if a liberal

supply was not 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 were 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. Or 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 announced that there was 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, they were coolly told by the god that the deceased died in consequence of his having been overpowered by the *aitu* of the family on the mother's side.

4. O Taulā-aitu-vaualo-ma-fai-tu'i (anchors of the gods to predict and curse, or prophets and sorcerers), from *vaualo*, to prophesy, and *fai-tu'i*, to curse. This class of the priesthood invoked the assistance of the following *aitu*, Tito-uso, Pūpū-i-toto (spitting blood), Lipi-ola (sudden death), and many 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 consulted by persons who sought to revenge themselves on others, and asked that curses might be uttered upon parties who were specially named¹. The sick were also taken to the *Taulā-aitu*, 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.

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 applies more particularly to the two latter classes, although frequent offerings were made by the people to their war-gods, with which the priests, or *Taulā-aitu*, failed not to enrich themselves. There would seem to have been a strong resemblance between this class of priests and the Maori *tohunga*, with their much-dreaded incantations.

Some *aitu*, principally the war-gods, but not entirely

¹ Thus Balak to Baalam, 'Come, . . . curse me this *people*,' Num. xxii. 6.

so, were honoured with dwellings called *Fale-aitu* (spirit-houses), as also *O le Mālumālu-o-le-aitu* (the dwelling or temple of the *aitu*), whether a house or a tree, one or more of which of some description were usually found in every village. These spirit-houses were built in the usual shape and style, 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 considerable period after the arrival of Europeans amongst them, they were accustomed to view with much jealousy any intrusion upon their sacred precincts. They were placed in charge of the keepers of the war-gods, who, in addition to their titles given elsewhere, were also called *Va'a-fa'atan-o-aitu-tau* (war-ships of the war-gods). Whatever emblems of deity were in possession of the village were always placed in these houses, and under the watchful care of these 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 *Mālumālu-o-le-aitu*, were usually placed in the principal *malae* 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 *fanua-tanu*, or raised platforms of

stones, varying in height and dimensions, according to the amount of respect felt towards the presiding god



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of the temple by those who erected them. These platforms were always made, and the *Mālumālu*, or spirit-

house, built, by the united exertions of a whole family, village, or district, as the case might be.

One very interesting exception to the usual style of building these temples is found in the case of a remarkable old ruin of the *Fale-o-le-Fe'e* (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. This 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 thus it got the name of *O le fale-mā'a-o-le-Fe'e* (the stone house of the *Fe'e*), and hence became enshrouded with much mystery and wonder. I think this is the only instance of such a departure from the usual style of Samoan building known in the islands.

Various localities were supposed to be the haunts of different *aitu*, or spirits. On the road leading from Falelatai to Le 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 residence there, and was continually assaulting travelling parties as they passed. I have often been entertained, whilst passing this spot, with the recital of the various hairbreadth escapes of parties 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 the abode of some *aitu*, and on passing which every person was accustomed to make some small offering, accompanied with a petition for a prosperous journey.

Sometimes a tree acquired sacredness and renown

from its being the gathering-place of spirits. Even as late as the year 1844 I was much surprised one day to see an old blind man labouring to cut down a beautiful and very ornamental tree that stood near his house, and which till then had afforded him shelter from both heat and storm. I remonstrated with him for destroying so great an ornament to his land, when he told me that it was the resort of an *aitu* who disturbed him greatly with his doings, and that by cutting the tree down he hoped he should be rid of his torment, 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 told me with evident pleasure he hoped to get quiet nights for the future, as 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.

The dispositions attributed to their *aitu* and *sau-ālii* by the Samoans varied considerably, some being considered playful and mischievous, other vindictive; whilst some again were reputed to be of mild and inoffensive temper.

The playful or frolicsome *aitu* were said 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 their wood fire, the company would be startled by the arrival of *aitu* in the shape of a dull-coloured ball of fire, which flitted from rafter to rafter, or passed along the ridge-pole, and then took his departure amidst the uproar and clatter made by the affrighted inmates of the dwelling, who rushed helter-skelter out of the house. At other times

taking the form of a man, and feeling disposed for a ride, the *aitu* terrified some poor benighted traveller by leaping on his back, and nearly choking him, while he continued to ride on in this fashion. Resistance was vain, and the terrified traveller marched along in silence, but with hair on end, until his tormentor released his hold, and left him to pursue his journey in peace.

This love of a ride on the part of the playful spirits was said on one occasion to have enabled a party of visitors to compass the destruction of one who had long been a terror to the neighbourhood, as he haunted a particular spot, to the dread of all passers-by. These details were given me by an old orator of Mulinuu, who seemed convinced of the reality of the whole proceeding, which he declared had actually happened a few years before the details were narrated to me; and also that he knew the man who had carried the *aitu*, a dare-devil fellow whom I also knew, and who was fearless of danger.

Tradition says that this *aitu* was accustomed to sit upon the limb of a tree near Palauli, from which he so constantly assaulted travellers as to become the bug-bear of the place. At length a travelling party from Falelatai, happening to stay there, one of them proposed to destroy the pest, provided the villagers would lend their aid, and support him in his plans, which they gladly consented to do. He 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 with his companions that they should light a fire in the *malae*, and appear as though they were having a merrymaking; whilst some were to lie in ambush near the fire with their clubs.

On nearing the spot he saw the *aitu* seated upon a branch, and at once accosted him. After a little, 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 not you 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, as the man was called. '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. The *aitu* made some remark about the noises and laughter that came from the village, but they trudged onwards until at length they neared the spot, when Mu said to his companion, who was riding, 'Don't hold so tightly, you will choke me; sit very loose upon my back, and hold slightly 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 thus were enabled to rid themselves of their tormentor.

The natives often assured me, with much earnestness, that sometimes an assembled company would be compelled to flee in terror to escape from furious and repeated blows which were dealt amongst them with cudgels wielded by invisible hands. These blows were declared to be inflicted by *aitu* of vindictive and revengeful disposition; and it was also asserted that individuals were frequently carried away by them and

never heard of afterwards. Many were so severely beaten by the *aitu* as to cause death ; but it is probable that these poor creatures were put to death in personal revenge by some enemy ; whilst ascribing the deed to some spiritual agency was found a convenient mode of stifling inquiry.

It sometimes happened that an alarm was raised that proved groundless. Not long after my arrival at the islands, I was suddenly summoned to accompany a young man, who came in breathless haste, to prevent, as he said, the designs of an *aitu*, who had come to take away his mother. In answer to my inquiry as to what he meant, he urged : 'Oh, be quick, be quick, or the old woman will be gone before we reach the place.' This was a startling summons ; but I at once went with the lad, who hurried me along with frequent fears lest we should be too late. It was very dark, and the road stony 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,' replied the boy, 'how was that?' 'Well,' said the girl, 'when you jumped up to run for the missionary, the *aitu* said, "Where is he going?" "Oh," I said, "he is going to fetch the missionary to you." On hearing this 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 served still further to keep off the visits of her ghostly tormentor.

The subject of the effects produced upon the native

mind in their heathen state, by spiritual influences and agencies by which they firmly believed themselves to be surrounded, is difficult and important. Were the natives in their heathen state more directly under what is called 'Satanic agency and influence' than after the introduction of Christianity? is, to my mind, a question most difficult to answer. It often occupied my thoughts, and was regarded from different standpoints during years of close contact with the natives of Samoa just when they were emerging from their heathen state.

To illustrate the power which this belief had over the native mind in their heathen state, I may mention the following fact that occurred as late as 1845. A native of Lalomaunga, an inland village of Upolu, returned from his plantation one evening in distress. He hastily summoned his family and their relatives from a distance, and stated that he had that evening been told by an *aitu*, in the bush, that his death was close at hand. He had left home in good health, and continued his work until the evening, when he declared 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 spreading his mat, lay down and appeared sickening for death. His family gathered around him, his neighbours came to salute him as they thought for the last time, whilst he gave what he considered his dying directions, and fully believing that his doom as pronounced by the *aitu* was irrevocable, quietly gave himself up to die. Happily for him, one of his relatives came to tell me of the circumstance, and suspecting his ailment to be sunstroke, I sent him some medicine, as I was unable to go myself to see him, and

he lived several miles away. The medicine had a good effect, and the party of friends collected for his funeral dispersed, leaving the man in good health.

On another occasion a similar case occurred, but this I did not hear of until it had terminated fatally. The man, who lived at Satapuala, came home from his plantation to the settlement, stating 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 attacked by sunstroke, or a fit of epilepsy, and the bruises had been inflicted by himself in his delirium.

At one period all bodily pain was supposed to be occasioned by the *aitu*, and strange things sometimes occurred in connexion with such notions. 'What a dreadful noise you made last night!' said some young lads to a companion; 'we thought you were being killed.' 'Oh,' said he, 'I had a dreadful struggle with an *aitu* in the night; he sprang upon me and tried to choke me, in which I thought he would have succeeded.' In vain I tried to persuade him that his hobgoblin was nothing but nightmare occasioned by eating to excess the night before; he persisted that it must have been a messenger from the land of spirits.

Offerings of food and property were made to the different *aitu* themselves, as well as to their representatives, the priesthood, or *taulā-aitu*. Sometimes these were used by the priests, but many of them were allowed to decay in the spirit-houses, no one presuming to appro-

priate so sacred an article to their own private use. Upon an *aitu* expressing a wish that a cocoanut-tree, or even the produce of an entire grove, should be rendered sacred to him, his wish was strictly complied with, the simple tying of a small portion of cocoanut-leaf around the trunk or trunks of the trees being sufficient to intimidate the stoutest heart. The tree remained untouched, its fruit ripened and fell to the ground, where the nuts decayed, or vegetated around the parent stem. Sometimes they formed a considerable heap, as they were allowed to accumulate month after month, no person presuming to touch them, or break the sacredness imposed.

Frequent *folaunga aitu*, or voyaging spirits, were supposed to visit the islands, and for their accommodation and refreshment the *matini* (offerings to the *aitu*) were placed upon the beach. These offerings consisted of small branches of the ava plant (*Piper myihisticum*), with fish of all kinds and sizes, according to the devotional feelings of the donors. The fish were allowed to putrefy on the beach, frequently remaining until they fell to pieces, and were washed away by the tide.

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

Annual feasts or revels were held in some districts in honour of their 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 from all parts of the groups, and

was celebrated in the central *malae* of Leulumoenga, 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 being required 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 debauchery prevailed, and these were unmixed with any religious ceremony.

After some short interval the A'ana feast was followed by that of Atua, called *Ole-amo-o-Atua-ia-Tupua-le-ngase* (the carrying of Atua to Tupua-le-ngase, Jupiter). This festival was similar to the one already described, but differed from it in its being celebrated in two different *malaes* in succession. Other festivities were held at the *malae* of Moamoā, and consisted of the usual routine of wrestling, boxing, various fights and trials of strength and skill, varied by the performances of a picked company of Atua men, who were regarded as champions. This company consisted of men renowned for their courage and skill in club-fighting, and were known by the name of *O le Tulanga-a-Sasavea*. They appeared as the champions of their district, and challenged any of their visitors to single combat. If a visitor accepted the challenge, he advanced towards the champions of Atua, and upon one of them coming forward to meet him, they closed in combat, fighting furiously, and, as encouraged by their respective parties, continued the conflict 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 again with shouts of triumph and derision of the defeated 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 ti'eti'e le ūnga i Fao,
E, tangi i lou tama ua mao,
O Foa le maunga o Atua,
Ia ta lavea atoa ua ;
Talofa, ua tau puao.
A'ana e, e ou le faiva o tau,
Ua 'ai eleele, ua tafili-i-le-mutia.

Chorus—*I, saesae ē ; I, saesae ē.*

Translation of song.

'Alas, for the hermit crab upon Fao,
The hermit crab has been crying to sit upon Fao,
But, oh weep for your son in his error.
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 dirt, and sprawling upon the grass.

Chorus—Oh carry him away ! Oh carry him away !'

If the conqueror was from A'ana, then as the champion of Atua lay senseless upon the grass, the shouts of the victor's party burst forth, accompanied with the following song of triumph :—

'Tufulele le vai a puea,
Aana e, tau fa'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 the song are very sarcastic, the term (*vele le mutia*) being always applied to women :—

'There pluck the greensward ; pluck the greensward !
Fao is broken ! Fao is broken !

Chorus—Oh carry him away ! Oh carry him away !'

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 *malae* at Lufilufi, at which place, if the *Tulanga a Sasavai* presented themselves, similar scenes to those just described followed; if not, the 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 a festival.

Earthquakes were attributed to the freaks of a god named Mafui'e, who dwelt in the volcanic regions below. Earthquakes were also called *Mafui'e*, and so named after this god.

The earth was supposed to be flat, and supported by a pillar, and upon anything exciting the wrath of Mafui'e, he seized 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 Mafui'e had but one arm, which was cause for great rejoicing in Samoa, otherwise they said the earth would long since have been destroyed.

The tradition proceeds to describe how this occurred, and also tells how fire was first obtained on Samoa.

Mafui'e was an inhabitant of the regions below, or *Sa-le-F'e'e*. Ti'iti'i-a-Talanga dwelt upon this upper world, and was the offspring of the *Ve'a*. The employment of Mafui'e was to work in the lower regions and plant taro-tops. Ti'iti'i was sometimes called Talanga, in short. One day he determined to go below and visit

Sa-le-Fé'e. He therefore went to Vailele, and standing upon a rock, exclaimed, 'Rock, rock, I am Talanga, open to me, I wish to go below.' On this the rock clave asunder, and Ti'iti'i proceeded to the regions below. At this time there was no fire in the upper world, but in the lower regions there was fire, i. e. in the place where Mafui'e dwelt. When Ti'iti'i had descended, Mafui'e, who had heard him descend, and beheld him approach, said, 'Who is this strong one of Samoa, that thus disturbs my land?' Ti'iti'i answered, 'Be silent; this fellow has not ceased to eat cooked food, whilst those above have been eating uncooked food; for there was a great fire always burning below.' To this Mafui'e responded, 'Well, choose an employment upon which we shall first engage, whether wrestling, or boxing, or fighting, with spears and stones, or twisting of arms.' Ti'iti'i answered, 'Then let us two twist.' On this they immediately closed with each other, but Mafui'e's right arm was soon twisted off by Ti'iti'i, who then seized his opponent's left arm and began twisting that off also, but Mafui'e cried out, 'Enough, let me live; leave me one arm, that I may take hold of things with.'

Talanga demanded some acknowledgement of defeat from Mafui'e, when the latter said, 'Take some fire, this burning brand of Toa, with these taro-tops; thus your people will be able to eat cooked food.' On this Talanga left the lower regions, and on coming to the place whence he started, he struck various kinds of wood with his burning brand, which caused them to yield fire. This latter statement apparently has a reference to the kinds of wood from which fire is usually obtained by friction, and which seems to be referred to in this statement.

Tradition further states that Talanga on one occasion went for a sail in his canoe. The *Tuaoloa* (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 *Mātū* (north wind), when Tīiti'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 *Mata Upolu* (east wind) sprang up; it was also bad, would be accompanied by rain, and prove unpleasant; this wind was also brought to the canoe. The *To'elau* (trades) came next, but were considered bad from their strength, and summoned to the canoe. They were followed by the *Laufala*, the *Faati'u*, and the *Piipapa*, but as neither gave satisfaction, they were all summoned to the canoe. These were succeeded by the *Tonga* (SSW.), which was also secured on account of its bringing rain, and inducing drowsiness. At last came the *Fisanga*, a gentle, pleasant wind, when Tīiti'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.'

A tradition also existed of Malietoa-fainga, a chief who was so called from his custom of having a man cooked daily for his own eating. Pou-niu-tele, of Safotu, was sent for by this cannibal chief to come to Sangana, where he lived. Pou-niu-tele started, and was met by Maesama, who sent him back, and went himself. He was also sent back, by Le Tufunga, who sent his son Angavale in his stead. He crossed over to Upolu, and on entering the harbour Avalua, in the neighbourhood of Sangana, he came up with a fishing-party, amongst whom was Polua-le-uli-nganga, a son of Malietoa, who

asked Angavale where he was going, and on the latter telling him his destination, he expressed his sorrow at his father's cruelty, and devised a scheme to shock him. He returned to the shore and caused himself to be bound up in cocoanut-leaves, as though prepared for baking. He then had himself carried and placed before his father, causing his legs to be put under the stool on which his father sat, so that his countenance, the only part of his body left uncovered, might be seen instantly by his father. As he expected, his father knew him, and, shocked to see his son in that position, at once ordered the body to be unrolled. In the explanation that followed, the son made such an impression upon his father that he prevailed upon him to give up his horrible daily feast.

It is well known that there was much intercourse between Samoa and Tonga in the past, as also that frequent attempts were made by the Tongans to subdue Samoa, but they could never conquer the group. On one occasion, on the defeat of one of these attempts, the chief in command of the Tongan invaders made an admission, as he prepared to leave Samoa, from which the name of Mālietoa takes its rise. Preparing to leave Samoa, he addressed himself to the Samoan leader, as follows: '*Ua mālie tau, ua Mālie toa*' ('I am pleased with your fighting, and satisfied with your bravery. I shall now leave Samoa, and return to Tonga to stay'). On this the Samoan chief thus addressed changed his name, as the custom was, and adopted the well-known name of Mālietoa (satisfied with your bravery), in commemoration of the compliment paid to him on his prowess, by the defeated Tonga chieftain.

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CHAPTER X

SAMOAN WARS AND WARFARE

WARS amongst the Samoans were for a long time frequent and bloody; indeed, it was seldom that the islands were free from actual warfare or local quarrels, which were often decided by an appeal to arms. It was so in the olden times, and a remarkable statement in an old tradition reveals very strikingly the warlike sentiment. The Samoans in the early days were great navigators and colonizers, so that many long and distant voyages were undertaken by them to various parts of the Pacific. In a very interesting account of the voyage of the Te Arawa and Tainui canoes from Hawaiki (Savaii, Samoa) to New Zealand, as given in the *Poly-nesian Journal*, we read, 'When the Tainui and Arawa canoes were ready to start from Hawaiki, from the beach of Whenua Kura, it was arranged that, on account of the infirmity of Tuamatua, his son Howmaitawiti should go to the beach and say farewell to the voyagers, and give them his own and their grandfather's blessing, which he did in the following words: "O my sons, greeting! proceed on your way. When you arrive at the land to which you are going, be steadfast. In indolence there are all kinds of death. Rather hold by war, in which is

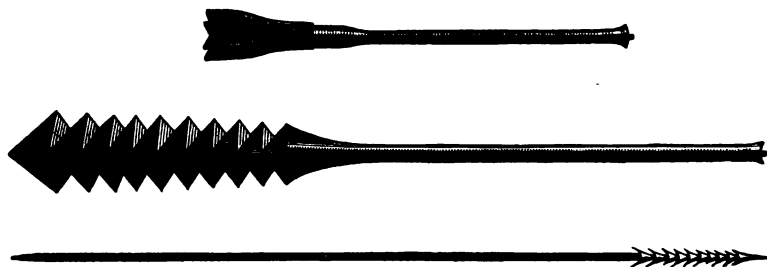
glory and honourable death.”’ Such being the sentiments of the old Samoan, no wonder that their descendants were addicted to war and bloodshed, and that death on the battle-field should be accounted to be ‘honourable and glorious.’

Speaking of the Samoans as he found them in 1830, John Williams says, ‘The wars of the Samoans were frequent and destructive. . . . The island of Apolima was the natural fortress of the people of Manono, a small but important island. These people, although ignorant of the art of writing, kept an account of the number of battles they had fought, by depositing a stone of a peculiar form in a basket, which was very carefully fastened to the ridge of a sacred house appropriated to that purpose. This basket was let down, and the stones were counted whilst I was there, and the number was one hundred and twenty-seven, showing that they had fought that number of battles.’ And this was the list for one portion of the islands only! In this record, too, a stone was not placed after every conflict or battle, but simply at the close of each struggle or campaign, the stones being larger or smaller according to the duration of the conflict.

Many years after Mr. Williams’s visit I was enabled to purchase this basket and take it to England, where I placed it in the museum of the London Missionary Society. It was very old, and had been cherished with great reverence and care; but some of the stones were absent, several having been placed on the graves of deceased warriors. Two stones in particular attracted my attention. They were larger than the others, and when I obtained them were worn quite smooth and

polished by the frequent handling of admiring visitors, who came to gaze upon these silent but well-known records of bygone days. The two stones that excited so much interest were the records of two famous wars.

Formerly the only arms used by the Samoans were clubs, axes, spears, and slings, but of late years firearms have been introduced, and generally adopted throughout the islands, whilst iron axes and knives have quite superseded the old stone axes and adzes. Clubs, spears, and slings are still used in warfare.



SAMOAN CLUBS AND SPEAR.

The sling was always considered a very formidable weapon, and old warriors have repeatedly assured me that a wound from a stone hurled from a sling and thrown with force was often much worse than one received from a musket-ball. If a stone struck the arm or leg, it was difficult to heal, since the bone was usually smashed to pieces, and caused much suffering.

Wars originated from various causes, sometimes the most trivial. Amongst others were bad language, irritating songs, jealousy, quarrels relating to women, murders, political rivalry, and, in addition to these, old

feuds, which frequently needed but the merest trifle to fan them into a flame. The pride of many chiefs was also a fruitful source of war and bloodshed, which evils were not simply occasioned by their intrigues to gain power, but also in some instances from a desire to have their name associated in the recollection of posterity with a war; it being the custom to enshrine the names of those more particularly connected with a war in the record of it.

When war was declared, messengers were dispatched in various directions to summon allies, who were requested to assemble at a given rallying-point on a certain day. If the war was between two districts, it commenced immediately, and even when more extensive operations were contemplated a small force often made a raid upon some portion of the enemy's territory without waiting for all the forces to assemble. Much effort was also made by both parties to strengthen themselves by fresh alliances, and in attempts to draw away forces from their opponents' allies. The assembled warriors were accustomed to hold a review and sham fight, at which time the various chiefs assembled to divide the battle, i.e. to appoint the post of duty to the different bands of warriors, and otherwise make arrangements for the battle.

Both sea and land forces were employed in combat, either separately or in combination. At times a division of a fleet of canoes was employed to make a sudden descent upon some portion of the enemy's territory, and having ravaged it, speedily to decamp, such attacks being usually made about daybreak. Sea-fights were often bloody and destructive encounters. At such times a picked warrior stood upon the *tau*, or front part of the

canoe, whose place was quickly supplied by another, if he fell. As the fleets were approaching each other, the attention of the various crews was principally directed to the management of their canoes, whilst the warriors on the front part of each canoe strove to spear the helmsman of the canoe they were opposing. When the fleets neared each other the canoes often became locked, and then followed a desperate hand-to-hand encounter. If the canoes were not entangled, most of the crews were at times more or less able to engage in the combat, leaving some of their number free to take charge of the canoes, and fill up the place of the helmsman in case he fell; but it was most important that the whole crew should not neglect the canoe, as if upset but few, if any, could be saved.

In the arrangement of the land forces certain districts always claimed the privilege of being the *mua au*, or advanced guard on the march, and they were very jealous of any attempt to supplant them. In A'ana the warriors were divided into main road and bush warriors, the army consisting of a centre, and right and left wings. The centre usually kept the main pathway with a wing on either side, but if the road skirted the beach there was only one wing, and unless a fleet acted in co-operation one side was left exposed, or rather the centre engaged the fleet of the enemy if required. Ambuscades and various stratagems were used by the different parties, but severely contested battles were often fought in open situations.

Before a regular attack commenced a parley took place between the hostile parties, when formal speeches were delivered on either side, at the close of which one

of the speakers proposed that they should trample the greensward, after which a spear was thrown as a signal for a general onslaught. One portion of trampling the sward consisted of single combats between chosen champions selected from either side, thus reminding us of the Hebrew custom, as when Abner said to Joab, 'Let the young men now arise, and play before us¹.'

The onslaught was usually desperate, and the battlefield obstinately contested on both sides, much carnage being the result. In all conflicts revenge seemed to be the ruling passion; hence blood was shed without remorse, captives not being so much thought of as slaughter.

Before an engagement the women and children, with old and infirm people, were always conveyed to a place of safety, called an *olo*; and on either side being vanquished, the conquering party made a rush to overpower the guard left in charge of the camp, and thus wreak their vengeance on the helpless creatures who might fall into their hands. Thus, in case the enemy succeeded in surprising the camp before the inmates had time to escape, the captives were slaughtered without mercy by the conquerors, unless they were women they chose to carry off to their families, or individuals saved by their friends. Sometimes information was conveyed to the *olo* in time to allow the inmates to scatter themselves through the forest; but this often proved of little value, as they were soon pursued and captured, and if they did escape for a time it was but to endure protracted misery from famine and constant anxiety. The refugees, as well as the vanquished warriors, often remained for

¹ 2 Sam. ii. 14.

weeks together roaming the forests and subsisting upon berries and wild fruit ; since, although edible roots were plentiful in many places, the wanderers were unable to cook them, as lighting a fire at once betrayed their hiding-place. Unless they could find shelter in some friendly village, or were taken under the protection of relatives, the fugitives after a time surrendered themselves to the conquerors, preferring to risk their anger and falling by the club or spear of their enemies, rather than perish by the lingering death of starvation or the tortures of suspense.

Sometimes the *olo* was a cave in which the defeated army sought shelter from their pursuers. If the victors were able to discover the hiding-place of the refugees, they immediately collected firewood and piled it up before the cavern, to smother the wretched captives. I have more than once seen places where such dismal tragedies have been enacted.

A truce was effected between two armies by the opposing parties mutually agreeing to lay between them Nafanua, one of the national war-gods. After this agreement the outposts met and conversed with each other without fear, so sacred was this compact considered. Women of rank were also sometimes allowed to pass freely from camp to camp as mediators or messengers, although no truce had been agreed upon.

The evils of war were many ; revenge, jealousy, hatred, and mistrust were fostered, families broken up, and continual insults offered to the conquered party. Their plantations were destroyed, their settlements burnt, and even if permitted to return to their lands they were never safe from insult, their houses being entered with-

out notice and plundered at the will of their oppressors. Their wives and daughters were insulted and degraded, and on the occasion of travelling parties visiting the conquered settlement, the inhabitants were made to submit to humiliating insults, persons of rank being compelled to perform the most degrading and menial duties, which they dared not resist. Mere boys from the dominant party were accustomed to affect the airs of their elders, and order old greyheaded men to cook food for them, and in case of refusal an armed party quickly followed, to devastate the settlement and plunder its inhabitants. Sometimes the vanquished were directed to climb cocoanut-trees, gather nuts, and then descend the tree head foremost, holding the nuts—two at a time tied together—between the teeth. On other occasions they were compelled to dive for poisonous fish, and having found them, to throw them into the air and catch them in their hands, which were pierced with their sharp poisonous spines, and great agony occasioned. They were also compelled to bite poisonous roots that produced intense pain, causing the mouth to swell greatly. It was useless to refuse to submit to these indignities, a severe beating or cudgelling being certain to follow a refusal, or even any expressed reluctance to submit to this tyranny.

The slain on the battle-field were treated with much indignity. The heads of the vanquished were cut off and carried in triumph, and these, as well as the bodies of the slain, were taken to the settlements in proof of their prowess by either party, unless one party were crushed. These heads and headless bodies were afterwards given over to the children for further insult, who

were accustomed to drag them about the settlements in triumph, and then to spear, stone, or mutilate them still further, as they might choose.

A few remarks respecting the great A'ana war of 1830 may be interesting. It was brought about by the attempts of the A'ana people to rid themselves of the tyrant Tamafainga, who had usurped the regal authority of the islands, and was also worshipped as a god. I have elsewhere mentioned that for a long series of years, perhaps ages, the kingly title of *O le Tupu* was successively held by various members of the Muangututi'a family, and for many generations A'ana had been the royal residence; but after the close of the reign of Safe-o-fafine, the last of the kings belonging to this family, as the result of several reverses in battle A'ana was conquered, and Manono, which had hitherto been simply an ally of A'ana, and known by the name of Tulafale, as a consequence of these victories, rose to power in connexion with Savaii and a portion of Upolu.

It was at this time, I think, that the great war, usually termed *O le peinga o-le-Malo*, the crushing of the Malo, or ruling party, was fought, and in which I imagine Safe-o-fafine was killed; but of this I am not certain. After the death of this king, however, the title remained unbestowed for a long time, but was eventually obtained by Le Tamafainga, a priest of one of the war-gods of Manono, who after a time presumed to unite the attributes of a god with the kingly office, and became an unscrupulous tyrant. The father of this man had been successful in certain prognostications of victory, and on his death his son succeeded to his office and popularity, which was increased by the after success of Manono in

war, until at length the threats and intrigues of himself and party succeeded in obtaining the *ao*, or titles of the various districts necessary to constitute him a king. Once fairly installed in new power, however, his tyranny increased until nothing was safe from his grasp. His oppressions became so intolerable that at length a conspiracy was formed for his destruction by the people of Fasito'outa, a district of A'ana, aided by a party of visitors from Tonga who were staying there at the time, the leader of the conspiracy being Tuiumi, a chief of the plotting district. Before this plan could be effectually arranged, however, it became known to the tyrant, who at once prepared for revenge.

After waiting for some little time and having carefully matured his plans, he started with a fleet of canoes and a body of warriors for the purpose of chastising Fasito'outa. Proceeding up the south coast of Upolu, and halting as is customary at many places, he circumnavigated the island, so as to approach A'ana from the north side. On reaching the neighbourhood of the devoted district, the party halted for the night at Sale'imoa, intending to make the attack the next day. On that day, however, about midday, Tui-o-le-mounga, the chief of Fasito'otai, the adjoining settlement, came with his warriors and proffered their services to the attacking party; but they, suspecting treachery, declined the assistance. Tamafainga and his warriors then hastened to Faleasi'u, the first settlement on that side of A'ana, but quite unconnected with Fasito'outa, where they killed twenty people, and then proceeded on to Fasito'outa, which they burnt to the ground and destroyed the plantations. After having inflicted this chastisement

the attacking party proceeded to Manono, exulting in their success, whilst the people of A'ana sullenly brooded over revenge and 'bided their time.' Meanwhile Fasi-to'outa was rebuilt and its plantations restored.

Time rolled on, and Tamafainga started with a large company to visit the neighbourhood of Lauili, for the purpose of procuring pebbles wherewith to cover a *fanua-tanu*, or paved terrace, built in honour of his newly married wife. The party passed by Fasito'outa and proceeded to Faleasi'u, at which place the twenty people had been killed during an earlier attack, where they halted for the night. Tuiumi and other chiefs of Fasito'outa were on the alert, and suspecting that their wives and daughters would prove too strong an attraction for the tyrant and his company, they began to compass his destruction.

Having carefully matured their plans and armed themselves, Tuiumi and his party proceeded stealthily to the house where the tyrant was, and immediately attacked him. He was wounded by a spear in the side, and rushed out of the house with his company, hoping to make his escape, but he was pursued and speedily dispatched by the clubs of his assailants, his body afterwards being savagely mutilated by his foes. Two of his companions were slain with him, but the bulk of his party were spared, owing to the intercession of Tangatu-o-le-ao, a chief of Falefā, who was halting at the village. The survivors of the Manono party hastened to their canoes, and proceeded at once to Manono, which place they reached at daybreak, and spread consternation amongst the people of the island by the tidings of the massacre.

The death of this tyrant is stated to have caused nearly universal satisfaction throughout the whole group ; but many of the A'ana people, fearful of the consequences which they knew would certainly follow, blamed the act as unwise, whilst the Manono people felt themselves humbled, and with their allies considered themselves bound to avenge the death, although numbers of them secretly rejoiced at his destruction. Within a few hours after the receipt of the intelligence at Manono, a fleet of canoes started with an armed force to fetch the dead body of their priest and chief, who on reaching A'ana, and on beholding the mutilated condition of the corpse, gave way to passionate outbursts of grief. Whilst they were thus occupied Malietoa, a Manono chief, but who usually resided at Sangana, arrived, and upbraided them for their weakness for thus mourning for one who, after all, was only a common man, and who rightly deserved his fate in consequence of his detestable tyranny. This reproof was designedly given within hearing of a large number of A'ana people, who were quiet spectators of the scene. It is, however, easy to see the motive that prompted this politic address. Malietoa himself not long afterwards headed the war against A'ana that arose out of the death of Tamafainga, and there is little doubt that this speech was designedly made by him to soften the anger of A'ana towards himself. He also evidently had his eye on the vacant kingly office, to which he succeeded some years after, so that the motive that prompted the address is not far to seek. It was indeed a bitter pill for the A'ana people to swallow, when later on they were asked to bestow their titles upon the man who had been foremost in their chastisement ; but pru-

dential motives prevailed, and after a time they bestowed their *ao* upon him.

No attack was made by either side at this time, but the Manono fleet returned with the mutilated body, and prompt arrangements were made for war. A'ana also was roused to take measures for defence, and great need indeed was there for much effort and courage on her part, since she would soon have to contend with fearful odds – the whole force of Manono, two-thirds of Upolu, as well as large numbers from Savaii being arrayed against her. Worse than all, the people were divided amongst themselves, some from fear of after consequences, others from family connexion, giving either lukewarm support or else, in many cases, joining with Manono. To compensate in some manner for this defection several parties from districts on Savaii and Upolu, where the Manono influence was strong, joined their forces with A'ana, but the number was not large. Fortunately for A'ana a second offer of assistance made to Manono by Tui'olemaunga, the chief of the important district of Fasito'otai, was again rejected by Manono, and thus prevented A'ana from being further weakened.

In the first regular combat that occurred Manono and her allies were defeated, and a party of A'ana warriors stationed at Mulivai, near Fasito'otai, captured the famous war symbol, *Limulimu-ta*, the emblem of one of the Manono war-gods. After this first encounter A'ana retired inland to their fortress, whilst Manono and her allies, assembling in great force, possessed themselves of the coast, and made their head-quarters at Fasito'otai.

From this time onward the war continued with various successes on either side, but with great slaughter, until,

having bravely withstood the forces brought against them for twelve months, the A'ana warriors were at last overcome by numbers and compelled to surrender. During the war they had wisely spared the captives they had taken from any of the Atua forces, and thus a retreat was secured for many who took refuge there and were safe. Others sought the protection of friends and relatives in other districts, but great numbers of the vanquished were compelled to make submission after long suffering the hardships of famine and exile. Prodigies of valour had been achieved by many of the A'ana warriors, which in some measure made up for the smallness of their numbers; but this only exasperated the conquerors, and caused them to act with unwonted brutality towards the unfortunate captives who fell into their hands. The scene of many a bloody conflict was afterwards pointed out to me in connexion with this war, and many a sad tale of woe was described to me by parties who were engaged in it.

After this conflict A'ana was not able to make another stand, and the survivors fled in all directions, as did also the women and children and infirm people, who had hitherto remained in security within the encampment, but now having no protectors they were compelled to betake themselves to the recesses of the forest, or seek shelter in caverns or other hiding-places. But in vain were their efforts to escape, since the bloodhounds who pursued them caught men, women, and children, and having taken them down to the seashore, prepared to close the horrible struggle by burning their captives.

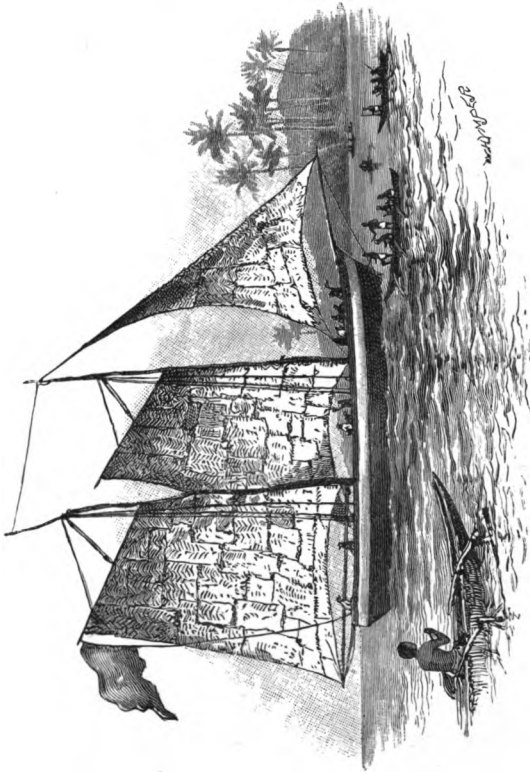
On the evening of the day on which the final battle was fought an immense pit was dug at Maota, a suburb

of Fasito'otai, in which a large quantity of timber and firewood was heaped, thus forming a huge funeral pile, into which many scores of helpless children, women, and aged persons were thrown successively and burnt to death. This dreadful butchery was continued during one or two days and nights, fresh timber being heaped on from time to time, as it was with difficulty that the fire could be kept burning from the number of victims who were ruthlessly sacrificed there. The Rev. S. Ella assures me that he was told in after years that four hundred victims were burnt there in that fearful sacrifice to revenge.

The captives from Fasito'otai were selected for the first offerings, and after them followed others in quick succession, night and day, early and late, until the last wretched victim had been consumed. Most heart-rending were the descriptions I received from persons who had actually looked on the fearful scenes enacted there. Innocent children skipped joyfully along the pathway by the side of their conductors and murderers, deceived with the cruel lie that they were to be spared, and were then on their way to bathe; when suddenly the blazing pile, with the horrid sight of their companions and friends being thrown alive into its midst, told them the dreadful truth; whilst their terror was increased by the yells of savage triumph of the murderers, or fearful cries of the tortured victims which reached their ears.

For many years the remembrance of those fatal days were fresh in the hearts of those who dwelt near the spot, whilst the *Tito*, or place itself, was reverently marked and cared for. Some ten or twelve years after I resided near the spot, and often visited it and spoke of

its horrors with many who had been familiar with them. The place itself is dear to many, and lovingly cared for by those who dwell near. No stone monument or pillar of remembrance marks the spot; still, it has its



MESSENGER OF PEACE.

plain but significant reminder in the shape of a large black circle of charcoal, its interior, covered with white sand, being carefully kept and replenished as often as needed by those whose hearts still sorrowed over the

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sufferings of the *Tito*, and could rejoice that they had passed away.

The late Rev. John Williams arrived at Savaii in the *Messenger of Peace* in August, 1830, and anchored there in full view of these dreadful fires and burnings on the shores of A'ana, on the opposite side of the straits, some thirty miles across. Speaking of the terrible scenes he then witnessed, he says: 'While we were engaged in lading the canoes to land the teachers, our attention was arrested by observing the mountains on the opposite side of the straits enveloped in flames and smoke; and when we inquired the cause of it, we were informed that a great battle had been fought that morning, and that the flames which we saw were consuming the houses, the plantations, and the bodies of women and children and infirm people who had fallen into the hands of the conquerors. Thus, whilst we were landing the messengers of the gospel of peace on the one shore, the flames of a devastating war were blazing on the opposite shore; and under such circumstances was this mission commenced¹.'

¹ *Missionary Enterprises*, p. 833.

CHAPTER XI

THE AGENCY OF EVIL SPIRITS

WERE the Samoans and other nations of Polynesia more directly under what is called 'Satanic Agency' in their heathen state than after the introduction of Christianity? is to my mind a question of much interest, and at the same time difficult to answer. It is one that I have often thought upon and looked at from different standpoints during many years of close contact with the Samoans, as they were emerging from their heathen state, and before they had been able to have much intercourse with Europeans, and hence prior to that admixture of thought and feeling which would be likely to follow such intercourse.

After many years of contact with the native mind, it has become my settled conviction that such was the case. Others think so too. 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 that this was the fact. They believe that since the natives have embraced Christianity they are more exempt from influences to which they were subjected during the reign of the

“evil spirit,” or, as the Samoans term it, “the days of darkness.”’

I cannot help thinking, too, that such was the fact, and that as in the days when our Lord first set up His kingdom upon earth He was opposed by the bitter hatred of the powers of darkness, so, when in heathen lands the Gospel is introduced, the same thing is repeated over and over again. As a result of this conviction many strange and difficult circumstances became plain to me which would otherwise have been difficult to understand.

In another chapter (IX) I have given some carefully recorded statements of natives, and facts bearing upon the beliefs of the old Samoans upon such matters, and the effect produced upon them by the system of terror that enshrouded them, as growing out of their religious belief and the tyranny with which it encircled them. Their experience fully agreed with that of the Tahitians and other Polynesian peoples, and, as in other cases, the Samoans seemed conscious of thus suffering from the spiritual thralldom that surrounded them at the time the Gospel leavened and spread amongst them. In the chapter on Mythology and Spirit-lore of old Samoa, I have given some notices and stated some facts that go to illustrate in some measure the bondage from which they suffered. The real extent of this suffering, however, both mentally and bodily, it is difficult to speak of or to fully understand. Their whole lives were enshrouded and enslaved by it, and the time that they suffered from it was well termed by them ‘the days of darkness.’

As yet I have only spoken of facts and testimonies given me by the natives themselves, after they had in

a measure been released from the thralldom and oppression they had so long smarted under. I now for the first time place on record a few facts and experiences bearing upon this mysterious influence that occurred to me personally more than fifty years ago, during the earlier years of my residence amongst the Samoans, which seemed to me so strange and unaccountable at the time, that I could not understand them or fathom their meaning. They were very simple things, but they were very strange and puzzling, and at the time occasioned me a great deal of annoyance and wonder as to what they could mean. Many native and European friends who were cognizant of the facts were just as perplexed as I was, so that, after exhausting every means and mode of natural explanation, I was at length forced to the conclusion that they were the result of other than ordinary agencies. Two or three circumstances may be mentioned that occurred at Falelatai, on the southwest coast of Upolu, during my residence there about the years 1839 and 1840. The facts alluded to consisted of a succession of extraordinary noises and visitations that I could never understand or fathom as arising from any ordinary cause. The house we then occupied was a new one, substantial and well built, so as to be free from any easy access for the purpose of annoyance; yet for many months our sleep was disturbed night after night by sundry uncanny noises and doings, that were alike inscrutable to ourselves, our native servants, and occasional European 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 and occurrences that utterly perplexed and astonished us. Night after night, when we had retired to rest, this passage appeared to be taken possession of by a party of bowlers, who kept up an incessant rolling from end to end of the passage of what the natives called *molis*, or wild oranges, for such they seemed to be from the noise they made. Not a sound could be heard other than this interminable mysterious bowling or rolling of these *molis* backwards and forwards from end to end of the passage, the most careful inspection failing to reveal any human agency in producing these uncanny noises and disturbances.

After a while we became so used to them that they lost their novelty in a measure, and we slept in spite of them, but could never wholly dispossess ourselves of a certain uncomfortable feeling that the nearness of such uncanny visitors and ghostly doings produced. Strangers coming and hearing the noises for the first time were amazed, and the breakfast table the next morning was sure to be the scene of eager questionings by the visitor and after explanations. '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.' 'Why,' the reply would come, 'I heard them rolling balls up and down the passage last night for hours together, so that I could not sleep;' and great indeed would be the astonishment of our visitor when we assured him that the strange noises of which he complained were of nightly occurrence, and the outcome of unknown ghostly visitants. At other times loud knockings and noises would be heard at the outer

doors, which appeared to be battered as though about to be smashed in, but not the slightest trace could ever be found of the delinquents.

One such circumstance especially made a strong impression on my mind. It was a lovely moonlight night, and a number of natives, 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 full, 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 ends of the house, so as to surround it effectually and capture the aggressor ; and as some of the natives were sitting close to the door, they were outside in a few seconds. Not a soul was to be seen outside, however ; and in a very short time the whole party were collected together again, very crestfallen and disappointed at their want of success, as well as keenly discussing 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 leading men was there, and that no native would have dared to commit the outrage.

It was at length generally conceded that it must be the doings of the *aitu* or *aitus*, who were such constant aggressors. Yet, for all that, every place, likely and unlikely, was still further keenly searched, but without avail. Later on in the evening we were all collected together at one end of the building near to a large *ifi* (chestnut-tree), in which a good-sized bell was hung for various

purposes. Suddenly this 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 some one pulling it, who is hidden under that stone wall,' suggested one of the party. One of the number immediately ran to the fence; no one there! Another climbed the tree. There was no string attached, but the bell kept on wildly ringing. There was in reality no need to climb the tree to ascertain the fact of there being no string attached to the bell, for every leaf and twig stood out to view most distinctly in the bright moonlight. The mystery was not solved, and the old conclusion was again come to, that it was part of the mischievous doings of the *aitu*.

Still another mystery! As we were talking eagerly together outside the end of the house, we were suddenly pelted with small stones, thrown obliquely towards us, which struck some 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. Had it not been that the stones were thrown obliquely towards us, I should have thought it possible that they might have been part of a small meteoric shower, but the angle at which they were thrown forbade that supposition. I picked up the small stone that struck my foot and kept it for a time. It was unlike any ordinary stone; a sort of compact concrete, very similar to the stones often thrown at the servants in their room at night, much to their annoyance and discomfort.

After many months of such constant irritation, my wife's health began to be affected, and after a time to entirely fail under the effect of much nervous prostration brought about by these continued uncanny visitations, aided by the great humidity of the climate of the district, so that it was deemed advisable that we should remove to some more healthy part of the coast, which we did, at much loss and inconvenience. Our dwelling was left, but with the removal we were happily freed from any further ghostly visitations. Much astonishment was expressed by the natives and many Europeans, as they discussed from time to time what they regarded as the occasion of these extraordinary visitations. Some thought the house had been unwittingly placed upon an old native burying-ground. Others suggested that the *ifi* tree was an old *malumalu*, or temple of an *aitu*. If so, the wrath of the various *folaungā aitu*, or parties of voyaging spirits, must have been stirred at seeing the sanctity of their temple thus invaded.

Amongst the many visits of sympathy made by our friends who came to discuss our unpleasant experience in these nightly visitations was one from an old orator from Mulinuu, named Sepetaio, well known and respected. He was perfectly blind, but a wonderful man as to his knowledge of native folk-lore and traditional records. He had come to the conclusion that the annoyances were most certainly caused by some *aitu*, who took this particular mode of showing his displeasure; but, said the old man, 'If you will let me have the help of Mu (one of my native servants), I will catch the *aitu* and bring him to you.' This was rather a startling proposition, but I declined, not wishing to have any closer contact with

our tormentor. Sepetaio and Mu were both fearless, and the old man assured me that there would be no difficulty in securing the delinquent and bringing him to book. I thanked him for his offer, but declined it, as above stated. The old man firmly believed in Mu's power over the *aitu*, and doubted not his ability to capture him. As I have stated in the chapter on Samoan Mythology and Spirit-lore, the same man is declared to have captured one on a former occasion at Palauli, on Savaii, of which adventure a full account is given. As to Mu's fearless courage and bearing, I had many opportunities of seeing them. He was the only one out of numbers around us at that time who was not afraid to go out after dark, the rest of our neighbours having a great dread of venturing out after nightfall, for fear of contact with the *aitu*, who, even in those days, were considered to swarm in the bush after dark, so that it required a bold heart to run the risk of facing those much-dreaded spiritual beings.

Commenting on the foregoing, after its receipt as part of a paper on Samoan mythology and folk-lore for insertion in the *Polynesian Journal*, published at Wellington, New Zealand, one of the secretaries, S. Percy Smith, Esq., says: 'The supernatural, or, as you call it, satanic influence, saturated the whole Maori mythology and history; there are hundreds of instances of it. I have often thought that the old Polynesian priests were possessed of some knowledge of powers over nature which we have not got hold of, at any rate they had the power of making their hearers believe so. They are very perplexing, and as yet not understood. We can hardly discredit some of the things the Maori

tohungas, or priests, were able to do, and yet cannot explain them. The following is an incident told by the Maoris, but I never heard that Bishop Selwyn ever said anything of it. On a visit of the bishop to Rotorua, he was very anxious to convert an old *tohunga*, who held out and influenced others against Christianity. In the interview the old man said to the bishop, "If you can do what I can, I will follow you," and then picked up a dead, dry, brown leaf of the *ti* plant; he twirled it in the air, the same time repeating some words (an incantation), and lo! the leaf was green and alive! This is the Maori account by eye-witnesses, who fully believed what they saw. Of course there may be a natural explanation of this, but we do not know it. I am not aware if the bishop ever mentioned it, and therefore the story is wanting in confirmation; but at any rate it shows the powerful beliefs of the Maoris in the supernatural power of their *tohungas*, who were extremely *tapu*, and were very much feared. I know of several instances of their supposed supernatural power, and I have found that all Europeans who have had much to do with the race, and are in their confidence, have some undefined feeling that the *tohungas* possessed powers of which we know nothing. Even after making allowances for the ignorant credulity of the people, there is still a certain residuum of unexplained mystery which we cannot at present get over.' I quite agree with these remarks of Mr. Smith, and feel satisfied that in Samoa also in the early days the same supernatural power, or *mana*, was claimed and exercised, and is thus found so often intertwined in their old traditionary records and folk-lore.

It is easy to discuss this question after the lapse of

so many years, and perhaps to pooh-pooh the whole matter as unworthy of notice ; but as we underwent the experience and passed through the ordeal it seemed not only a very real but a very trying one. As the years have passed along I have many times wondered how we could for so long a time put up with such annoyances, and the often depressing feelings resultant therefrom, as we did. My wife was a brave woman, and battled with dangers and difficulty in a surprising manner. She never complained of the annoyances herself, and always set an example of cheerful courage to the native female servants, who sometimes cowered under the frequent annoyances, and complained to her of their continued frights and alarms ; but I could see that she felt more than she expressed, and at length felt the constant strain too heavy to bear, and gave way under it. And no wonder, for such a constant battling with unknown and unseen powers was indeed a hard conflict to fight. One of our visitors of whom I have spoken was our nearest neighbour, the late Rev. Thomas Heath of Manono, a hard-headed matter-of-fact man, looked up to as the father of the mission, and one who from his early legal training was accustomed to take things coolly and investigate closely. When he complained of his broken rest I said, ' Why did you not scold the servants and send them away ? ' He replied, ' I looked out carefully, but all was darkness, and apparently no one there.' He was bewildered : could no more solve the difficulty than the rest of us, and had to confess his amazement and perplexity.

Had we been strangers to the district, or had we not been on thoroughly friendly terms with the people, both heathen and Christian, I should have thought it possible

there might have been a native priest, or *Taulā-aitu*, resident near and unfriendly, who was thus showing his animosity and manifesting his ill feeling; but I do not think that such was the case. Had it been so, the fact would have been suspected by some of the many keen and eagerly inquisitive natives who were so closely investigating the matter. As a matter of fact, not long before the time I speak of, or rather whilst my house was building, one of the English workmen, who resided at the only half-heathen village near, was detected stealing timber in the dinner-hour, and denounced to me for the theft by a fellow-workman, a native; and as a consequence of my reproving him for the theft, this man threatened me in the hearing of these half-heathen natives, who immediately told him to leave the district, which he did; and was further cautioned what he might expect if he dared to lift a hand against me. I mention this to show the feeling of the people generally towards me.

An old friend of mine, who went to Samoa after I left, and who was informed of 'our strange experiences' by missionaries who were conversant with them, suggests 'rats' as the offending visitors and bowlers; but I do not remember ever seeing a rat on the place, and the house was a new one, and well built. And then, as to the clanging of the bell in the *ifi* tree, he suggests that it was due to the wind blowing furiously so as to ring the big bell, oblivious of the fact that, as I have stated, it was a clear, still, bright moonlight night, as I well remember, not a breath of wind stirring.

I feel sure that every natural cause likely to explain the facts would have come under the notice of some one or

other of the dozen or more keen-witted natives who were eagerly endeavouring to solve the mystery, but who had to confess themselves utterly at fault. Whatever the agency employed in producing these strange noises and annoyances, I find it impossible to rest satisfied with the conclusion that it was 'flesh and blood.' Speaking of the early struggles of the Christian faith in his own day against heathenism, St. Paul says¹: 'Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places.'

¹ Eph. vi. 12.

CHAPTER XII

EARLY SAMOAN VOYAGES AND SETTLEMENT

SAMOA was the birthplace of much Polynesian settlement. Of this I think there can be little doubt. From Samoa as a centre, population spread for many generations, until a vast expanse of ocean had been visited by her colonists and many lands settled from her shores. In the past Samoa has sent forth band after band of hardy navigators and leaders, who have left their impress and names upon many groups and peoples. North, south, east, and west they spread. Samoan names of places and people, given in memory of their visits, testify to this intercourse; whilst the ancient traditions and genealogies of many widely separated lands tell of the visits of those old leaders and navigators who for many ages and generations made their names famous, and their memories revered by their descendants. Records of these voyages state that these leaders of men visited the Sandwich Islands to the north; Marquesas, Tahiti, Raiatea, Huahine, and other islands to the east; Rarotonga, Tonga, Fiji, and even New Zealand and Chatham Islands, to the south and south-west, and also other lands scattered over the vast Pacific. The records are precise, and in many cases details are given

describing the progress and fortunes of the adventurous colonists, whilst the islands stated to have been visited afford abundant evidence of such fact in the names given by them to places in the newly discovered lands.

One strange fact is the manner in which the name Savaii, one of the sources of these successive colonizations, under the varied name of Hawaiki, Awaiki, or Hawaii, seems to have eclipsed the mother name Samoa, as the name cherished in the different lands as the island whence their ancestors came. This is difficult to understand, since both Manu'a and Upolu, the latter especially, sent forth frequent, and well-equipped, and carefully arranged expeditions. One reason may be the fact that the large sea-going canoes were mostly, if not entirely, built on Savaii, and it would also appear that the different expeditions started from Savaii. Thus possibly the voyagers were led to speak of themselves as having come from Savaii. It has been suggested that the fact has arisen from Savaii, or some form of the same word, being, perhaps, the name of the more ancient home of the Samoans; but the former reason appears the more likely.

The MSS. from which these records were taken describe not only the first settlement of Rarotonga by Samoans, but long-continued and extensive voyages undertaken by successive generations of Samoans, extending over many years, and covering a vast expanse of ocean. The record purports to be 'The history of the peopling of Rarotonga: with the generations of the people of Samoa, whence they sprang.'

The record commences by stating that Tangaloa, or, as he is also called, Tupua, was the first chief of Upolu.

It then proceeds to give a connected list of seventy-three names of chiefs or rulers, the last of which is Tangiia, one of the two famous voyagers who first settled one portion of Rarotonga. This list of powerful chiefs, who successively, or perhaps in some cases contemporaneously, ruled on Upolu, or other parts of Samoa, is most interesting and suggestive. In it are found the names of chiefs who held sway on Savaii, as well as those who were supreme on Upolu. Rata, with Atonga, Iro, and Karika, to give the Rarotonga pronunciation, were chiefs of Savaii; whilst Tangaloa, Tealutanganuku, and his successors were chiefs of Upolu, who in a series of years made long and distant voyages to all parts of the compass, Tahiti, Marquesas, Futuna, Uvea (Wallis's Island), Fiti¹, Tonga, New Zealand, Chatham Islands (olioli), Matatela, and Rarotonga, with many other islands, being in turn visited—in some cases more than once—and also in part colonized, by those enterprising leaders.

The first canoe spoken of in the record was built on Savaii, in a forest belonging to Rata, by Atonga and his two brothers, Olokeu and Olo-i-nano; the name of Atonga, the elder brother, appearing sixty-eighth on the genealogy, and coming immediately before that of Tealutanganuku, Lord of A'ana, who made the first voyage spoken of, and standing sixty-ninth on the list; Tangiia, who made the last of the series, appearing seventy-third on the list, thus covering a period of some five generations, or 150 years, during which these voyages were made.

The brothers Olokeu and Olo-i-nano were the first to

¹ Fiti is the native form of the name.

move in building the canoe, being impelled thereto by the harsh treatment of their brother Atonga. Smarting under his unkindness, they determined to build a canoe, and thus provide themselves with the means of seeking other lands. They went to a forest on Savaii belonging to Rata, and cut down a tree without getting his permission, which brought them trouble later on. Having cut down the tree they went to the coast, intending to return the next day. Meantime Rata appeared on the scene and resented this felling of a tree without his permission. Exerting some supernatural power inherent in him, he commanded the re-connexion of the several parts. When Rata reached the spot and saw the tree cut down, he said, 'Head of the tree, approach, with the branches, leaves, bark, and chips; let all be joined again to the trunk of the tree;' and it was so. All the different portions came together. Rata then said to the tree, 'Stand upright! I am Tuta-maota-mea;' on which the tree arose and stood upright, and Rata returned to the coast.

When the two brothers returned early in the morning they found the tree standing upright; but they sought and found it by the hatchets left at the butt of the tree. Nothing daunted, they cut it down again, divided the butt, and prepared the tree for being dragged to the coast. After this they returned home. On their way they encountered another marvel, as they were brought face to face with a combat between an owl and a snake. The owl, who claimed to be the lord of the forest in disguise, said to them, 'Friends, my brothers, come you here, and put a stop to this quarrel between myself and the snake.' But the snake said, 'Chiefs, proceed, and do

not interfere in the quarrel of the snake and the owl ;' on which the two brothers prepared to go forward, not caring to interfere ; but the owl immediately said to them, ' Behold, I am the lord of this forest, in which you two cut down the tree ; if you do not come and put a stop to our quarrel, you shall never paddle in your canoe.' On this they thought upon the fact of the tree which they had cut down being caused to stand upright again, and turning back they killed the snake by cutting it asunder. On this the owl said to them, ' Go, you two ; prepare your canoe, a *vaatele* (large canoe), with its outrigger, and seats, and set of paddles.' After a time, when the canoe had been built, they prepared to drag it from the forest and take it to the sea ; but when they reached the *tuasivi*, or ridge of the mountain, they both died.

When Atonga found that his brothers did not return, he sought and found them in the mountain, lying dead on the ridge, and buried them. He then took the canoe for himself. A mystery hangs about this Atonga, who had something to do with the building of the canoe. He is represented as having two sides—one side spirit, the other side man. The canoe was said to be built in a night, but the brothers did not know it. The man side worked as a servant, the spirit side building the canoe, which was finished in the night. When the canoe was built it was first called *O le va'a fau po* (the canoe built in the night).

The fame of this wonderful canoe soon reached Upolu, and a chief named Tealutanganuku longed to possess it. After some intriguing with his wife and Atonga, the latter presented the canoe to Tealutanganuku, and sent him the following directions by his wife : ' Go, tell your

husband to prepare a house for the canoe. Summon all Upolu to come and build a house quickly, for the canoe shall be taken to him to-morrow morning. Command that none of the people stand upright, but that all sit down and look at the canoe as it is taken, and listen to the song of the birds bearing it.'

The woman returned in haste to her husband, who summoned the people, so that the canoe-house was built and finished by daylight, when the song of the birds was heard approaching with their burden. Atonga had sent his commands to all the birds that they should carry the canoe to its destination, and instructed them what song to sing when they lifted the canoe. 'This shall be your song when you take the canoe:—

'Kipongipongi i le tine o Kupolu ;
I le matakitaki e nopo oe e !

Chorus—Olo-keu e ; Olo-i-nano e !
Olo-keu e, Olo-i-nano e !

The thousands of Upolu ;
In the early morning assemble and behold !

Chorus—Olo-keu e ; Olo-i-nano e !
Olo-keu e, Olo-i-nano e !'

Atonga had changed the name of the canoe to that of *Manu-a-lele* (birds about to fly). The canoe was landed on Upolu and safely housed, to the great delight of the chief, who changed the name of the canoe to that of his wife, *O-le-puta-o-le-peau* (the fullness of the wave), which was the third name of the canoe. After this, preparation was made for the first voyage of the canoe.

On the first voyage of the canoe it visited all the lands on the south-south-west and west side of the heaven, but did not go to the upper side of the heaven, or towards

Tahiti; and when the year was finished the chief gave the canoe to his son, Tealutangalangi, who made the second voyage.

On the second voyage the name of the canoe was again changed to *O-le-folau-loi-i-Fiti* (the voyage direct to Fiti), but did not go to the eastward. At the close of that year the chief gave the canoe to his son Kaukulu.

On the third voyage, under Kaukulu, the canoe visited Fiti and the lands his father had visited. He also went to another land, which was then known for the first time, called Tongaleva. After this he returned in his canoe to Upolu, when he saw that it was opening in the joints. He anchored it beneath the water and named it *Tunamoevai* (eel sleeping in the water). When a season had passed he gave the canoe to his son Malu, who again changed its name to *Numia au* (confusion of currents).

On the fourth voyage, under Malu, the canoe sailed towards the upper side of the heavens (east or north-east), whither he went, as also his father Kaukulu. They discovered a small island named Tokutea, where Malu left his father. He then sailed about by himself and his men, and afterwards returned to Samoa. The birth of Tangiia is now described. On his return to Savaii, Malu married a woman named Ruamano, by whom he had two girls. One of them married a man named Tutapu and had a son, who was adopted by Malu, as he had no son, and who named him Teuenga. The boy fell sick, but two *aitu* came, who were Tangaloa and Tongaiti; these two looked at the boy. Tangaloa said, 'Alas, poor boy!' and, addressing his companion, said, 'What do you say, suppose we let the boy live? If he lives he will be our rejoicing.' On this they called the

boy Tangiia, which means in Samoan, compassionated (literally, cried over), because of the sympathy of the two spirits to the boy when near death.

Some of the family of Malu determined for a fifth voyage to sail to the lower side of the heaven (south-south-west and west), and these are the lands they visited: Tonga, Fiti, Nuku, Ololilo, Nu'u, Angaula, Kulupongi, Alamati'etie, Matatela, Vaelua, Tikinuku, Uvea, Amama, Tuma (Rotumah), with all the islands visited by the family of Malu. Whilst the party were at the island of Nu'u they built a canoe for the chief. It was small, and only the chief sat in it; and it was guided by a man who walked along the shore. It was called *O le vaa-tapa-langi* (canoe beckoning the heavens) That was the reason why they proclaimed Tangiia to the chieftainship; and now also the dignity of his father was first of all given to him. He became chief, and obtained the idols whom he and his family worshipped.

After this they left that side of the heavens, and for a sixth voyage sailed eastward to Niue (Savage Island), and Niutaputapu (Keppel's Island), with Niulii, Niutala, and Iva (Marquesas), and then sailed to Tahiti, where Tangiia made a settlement at a place called Punaauia. This was a settlement of the four classes of people who were called the diminutives. It is said they were so short that they could not be seen when they walked in the high grass or undergrowth. Whilst Tangiia and his party dwelt here he married the daughter of Maono, named Aleiuaia, by whom he had a child called Pouteanuanua (supporting-posts of the rainbow) and two others, all of whom were adopted by the father of the woman, who was then discarded by Tangiia.

The tradition describes another amour of Tangiia with a woman of Raiatea, by whom he had three children, after which he returned to Tahiti. On returning to Tahiti, Tangiia found that war had broken out between Maono, the father of his former wife, and Tutapu, a chief from Iva (Marquesas), in which Maono was defeated. At this place Tangiia found a man from Huahine, who married his sister Rakanui, on which Tangiia gave her the canoe which had been brought by the birds from Savaii in which they sailed for Huahine.

The seventh voyage was by the Marquesan chieftain Tutapu, who sailed for Rarotonga, and on reaching there he and his party set to work to drain the swamps of the island, and settled at the side of the island where Buztacot afterwards lived. Here they made a great mound and called it Ivatele, after the name of their land.

On the eighth voyage Iro and company from Samoa also settled at Rarotonga. When Tutapu and his company reached Rarotonga, they found that another company of settlers had preceded them, Iro and his company from Samoa having settled on another part of the island. When Iro knew that Tutapu had arrived, he went to visit him and salute him, for they were old friends. In Iro's company there was a man named Kaukulu, who had been left by his son Malu at Tautea, or Tokutea, on the fourth voyage. After he had been there some time Iro headed a party from Samoa and visited Tautea, where Kaukulu was staying, and induced him to join his company and sail for Rarotonga. During the interview of Tutapu and Iro, the former proposed to the latter that they should sail in company, to which he agreed. Iro then placed two of his gods on board of Tutapu's canoe, viz. Rongo

and Tane ; but a third, called Tutavake, he kept on his own canoe. They sailed together, but finally parted company, Tutapu reaching Tahiti, and Iro going to the Marquesas.

As soon as Tangiia heard of Tutapu's arrival at Tahiti he divided his land with him, but subsequently they disputed over a breadfruit-tree, which laid the foundation of a long and bitter quarrel. After a time word was brought to Tangiia of Vailaka, the daughter of Keu, the King of Rapa, on which he determined to visit her. He sailed thither in a canoe which he had built at Tahiti, after giving his sister the old canoe. He named the canoe *Ai soi* (*soi-eater*) because it was built during a famine, when there was nothing for the builders to eat but *soi*, a small species of wild yam. This was the ninth voyage. When Tangiia reached Rapa he found that Iro had preceded him, the same Iro that left Rarotonga with Tutapu. When they met they conversed about many things, and Tangiia told Iro of the object of his visit, when Iro told him that the lady was ugly. Iro wished Tangiia to remain until after a great feast which was to be held shortly, to which he consented. Tangiia tried to persuade Iro to return with him to Tahiti, but he preferred returning to Samoa ; however, at length he consented to go to Tahiti. On reaching there they found that Tutapu had killed and eaten the two sons of Tangiia, adopted by Maono, and as they were chiefs, a war was the result ; but it did not last long.

The tenth voyage, to Mauke, arose from news having reached Tangiia about the daughter of Auli, chief of Mauke. Tangiia sailed thither. The tradition describes

the interview of Tangiia with the two daughters of Auli, the one ugly, the other handsome. Tangiia returned to Tahiti and found that both Tutapu and Iro were still there. Iro proposed returning to Samoa, when Tangiia asked for and obtained one of Iro's sons to adopt, so that after his death Tahiti might not be without a king, and that the four classes of 'little people' might still have a chief. Iro not only gave his son to be adopted by Tangiia, but he also gave him two idols, named Tangaloo and Tutawake, and a female idol called Taakulu. He also gave him some musical instruments described as belonging to chiefs. They were a drum and pipes.

On the eleventh voyage Iro returns to Samoa.

The tradition now proceeds to give a long account of the renewal of the war between Tutapu and Tangiia, in which Tangiia was not only defeated, but relentlessly oppressed by Tutapu. In his despair Tangiia sought the counsel of his sister, who sympathized with him in his distress, and gave him back the original canoe that was brought by the birds from Savaii, because his own canoe was small. Tangiia left his own canoe with his sister, and renamed the old canoe she gave him *O le tika o le tuafafine* (saved by the sister). Tutapu again followed Tangiia to Huahine, who fled to Polapola, Borabora, still chased by Tutapu. At length, in despair, Tangiia consulted some of the wisest of his people, who advised an immediate return to Samoa, which was reached safely.

After a time Tangiia and his party started on another (the twelfth) voyage, sailing south. He is said to have left Manono and Apolima on the right hand of their canoe as they sailed, and after a time reached Nu'u and Angaula, with Aramati'eti'e and Matatela, as also

Uvea—five islands which are named as having been visited in the fifth of the early voyages by the family of Malu many years before. At Uvea (Wallis's Island) they met a man named Teratuanuku, who had just arrived from Vae-roto. Tangiia induced this man to accompany him, when they sailed to a land called Takinuku, where they dwelt for a time, and certain things took place which are recorded.

Again Tangiia and his company started, and reached Rurutu, thence they sailed to Papau, also called Rimatara. At this island the man Teratuanuku, who had accompanied Tangiia, and whose name had been twice changed, remained and settled; but Tangua sailed *ilunga* (north and north-east), and reached an island called Maketu, where he first of all met with another navigator named Karika, a chief from Iva, or Marquesas.

Karika's canoe was hostile, and Tangiia prepared for battle and waited the approach of his opponent. As the canoes neared each other, two men leaped from Karika's canoe and swam to Tangiia's vessel. Their names were Tuitealii and Tenu'ufaaalilota. They were presented with food, some *masi*, and a fish, the *a'u*. After partaking of this food with the crew, Tangiia inquired the name of their leader, when they said, 'This is Taetonga; he has two names, viz. Karika, and the other Le Taetonga, the latter being his name of terror, because his is a *vaafasifolau* (a canoe which slays voyagers).' On this Tangiia asked them to what land they belonged, when they said, 'We are men from Savaii.' Tangiia demanded why they came in that bad canoe, when they said they were out fishing and met the canoe, and determined to join her. On this Tangiia

gave fresh names to the men, which are stated to be held by their descendants at Rarotonga, where they afterwards settled.

The canoes approached, and Tangiia prepared for battle. His crew consisted of two hundred men, who were divided into two divisions, one hundred being placed in the forepart of the canoe, and one hundred in midships. When all was arranged, Tangiia awaited the approach of the pirate canoe. As they neared each other Tangiia commenced an oration, describing his prowess and lineage; when Karika, being apparently alarmed at the number on board of Tangiia's canoe, which were more than his own, he having only seventy, leaped into the sea with his daughter, and swam towards the canoe of Tangiia. As soon as they were come on board, Karika presented his daughter, called Mooloaiaitu, to Tangiia as his wife.

When Tangiia saw that Karika made his submission to him, he took off his own *pale*, or coronet, which he wore as an insignia of his rank, from his own head, and was about to present it to Karika, when one of his crew darted forward and snatched it from his hand, and climbed up the masthead of the canoe with it; but it fell from his hand into the sea. Another *pale ula* (red coronet) having been brought forth, Tangiia gave it to Karika, saying, 'I hereby adopt you.' The reason why he gave him the crown was because he had given him his daughter, and because of his desire to get his help in his attack upon Tutapu at Tahiti, whither he was going, hoping with his fresh men from Samoa to crush his old enemy.

The two canoes then sailed in company, but after-

wards separated. Tangiia, at Karika's suggestion, sailed to the left of his companion's canoe, the latter hoping to see his friend drawn into the *fafa*, this leader not being able to forget the crown that was snatched from him by the man of Tangiia's crew. Tangiia was nearly engulfed, for he felt his vessel getting within the influence of the whirlpool, and on putting his hand into the sea to ascertain as to the set of the current, he was astonished to find the water hot, when he knew that Karika had endeavoured to engulf him into the *fafa*. He at once put his canoe about, and shortly after, on putting his hand into the water, was glad to find it had become cold again, and that his canoe was safe.

On this he rejoiced greatly, and heading his canoe for Rarotonga soon reached there, landing at the harbour or entrance to the reef called O le vai Kokopu, where the canoe was anchored, and the party went on shore to establish themselves, for Tangiia had decided to settle there.

The history then proceeds to detail the steps taken by the immigrants to establish themselves on that part of the island, and describes how, on going to the other side of the island, they found that Karika's company had preceded them, and were settling themselves there also. The parties embraced and fraternized. After this, Tangia returned to his own district, and proceeded to complete their arrangements for settling there; when, in the midst of all their busy preparations, they were astonished to see the canoe of the much-dreaded Tutapu sail into the harbour, and anchor near to where Tangiia's canoe was riding at her anchorage.

The narrative describes many very interesting details

of the after proceedings of the colonists and their subsequent adventures, which are too long to be given here. The writer concludes as follows :—

‘I now finish this history of the growth of the people of Rarotonga from Samoa. The Samoans say we are of a different race, but they do not understand. We are sprung from Samoa, and are their brethren!’

Apart from these long sea voyages, the Samoans were accustomed to make frequent voyages to groups around in the distant part for trading or pleasure. Of late years these trading voyages have ceased, apparently in consequence of a settled and more frequent intercourse with Europeans, and also in consequence of the disuse of the large sea-going canoe.

I have often asked the natives how they managed as to cooking, storage of water, and sleeping during a voyage. Provision was made for a fire by building up stones and earth in some part of the hold or shed, whilst the water was taken in bamboos, or water-bottles made from gourds or cocoa-nut shells. In answer to my query whether they did not often run short of water, they told me the early voyagers always took a supply of leaves of a certain herb or plant as a means of lessening thirst, and that these formed a valuable stand-by on a voyage. By chewing the leaves of this plant, they declared that to a certain extent they could drink sea water with some impunity, and thus assuage thirst. I made many unsuccessful efforts to obtain the name of this shrub and ascertain its character. The natives said that they themselves did not know what it was, as the custom had fallen into disuse, but they were confident such a custom had prevailed in the past, when voyages

were more frequently made by their ancestors. I questioned many men of intelligence about the matter without effect. The constant reply was, 'We do not know what it was ourselves, but we are certain our forefathers were accustomed to use it.'

Cocaine has the power of so deadening the sense of feeling in the palate and throat, that sea water might be swallowed without inconvenience so far as taste is concerned, but the consequences of drinking it for any length of time would be disastrous. In many cases the time occupied in passing from island to island was short, sometimes only a few days, and it is possible that some plant of the cocoa species may have existed in Samoa, or some of the Tonga group. In Peru the leaves of the cocoa tree are chewed with wood ashes or lime, and used by Indian travellers and sportsmen to remove the sense of thirst and hunger. Some such custom would appear to have been prevalent amongst the early Samoans.

The sleeping accommodation must have been very scant and uncomfortable, but the natives were not particular in these matters, and would pack closely together; whilst by dividing their crews into watches they would manage to get some rest. Certain constellations were their guides in sailing, and to which they trusted with confidence and success: the *Amonga*, or burden, Orion's Belt, being the usual guide for voyagers bound for the Friendly Islands. In many cases, as shown in these records, they were accustomed to take their idols or teraphim on board with them, as a protection and shield. In several instances the names of the idols taken are recorded in the old traditions, and at times fresh ones were obtained at the islands visited.

CHAPTER XIII

THE RECORD OF EARLY SAMOAN VOYAGES

THE records of early Samoan voyages and settlement, given in the previous chapter, were committed to writing for me by a native of Rarotonga during my residence in Samoa, and after the introduction of Christianity to the islands. The ability on his part to do this was one of the many blessings that followed the introduction of the Gospel amongst the nations of Polynesia. This document is plainly written for a native document, and occupies forty-two pages of closely written quarto MS., but (as is the case with most of the native documents) it has no breaks or divisions into chapters or paragraphs, the whole narrative running on continuously. This peculiarity, and the fact of the words themselves being often broken up into fragments, makes the work of the translator and transcriber at times very difficult and puzzling. Still, it is in other respects well and clearly written, and forms an invaluable record of native Polynesian history. As the preservation of native records plays such an important part in these narratives, a few remarks on their history may be interesting.

The fact of records being thus preserved and treasured up by nations ignorant of any kind of writing or marking, even of picture writing, shows how men adapt themselves to circumstances, and how anxious and

careful many nations have been to preserve their past records. This desire to secure their past history seems to have arisen, partly from a wish to keep a record of their own doings and sayings, and also from the gratification experienced in the frequent repetition of the acts and doings of the past. Even in the outskirts of Polynesia, as at Easter Island, unknown sculptors have left their records deeply cut in huge blocks of stone. After ages of neglect these are now being examined, and in many cases seem to have been correctly deciphered. Even in Australia, the most unlikely of places, some would say, strange markings and drawings have been found in caverns on the west, and north, and north-east coasts, and to a lesser extent on other parts of the shoreline. These seem to be records of visitors from other lands, who have long since passed away. Some of those found by Captain, afterwards Sir George Grey, in the valley of the Glenelg, West Australia, are remarkable as bearing drawings and marks that resemble the markings on *siapo*, or Polynesian native cloth.

Not the slightest trace of any such record exists, so far as I know, amongst the Samoans, and I think this statement holds good with regard to the groups of Eastern Polynesia, until we come to Easter Island. In his valuable paper on 'Easter Island Inscriptions,' published in the *Polynesian Journal*, Dr. Carroll, of Sydney, expresses the opinion that the Polynesians of ancient time must have used some kind of writing or hieroglyphics different from those found at Easter Island, which are American in character. He says, 'I obtained copies of the Easter Island Inscriptions, and upon examining them was much impressed with the many

instances in which the characters were similar to those used by the old civilized nations of America, who wrote in hieroglyphics or in phonetic characters. Learning that the natives of Easter Island were Polynesians, and not Americans, I thought it must be only a coincidence that the characters of the Easter Island Inscriptions were like those of the American peoples, and that they must be a kind of writing used by Polynesians; I therefore began to search for similar Polynesian characters and writings of ancient or recent times. After a few years of investigation I discovered that the ancestors of the Polynesians did not write in these or any other characters, after they had passed beyond the Moluccas on their way to the eastward, to the Islands of the Pacific; and that, before then, their writings in ancestral times even were entirely different, and not in any particulars like those of the Easter Island Inscriptions.' Again, Dr. Carroll says, 'Wishing not to mislead myself, I began a fresh investigation into the writings of those who, voyaging across the Pacific before Europeans sailed there, might have left such a mode of writing upon Easter Island; but all such voyagers wrote in very different characters, not at all like the inscriptions under consideration.'

From these statements I think it will be seen that, as in the case of Samoans, the early records of the Eastern Polynesians were seldom if ever preserved otherwise than by traditionary records, which thus became not only deeply interesting but all-important. No wonder, then, that great store was set by them, and that great care and watchfulness were manifested that they should be preserved pure and uncontaminated. Certain families were set apart in the several districts to act as depositaries or

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keepers of these national or family records, by whom they were transmitted from father to son through the generations as they passed. It has been suggested that these officials corresponded to the 'Recorders' amongst the Hebrews, but the Polynesian office was much more onerous, since it was unaided by writing of any description. The record-keeper had to trust to memory alone. Many of the Samoans developed marvellous memories; the constant repetition and comparison of their records not only ensuring correctness, but giving wonderful power to their memories. I well remember one striking example, an old orator and keeper of *Uputu'u* (traditions) of A'ana, named Sepetaio. This chief, who was blind, had not only a perfect knowledge of his national records but a wonderful memory for other things. After the introduction of Christianity and the dissemination of Christian literature, by simply listening to the reading of others he stored his retentive memory to such an extent that he could repeat correctly large portions of Scripture, and quote texts, chapter and verse, with great ease and correctness. In fact, I think he knew perfectly all those portions of Holy Scripture which at that time had been translated into Samoan. I have often heard him repeat whole chapters of the New Testament without mistake, and have seen him stand up before a large audience and preach a capital sermon to an attentive congregation, who, in spite of his sightless eyeballs, gazed upon his animated countenance and significant gestures, so as not to weary during a long discourse. When he was addressing an assembly on political or national subjects, it was impossible to do other than listen with pleasure and follow with interest

his animated discussions. His case was no doubt exceptional, but from the constant exercise of their memories numbers of the Samoans possessed what by us would be considered phenomenal memories. These were constantly exercised in the preservation of their much-prized *Uputu'u*, or traditional records.

The Rev. John Marriott, in writing recently from Samoa, gives an interesting instance of a remarkable prophecy uttered a long time since by an old Samoan *Taulāitu*, or sorcerer, at Manu'a, in response to the inquiries of some chiefs from Upolu who visited him as a renowned prophet, respecting some war matters they were then considering. Mr. Marriott states that at the Jubilee meeting of the Malua Native Teachers' Training Institution, held at Malua on Sept. 24, 1895, several natives spoke at the public meeting held on that occasion. Amongst them an old man, who when he was twenty years of age was present when the Rev. Messrs. Williams and Barff, the first missionaries to Samoa, landed at Sapapālii, Savaii, from the missionary ship, the Messenger of Peace. Mr. Marriott says, 'It was most refreshing to hear this "old man eloquent," who told us what I never heard before, viz. that some diviner *Taulāitu* at Manu'a had said to some Upolu chiefs who went to consult him about war matters, that "the generations to come in Samoa would be blessed, for there was soon to be set up in Samoa a kingdom of peace and goodwill."' A refreshing instance this, as Mr. Marriott says, amongst many others, 'of God's Spirit going before His servants to prepare the way for them.'

At the time the speaker told his countrymen of this prophecy he was an old man, some eighty-five years of

age, yet still vigorous and eloquent. The fact of these Upolu chiefs having undertaken this long voyage of some 150 miles to consult this Manu'a sorcerer, tells of the sanctity attached to his utterances and the reverence in which he was held in those days.

Another remarkable instance of foretelling future events by Polynesian divines or prophets is mentioned by the Rev. W. Ellis in his *Polynesian Researches*¹. No approximate date is given for the prophecy, but it must have been uttered before the advent of Europeans. Mr. Ellis alludes to it as 'the prophecy of a famous diviner named Maui, of whom there were several of that name, but the most celebrated of them usually resided at Raiatea. This man, on an occasion of his being under the supposed inspiration of his god, predicted that "In future ages a *Va'a-ama-ore* (literally an outriggerless canoe) would arrive at the islands from some foreign lands.'" In all cases their canoes were provided with an outrigger, or they would be useless, so that the natives considered it impossible that any vessel could keep afloat without them. Hence the foreign ships were marvels when they came, and were not only looked upon as marvels, but were considered as part fulfilment of Maui's prophecy. But their amazement was still greater in after years, when the first steamship came into harbour, and gave a full and complete fulfilment to Maui's famous prophecy. It would seem that there were two parts to this widely known prediction, the first, of the arrival of *Te Va'a-ama-ore*, or the canoe with no outriggers, which received its fulfilment on the arrival of the first European ship. In the second part the prophet declared that after

¹ Vol. i. p. 383.

the arrival of a vessel without an outrigger, there should come to their shores *E Va'a-taura-ore*, i. e. 'a vessel without ropes or cordage,' a prophecy which was amply fulfilled in after years by the arrival of the first steam vessel at Tahiti.

Mr. Ellis records the fact that the natives themselves were sceptical as to the truth of this prophecy, and declared that what Maui foretold was an impossibility. He said, 'No,' and assured them that it would be so; at the same time launching his *umeti*, or wooden bowl upon the water, and saying that the foreign ship would so float. These early predictions were for a long time preserved amongst the traditions of the natives, until the arrival of the vessels of Captain Wallis and Captain Cook, which were at once accepted by the natives as the fulfilment of the first part of Maui's prophecy. Since that time, survivors have been still more astonished by the fulfilment of the second part of this remarkable prediction, as steamships have time after time visited and amazed them!

Sometimes deep meaning lies treasured up in these old traditions, which seem to lead thought backwards, far into the distant past. The following is one instance:—Of the island, or land, Pulotu (the Samoan Elysium), a very old record says, Saue'a, Se'uleo, and Motu nu'u, children of Tangaloa Langi, came from above, north or north-east, to Olo Tele, in Tonga. They thought it a nice place, and the first two proposed to Motu nu'u that he should remain there. He said, 'No; let us all seek other lands.' They sailed westward, and found Pulotu. Saue'a and Se'uleo remained there, but Motu nu'u returned to Tonga. Saue'a and Se'uleo built a

house, and after a time sent Poualii, to *toto'o atu le va'a loa*, i. e. 'to pole thither the long canoe,' to fetch Motu nu'u, to be a post in their house, as his son was old enough to take the title. This custom was perpetuated for three generations.

I had read this tradition over and over again without detecting the significance of the expression used to describe the mode of propelling the canoe across the ocean, until recently thinking over the meaning of another sentence in the Atafu tradition, as it describes the means by which a doomed company escaped destruction in what is called *O le Ta'a sa* (the sacred *Ta'a*, or raft), I turned to this old record for an illustration, when, for the first time, what seems to be the true meaning and significance of the words struck me.

Professor Dana's theory, that the vast Pacific Ocean marks the site of what is now a submerged continent, strengthens the opinion that these old narratives must have had reference to a time analogous to that period.

It seems to me that this old tradition with its reference to 'poling' the long canoe across the ocean to fetch the spirits of successive chiefs, as they deceased, refers to a time when the surrounding ocean must have been shallow, and when it was traversed in the manner described; since the expression can only refer to a mode of propulsion utterly impossible in later times.

There can be no question that vast changes have taken place in the Pacific, of which we are profoundly ignorant. Now and then, even in late years, glimpses of changes are afforded; and sometimes it appears as if an old record points to the former action of forces now, for a long time, quiescent.

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