1962

Wallisian youth and girls in dancing dress. The Wallisians, who are Polynesians, lead a simple, carefree life, and are a most likeable people.

*A NEW FRENCH OVERSEAS TERRITORY . . . . . THE*

# Wallis & Futuna Islands

*Following a referendum held there in December 1959, the Wallis and Futuna Islands, since 1887 a French Protectorate, became a French Overseas Territory in July of last year. The new status of the Group and the plans that have been made for its early development are described in the following article.*

By JACQUES HERRY*

ON July 29, 1961, the French Parliament passed a law which made the former Protectorate of the Wallis and Futuna Islands into an Overseas Territory. It is the most remote from the home country, and despite its long-standing links with her, is probably the least known of all French Overseas Territories.

Wallis and Futuna are Polynesian islands lying north-east of the Fiji Group. Wallis—lat. 13°S, long. 176°W—is separated from Futuna (and its much smaller neighbour, Alofi) by some 112 nautical miles.

Futuna and Alofi were discovered by Shouten and Lemaire in 1616. In 1767 Captain Samuel Wallis sighted Uvea (Wallis) but never set foot there. In 1837 Marist missionaries came to the islands, Father Bataillon settling in Wallis, and the Blessed Pierre Chanel in Futuna. The latter was murdered by the natives on April 28, 1841. He was the first Christian martyr in the Pacific, and was canonized on June 13, 1954. Within a few years all the inhabitants of Wallis and Futuna had been converted to Catholicism.

In 1842 the Lavelua (King) of Wallis sought France's protection. However, it was only in 1887, after a treaty had been signed between the French Government and Queen Amelia, that the Protectorate was established.

For a long time it was united, administratively and financially, to New Caledonia. In 1909, an official decree established a separate organization for Wallis and Futuna. The first French Resident, M. Chauvot, arrived in 1887. From 1905 onwards the Resident's duties were frequently assumed by medical officers of the Navy.

The Treaty establishing the Protectorate permitted the French Resident very little freedom of action. The governing of the people remained vested in the hands of the Kings, though the latter had to consult the Resident on all matters pertaining to foreign affairs, and follow his advice.

The French Resident was also Chairman of the "Fono"—the Council of the Wallisian Government—but as he had no means of enforcing his decision he had to rely on the goodwill of the traditional leaders to maintain law and order.

### A Pacific Paradise

Remote from the rest of the world, the people of Wallis and Futuna lived in a paradise, under a kind of paternalistic theocracy, until World War II. The six thousand Wallisians and three thousand Futunians concerned produced some copra (1,000 to 1,500 tons) which English firms in Fiji exchanged for cheap goods and a few "luxury" articles.

Shortly after Pearl Harbour, the United States Army installed a naval air station on Wallis Island, and some five thousand American troops were stationed there from 1942 to 1946. They left a network of roads and two airstrips, one of which can take DC-4's.

As in other places, the presence of the Americans created some unrest towards 1946, but things settled down fairly quickly and, with only slight changes, life resumed its former leisurely pattern. Futuna, mountainous and austere, remained untouched.

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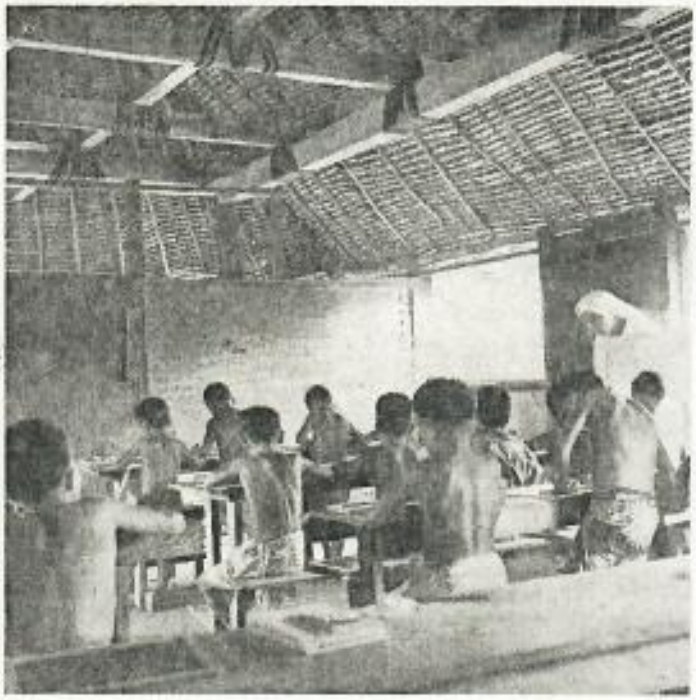


Above: Mission school for boys at Mata-Utu, the main village on Futuna Island. Right: Hihifo Church.

### Two Recent Developments

In the last few years, two changes have stirred life in the Group. One is a rather strong current of emigration, first to New Hebridean plantations, later to the mines of New Caledonia; the other, the opening of a monthly air service between Nouméa and Wallis in December 1956.

Ships of the *Société Maritime Calédonienne* (Somacal) call five times a year on subsidized journeys. Aircraft of the Fleet Air Arm, and naval ships, also call occasionally, making in all about twenty visits a year.

### Population Pure Polynesian

The population of Wallis and Futuna is Polynesian, without admixture of other races. There are approximately 11,400 inhabitants, divided as follows:

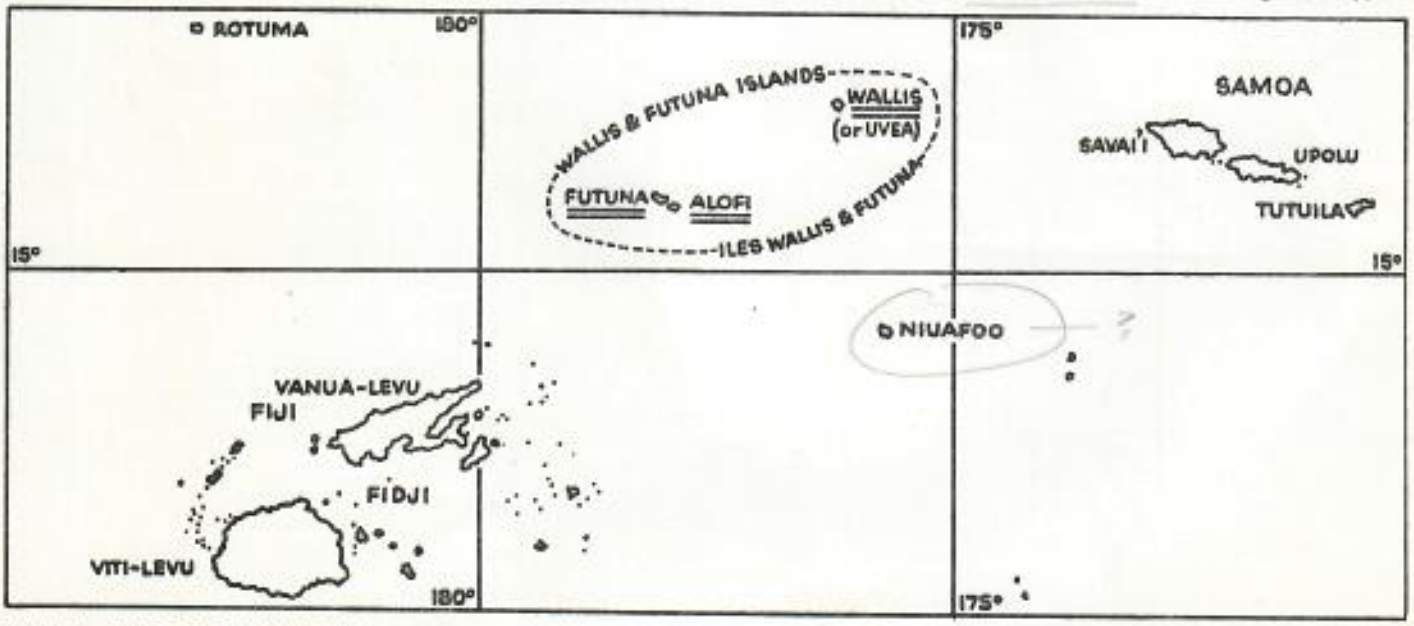
| | Wallis And Futuna | New Caledonia | New Hebrides | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wallisians | 5,560 | 1,700 | 400 | 7,660 |
| Futunians | 3,000 | 400 | 340 | 3,740 |
| | 8,560 | 2,100 | 740 | 11,400 |

Historical evidence shows that the Wallisian population came from Tonga—the Tongan and Wallisian languages are practically identical—and that the Futunians came from Samoa. On the other hand, age-old migrations brought people from Wallis to Uvea Island, in the Loyalty Group near New Caledonia.

### Copra Is Main Export

After the rhinoceros beetle was accidentally introduced to Wallis, copra production there fell to only a few tons per annum. Futuna, still free from the parasite, produces approximately 800 tons a year. This production, together with some homecraft items (tapa, mother-of-pearl shells and basketware) form the sole exports from the Group, and earn some £stg.16,080 (4,000,000 frs. CFP) annually.

The purchasing power of the inhabitants derives from those exports, as well as from salaries paid locally by the Administration, the Mission and a few local traders (approximately £stg.12,061 — 3,000,000 frs. CFP), and from postal orders sent home by those working in New Hebridean plantations or New Caledonian mines (another £stg.12,061), i.e.



Tusitala
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# WALLIS ISLAND

# —Modern History

**Wallis and Futuna is an overseas territory of France. The two small islands lie nearly 200km apart, about 240km north-east of Fiji.**

The language on Wallis is Wallisian but French is used in administrative services, and the islanders (6,019 in 1976) are Roman Catholic Polynesians who live very much by subsistence agriculture.

Tradition suggests that Wallis Island was colonised from Tonga about AD 1450 or 1550, and that until the early 19th century there were constant struggles between rival chiefs for supremacy over the whole island.

The island's European name is that of its discoverer, Captain Samuel Wallis, who came upon it in HMS Dolphin in 1767 following his discovery of Tahiti. Apart from Mourelle (1781) and HMS Pandora (1791), Wallis was rarely visited until the arrival of the Marist priests in 1837. With Futuna, Wallis became a colony of France in 1913.

During World War II, Wallis was made an American military base and airfields were built at Hihifo in the north and Lavengaou in the south. After a referendum in 1959, Wallis and Futuna together became an overseas territory of France.

Wallis Island, also known as Uvea, is of volcanic origin. It is surrounded by a barrier reef with about a dozen islets.

The Catholic missions run the eight schools which are supervised and financed by the State.

There are copra plantations, the Catholic mission runs livestock; pigs and chickens, and the lagoons are fished while outside the reefs larger dories are used for tuna fishing.

Wallis has no income tax; there is a "solitary contribution" equivalent to 48 hours work, which alternatively may be paid in cash. There is no bank in the territory but the Treasury operates private accounts for individuals in the main centre Mata Utu.

There is an electricity supply to parts of the island, some roads and a reticulated water supply.

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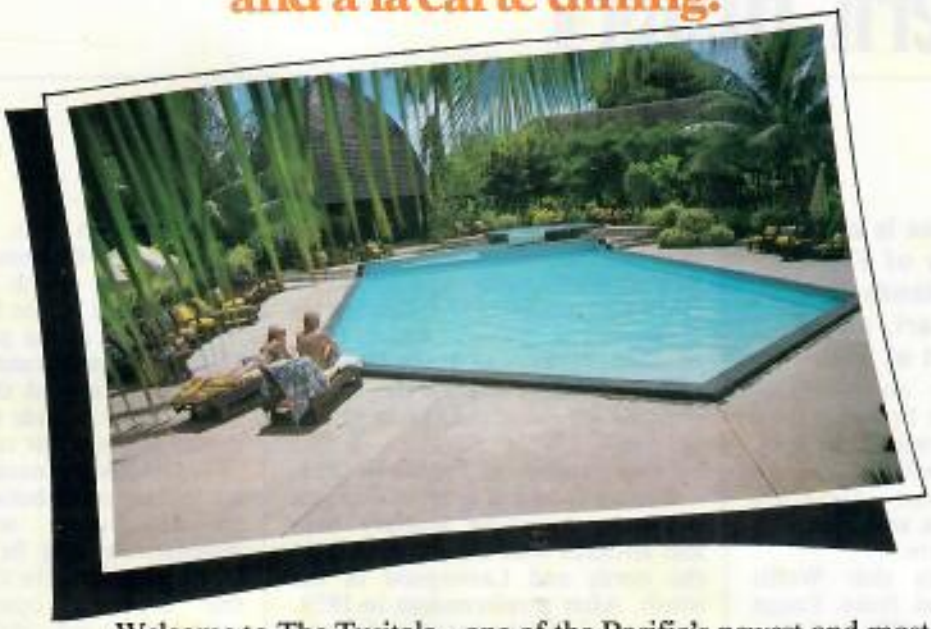

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# Ethnology of Uvea (Wallis Island)

By Edwin G. Burrows
Bishop Museum Fellow 1931-33

## INTRODUCTION

The following outline of the culture of Uvea (Wallis Island) is based on slightly less than four months' residence there—from the end of July to the middle of November, 1932—financed by a Bishop Museum fellowship. For a month or more a dysentery epidemic restricted relations with the natives, and for about two weeks stopped them almost entirely. Therefore, the report represents not more than three months' actual field work.

### European Contacts

In 1767 Captain Samuel Wallis (33)[1] sighted the island that has been given his name. He did not attempt to enter the lagoon, but sent a party ashore to reconnoiter. The first European vessel to negotiate the difficult pass arrived in 1825, under an English captain whose name is variously spelled Moane (p. 39), Moara (2), and Moarn (5). In the same year a schooner from Honolulu brought George Manini, son of the Spaniard Don Francisco de Paula y Marin and his Hawaiian wife. The story of Manini's visits in search of bêche-de-mer, his tyrannical treatment of the Uveans, and his assassination, has been told by Oliver (10) and Henquel. Oliver names several other European ships that called during his stay on the island in 1831. In 1832, just after the departure of two American whalers, the natives captured the *Oldham*, a British ship, and massacred the crew. H.M.S. *Zebra* was sent promptly to investigate the affair. The captain reported that after the visitors' "lawless and unjustifiable line of conduct . . . it ceases to be a matter of surprise that the islanders had recourse to so severe a retaliation" (26).

The mission party of Marist priests in charge of Bishop Pompallier anchored at Uvea on November 1, 1837. Father Bataillon remained on the island when the boat left. For some years his work was difficult and dangerous. The story forms the central theme of Mangeret's books (21, 22). At one time Bataillon's converts and the unconverted natives were on the point of war. About 1840, a contingent of Protestants arrived from Tonga and won a strong following. This led to intermittent hostilities between the two factions, both nominally Christian. After several years Bataillon, with a courage and ability which no reader of his story can help admiring, won a

[1] Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 171.

description of an Uvean hafted adz that he had studied in the British Museum.

## GEOGRAPHY

Uvea lies in latitude 13° S. and longitude 176° W. (fig. 1). The nearest land is Futuna, 112 miles to the southwest. Approximate distances to other neighboring islands are: Samoa (Savaii), 186 miles; Fiji (Vanualevu), 240 miles; Tonga (Vavau), 332 miles; Tokelau (Fakaofu), 360 miles. Uvea has an area of 23 square miles, or 14,780 acres.

On the barrier reef, or in the lagoon between barrier reef and main island, are 22 islets, some mere jutting rocks, others large enough to support coconut plantations. None of the islets is continuously inhabited, but natives visit them to fish, gather coconuts, or recover from illnesses, as the islets are reputed to be especially healthful. They are regarded as belonging politically to the districts, and even the villages, opposite which they lie.

The barrier reef completely surrounds the main island, broken only by four passes, of which one, Honikulu, forms a winding and difficult entrance for ships. The reef encloses a lagoon ranging in width from less than 2 miles to about 5. There are deep places in it—for example, the channel to the Matautu anchorage—but most of it is shallow and studded with coral heads.

A fringing reef extends out from shore, and a narrow strip of lowland, apparently a raised fringing reef, encircles the island except where a few rocky points jut into the sea. To landward this shore strip terminates in a low bluff. Though of volcanic origin (8) the interior plateau is comparatively low and level. Here and there are isolated hills, but the highest of them does not reach 500 feet.

Five inactive craters lie in a row in the west-central part of the island. Their walls fall almost perpendicularly from level ground. One of them, Lanumaha, is dry; the rest are filled with fresh water. Though difficult of access, they appear to have been important formerly as a supply of water, to judge by the dispute over possession of Lalolalo, the largest of them, recounted in Father Henquel's history (p. 22). There are also two shallow lakes near the eastern edge of the plateau. Kikila, in Haafuasia village, is a favorite bathing resort. Alofivai, near Lano, is in a bowl-like crater, often dry, but affording pasturage, scarce elsewhere, for the cows of the mission schools near by.

Much of the interior is arable. Coconuts are abundant, not only along the shore, but across the island near the northern and southern ends, and well into the interior even in the central part. Tall forest occurs chiefly in the south-central part, especially about the crater lakes. Farther north it dwindles away into scrub. Near the center of the island and on the slopes

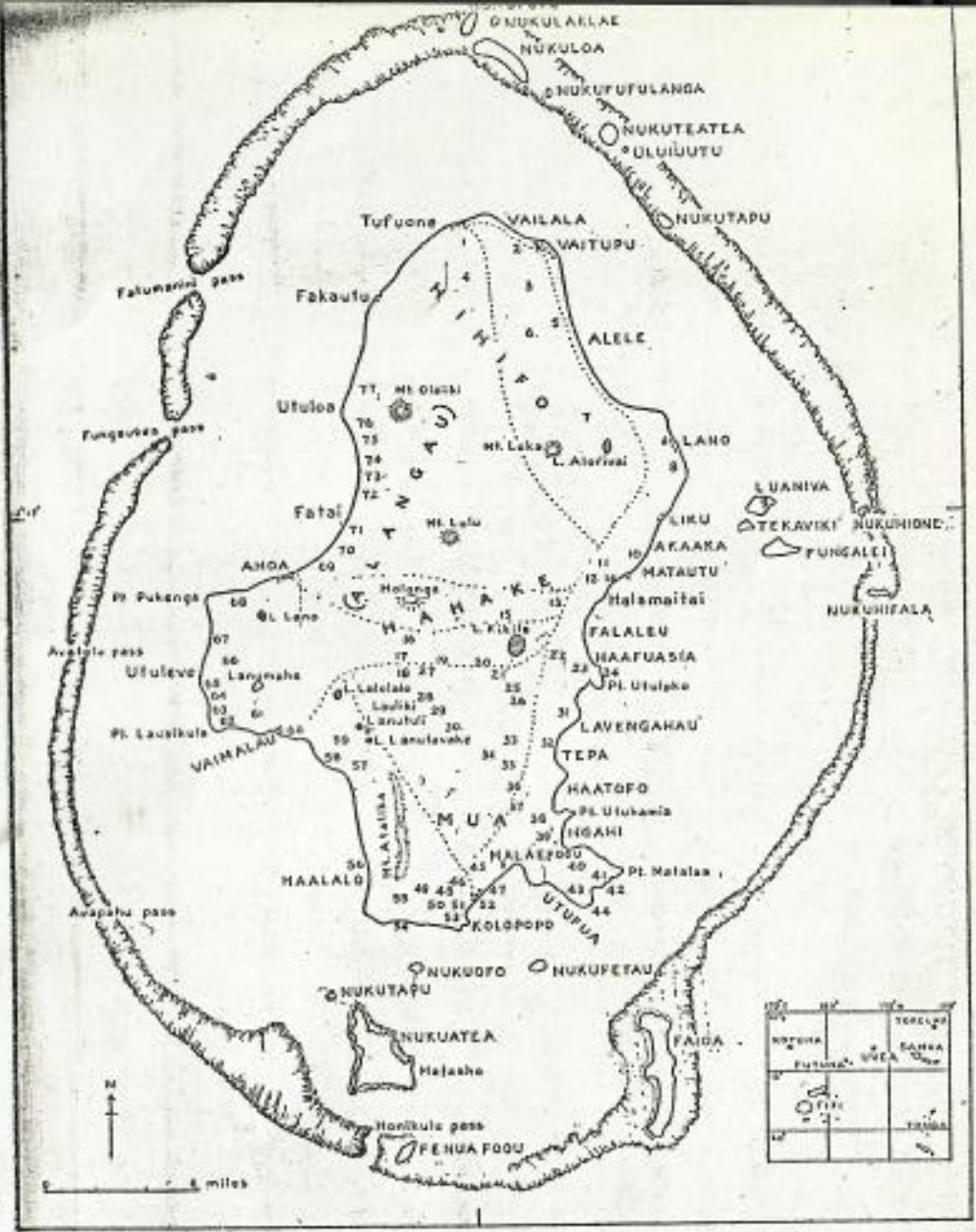



FIGURE 1.—Map of Uvea. Names of districts are in large capitals; that of an ancient district in parentheses. Names of islets and inhabited villages are in small capitals. Names of ancient villages and topographical features on the main island are in capitals and lower case. A square surmounted by a cross marks a mission station. Other places mentioned in the text are marked by numbers; their location is only approximate: 1, Lepaha; 2, Loamanu; 3, Ifilaupakola; 4, Hinave; 5, Ala; 6, Loka; 7, Haafala; 8, Tepoko; 9, Hangalau (on islet Lnaniva); 10, Mukoifenua; 11, Angalalue; 12, Lalokea; 13, Ngaohaa; 14, Utungauta; 15, Ve; 16, Lavoni; 17, Tavai; 18, Oloua; 19, Ohoangatahi; 20, Muli; 21, Havaiki; 22, Niuvalu; 23, Tukitakale; 24, Kasaua; 25, Fungasia; 26, Makeke; 27, Hokongatolu; 28, Kolituutahi; 29, Kelemea; 30, Tutuangakava; 31, Matangaika; 32, Lalotalie; 33, Vaimanga; 34, Kolonui; 35, Tongatapu; 36, Utulongoaa; 37, Talikata; 38, Napua; 39, Olovehi; 40, Talaamoa; 41, Televa; 42, Kuluui; 43, Eva; 44, Tetupa; 45, Finekata; 46, Ngutuohihifo; 47, Tanakimai; 48, Kaupala; 49, Malomoehau; 50, Nuanga; 51, Fungakolo; 52, Tokaloto; 53, Falefa; 54, Papanga; 55, Haafata; 56, Faafekula; 57, Taliemalanga; 58, Malaetoli; 59, Singave; 60, Alatofa; 61, Atuvalu; 62, Siokitonga; 63, Tepuna; 64, Tepai; 65, Tefota; 66, Fotua; 67, Muliutu; 68, Tua; 69, Nuivavau; 70, Tapuhia; 71, Vailoa; 72, Fakaki; 73, Falefoou; 74, Kalu; 75, Vailepo; 76, Fuvalu; 77, Vailei.

cutting end were five or six points intended to pierce the skin of the patient. The artist in charge of the operation dipped these points in a liquid prepared for the purpose, adapted them to designs previously traced on the body with charcoal or other coloring substance, and struck lightly on the instrument, using, for this, a little stick which he held in his right hand. The liquid entered in these shallow punctures, and left ineffaceable marks . . . At Wallis, the men wore designs from the top of the loins to the bottom of the knees; the women had only some fanciful lines on the hand or forearm. Tattooing did not have, either, the same meaning for all; for the women, it was only a simple ornament; for the men, it was always a mark of dignity, and sometimes a reward of valor; the Legion of Honor of the country!

Formerly a ceremony accompanied the completion of tattooing. Bataillon (4) says: "It is a great affair for them; on this occasion solemn festivals are held, especially when the young people belong to noble families." I have no details about this forgotten ceremony.

## Marriage

In choice of a mate, the lineage, especially the senior individual, passes upon each young person's choice and may make the first suggestion. But individual attachments are often approved. The young people may even run away if their relatives refuse to sanction their union. The church sees to it that marriages within forbidden degrees of kinship do not take place.

What is apparently the old form of proposal of marriage still appears in some courtships. The young man brings a roast pig to the house of his beloved, as a gift to her family. Acceptance or refusal of the gift means acceptance or refusal of the suitor. If he is accepted, the girl's relatives often decorate the boy with paint and necklaces.

### Christian Marriage

Old Uvean marriage customs have yielded to those of the church. In 1845 Bishop Bataillon instituted wholesale marriages once a year, a custom which is still in effect. Not many years ago, there were objections—I think by the French resident—to the compulsory character of these wholesale marriages. The mission thereupon announced that marriages would be performed at other times, but the custom is so well established that few natives avail themselves of this permission.

Sister Marie Emmanuel, superior of the convent school at Sofala, gave a few additional details about these annual weddings:

First comes a period of offers in marriage. Officers especially appointed for this duty are asked by young men to accompany them to the houses of the girls they wish to marry. With the officer as a witness, the young man asks the girl, through the wall of the house, whether she will marry him, and she gives her reply. Acceptance is publicly announced by firing a gun. This little ceremony is usually the official confirmation of an arrangement settled between the parties and their families some time before. During this period the officers have to work night and day, sometimes traveling from one end of the island to the other, though generally they do not have many long journeys. At the end of the period of offers, they are exhausted.



The next formal step is the registration of marriage (*tohi*, meaning "book" or "to write"). All the betrothed couples appear in full dress, the girls heavily bound with bark cloth, the men gleaming with oil and their hair adorned with flowers. The priest records the marriages. The ceremony follows, according to Christian ritual.

### Native Ceremonies

It must not be supposed that formal marriage began with the arrival of the mission. Unless a considerable proportion of marriages had been permanent, the native system of property tenure and inheritance would not have worked. Bataillon (3) gives *taane* (fundamentally "male") as "a sort of ceremony for marriage". Some details of the native wedding persisted even in the only one I saw, though it was a forced marriage, the parties both half European and one of them with only distant relatives in Uvea:

The guests first assembled in the house of the bride's family. There was indoor dancing (*soamako*), accompanied by choral singing and rhythmic beating on a rolled mat. Words of one of the songs, taken down roughly at the ceremony, describe some of the merry-making:

| | |
|---|---|
| Sesui[29] e, | Change dancers, |
| Sisi laufatai e, | Kilt of *Cassytha* leaves, |
| Tonga ula e, | (?) (*Tonga* are the fine mats distributed at weddings, and sometimes worn by the bride and bridegroom. At this point the audience points admiringly at the bridegroom.) |
| Tui paonga e. | Thread *paonga* (a kind of pandanus with red keys used for necklaces). |

Words of other songs had nothing to do with the ceremony but could have been used as well for dancing at any gathering, perhaps even sung on the trail during a journey. Gestures of some of the dancers were unmistakably erotic, a detail in which native custom has persisted in spite of missionary influence. The groom, half-Samoan, danced a Samoan dance with two Samoan friends, one of whom played the accompaniment on an ukulele, the only one in the island.

The dancing was followed by a feast. Relatives of both bridegroom and bride contributed food, including four roast pigs. The feast began, as always, with kava, which was served before the dancing stopped. The man named to me as the girl's father (perhaps an uncle, for her own father, a German trader, was dead) called the order in which kava was to be served. On the first round the bridegroom received the first cup, though Fotuatamai, a high chief, was present.

During the serving of kava the bridegroom and bride, already adorned, were dressed in festive array. The man had a colored *sisi* kilt and his hair and cheeks were painted with red turmeric and black candlenut soot. In addition, he was wrapped about with bark cloth and mat kilts in the presence of the guests. The girl disappeared for her dressing and came back in a silk dress.

After the feast the family walked to a house lent to them for the occasion. It represented the house of the bridegroom's relatives, who lived in distant Mua. Here a distribution of presents, principally mats, took place. The number of mats exchanged at this feast was not great, partly because of the status of the parties, partly also because

[29] An old form not in Bataillon's dictionary. From the translation given me, it apparently corresponds to the modern *kuhui*.

which take them farther afield. Agriculture and preparation of food are men's work. Women do most of the fishing in shallow water. Men do the fishing with spears or from boats. Women feed the pigs and chickens, but if a pig escapes into the bush it is men's work to recover it. Women take care of the house, make bark cloth, and do all the plaiting except that of temporary carrying-baskets and food vessels which is men's work. Men build canoes and houses, but women do some of the lighter work in house-building, such as preparing the thatch sheets. Men hew out wooden implements.

## Food

The principal Uvean food materials are the following:

Cultivated vegetables: (native) yams, breadfruit, taro, *kape* (*Alocasia indica*), bananas, coconut, arrowroot, sugar cane; (introduced) oranges, avocados, papaya, sweet potatoes.
Wild vegetables: pandanus kernels and the ends of the keys of one or two varieties, wild arrowroot, and yams.
Domesticated animals: pig, fowl, dog.
Wild animals: pigeon, wild duck, gallinule, rail, plover, perhaps other birds; coconut crabs; flying fox.
Sea food: an enormous variety of fish, crustaceans, mollusks; turtle; at least one variety of seaweed.

Cultivated tubers, breadfruit, bananas, and coconuts are the vegetable staples. The only leaves eaten are those of taro and the young "hearts" of coconut trees when the trees are cut down. European vegetables and fruits, wild vegetable products, and seaweed are not important in diet.

Most of the animal food comes from the sea. Pigs and chickens are rarely eaten except at feasts. Little if any use is made of eggs. Dogs are not common as food, though they may be eaten occasionally. Coconut crabs, birds, and flying foxes are rather rare delicacies.

There are lean and fat seasons in the Uvean year, but in ordinary years there is no month without some crop of cultivated food. Taro, *kape* (*Alocasia indica*), coconuts, and bananas are year-round crops. In Uvea taro is not abundant. *Kape* is most plentiful in August. There are two main crops of yams. The first, according to native reckoning (*tau muamua*), is dug, as they now say, during Lent, that is, about March; the second crop (*tau muli*) is dug "at Christmas and New Year". Breadfruit also has two main crops. One ripens in the middle of the trade-wind season, about June and July. The other reaches its height about the first of the year; but the early varieties, *puou* and *aveloloa*, may come in as early as November, and the later ones may last until April. The principal lean season extends from September through November. In Henquel's list of old months, Uluenga, which he identifies as October and November, is marked as the month of famine, and the old song about month names confirms this. During this time bananas become the principal food.



Arrowroot starch is the only food regularly preserved for a long time. Breadfruit or bananas may be fermented in pits in the earth, lined with banana leaves, and kept in this form (*mahi*) for months. But this is not common, at least in recent years. Ordinarily the whole crop of these fruits is eaten fresh and *mahi* is made only in seasons of unusual abundance. Smoking of fish preserves them, under Uvean conditions, for only a week or two.

Unusually light rainfall, a hurricane, a plant disease, or any other cause of crop failure brings on famine. When this occurs, Uveans resort to wild tubers. At other times their use is regarded as a sign of poor husbandry. Wild arrowroot is one of these resources. Julian Brial told me that it is common in the arid wilderness where there are few trees. In time of famine, he said, the natives burn over the scanty brush in these regions. Arrowroot is the first plant to sprout and so is easily found. There have been times when the people lived largely on this and coconuts. Another wild root is *tuakuku*, identified (3) as *Dioscorea nummularia*, akin to the yam. Still other wild plants are used, but these two constitute the main emergency ration.

Of all cultivated plants the coconut has the greatest variety of uses, though Uveans do not have to depend on it for food to the same extent as do the inhabitants of less fertile islands. Names for the nut in different stages of maturity are *niu tafa* (young, flesh forming); *niu mata* (flesh formed but still tender); *niu matavalivali* (flesh partly hardened); *niu motomoto* (intermediate); and *niu matuu* (ripe). Coconuts in the *motomoto* stage are the main source of drinking water. The flesh of the ripe nut is the principal source of oil. Cream wrung from the grated flesh of the ripe nut is used in most prepared dishes. The developing organ of the cotyledon (*uto*) is eaten, mostly incidentally. The undeveloped leaves from the crown of a felled tree are sometimes eaten. Even the husk of at least one variety (*niu utongau*) is chewed.

Coconuts are husked on a stake about 3 feet long and pointed at both ends. One end is thrust into the ground, so that the other point stands about waist high. The ends of the coconut are held in the two hands and the husk pierced by striking it sharply against the point of the stake. Then the husk is pried off in strips.

Ripe coconuts are collected from the ground, but young ones for drinking are picked from the trees. Uveans climb by the usual method of embracing the trunk with the hands and walking or hitching upward with the soles of the feet pressed against the tree trunk. For steep trees a bandage (*kafanga*) of untwisted bast may be tied between the ankles. It does not encircle the tree but is pressed by the weight of the body against the near side.

least three months. One built in Matautu soon after our arrival, was still in use when we left.

Bataillon (3) mentions another kind of trap, *peu haha*, used for catching the *haha* fish.

Torches (*lama*) about 5 feet long, made of bundles of dried coconut leaves tied together, are used for night fishing (*lalama* or *lamanga*). The fisherman usually carries about three of them. Those not in use are stuck in the back of the kilt or belt. As one burns down, another is drawn out and lighted from it. These torches are used either by women at the weirs, or strung out in lines during wading along the reef, or by men in canoes. Conical traps may be carried with them, or bush knives to strike the fish. Men use spears in torchlight fishing from canoes.

### NETS

Nets are not very common in Uvean fishing. The general term for net is *kupenga*, applied especially to seines. Small two-handled dip nets, which are the commonest of fishing implements in Futuna, are used occasionally in Uvea by women fishing on the barrier reef near the islets; they are used only by women who have lived in Futuna and learned the technique there. Bataillon (3) in giving the name for them (*kukusi*), labels it "term from Futuna".

The casting net is also rare in Uvea. I did not see one but learned a local name for the net, *kupenga sifa*. Bataillon's dictionary (3) lacks this term but has what may be another name for the same thing. He defines *sili*, the Futunan name for casting net, as "fishing with a fine-meshed net". Since *sili-nga* means "to throw", the reference is probably to a casting net. Bataillon also gives the verbs *fakalafita* and *lafo* for casting a net.

Fishing nets are made with the usual Polynesian implements, a netting needle (*hika*) and gauges (*afa*) (fig. 10, *a*). The needles are usually of some hard wood like *Casuarina;* one specimen seen was of bone. A groove to hold the wound line is scraped out along the middle. Paired prongs in each end enclose a slot through which the line passes. The mesh gauges are strips of turtle shell. The mesh of the nets is twice as wide as the gauge. Line for Uvean nets is nowadays of cotton bought from the trader. Formerly bast of various plants was used.

A long-handled dip net (*tae*) (fig. 10, *b*) is called *tau-kanahe* (catch mullet) and is used mostly during mullet runs in November, December, and January.

Small seines are described by Oliver (10):

> For catching small fish, are used nets manufactured of cord made from the bark of the hibiscus, bread fruit, and other trees. One edge of the net, which is very long and very narrow, is sunk by affixing to it small stones; the other is supported by floats. The natives endeavor to draw the net around the fish, so as to confine them within its circle. Vong Ouvie and myself, of a pleasant morning, have thus taken upwards of a hundred nice fish.



Formerly the villages of Hihifo specialized in the use of enormous seines. Father Marquet of the Hihifo station of the mission said that they were sometimes as much as 2 kilometers long. They were made by community labor, each household contributing a length of several yards.

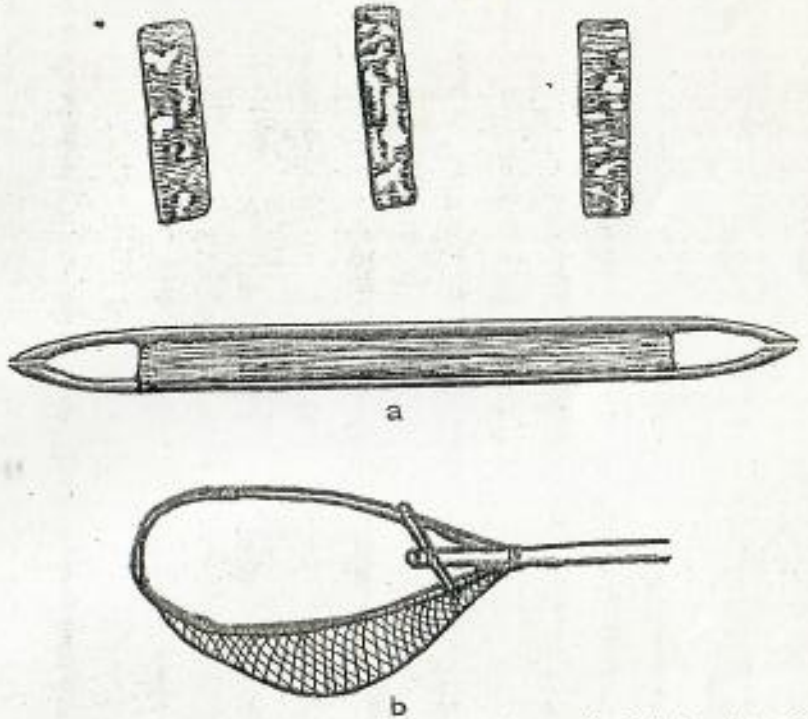



FIGURE 10.—Needle, gauges, and dip net: *a*, wooden needle (*hika*) and turtle-shell gauges (*afa*) for making fish nets: needle 15 inches long, 1.25 inches wide, 0.25 inch in greatest thickness; gauges about 4 inches long and 0.75-1 inch wide. *b*, long-handled dip net; handle about 8 feet long.

These great seines were used especially for catching mullet. They were taken out by canoes, sometimes 20 canoes to a seine. The party was directed by a leader called *tautai*, a position usually but not always hereditary. It was tapu for men with sores on their legs to join the party, for fear of spoiling the luck. The canoes carried the seine around a school of fish and closed in on them. A big catch counted at Lano numbered 10,000 fish. Sometimes sharks were taken in nets of this type. Father Marquet thinks the making and use of these huge seines by whole communities is becoming rare because the chiefs are losing authority.

Turtles are usually caught at night in seines.

### SPEARS

Spears (*velo*) are the favorite fishing implements for men. They are used either by day or with torches at night, either in wading over the reef or in exploring deeper water with canoes. Little boys practise throwing spears at small fry near shore, and by the time they are grown, develop remarkable skill. Even more remarkable to a foreigner is their ability to see fish under water at considerable distances. They stoop and creep up cautiously to within throwing range. To cut down the glare from the water during daylight fishing, they wear eyeshades of coconut leaf.

The spears are light shafts some 10 feet long, of bamboo or light wood, with points lashed to one end. Some of the bamboo shafts have a length of solid wood lashed to the butt end. Some spears have only one point, others a two-tined fork or a trident; but the majority have a ring of points set at a slight angle outward from the shaft. The points nowadays are made of iron, sometimes barbed. In old days they were of spines of the sting ray or cut from some hard wood. Henquel mentions a fishing spear pointed with *maile*.

A kind of spear less frequently seen is short, 4 or 5 feet long, made of a single piece of hard, heavy wood, or of an iron rod. Some have only one point but others have two or more. They are used for diving about coral heads and spearing under water the fish hiding in holes and crevasses An Uvean who practised this method in Futuna told me that it is a Samoan technique. The name he gave for the spear (*suki*) is not in Bataillon's dictionary.

### POISONING

Fish poisoning is called *au kava*. It is a community task for men. Women are forbidden to take part in it or to witness it.

The men of the villages of Falaleu and Hanfuasia poisoned the large hole in the reef near the boundary between the two villages to catch fish for a church feast. The poison used was the fruit of *futu* (*Barringtonia asiatica* L. Kurz). Two days before the fishing, men of Falaleu went to the islet Luaniva, where this tree is especially abundant, to gather fruit. The next day they husked and crushed it and made it into balls about 3 inches in diameter, which they stored in carrying baskets.

Poisoning began in the middle of the morning, when the tide was nearly at ebb but still running out. Eleven canoes, loaded with baskets of the poison, lined up on the shoreward side of a large hole in the reef, formed by a stream whose fresh water prevents growth of coral opposite its mouth. Men went overboard from the canoes with baskets of poison and distributed it through the water hole. The total attendance was about 100 men and boys, many of them armed with spears.

Almost as soon as the poison was in the water, some fish, mostly small swordfish (*ihe*) tried to escape from the pool by skipping over the reef, which was awash. Most of them were speared. Groups of boys, with a great hue and cry, took after the fish as they skittered among the little pools in the reef.

After about half an hour the fish came to the surface in greater numbers. Some were swimming very slowly, under the influence of the poison. They were speared whenever they came within spear's length of the sides of the pool. The men did not bother to throw spears at those farther away. The commonest species, beside *ihe*, were *ugoa* (horse mackerel, *Trachurops*), *lupo* (*Caranx*), *hiku mamanga* (a kind of surgeon fish), and *kaloama* (*Mullaides*).

Still later, when the tide came in, more fish were washed ashore or close to shore, where they were taken with spears or by hand. The village chiefs supervised the distribution of the fish, which were baked in the earth oven for presentation at the feast.



Bataillon (3) mentions another poison, *kava huhu* (*Tephrosia piscatoria*) of which the bark and leaves are used.

### SHARK-SNARING

*Tauanga* is the name of a stout net made especially for taking sharks. Sharks are also snared. When a canoe finds a shark lying still near a coral head, a running noose is lowered and run over its body. It was said that the sharks lie with their heads toward the coral, so the noose is run over the tail, slipped forward over the dorsal fin, and tightened when it is between the dorsal and pectoral fins. Though several residents, both Europeans and Uveans, assured me that they had known of sharks being snared in this way, it happens rarely. None were taken during our stay on the island. The king, probably the best living informant on this subject, said that bonito was used for bait to lure a shark near a canoe and get his head through the noose—not his tail, as in the other accounts. No informants mentioned taking sharks with hooks in Uvea, and no hooks of the type used for sharks elsewhere in Polynesia were seen there. Oliver (10) says, "Sharks are caught by means of spears of iron-wood having barbed fish-bones on their points."

### ANGLING

Still-fishing with hook and line, though perhaps not entirely absent in old times, was certainly not prominent among fishing methods and is not to this day. I neither saw nor heard of native baited hooks, and K. P. Emory's list of the artifacts in the Viala collection at the Trocadero contains none. The word *matei*, defined by Bataillon as "sort of hook", may indicate something of the kind. I did not hear the word in Uvea. Baited steel hooks are sometimes used nowadays, chiefly by the European and Chinese traders.

Squid lures of stone, shell, and fiber were formerly used to dangle in the holes where squid (octopus) lie. Julian Brial had seen these lures and tried to find one for me, or to find a native who could make and describe them. But no specimen was forthcoming. Brial's description agreed, so far as it went, with Hiroa's (62) description of Samoan squid lures.

### TROLLING

Trolling for bonito and, probably, for other deep-sea fish was formerly an important fishing method. The stern covers of canoes are still hewn with

bosses of the kind formerly used to support the pole, and composite bonito hooks with shell shanks are not uncommon.

Specimens and names of two kinds of trolling hooks were collected. *Pa* is the general name for composite hooks for trolling, with shell shanks. *Matau* means a hook of any kind. Specific names were explained as referring to the kind of shell used for the shank.

A large trolling shank (*pa sifa*) was sold to me by a half-Uvean, half-Tokelauan, who said that it came from the Uvean side of his family. He said it was used in trolling for a fish larger than bonito, but could not name the species.

The shank is made of a large bone, said to be that of a whale, backed with a strip of shell of striped, iridescent purple and green. The whole shank is shaped like a fish (pl. 2, *A*). Two holes bored in the proximal end resemble eyes. In the middle of the bone they meet two similar holes bored from the other side. Lashing passes through the latter pair of holes and two corresponding ones in the shell to hold shell and bone together. At the distal end is a similar lashing. A flange and grooves form a support for another lashing to attach a point to the shank.

All the other hooks collected are typical bonito trolling hooks (pl. 2, *A*). A number of native terms for them, not in Bataillon's dictionary, are still known. Whole hooks are called *pa tofe*. The shanks, called *ika* (fish), are of pearl shell (*tofe*). One of those collected is completely white. The others retain some of the darker surface color of the shell. Four of the seven points (*manga*) are of turtle shell, one of turtle endoplastron, one of pearl shell, and one of bone. They are of the usual western Polynesian form. All the complete specimens have hackles (*henga*); three of them of white feathers, the others of bits of unravelled lashing line.

The lashing at the distal end of the shank is called *lavahanga;* that at the proximal end, *lavamanu*. The king, who gave me these names, said that the larger cord near the point was called *ala loaloa*. The fishing line itself is *afo*. The lashing cord is two-ply twisted bast of *hikaloa* (*Pipturus*). The fishing line is of the same construction and material, but several times as stout. Sosefo Ikauli demonstrated for me the technique of lashing a bonito hook. His results did not correspond exactly to the lashing of the specimens. In general, though, the process was this:

The point was attached to the shank by cord run through holes in the point base and around the shank. The lashing was tightened by a few seizing turns taken around it on each side of the hole. Separate pieces of lashing line were used for each hole. The fishing line was run through the proximal hole in the base and doubled back to form a snood. This was not left as an open loop, but the two ends were joined by seizing, all the way from the point to the hole in the proximal end of the shank. The doubled line was not run through this hole, but attached at two points by lashing with the cord used for seizing the snood.

The pole was of bamboo with a butt of wood lashed to it. The proper length of free line, which equals that of the pole from tip to handle, was



given to me by the king as three and a half arm's lengths (*ngafa*) or about 9 feet. Several lines, usually three, were attached to one pole, though only one was used at a time. Presumably they had shanks of different colors.

Trolling procedure was described by the king, a famous bonito fisherman in his youth and said to be the last surviving expert in the craft. Trolling for bonito (*atu*) is called *hi atu, aalo* or *aloalo*. Special canoes used for this fishing were called *vaka hi atu;* but light built-up bonito canoes like those of Samoa are not found in Uvea.

One fisherman (*tautai*) sat in the stern of each canoe. Two or three other men acted as paddlers under his direction. They paddled the canoe through a pass in the reef to the bonito grounds in the open sea. Presence of a school of bonito was usually indicated by a flock of birds. An old song recorded by Henquel, already quoted for its description of women's fishing, also refers to searching for a school of bonito:

| | |
|---|---|
| Valokia laumanu ki moana. | A flock of birds is announced at sea. |
| Tonga e matangi, folau e vaka | The wind is from the south, a boat puts out |
| Ki te atu-vai, o mata moana. | To the bonito grounds, to scan the sea. |
| Pea nae ongo mai Vailala, | Then word came (?) from Vailala, |
| Ko manu ka kolo ifo ki Talava. | That birds are flocking to Talava. |
| Tofia e tokelau mafana. | The north is the hot region. |
| Manu ko e lofa mo e katafa, | The birds are the (tern?) and frigate bird, |
| Matanga hi atu ki moana. | Indicating (?) bonito fishing in the sea. |

When the boat approached a school of bonito, the fisherman took his pole from a rest on the outrigger booms and set it in fishing position behind him, to the right side. The butt end was caught under his seat. The pole rested on the stern cover and against the boss (*pou hofe*) hewn in the top of it. The pole was at such an angle that the hook skimmed along the surface of the water. The paddlers made their best speed to get into the midst of the school.

When a fish took the hook the fisherman pulled it inboard by swinging the pole around to the right and in front of him, at the same time raising the tip so the fish swung clear of the water and came in above the sides of the canoe. Frequently it struck the fisherman in the chest. It might be knocked off the hook by this blow and fall into the bottom of the canoe. Otherwise, it was easily disengaged from the hook with the left hand and dropped into the canoe. The king said that in the old days the Uvean method of landing bonito was like the Samoan, in that the fisherman left the pole in the socket and swung it around with his right arm. Later, the Uveans adopted the Tokelau method of seizing the pole with both hands (51, p. 110). When the fish were abundant, the king added, the fisherman using this later method could throw the hook out on either side of the canoe, wherever the fish seemed thickest.

The record catch of bonito for Uvea, the king said, was 100 fish in one canoe. Two men reached this mark at different times. These catches loaded the canoe so heavily that when it returned the gunwales were nearly down to the water.

A piece of equipment for canoe fishing borrowed from Tokelau is the *tulusa*, or wooden box for fishing gear. It is cylindrical in shape, cut out of the solid, with a flanged rim to which is fitted a top cut out of another single piece. The top has a lug on the upper side, pierced to take a sennit line which is run around the box to keep the top on. These boxes are not

Then he kneads and stirs the kava in the water to mix its juices through the drink. When he stops, the commands are continued:

ASSISTANT

Kua hu'i te kava! — The kava is mixed!

(Here the assistant takes the strainer from someone in the multitude behind him and holds it out to the mixer.)

MUA

'Ai te fau! — Use the strainer!

The mixer takes the strainer in his right hand and, with another high gesture, gathers it in his left. Then, holding one end of it in each hand, right hand uppermost, he extends it before him; then to the right, along his right arm; then to the left, along his left arm; then revolves it in various ways, speeding up his motions to a rapid whirling; then throws the strainer far to the right and behind him. This is the official joke of the ceremony and is met with loud applauding laughter, the only interruption of the ceremonial silence. Someone in the crowd catches the strainer, and it is passed back to the mixer who resumes his slow, formal motions. At last he lays it on the rim of the bowl on the side away from him and draws it toward him through the liquid, bringing the ends together to collect the particles of root. He lifts it out of the kava, holds it over the bowl and wrings it out, expressing more juice from the root. The wringing motion is so made that when it is finished his hands are parallel in front of him, palms down. Then he snaps the strainer like a whip out to the right, shaking off the bits of juice. The straining and wringing are repeated several times. Finally he folds the strainer into a lump in his left hand, raises his right hand high, and slaps the folded strainer slowly, several times. This is a signal that the brewing is finished. The commands are resumed:

ASSISTANT (holding up an empty kava cup)

Ma'a te kava! — Clean [is] the kava! (That is, it has been strained).

MUA

Tokonaki pe fakatau! — Prepare and serve!

The assistant holds the cup over the bowl, while the mixer wrings out a cupful of kava from the strainer:

ASSISTANT

Kava kua heka! — Kava is served! (A long-drawn cry; the first syllable of *heka* is prolonged on a monotone, swelling in volume).

MUA

Au mai iheni ma te Afio o Lavelua! — Set it down hither for the Majesty of Lavelua!

An assistant (not the one who called the words) takes the first cup to the king, reaching it to him in both hands. The king takes the cup and pours the kava into a cup of his own, from which he drinks. The assistant returns the cup; or sometimes two assistants alternate, each with a cup. Every time the cup is filled, the assistant at the right of the mixer utters again his long-drawn *Kua he-eka!*, and the *mua* responds, directing the cupbearer to take it to the chief next in rank. To all but the king, the bearer reaches the cup in one hand, and all but the king drink it from the cup in which it is served.

When all the chiefs in the *alofi* or chiefly row have been served, the cup is filled again:



ASSISTANT

Toe te hu'a kava! — Remains the [some] kava juice!

MUA

Tuku ia ma au! — Set it down for me!

Commoners behind the bowl are now served with what kava may remain, without further calling of commands. During all the time of serving, it is discourteous to shift from the cross-legged sitting position. When the bowl is empty, the kava mixer takes it by the cord that runs through the lug on the under side, tilts the bowl, calls "Tanoa!" and passes it back to those in the crowd behind him. This ends the ceremony. If the bowl is refilled and the cup passed around again, only the last part of the ceremony, beginning with the call "Kua heka", is repeated.

When kava was served in a house, it was formerly the custom for each guest to return the cup to the bowl after drinking by spinning it along the floor. Practice brought skill in giving it just enough motion to stop beside the bowl.

## DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD

The chiefly kava ceremony is followed at all feasts by a distribution of food. This is in charge of a chief—at the feasts I saw, Mukoifenua. Young men stand about amid the piles of food to await his orders (pl.7,*A*). They give him the count of the provisions, which he allots among the guests according to rank or any other special claim. The quota to be contributed is arranged beforehand by the council in charge; thus, at one royal feast in 1932, each village of the island contributed one large roast pig—two medium-sized ones are regarded as the equivalent; but a large one is preferred, as it makes a braver display.

The first gifts to be distributed are the plants of kava. These go only to chiefs who, as a rule, have them carried home for drying and later consumption.

Next comes the distribution of pigs. At a large feast whole pigs are given to the chiefs, who immediately have some of their men cut them up and redistribute the pieces among their people. If there are not enough whole pigs to go around among the chiefs present (the usual situation at an ordinary council meeting, but not at a great feast), the pigs are cut up before the first distribution.

Uveans do not make so much of the ceremonial division of a pig as do Samoans. The parts recognized are the head (*ulu*); two forequarters (*fatafata*), including a shoulder and part of the neck; the back (*tua*); and two hindquarters (*alanga*). The back is considered the choicest piece and usually goes to the highest ranking person sharing in the distribution, but the head ranks nearly as high and is often the piece which the chief reserves for himself.

Turtles were formerly sacred to the king. I found no mention in the literature, nor any memory among natives of a ritual distribution of turtle flesh.

Of sharks Oliver (10) says:

> The capture of a shark is followed by a grand feast, to which the guests are invited from far and near. The occasion is honored by the presence of the king, priests, and chiefs. The natives, seated cross-legged on the ground, form a circle, in the center of which lies the shark, too large, like Domitian's turbot, for any dish that can be found. On each side, 2 or 3 feet distant, stand the captors of the fish, ready to complete their proud achievement by distributing the luxury. Facing the fish, sits His Majesty, master of the feast, and near him are the priests and chiefs. The ceremony begins with the drinking of ava. The chief priest then makes a speech, fastening his eyes all the while intently upon the shark which, next, without being cooked or seasoned, is cut up and dealt out in parcels to the assembled people.

## Oratory

Oratory is not a regular part of feasts, weddings, or funeral ceremonies. But at council meetings or special gatherings for any public purpose, oratory is the order of the day. It is not stylized in Uvea to the same extent as in some other Polynesian islands, where it must be embellished in prescribed ways with recital of genealogies or quotation of traditional chants. Nor is there any office especially associated with it, like the "talking chiefs" of Samoa. The main burden of speaking on public occasions seems to fall upon the Kivalu. Mangeret (22) tells how the Kivalu of a century ago dissuaded the king from leaving Uvea: "After the silence required by courtesy, the minister begins a veritable discourse, accompanied by gestures so touching that tears flow from the eyes of all present, and the king, won over by this demonstration, promises his people never to leave them."

Oliver (10) describes a contest in repartee, at dance gatherings:

> During the intervals of 15 or 20 minutes that occurred between the dances, some individual went about, amusing the company with his good-natured sarcasms upon one of the dancers, and cries of "Mareir", "Lelei", "Lelei-o-petit" [Malie! Lelei! Lelei pitoi]—well done, very good—resounded from every side. The person to whom allusion was made next arose, and endeavored, by brilliancy of repartee, to turn the current in his favor. Another still arose, who sought to make peace between the parties. The ingenuity with which he opposed a vice in one against a virtue in the other, and the converse, gained for him tumultuous approbation. Thus almost every person had occasion to play, in his turn, the parts of accuser, defendant, and peacemaker; and with alternate dancing and speeches, the entertainment continued till morning.

## Music

Choral singing is highly developed in Uvea, but the culture is poor in musical instruments which consist entirely of idiophones and aerophones (roughly, percussion and wind instruments).

Old Slade (29) gives a suspiciously impressive description of a native orchestra:



> About sixty instrumental musicians, composing the king's band, next made their appearance. They ranged around him in front, assuming the most abject postures. The leader was a short man, but of commanding person. He looked as if he had blown a bassoon all his days. At the nod of command from him, they raised their instruments and proceeded with their untutored strains. I was much struck with the variety as well as number of instruments used. They were all rough and uncouth, like the savage musicians themselves, but strangely blended in island harmony. There were drums, trumpets, flutes, fifes, cymbals, and other instruments, impossible to be named. The drum is made of a log of wood, called *coa*. It is a tree they worship. The skin of a fish is drawn over the hollow trunk and fastened on with pegs. One of the largest instruments is made with bamboo or cane, which three or four men strike violently on the ground, producing a deep, bass, reverberating noise, often heard at a great distance. This instrument is sounded only on festival days, and the arrival of strangers.

No such concert is to be heard nowadays. "Trumpets" may be conch-shell trumpets. "Flutes and fifes" are probably nose flutes. "Cymbals" I can not identify, unless Old Slade uses this as a far-fetched description of a sounding-board. A drum covered with fish-skin is unknown in Uvea now, and not mentioned elsewhere in the literature. It is not characteristic of western Polynesia (62,p.578), but was known in Hawaii, where a tree called koa was culturally important. Probably Old Slade confused his memories of the two regions.

The simplest and commonest of idiophones is a rolled-up mat, beaten with sticks to accompany dancing. Usually the players hold a stick in each hand. For one dance the mat was spread over a basket, leaving a hollow space beneath, presumably to increase the resonance.

The bamboo tubes mentioned by Old Slade have now gone out of use. The instrument was mentioned by Bataillon (4) and Marin (23) who heard it about 1880. It is described by Oliver (10): "In the center were the musicians, who, with simple instruments, made of joints of bamboo, of different sizes, placed together, and struck vertically upon the floor, or held in one hand, and beaten with other pieces of the same material, produced not disagreeable music."

A primitive jew's-harp (*utete*), used as a children's toy, consists of a strip of coconut leaflet about 6 inches long. The midrib is torn free for about half the length of the strip and left projecting for an inch or two at one end. This end is twanged with a finger while the other is held in the mouth, which forms a resonance chamber.

The largest idiophone, and that which has the most dignified place in native life, is the wooden gong or bell (*lali*). Bataillon (3) also calls it *nafa*. It is cut from a section of whole log. The instruments seen did not much exceed 2 feet in maximum diameter. The usual length is 4 to 6 feet. They are trimmed to a blunt point at each end and hollowed out on top, so that they have some resemblance to stumpy dugout canoes, though the sides are much thicker—some 3 inches at the rim and twice that along the bottom.

A specimen of the paddle (*paki*) used in this dance is shown in figure 27,*a*. It is of dark, hard *fehi* wood. A split near the distal end is repaired by lashing through holes bored to each side of the split. Some of the lashing is of sennit braid (the finest I saw in Uvea), the rest of two-ply twisted cord of some soft bast. A specimen in the possession of the French resident was similar except that the relief decoration near the base of the blade, instead of a chevron, was a castellated form. Two specimens in the Trocadero Museum show other varieties of decoration. One has a long streamer of loose fibers of several colors, extending in a loop from holes bored in the outer distal corners. The other is painted with decorations like small bark cloth patterns, as are many Futuman *paki*.

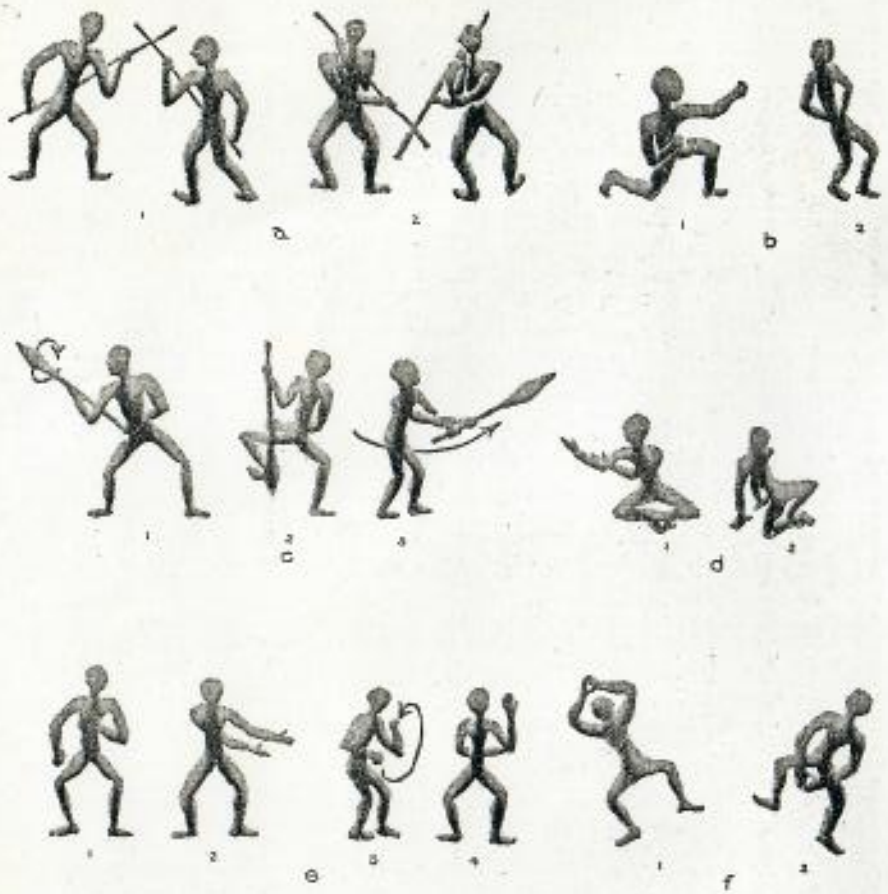


FIGURE 26.—Diagram of dance postures. *a*, stick dance: 1, striking upper ends of sticks together; 2, striking lower ends of sticks together. *b*, erotic dance (*kiekaha*): 1, kneeling and thrusting out one clenched fist; 2, swaying, hands on hips. *c*, paddle club dance (*kailao*): 1, twirling club by rolling handle over palm of outstretched hand; 2, striking instep of raised foot with flat of blade; 3, horizontal swinging stroke. *d*, sitting dance (*maulauha*): 1, extending arms to one side, palms upward; 2, changing position while seated by raising body on arms. *e*, jovial posture dance (*tafi*): 1, swinging arms from side to side; 2, extending both arms to one side; 3, rotating hands in front of body; 4, holding one forearm vertical, the other horizontal, elbow of vertical arm resting on fingers of horizontal arm. *f*, informal dance performed by small groups, often in houses (*soamako*): 1, body rocking sidewise on one foot, then the other; thumbs and fingers joined overhead; 2, thumbs and fingers joined below.



3. The *kailao* is nowadays the most popular of the implement dances. It is a specialty of Uvea. Dancing after feasts usually begins with one or more *kailao*. Churchill (7) writes: "Even to the present day the dramatic dances of the club hand down in rhythmic show much of the fencer's art, these being particularly interesting in [Fiji] . . . and in Uvea, where a highly specialized cut of the club is shown in the dance." Just which stroke Churchill referred to I can not make out. Each Uvean village has its own *kailao* dance, and variants are sometimes introduced for particular feasts. The club strokes, besides the common twirling, include a great variety of swinging and chopping; but though the clubs are pointed, thrusting strokes are, so far as I saw, never used.

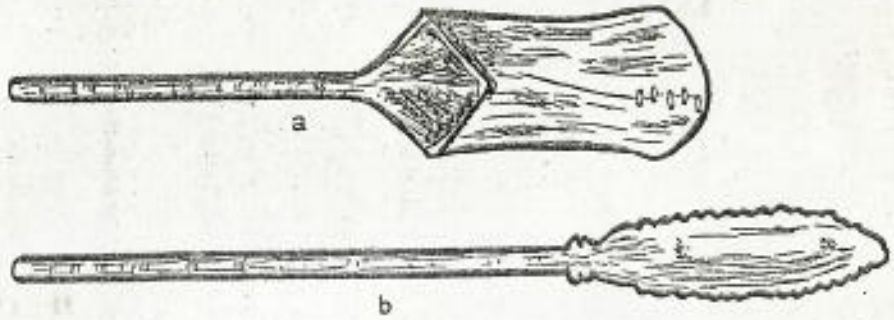


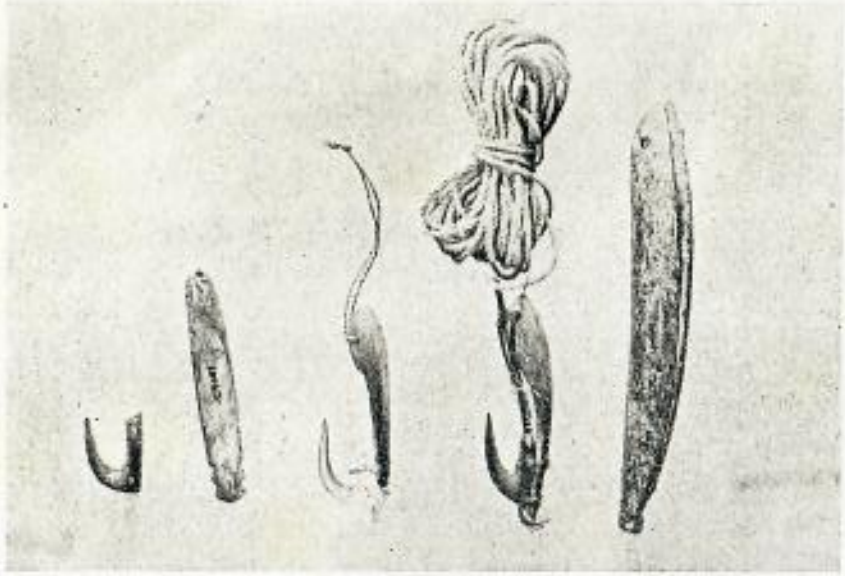
FIGURE 27.—Dance implements: *a*, dance paddle (*paki*) 33.6 inches long, blade about .25 inch thick; *b*, paddle club (*kailao*), unusual toothed form.

The paddle club, called by the same name as the dance, is of dark, heavy wood, commonly *Casuarina*. The usual length is about 4 feet. Figure 27,*b* shows the usual form, except that a median ridge is common and straight edges with a distinct shoulder commoner than toothed edges.

The dance is performed without a song. The dancers are divided into two parties that approach each other to the rhythm of the wooden gong or pounded tin can, from opposite sides of the *malae* (village green), usually in columns of twos. They advance and retreat, turn toward the audience, forming a single unit in two ranks, and go through a drill of vigorous twirling, swinging, and slapping motions. Some of these motions are shown in figure 26,*c*. Sometimes clowns dance at each side of the formation, performing antics like those of the other dancers, but wrong enough to set the audience into shrieks of mirth. Dances similar to the *kailao* are often performed with the billet clubs called *tui* (pl. 7, *C*).

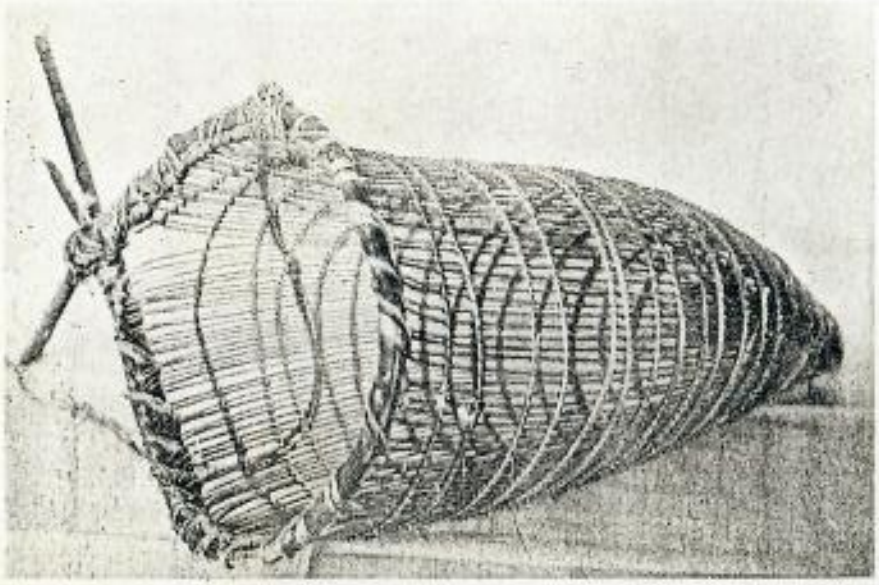
4. The men of Haalalo danced a *tokotoko* at one feast. With spears or staves resting on the right shoulder and held in both hands, they formed in two sections, which approached each other in single file from opposite sides of the *malae*. The two columns passed until their ends were even, then all faced toward the audience, forming two ranks. Later, pairs of dancers faced each other, holding their staves like bayoneted rifles, and went through a fencing pantomime. It was not as violent as that of the *kailao* and resembled a manual of arms rather than a sham battle. The rhythm was marked occasionally by vigorous stamping of the feet.

5. Two dances called *mee fisi*, evidently imitations of Fijian club dances, were performed at a feast in 1932, one by the men of Alele, the other by those of Vaitupu. The Vaitupu men wore fillets of white bark cloth, with streamers behind. In the Alele ver-



1 2 3 4 5

*A*

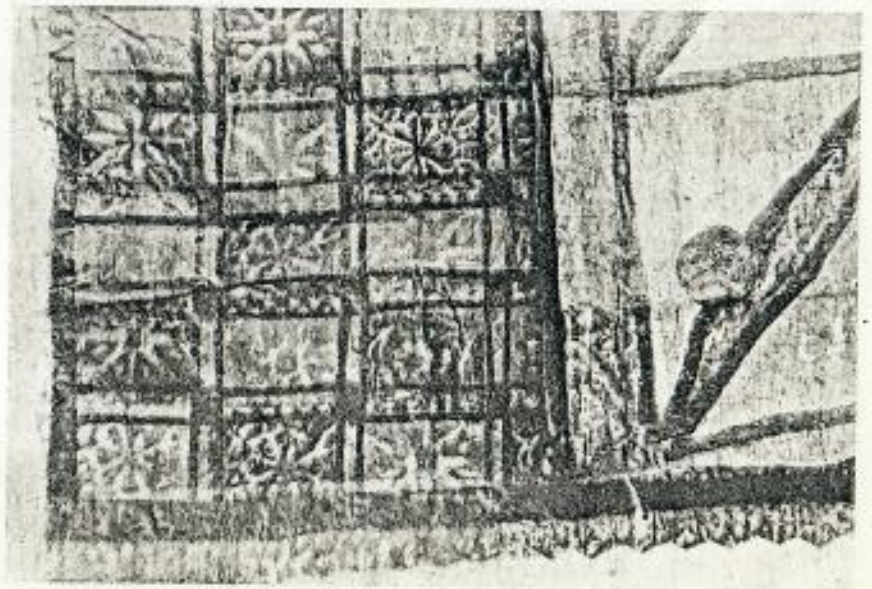


*B*

FISHHOOKS AND TRAP. *A*, TROLLING HOOKS: 1, BONE POINT WITH GROOVES, WHOSE PURPOSE IS NOT CERTAIN, RUNNING BETWEEN THE TWO HOLES; 2, PEARL SHELL SHANK WITH LATERAL GROOVES, LENGTH 3⅛ INCHES; 3, COMPLETE BONITO HOOK WITH POINT AND SHANK OF PEARL SHELL AND HACKLE OF FEATHERS; 4, BONITO HOOK WITH POINT OF TURTLE SHELL, SHANK OF PEARL SHELL, AND HACKLE OF UNRAVELLED LASHING LINE; 5, SHANK FOR LARGE TROLLING HOOK OF BONE AND SHELL, LENGTH 3 INCHES, GREATEST WIDTH 1.38 INCHES.



*A*



*B*

↑ B. Conical fish trap

except that precedence follows rank. Such evening gatherings are the commonest occasion for choral singing.

Moonlight makes a difference in the evening program. When the light is strong enough, women may lay unfinished mats on the gravel outside the house and continue work on them there. Moonlight stimulates the men's social gatherings. Even the children play as late as they like while the moon is shining.

## Food

### CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Food production and preparation are the only economic pursuits carried on by every household every day, and take up more of the time, at least of the men, than any other activity. Food maintains its preeminence even in play, for every festivity centers about a distribution of food.

Futunans consistently hold themselves superior to Europeans in their liberality with food. "White men say, no money, no eat; Futuna"—with appropriate hand-to-mouth gestures—"everybody come, eat, eat." In spite of this open-handedness so long as the supply lasts, pressure of population on the available food supply probably had a good deal to do with the former practices of cannibalism and infanticide, and may have been a factor in war.

Tapus are laid on food in preparation for great feasts. The first fruits were formerly offered to the gods.

### NUTRITION

Futunan diet consists mainly of cultivated vegetables and fruits; animal food is regarded as a relish. Coconuts are the chief source of oil. The Futunan diet, as compared with European, seems lower in protein content and is certainly higher in carbohydrates. The small proportion of green vegetables and acid fruits suggests a shortage in some of the minerals considered essential to a balanced ration. Perhaps coconut and the entrails of fish and pigs supply these wants. At any rate, the people in general appear well-nourished, though they are rarely fat; illness due to malnutrition does not appear on casual observation to be common. There is an abundance of fibrous "roughage" in the diet. The teeth of most Futunans, without a dentist's care or any deliberate cleansing, seem to be in much better condition than those of modern Europeans. There are old people with few teeth, but the teeth of many white-haired men and women are white and strong.

### VEGETABLE FOODS

The principal Futunan food vegetables, with names of some of the different varieties recognized by the natives and their descriptions of them, are

given in the following lists. Though the lists cover the varieties in most general use, they are probably not complete; also, for some varieties there may be more than one name. The generic names are from identification in other regions.

Taro (*talo; Colocasia*). *Lotuma* (small tuber with purplish-gray flesh, the favorite variety for irrigated patches; said to be old in Futuna). *Nino* (small tuber, sometimes called *mea*, though *mea* was also described to me as a variety with large tubers). *Pula* and *siko* (yellow-fleshed tubers; my informant thought these two names applied to the same variety). *Mamaka* (large, dark tuber; a favorite for dry-land patches; said to be a comparatively recent importation from Samoa). *Tea* (large tuber, white-fleshed). *Oa'oa* (large tuber, white-fleshed). *Mangasiva* (large tuber, dark-fleshed). All these can be grown, I was told, either in irrigated patches or in dry ground. Leaves as well as fruit are eaten.

*Kape* (*Colocasia*). Though botanists describe this as a variety of taro, the natives do not consider it so. It is not in such high esteem in general; that is, is considered excellent sometimes, but of variable and uncertain quality. It is grown only in dry land. The edible portion projects a foot or two above ground. It has white flesh, often with a biting taste, pleasant for variety but soon palling.

Breadfruit (*mei; Artocarpus incisa*). *Puau* (leaf only slightly indented; large, hard seed in fruit). *Talatala* (large, hard seed). The following varieties have small seeds and soft core, so that almost all the fruit is edible: *ave'ave loloa* (leaf deeply indented; fruit long); *kuta* (long fruit, with bitter-tasting skin); *kea* (like *kuta*, except that the fruit is round); *lautoko ma'opo* (large fruit); *mei fau* (large fruit with white flesh); *mei laupakapaka* (red-fleshed fruit).

Yam (*ufi; Dioscorea*). "White-skinned" varieties: *poa, vea, kasokaso, falafala, palepale, fakasoa, veni, tavetave, voli, tamuni vatu, salomone tea.* "Red-skinned varieties: *keu, siti, tamuni, kulukulu, tu pakata, ufi kula, vulai.* "Black-skinned" variety: *salomone toto.*

Ufilei (*Dioscorea*). Not regarded as a kind of *ufi*, though generally similar.

Banana (*futsi; Musa*). *Pata* (large, pointed, tough-skinned fruit, skin much blackened when ripe, flesh soft and somewhat stringy). *Pata nefunefu* (?). *Mami* (fruit similar to *pata*, but with blunt end). *Mami kula* (like *mami*, but with red skin). *Sa'amoa* (small, pointed fruit, skin greenish even when ripe, high flavor, the favorite of Europeans for eating raw). *Pakalisa* (?). *Kili manifi* (short, thick fruit). *Sotuma* (short, pointed fruit; bunches ripen gradually, so that the skin of the bottom fruits is bright yellow when that of the upper ones is bright green; by taste, an "apple banana"). *Tapua* (very long, curved fruit, in enormous bunches; dark green skin, hard yellow flesh; in favor for presentation at feasts because of the display made by the huge bunches, but not considered one of the most delectable varieties; to our taste, inferior when raw, excellent fried). *Ta'e manu toto'e* (greenish skin, short fruit, sweet). *Ta'e manu loloa* (similar, but with long fruit). *Lalama, la'u mamai, lelefa, masoli fitsi, masoli kula, masoli uli, mole'a, motu, pava, pili kolo, puko, pukaka, sae, soko'uli, vanivani pau, vavai.* A tale told about the origin of bananas in Futuna lists the following varieties as indigenous: *kili-manifi, mole'a, tapua, mami, soko-uli, vanivanipau, vaivai, masoli, masoli-fitsi,* and *pava.*

Coconut (*niu; Cocos nucifera*). *Niu kula, niu mea, niu kusi* (with green husk). *Niu alava* (greenish husk). *Niu fa'ele'ele, niu leka* (short tree). *Niu to'eto'e* (short tree). *Niu ta'okave* (short tree). *Niu kafa* (long husk; fibers used for sennit). *Niu tea* (white husk, which is eaten when the nut is young). *Niu utongau* (the same or similar). So far as I could learn, all these varieties are equally esteemed for drinking when the nut is young, and for cooking when it is mature. Names given to the nut at different stages are: *niu tafa,* young nut which contains only liquid; *niu matamata tafa,* young nut on which the flesh is beginning to form; *niu*

*mata*, young nut with soft flesh; *niu mata matua*, nut whose flesh is partly hardened; *niu motomoto*, nut with hard flesh, nearly mature; *niu matu'u*, mature nut. The spongy mass that forms in the germinating nut (*nto*) is eaten raw. When a tree is cut down, the "heart" of the white unopened leaves is eaten raw. Coconut "toddy" is unknown.

Arrowroot (*maso'a; Tacca pinnatifida*). Apparently only one variety

Seaweed (*limu*). Some kinds of seaweed are said to be eaten, but they do not form an important part of the diet. I never saw any used for food.

Sweet potato (*kumala; Ipomea batatas*). Use in Futuna of the Polynesian name dates back at least to the time of Grézel (18). I never saw any sweet potatoes under cultivation or served with native meals, and Tamole said there were none except in the mission gardens. Though the wide distribution of this vegetable in Polynesia creates the presumption that it is old in Futuna as well, the possibility remains that it may have been introduced by the early missionaries, perhaps from New Zealand.

Sugar cane (*tolo; Saccharum officinarum*). No names of varieties were collected but I seem to remember seeing green stalks as well as the usual red. Sugar cane is chewed raw, not used in cooking. The juice is not extracted.

A few wild fruits, nuts, and roots are eaten. Among them is the mountain apple (*Jambosa malaccensis*). The Tahitian chestnut (*ifi; Inocarpus edulis*) is sometimes eaten, but it is not abundant. Grézel gives *vakili* as the name of an edible wild yam. Seeds of some varieties of Pandanus are eaten, and the keys of at least one of them (*fala peka*), so called because it is a favorite food of the flying fox (*peka*), are covered with sweet, aromatic flesh which is chewed like sugar cane. Most of these wild food products, as well as the various introduced fruits, some of which now grow wild (papaya, pineapple, orange, lemon, lime, soursop, guava), are not, at least in ordinary times, gathered systematically, and they form an inconsiderable part of the diet. The papaya is planted, but the fruit is usually fed to pigs and the leaves are used as fodder for horses. The mission garden vegetables are not grown or eaten by natives.

### ANIMAL FOODS

The sea furnishes the greatest variety and amount of animal food. Fish of many kinds, octopus, lobsters, shrimps, and several kinds of crabs are caught and eaten. A kind of crayfish is taken in fresh water, and I was told of a fresh-water fish taken with a spear. The turtle has high rank as food for chiefs. Shellfish are gathered, but in much less quantity and variety than on the broader reefs of Wallis Island. Most of the fish taken by nets are small, highly colored varieties that live on the coral reef. Following are names of a few varieties. The scientific names given represent approximate identifications after consulting native names and descriptions in "The Fishes of Samoa" (63).

Atu: bonito, formerly taken by trolling (*Gymnosarda pelamis*).
Atule: horse mackerel, taken in dip nets and seines (*Trachurops crumenophthala*).
Aua: a small mullet (*Liza troscheli*).

Ika uli: a name applied to several species of small dark fish.
Kaloama: a "red mullet"; in French, *rouget;* similar to the *weke* of Hawaii (*Mulloides*).
Kanae: a large mullet (*Liza*).
Malau: a squirrel-fish (*Myripristis* or *Holocentrus*).
Manini: one of the commonest reef fish (*Hepatus trioctegus*).
Nefu: a small fish, 7 to 8 inches long, with large head and eyes, large, stiff fins, thick skin of greenish color with small dark red spots. Quite unlike the diminutive *nefu* of Wallis.
Ulua: a large deep-sea fish rarely caught nowadays (*Caranx forsteri*).
Ume: applied to at least two kinds of surgeon fish (*Hepatus* or *Acanthurus*).

Among birds used for food, pigeons (*lupe*) are first in general esteem. The natives recognize three varieties: *tua vae piapia*, the largest, with light-colored feet and coppery back; *vae kukula*, the second in size, with red feet; and *laua manu*, colored like the first, but considerably smaller. All have dark plumage on the back, with iridescent glints, a bottle-green color predominating and lighter grayish plumage on the breast. Other food birds are a small wild duck, probably a kind of teal (*toloa*); several varieties of snipe or plover (*tuli*); a gallinule (*kalae*); a rail (*veka*); and a heron (*amatuka*). These are occasional delicacies, not often eaten. The large bats called flying foxes (*peka; Pteropus*) are valued as food.

Large white grubs (*afato*), about 6 inches long and ⅜ inch in diameter, found in the soft wood of various kinds of trees (*malava, tavatava, u'ui, tutunu*), are considered delicacies. They are eaten alive or spitted on coconut leaflet midribs and broiled. They have a delicate though woody flavor, and are tender and crisp.

Another delicacy, generally ranked with pigeons as the finest of the island's foods, is the large coconut crab (*Birgus latro* Dana).

The domesticated animals—the hog, dog, and fowl—are used for food. Hogs running wild are sometimes shot in the mountains. Pork and chicken are delicacies, usually reserved for feast days. Chevron (1, vol. 15) wrote: "If the meal is to entertain a friend, they put on the table a roasted dog." Charles Peterson told me that dogs are still eaten, but I did not see this or hear of it from a native. Fowls are valued for meat, but eggs are rarely, if ever, eaten.

A number of fish are eaten raw, sometimes even whole (12, vol. 2, p. 47). Fish brought to us had usually been cleaned, not by splitting the abdomen, but by making a short incision in one side beginning near the gills. This incision is sometimes made with the teeth. The very small fish used in *su* are not cleaned but cooked and eaten whole.

A pig marked for slaughter is first stunned with a rock, then strangled with a pole laid across the throat and pressed down by one or two persons kneeling on the ends of it. When the pig stops struggling it is cleaned, singed, and put in the oven at once. There is no hanging it up to bleed.

of stone weirs, poison, or by night, torches. Less common, but still current, is the use of seines.

Both the dip net and the seine are used almost exclusively by women. A number of fishing methods particularly suited to men—spearing, casting the throw net, angling—are known but little practiced. In other words, fishing as an industry is confined to women. As a sport, it is a resource to men, but not much favored. Futunan men have become farmers rather than fishermen.

The lack of a shallow, calm lagoon makes some fishing methods difficult or unprofitable, and some kinds of fish scarce. But the open sea is at hand, and no attempt is made to draw on its food resources. One result of this condition is that nearly all the fish caught in Futuna are small. Many are only 1 or 2 inches long, and one more than 6 inches is something of a prize. Still, fish are important in diet, and fishing methods, except by comparison with other Polynesian islands, fairly varied. European fishing hooks are in demand, but are little used even by those who have them.

### GROPING ABOUT ROCK PILES

Groping for fish by hand, though not unknown, is not important as a fishing method. In one place, on the reef beside the village of Taoa, I saw piles of coral rock apparently built to attract small fish, and women clustered about them without nets.

### WEIRS

Fish are taken with the dip net in weirs of coral stone (*fota*), built on the reefs to impound the fish as the tide goes out. Weirs are also used with *futu* poison. Not all villages had weirs. I saw none in Tua or Alofi. The most elaborate were at Nuku.

Weirs vary in form but most commonly are laid obliquely to the shore, forming V-shaped enclosures with the points to seaward, so that the fish are led toward the points when they follow the tide out. One of the variants was D-shaped. One side ran nearly straight out to sea. The other, beginning near it, went out at an angle, then turned back and again nearly touched the straight side at the outer end.

Weirs of coconut leaves (*fanga*) are rare in Futuna. I never saw one there. The women of Nuku built one temporary enclosure of leaves, apparently not a weir, for use with *futu* poison. Grézel (18) gives *naanga* as the name of an enclosure of leaves for use with poison. A story was collected in Futuna about a tapu against using a *fanga* (weir of coconut leaves?) more than once. The waves about Futuna, unbroken by a barrier reef, would quickly destroy such a flimsy structure. The story, dictated by Talia, an old woman of Alo, was translated with missionary aid:

Atulau, a daughter of one of the Tui Saavaka when those chiefs were still living in their old domain on Alofi, went with a companion to fish by torchlight at a coconut-leaf weir. They violated an ancient tapu of this kind of fishing, that it be done only once. They caught so many fish that they could not carry them home. So the girl sent for a man to help carry the fish. Two spirits appeared in the guise of men of the lowest class, took the fish, and went along with the girls. One of them asked, "Are you afraid?" They said, "No." He retorted, "It is a lie! You are afraid." When they came near Saavaka, the demons killed the girls.

Tui Saavaka, searching for his daughter, found the two bodies beside their catch of fish. He took them to Saavaka for burial. But the girls came back to life, married the demons and lived by the site of the weir. Since that time, no one fishes twice at a leaf weir, for fear of the demons.

## NETS

At least four kinds of nets were described by Futunans as indigenous fishing apparatus: two-handled dip nets, throw nets, and small and large seines. Nets are made of rolled cord of the inner bark of several plants:

For the larger nets, bark from young branches of *fau* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) is used. A material regarded as serviceable, but not excellent, is the inner bark of breadfruit. More highly regarded is bark of *ata*. The natives say there are two kinds of *ata*, but specimens collected for me were both identified as *Ficus tinctoria*. The most valued material for net cords is the inner bark of *sikaloa* (species of *Pipturus*), a plant found only in a few places. I was told that in the upper valleys, where the forest has been undisturbed for many years, *sikaloa* can sometimes be found by clearing away the higher growth, after which it sprouts. It is also said to sprout on plantation land left fallow.

Nets are made with a needle, reel, or shuttle (*sika*), and a gauge (*afa*). The needles are of the common Polynesian type, a flat piece of wood, slightly concave on the broader sides, with slots cut in each end so that the sides form two incurving prongs. The specimen collected is 16 inches long, 1.25 inches broad, and 0.5 inch thick. The gauges are strips about 6 inches long, and of a width half the mesh of the net. All that I saw in Futuna were of bamboo. I did not work out the netting technique, but the knots in the specimen collected are the mesh knots described by Buck for Samoa (49, p. 471).

1. Double-handled dip net (*kukutsi*). Used by the women to catch the great bulk of all fish eaten in Futuna (pl. 4). A miniature of the type (*'u'uti*) described from Samoa (49, pp. 475-476) as a shrimp net.

2. A net (*na'ana'a*) larger than the *kukutsi*, but of the same general design and use. According to Grézel (18), a net for men. Grézel gives also a verb *naua'a* (to place the *na'aua'a*) or *kukutsi* (to catch fish). This net is not nearly so much used as the *kukutsi*. Though it was named and described to me, I did not see one.

3. Casting net (*tsili liu*). A device for men. I did not see one. As Tui Angaifo said that its use in Futuna antedates the shipwreck of the Tsiaina people the presumption is that it resembles the Samoan net (49, p. 482) with the top tied together only when it is folded for casting, rather than the Chinese casting net which is closed at the top. Use of the casting net in deep water, whether from the edge of the reef or from a boat, is indicated by Grézel's definition of *ntoni:* "To throw a net in the open sea to catch fish; to fish with a net in deep water." This may refer also to other kinds of nets.

*siva* as "angling by night." The name given me for this kind of fishing was *sisi*. A pole is not used. Angling is little practiced in Futuna nowadays.

Trolling from boats, though still done by Futunan men as a sport, brings in no considerable part of the supply of fish. Nowadays the trolling is usually done by moonlight, and the hooks used are practically always steel ones bought from the trader.

The old method of trolling for bonito with pearl-shell shanks armed with turtle shell points has gone out of use. Tui Angaifo said that it was still practiced in the time of Savelio, king of Singave about the third quarter of the nineteenth century, and added that though there are still plenty of bonito in the waters of Futuna, particularly off the Singave coast, the men are too lazy to go after them. In the old days there was a special method of counting bonito (*atu*), given by Grézel (18, p. 23):

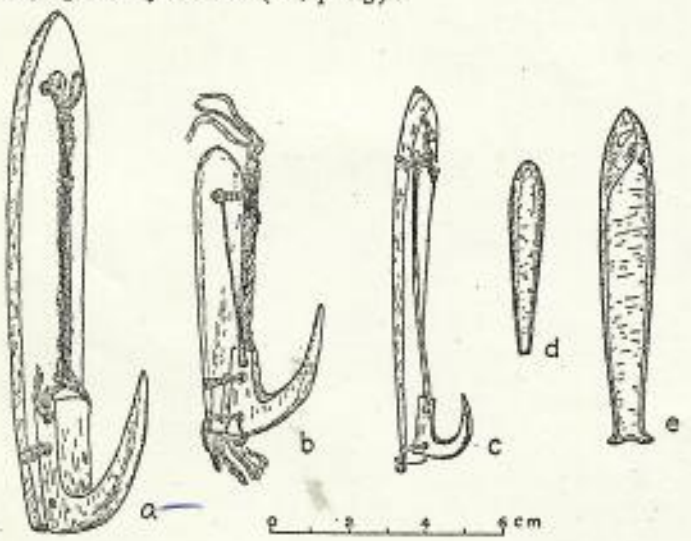



FIGURE 10.—Bonito hooks: *a*, pearl-shell shank, turtle-shell point with three holes, length 5⅛ inches (C5014); *b*, usual size with fiber hackle, length 3⅜ inches (C5016); *c*, slender type, two holes in base, lashing modern and temporary (C5020); *d*, small shank of *Trocus* shell, point lacking (C5026); *e*, shank carved as fish tail (C5024).

To count the fish that the natives call *atu*, bonitos, two are taken at a time, as yams were formerly, and counted as if they were one, being called "one, two, three," etc. When ten pairs are counted, the counter calls "*ko le lekau e tasi*," or 20 bonitos. But if they are counted one by one up to 10, then this unit takes the name of *mata angafulu* or 10 bonitos. Two *mata angafulu* make one *lekau*, or 20 bonitos; 30 bonitos make a *lekau* and a *mata angafulu*; 40 bonitos make two *lekau*; 100 bonitos make five *lekua*. There are the two ways of counting these fish. When there are ten *lekau* or 200 bonitos, this number takes the name of *tusi*; a *tusi* and 200 bonitos are the same thing. When there are ten *tusi* of *atu*, or 2,000 bonitos, one says *Ko le kau-lau e tasi*. When there are ten *kau-lau* of bonitos (20,000), they are given the name of *afe*. There ends this sort of enumeration for the Futunan.

The general name for hook or fishing with a hook is *mata'u*. King Keletaona said that the Futunans used to import their bonito hooks from Wallis Island, as there was no good shell in the waters about Futuna.

Enough of the apparatus of bonito fishing, and enough memory of the process, are still available to give at least a general idea of how this kind of fishing was carried on. The following description of hooks is based on seven complete composite points, three separate shanks, and two separate points:

Bonito hooks (*pa atu*) are in two pieces, a shank usually of pearl shell and a point usually of turtle shell. The smallest of the shanks is of *Trocas* shell, which unlike pearl shell is fairly common in Futuna. This shank is only 2 inches long, seemingly too small to catch bonito. The largest shank, and one other, were cut across the shell, and lack the thick part near the hinge. These two have two holes at the head, bored from front to back. All the rest, even the tiny one of *Trocas* shell, have but one hole in the head, bored transversely through the thick part from near the hinge of the shell.

The backs of two of the shanks are of dark purplish iridescent color. On two others a little of this color appears near the distal end. On the rest it has been ground off, leaving the shanks pearly white all over. This suggests the custom, observed in fishing for bonito elsewhere with similar hooks, of using shanks of different colors at different times. Two of the shanks have lateral notches to hold the lashing. The distal ends of all but two are square. These two have lateral projections, and one of them has also a notch in the end, producing a fish-tail shape (fig. 10, *e*).

All but one of the points are made of turtle shell. The single exception is of turtle breastplate (entoplastron). All the points have a proximal projection on the base. To hold the lashing, holes are bored in this. The four larger points have three holes; the five smaller ones, two holes.

Shank and point are attached to each other, and to the line, by lashing with rolled cords of *sikaloa* (*Pipturus*) bast, used also for the fishing line. The lashing passes through holes in the base projection of the point and around the back of the shank. When the point has two holes, both are used for this lashing; when there are three, the two distal ones. One of the specimens has bits of wood as stick fillers to tighten this lashing. Another lashing runs from the proximal hole in the point to the hole in the head of the shank, and fastens the fishing line to the head of the shank. The line passes through the proximal hole in the point, and is doubled back in a loop or snood, which is sized throughout its length. None of the Futunan hooks have an open snood, passing entirely around the hook, as in some Polynesian regions. One of the specimens has a hackle of unraveled bast projecting from the distal end (fig. 10, *b*). I saw no feather hackles in Futuna.

Bonito poles were of bamboo, fitted with a wooden handle which projected beyond the end of the bamboo. The bamboo was fitted in a groove of the handle and attached by lashing. The usual length of poles, according to Tui Angaifo, was two and a half spans (*lofa*), or about 15 feet. The line was attached near the proximal end of the pole—that is, about at the distal end of the wooden handle. Tui Angaifo, demonstrating the apparatus for me with a sapling, made one half-hitch at this point, then ran the line to the distal end of the pole, where he attached it with two half-hitches. He then ran the free end back to the first point of attachment and said that the hook was put on there, and when not in use hooked into the half-hitch by the