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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF MANUA

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From an Upolu talking chief I obtained the following lists:

1. Tapui mo'o mo'o; to hang a coconut shell or bottle on a tree. Penalty, boils.
2. Tapui i a'o; a coconut leaf an arm's length long braided. Penalty, to be bitten by a sting ray.
3. Tapui isumu; piece of tapa tied to a reed. Penalty, to have one's clothes eaten by rats.
4. Tapui isu pu; a coconut cup with a knotted cord. Penalty, nose will fall in.

In Tau three *tapuis* are still remembered:

1. Hieroglyph; a coconut shell or bottle filled with water hung to a tree with a fastening of tapa or cloth. Penalty, boils.
2. Hieroglyph; a woven coconut leaf basket with a piece of stick pushed through it. Penalty, to be speared by a swordfish.
3. Hieroglyph; a husked whole coconut. Penalty, boils on the buttocks.

In Fitiuta two *tapuis* were still remembered:

Tapui tigisami (a coconut water bottle used for carrying salt water). Penalty, a skin infection.

Tapui ugi (a crab with a stick in its mouth fastened to a tree with sennit). Penalty, to be bitten by crabs.

RANK AND TAPU

The Samoan conception of rank as a question of title rather than of birth was highly unfavorable to the maintenance of tapus of rank. With the absence of any sort of primogeniture, no special sanctity of the first born and the late accession to a title, men who would later hold high rank, lived and mingled with common men for the first twenty-five to thirty-five years of their lives. The prestige elsewhere associated with birth became associated with the title, and was passed from title holder to title holder, instead of from father to newborn son. The addition of the idea of removing a man's title if he were old or inefficient completed the legalization of this concept of rank. Except for the tapus of the Tui Manua and the few tapus of other high chiefs, those observances: respect for the garments, food, bed, cup, name of the chief, which were motivated in other parts of Polynesia by a fear of the contagious sanctity of the chief, became mere etiquette. Even the sanctity of the Tui Manua was invaded by this iconoclastic conception. A man who was to be Tui Manua might be tattooed before he acceded to the title but not afterward. Children born to him before accession were treated as other children; children born to him afterward were *tama paia* (sacred children). Intrinsic sanctity of persons—not of the mere present incumbents of titles—was foreign to the Samoan feeling.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMEN

Samoans are curiously free from the widespread Oceanic attitude towards women. As they allow no inherent qualities to high birth, so also they do

not attribute any special fixed qualities to sex. Neither men nor women are of importance unless they hold titles; all of those who do not hold titles are liable to exclusion from ceremonial occasions as nonparticipators. The young girl has been institutionalized as taupou and thus may make the kava in the council house of chiefs, or drink the first cup of kava on a malaga. She receives higher honors than those accorded to a manaia. Women may also hold titles; Makelita, the last Tui Manua but one was a woman, and Talala, the mother of Tufele, at present holds the matai name of Leota in Upolu.

Custom, not an intrinsic quality which renders them inherently unfit, usually prevents women from holding titles. Bonito fishing is prohibited to women, but tumeric, varnish, and black dye making are prohibited to men. Menstruating women are forbidden to take part in these activities, but this is a slight handicap in comparison with the great amount of energy expended on preserving sacred things from contact with women in other parts of Polynesia.

Most notable is the absence of the special birth house, the absence of the menstrual hut, and the paucity of menstrual tapus. Menstruating women and girls before puberty suffered the same disabilities. They were forbidden to make kava or *tafolo* (a breadfruit dish almost invariably made by men). A few informants included *palusami* (coconut and taro leaf pudding) in the list of prohibitions. Menstruating women and immature girls are forbidden to eat pork. Aside from the set of prenatal observances, birth was very little stressed by prohibitions. The bamboo knife with which the umbilical cord was cut was thrown away. Formerly abortions were greatly feared and were thrown into the bush at once.

PROHIBITIONS CONCERNING DEATH

The bottle which contained the oil used in rubbing the corpse and the remains of the tumeric were tapu and buried with the corpse. But the mat upon which the body lay was removed, aired, and preserved, in case it was a mat regarded as too expensive for burial. Those who attended the corpse bathed before eating. The fan used was given to the sister or paternal aunt. Graves were made near the home or even in it and were not tapu. Bones accidentally turned up on the ground were avoided as dangerous.

PROHIBITIONS SURROUNDING WORK

Of all economic activities in Manua, only two could be said to be surrounded by prohibitions. These were fishing, especially bonito fishing, and the preparation of dyes for tapa.

It was forbidden to take food in a new bonito boat and considered inadvisable to do so at any time. A man who was going bonito fishing might

not have sexual intercourse the night before. Women were forbidden to touch bonito canoes or bonito hooks and lines. When the fish were brought home, they were laid on breadfruit leaves at the front of the house and a woman poured water over them, after which she was free to touch them. While the fishermen were away from home, it was forbidden to raise the house blinds, sweep out the house, weed the yard, or do any kind of work. The penalty for the infringement of any of these regulations was bad luck in fishing. A new net was spread while fasting. It was forbidden to watch men pound bait. Eating while using an *upega sae'e* (kind of net) brought a penalty of death. The bonito fisherman was also forbidden anger and unwillingness, he was bidden to go with an amiable disposition.

The making of tumeric (*o le lega*) the grating of *o'a* bark to provide the varnish for tapa, and the burning of candlenuts (*o le fausa sa*) for black pigment were all hedged about with prohibitions. Women engaged in these activities were forbidden to have sexual intercourse on the preceding night. They might not work while menstruating, nor might immature girls assist them. They were forbidden to bathe in the sea. Unwillingness, ill feeling, sulking, pouting, and weeping were forbidden. For the *fausa sa* a woman must be "old," past the menopause, and must work alone without interruption. Failure to observe these rules would spoil the dye. They said of making tumeric, *"O musu, e lē moe le lega"* (if the heart is unwilling the dye will not settle).

Tattooing had not been performed on Manua within the memory of my informants. Untattooed boys were not allowed to make the kava, although they were allowed to pass the kava cups.

House building and canoe building, trail making and wall building were occasions upon which chiefs gathered together. All such occasions demanded consideration from outsiders; women, children, and untitled men; all nonparticipants, were forbidden to intrude except upon special errands. But such intrusion was simply a breach of etiquette.

PROHIBITIONS SURROUNDING GODS

It was forbidden to injure, kill, or eat of the plant or animal in which one's family god or village god was embodied, under penalty of the wrath and chastisement of the god. No object which had been dedicated to a god might be given away. The idea of contagion was not involved in this prohibition.

LIFTING TAPUS

The slight development of tapus in Samoa is naturally accompanied by a very slight pattern for removing tapus. The typical method outside Manua is by sprinkling with water the person, place, or object which has become

sacred. After tattooing on Tutuila the newly tattooed were sprinkled and then permitted to bathe and mingle freely with the people. In western Samoa high chiefs' titles were removed by sprinkling and the spot upon which a titled high chief had been sitting was sprinkled (104, p. 127). Those who had handled the dead were freed from tapu in the same way (104, p. 128).

On Manua there is no record of this sprinkling procedure. Those who had handled the dead bathed in the sea, a typical part of the conclusion of tapu in eastern Polynesia. The coconut palm leaves laid across the entrance of a village at the death of a high chief were simply lifted when the period of mourning was passed. The obviation of the results of an accidental infringement, so highly developed among the Maori, is limited to the rite of the foot of the Tui Manua, (*o le sol iga*).

This meagre list would suggest that Samoan society lacks that dramatic division into the contagious and the noncontagious, those things which may be handled safely, casually; and those things which must be treated with precaution. But the Samoans have a dichotomy of their own between the formally social and the individual. All occasions of group activity are *sa;* interruptions, levity, noise, chattering children, casual comer (even of rank) are all forbidden. The participation of the titled men of the group renders a hunt for an escaped pig, a house building, or a wall building, important and inviolate. The man, no matter how high his rank, who builds himself a whole house, in casual, informal fashion, is engaged in a secular activity, as is the woman who weaves her fine mat while half a dozen children tumble recklessly about among the strands. But if the man is engaged in adding one sennit lashing to a house for which *tufuga* have been formally engaged, or a woman sews one feather to her mat in a formal "weaving house" of wives of matais, they are then formal, important activities, consecrated to the value the Samoan respects most—the formal social structure. No individual is important in himself for inherent, inalienable qualities. Only as individuals, places, or occasions are given importance by this peculiar social sanction, must they be treated with respect; a respect which is now rigorous etiquette, no longer tapu.

MANUAN RELIGION

Any account of Manuan religion to-day is open to very serious criticisms. The people have been Christians for almost a hundred years. All informants are merely repeating information which they heard from their fathers and grandfathers. Christian phraseology, Christian ways of thought, have overlaid much of the older attitude. Nor has the process of Christianization been even. Spirits have been allowed to remain as demons sanctioned by the evidence of Holy Writ, family gods have been demoted and exiled to a demon existence in the bush; and though Tagaloa has suffered little, as it is possible to regard Jehovah as his direct successor, lesser gods have been pushed to the wall. Ceremonies which the missionaries deprecated have vanished, while others have remained. Any remarks which I make are, therefore, offered with the greatest caution; they are scattered observations and random hypotheses rather than systematic accounts of the aboriginal cults.

Despite the long Church influence, there are certain features which have made for preserving parts of the old religion intact. The great number of native pastors, unsophisticated, simple men who have gone only a short distance from their cultural background, is one of the most important of these. Many of these pastors believe in ghosts, believe that they can be snared in nets or silenced with draughts of hot water. They believe in demons like *Sanmata'afi*, a vampire spirit known all over Samoa, who changes her form at will. They believe in the ghost boats.

Also, the Samoan aptitude for manipulating ideas, and moving things and persons about in a schematic and ideal chess board, makes for an extreme ease in native thinking, an ease which may be presumed to have preserved some old customs. So to the question, "Who gives you the power to make your medicine?" the mediciner answers, "God." "And who gave it before God came?" "Tagaloa." Or, "If a man is sick and you make the confessional kava, to whom do you pray?" "God." "And before God came?" "To the *tupua* (family god)." Pre-Christian days are definitely conceived as an old order, lamentable in many ways, but still in most respects very like the present. Into this old order and this reign of the old gods, came "the light" and the new god. Those affairs of men in which the old gods interested themselves are now supervised by the new.

The native pastor (*faifeʻau*) is regarded as the successor of the old oracular priests. The Bible is regarded as the record of very present events, Herod is still believed to reign in Jerusalem, and Pharaoh still to oppress the people of Egypt. Meanwhile, those who have the time still talk a little of that older god, Tagaloa, who had "three sacred names."

TRADITIONS OF CREATION

Powell (85) in 1871 obtained from Fofō and Tauanu'u, two prominent talking chiefs of Tau, long creation chants which were sung on occasions of importance in the life of the Tui Manua. These traditions (46; 47) are in far more perfect form than any which I found to-day. They were collected fifty years earlier and may therefore be regarded as the most complete and coherent accounts to be obtained from Manua. Powell overestimates, I believe, the importance of Tauanu'u the "father of the *to'oto'os*," whom he describes as follows:

> On the largest island of the Manua cluster of Samoa (this is Tau) "there resides a family" (that of Tauānu'u) "whose office it has been, from time immemorial, to guard these myths with sacred care, and, only on occasions of a royal tour" (of Tu'i Manua) "to rehearse them in public. They were taught to the children of the family with great secrecy, and the different parts of a myth and its song were committed to the special care of different members of the family; so that a young man would have the special care of the prose part and a young woman that of the poetic part, while to the older members, and especially the head of the family, belonged the prerogative of explaining the meaning of the various allusions of the poetic lines."

I have no record of this division of labor and all informants agreed that traditional lore was taught to daughters only if there were no sons, and by talking chiefs to their wives. But there is one feature of this long myth recorded by Powell which supports the theory that it had been preserved in a single family line. It shows all the traces of having been edited and rationalized. Samoan tradition, especially in comparison with Maori tradition, is a mass of amorphous, ambiguous material, full of contradictory details, unassimilated elements, and unmotivated incidents. This was inevitable in view of the fact that there was no legend-keeping group and that it was customary to embody mythological ideas and records in a very loose poetical form called the *solo*. Powell says, "In order, therefore, to the verification of any mythical piece of history, it is necessary to obtain its *solo*."

The *solo* was anything but a really faithful repository of mythological truth. Its form was so indeterminate that it could be broken up into half a dozen pieces and each piece would seem equally coherent to those who heard it. Similarly, new parts could be added, separate *solos* combined, fragments of old *solos* patched together into a new *solo*. The allusiveness was so vague, the most cursory reference stood for such an involved event, that the auditor could not check the veracity of any given version. Powell speaks of the custom of demanding from a narrator, "'*Ta mai le soifua*," which is a demand to demonstrate the life or power of the tale by reciting the *solo*. But this type of request usually only taxes the quick wits of the narrator, for the short *solo* can be bent to a dozen uses.

A further force for differentiation has been the use of *solos* in the enter-

tainments of the young. Each participant is called upon to recite a *solo*—letter-perfect—or dance as a forfeit. This has resulted in spreading short *solos*, and broken fragments of long ones, beyond the provenience of the myth upon which they were based. The orator or expounder of native lore will then readapt them to the uses of a different mythical version, or use them as an actual starting point for a new version.

There are no formal occasions in Samoa to-day where myths are told, but *solos* are recited upon all important occasions. As a result it is the myth, the rationalization, which is local and esoteric, rather than the *solo*. A collector like Turner, traveling about among the villages, picked up numerous contradictory tales which stand out in strong contrast to those traditions collected by Powell in Manua.

The Fale 'ula (council house of Tui Manua) over which Tauanu'u presided is the linguistic equivalent of the *whare kura* the Maori name used by White (127, vol. 1), for the *whare wanaŋga* (Maori college of learning). The plan of the Fale 'ula like the *whare kura*, is said to have been made in heaven and given to mankind by the gods. There seems therefore to be a probable historical relationship between these two traditions, but here the analogy stops. Tauanu'u was head talking chief in the fono of the Tui Manua, as such he was the chief guardian of traditional lore, but the Fale 'ula was no sacred house of learning, nor was Tauanu'u a priest.

I quote in full the version given to Powell as it consists of a most interesting composite of all the principal Samoan creation legends. As Mr. Powell's translation of the poetic version is exceedingly flowery, I have used instead the more prosaic version prepared by Mr. Fraser with the help of Mr. Pratt (46, vol. 24, pp. 207-212).

Tagaloa is the god who dwells in the illimitable void. He made all things. He alone (at first) existed. When there was no heaven, no people, no sea, no earth, he traversed the illimitable void; but, at a point at which he took his stand, up sprang a rock. His name is Tagaloa-faatutupunnu, (i. e., Tagaloa-Creator; literally, the People-producing Tagaloa), because he made all things when nothing had been made. He said to the rock, "Divide!" and thereupon were born, in immediate succession, the reclining rock, the lava rock, the branching rock, and the cellular rock. Tagaloa then, looking towards the west, said (again) to the rock, "Divide!" He then smote it with his right hand: the rock divided on the right, and immediately the earth and the sea were born. That (the earth) is the parent of all the men (mankind) in the world. The lava rock was then flooded, and the reclining rock said to it, "Blessed art thou in the enjoyment of thy sea;" to which the lava rock replied, "Bless not me, for the sea will reach unto thee also." And thus it was with all the rocks.

Tagaloa then turned to the right, and the fresh waters arose. Tagaloa again said to the rock, "Divide!" and the heaven (sky) was born. Again he spake to the rock, and there were born in succession *Tui te'e lagi* (the heaven raising king), immensity and space, and the palm of clouds. He spake again and the male and female abysses were born, named Luao (the hollow abyss) and Luavai (the abyss of waters). Again Tagaloa spake to the rock, and there were born in succession Aoalala (a branching zoophyte), a

male, and Ga'ogaooletai (a coral rock), a female; also tagata (man), spirit; heart; will and suspicion.

This completes the list of the progeny produced by Tagaloa from the rock. But they were only floating on the surface of the sea, no stationary place had been assigned them.

Tagaloa and the rock then made the following appointments:

1. To heart, spirit, will and suspicion he said, "Enter ye into man." This is the cause of man's intelligence: he was named *Fatu ma le Eleele* (i. e., Rock and the Earth). This was the first human pair; Fatu (Rock) was the female, and Ele'ele the male.

2. To immensity and spaces he said, "Come ye, and be united above, and let the palm of clouds be your child." They therefore ascended, but there was only an immense void,—there was nothing upon which the sight could rest.

3. To the abysses of void and waters he said, "Go ye, and people the regions of the waters."

4. Let the zoophyte and the coral rock produce the inhabitants of the sea.

5. Let *Fatu ma le Eleele* people this side (where the earth is).

6. Then said Tagaloa to the heaven-raising-king (*Tui te'e lagi*), "Come, and raise the heaven." He raised it up, but down again it fell. Tui te'e lagi then went and brought the Masoa (the Polynesian arrow-root plant, Tacca pennatifida), and the Teve (an aroid plant, Amorphophalus campanulatus, *Seemann*), for these were the first of all vegetable growths. With these he succeeded in raising the heaven, and there it is a resting place for the vision; but previously there was none, but only the void of immensity and space.

Immensity and space gave birth to Day and Night, and Tagaloa appointed that this pair should people the face of heaven, and Immensity and Space should people the boundless void. They gave birth to another heaven, which Tui te'e lagi elevated, and this became the second heaven. The second heaven was peopled also by Immensity and Space. In like manner they gave birth to and peopled seven other heavens, which were elevated by Tai te'e lagai, and were named respectively the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth heaven.

This completes the list of the progeny of Immensity and Space.

Tagaloa the Creator then sat down, and produced Tagaloa the Unchangeable, and Tagaloa the Visitor of the Peoples, and Tagaloa the Prohibitor of the Peoples, and Tagaloa the Messenger, and Tuli and Logonoa.

Then Tagaloa the Creator said to Tagaloa the Unchangeable, "Be thou king of heaven!"

He then sent Tagaloa the Messenger to visit all the heavens, beginning at the highest, and to call an assembly of all their inhabitants in the ninth heaven, and announce that Tagaloa the Unchangeable was now their king. In fulfillment of this commission, calling at each heaven in succession, he descended to the first heaven, the region of Day and Night. He asked them whether they had fulfilled their appointment to people the face of the heavens. "Yes," was their reply: "Behold the black hemisphere of the heaven,, and the bright hemisphere of the heaven, and all the stars. These are our children, all in their places; and we have four yet unappointed to any sphere. Their names are Manu'a and Samoa, and the Sun and the Moon."

The messenger informed them that these four must ascend to the ninth heaven to attend a council of Tagaloa the Unchangeable, who was now their king, and to receive their appointments, and that they themselves must accompany them.

The council was held in the ninth heaven, and its seat is called the Forum of Tranquillity.

At the council, the progeny of Immensity and Space, who occupied the eighth heaven, were appointed architects. There were some ten thousand of them, and they were all named Tagaloa. They then erected a palace, for Tagaloa the Unchangeable, which was named Le Fale 'Ula (the Crimson Palace or Palace of Joy).

Then said Tagaloa the Creator to Night and Day, "Let those two youths, Manu'a and Samoa, descend and be the rulers of the progeny of Fatu ma le Eleele, and their

names shall be appended to the royal title of Tagaloa the Unchangeable, who is king of the ninth heaven. He was, therefore, entitled King of Manua-tele and all Samoa.

Tagaloa the Creator then said to Night and Day, "Let those two youths, the Sun and Moon, follow yourselves. When Day proceeds, let the Sun follow; when Night proceeds, let the Moon follow." These two are the shadow of Tagaloa, and are named, all the world over, The Reflection (literally the moon) of Tagaloa.

Tagaloa the Creator then appointed that they should proceed along one side only of the heavens, and that the stars should accompany them. (It is said by the legend-keeper that the stars all had names, but the present generation has forgotten them.)

Then Tagaloa the Messenger, having assumed the form of the Turi, went about to visit the lands; but no land could be seen, only the wide expanse of waters. Commencing at the group or range where the Eastern group now stands, he caused that group to emerge from the waters. Then he proceeded to where Fiti (Fiji) stands, and caused it to emerge. Then, wearied with traversing so wide an expanse of ocean, he stood and looked towards Tagaloa the Creator, in the heavens. Tagaloa the Creator looked down and the Tongan lands emerged. Again he turned towards Samoa (Manu'a is meant); but, unable to continue his course, he looked again to the heavens. Tagaloa the Creator and Tagaloa the Unchangeable looked down, and the land called Savai'i emerged.

Tagaloa the Messenger then returned to the heavens and reported the existence of those lands. Tagaloa the Creator then went on a black cloud to inspect them. He was much pleased and said, "*Ua lelei*" i. e., "It is good." Then he stood on the tops of the mountains and trod them down so as to prepare them well for the habitation of man.

He then returned to heaven and said to Tagaloa the Messenger, "Return to your course; take this pair, Group and Eastern, and let them people the eastern range. From these two of the progeny of Tagaloa it is that the whole eastern range is named. He next sent him with Group and Fiti to people the lands which are named after them. In like manner he sent him with Group and Tonga, by whom the lands known by their names were peopled. All these were the progeny of Tagaloa.

By the command of Tagaloa the Creator, Tagaloa the Messenger now returned to Manu'a to Fatu ma le Eleele and of their progeny selected Valu'a and Tiapa, and took them to people the land which is now called Savai'i. To this pair were born a girl, whom they named I'i, and a boy, whom they named Sava; by these the island was peopled, and hence the name Savai'i.

On his return from Savai'i, Tagaloa the Messenger looked imploringly to the heavens. Tagaloa the Creator looked down, and Upolu emerged from the waters. Again Tagaloa the Messenger looked up imploringly to the heavens. Tagaloa the Creator looked down, and Tutuila emerged.

Returning to the heavens, Tagaloa the Messenger said, "There are two lands now for resting-places." Tagaloa the Creator answered, "Take the man-producing vine, and go and plant it exposed to the sun. Leave it to bring forth spontaneously, and when it has done so inform me." He planted it at the east end of Upolu, at a place called the Forum of the Sun. When he visited it, he found that the vine had produced a shapeless, moving mass. He informed Tagaloa the Creator that the vine had brought forth. Tagaloa the Creator himself then descended, and saw that it was a mass of worms which the vine had produced. He straightened them out so as to develop their heads, faces, hands, and arms, moulding them into perfect human forms, and he gave them heart and soul. Thus were formed four human beings who were named Upolu, and Tele, and Tutu and Ila. The former pair were left on Upolu to people it, hence its name Upolu-tele (Great Upolu, as it is called by the people of Manu'a). Tutu and Ila were appointed to people Tutuila, hence its name. That vine was the daughter of Tagaloa. It has two names, the Human Vine, and the Sacred Vine.

Tagaloa the Creator then gave a parting charge to Upolutele and Tutuila that they should not encroach upon Manua on pain of destruction, but that each should confine his rule to his own territory.

O le solo o le Va

Le 'upu a le Tuli, o le ata lea o Tagaloa-savali, ia Tagaloa fa'atutupu-nu'u.

Galu lolo, ma galu fatio'o,
Galu tau, ma galu fefatia'i:—
O le auau peau ma le sologa peau,

Na ona fa'afua a e le fati:—
Peau ta'oto, peau ta'alolo,
Peau malie, peau lagatonu,
Peau alili'a, peau la'aia,
Peau fatia, peau taulia,
Peau tautala, peau lagava'a,
Peau tagata, peau a sifo mai gaga'e,

O lona soa le auau tata'a.

"Tagaloa e, taumuli ai,

Tagaloa fiamalolo;
E mapu i le lagi Tuli mai vasa;

Ta lili'a i peau a lalo."

Fea le nu'u na lua'i tupu?
Manua-tele na mua'i tupu.
Se papa le tai le a o'o atu;

Ma le Masina e solo manao;
O le La se tupua le fano;

E tupu le vai, tupu le tai, tupu le lagi.

Ifo Tagaloa e asiasi;
Tagi i sisifo, tagi i sasae;

Na tutulu i le fia tula'i.

Tupu Savai'i ma Mauga-loa,

Tupu Fiti ma le atu Toga atoa;

Tupu Savai'i; a e muli,
Le atu Toga, ma le atu Fiti,
Atoa le atu nu'u e iti; ;
Ma Malae-Alamisi,

Samata-i-uta ma Samata-i-tai:

Le nofoa a Tagaloa ma lona taatuga.

A Song about Strife

The word of the Tuli, which is the emblem of Tagaloa-the-messenger, to Tagaloa-the-creator-of-lands.

Rollers flooding, rollers dashing,
Rollers fighting, rollers clashing:—
The sweep of waters and the extension of waves,
Surging high, but breaking not:—
Waves reclining; waves dispersing;
Waves agreeable; waves that cross not;
Waves frightsome; waves leaping over;
Waves breaking; waves warring;
Waves roaring; waves upheaving;
The peopled waves; waves from east to west,
Whose companion is the wandering current.

The Tuli Speaks

"O Tagaloa, who sittest at the helm (of affairs),
Tagaloa's (bird) desires to rest;
Tuli from the ocean must rest in the heavens;
These waves below affright my breast."

The Poet's Account of Creation

Where is the land which first upsprang?
Great Manua first uprose.
Beats on (Manua's) rock his well-loved waves;
On it the Moon's desired light looks down;
The Sun, like statue, changeless found,
(Darts his refulgent beams around;)
The waters in this place appear;
The sea, too, occupies its sphere;
The heaven ascends, the sky is clear.
To visit (the scene) Tagaloa comes down;
To the west, to the east, his wailing cry he sends;
A strong desire to have a place whereon to stand
Possesses him; (he bids the lands arise.)
Savai'i with its high mountain then sprang up,
And up sprang Fiti and all the Tongan group;
Arose Savai'i; and afterwards,
The Tongan group and the group of Fiti,
Together with the group of small lands;
With the home of Alamisi (the two Samatas
Arose)—Samata-inland and Samata-by-the-sea:
The seats of Tagaloa, and his footstool.

33 O Manua na lua'i gafoa—
34 O le mapusaga o Tagaloa—
35 A e muli le atunu'u atoa.

36 Tumau i lou atu mauga, ta'alolo;

37 Tumau, Tagaloa, i mauga o Manua,
38 A e lele i lou atululuga:

39 E fusifua ma fa'atatau,
40 Le va i nu'u po ua tutusa.
41 E levaleva le vasa ma savili;
42 E lili'a Tagaloa ia peau alili;
43 Tagi i lagi sina 'ili'ili:

44 Upolu, sina fatu laitiiti,
45 Tutuila, sina ma'a lagisigisi,
46 Nu'u faao e a sisii:
47 E mapusaga i ai ali'i,

48 Tagaloa e 'ai fa'afe'i'i.

49 Na fa'aifo ai le Fue-tagata,

50 Fa'atagataina ai Tutuila,
51 Ma Upolu, ma Atua, ma A'ana,

52 Atoa ma Le-tuamasaga.
53 Ona gaoi fua o tino, e le a'ala,
54 E leai ni fatumanava.
55 Logologo Tagaloa i luga,

56 Ua isi tama a le Fue-sa,

57 Na ona gaoi i le la;

58 E le vaea, e le lima;
59 E le ulua, e le fofoga,
60 E leai ni fatumanava!
61 Ifoifo Tagaloa i sisifo,
62 I fetalaiga e tu'u titino:
63 "Fua o le Fue, ni nai ilo,

64 E totosi a'u fa'asinosino;
65 Outou loto na momoli ifo;

66 Ia pouli outou tino;

67 Ia malama outou mata,
68 E tali a'i Tagaloa,
69 A e pe a maui ifo e savalivali."

70 Fiti-tele, ma lou atu sasae,

33 But great Manua first grew up—
34 The resting place of Tagaloa—
35 After that, all other groups of islands.
The Peopling of Upolu and Tutuila
36 Abide in thy mountains, these visit and rest;
37 Abide, Tagaloa, on Manua's high crest,
38 But fly now and then to thy group in the west;
39 To measure and compare the space
40 Which lies between, from place to place.
41 The ocean between is long and breezy;
42 Terrific waves affright Tagaloa;
43 "Oh for a little coral strand!" thus to heaven he cries:
44 Upolu, a very small bit of rock,
45 And Tutuila, a little stony land,
46 Are isles that thereupon immediately arise:
47 Where chiefs in aftertimes may find a place of rest;
48 And gods, tho' pinched for room, have many a feast.
The Origin of Man
49 And hither came from heaven the peopling vine,
50 Which gave to Tutuila its inhabitants,
51 And to Atua and A'ana, with Le-tuamasaga in Upolu.
52 (Forth from the vine they come,)
53 The bodies only move, they have no breath,
54 Nor heart's pulsation.
55 The god-like Tagaloa learns (in heaven) above,
56 The sacred vine to gender life has now begun,
57 But that its offspring only wriggle in the sun;
58 No legs, no arms, they have;
59 No head, no face,
60 Nor heart's pulsation!
61 Tagaloa then, descending to the west,
62 Speaks but the word and it is done:
63 "These fruits, the product of the vine are worms,
64 But them I fashion into member'd forms;
65 To each of you from above I now impart a will;
66 Opacity must be the portion of your bodies still;
67 Your faces, they must shine, (I so ordain,)
68 That they may Tagaloa entertain,
69 When he comes down to walk this earth again."
The Post reasserts the priority of Manua
70 O Great Fiti, with all thy eastern isles,

71 E ta'ape mauga, a e fa'atasi Manua-tele:—
72 O Fiti, o Toga, o le Papa sese'e,
73 Ma le Masoa felefele,
74 Na pau le lagi toe tete'e;
75 Savai'i e lalau fa'ateve;
76 E mamalu fua mauga ina tetele, a e le au 'ese;
77 E auga ia fatu-le-gae'e i Manua,
78 Ia le Fatu, ma le Eleele.

79 Fanua le Papa e faitau i nunu,
80 Fua selau e fua sefulu.
81 Ne'i ai se taese
82 O le lua'i ali'i Alele—
83 O le alo o Tagaloa—na ta faase'e.

84 O fea le nu'u na lua'i tupu?
85 O Manua-tele na lua'i tupu,
86 E te matafanua i le Mata-saua i Manua-tele;
87 A e mulifanua i Ofu ma Tufue'e.

88 Ifoifo i Malae a Vevesi,
89 Lepalepa i Malae a Toto'a.
90 Na sao ai le alofi o Tagaloa,
91 Po o fono ia le alofi;
92 A e lomaloma:—
93 "Ava mua Tufuga i lona alofi,
94 A e ola atu le vaa lalago!
95 Toe i le lagi i'a atoa,
96 A e atu le ola a Tagaloa.
97 Fatotalia le tai e Losi,
98 E tau i le lagi ona tafo'e.
99 Sa-Tagaloa i tou aofia ane,
100 Tou fono i le malae i lagi,
101 I Malae-Papa, ma Malae a Vevesi,
102 Ma Malae a Toto'a,
103 I Malae-Asia, ma Malae-Tafuna'i,
104 I Lologo, ma Pule-fa'atasi.

71 And thy mountains' scattered throng.

72 Yet each and all to Great Manua look:—
73 Fiti, Tonga, the Slippery Rock,
74 The spreading Masoa,
75 Savai'i, leafy like the teve,
76 In vain displays its lofty range;

77 She cannot supplant the firm seed-stone of Manua,
78 (Their father) the Stone, and (their mother) the Earth.

Manua and its First King

79 The Rock produced and soon could show
80 At least ten hundred sons.
81 Let none the truth gainsay (in unbelief),
82 Alele was Manua's first known chief;
83 The son of Tagaloa; he wrought unrighteous judgment.
84 Where is that land which first upsprang?
85 I answer, great Manua first upsprang.
86 The eastern point of Sua is thy eastern bound,
87 At Ofu and Tufue'e thy west limits are found.

Tagaloa's Counsel

88 Descend, ye gods, to the fono of Confusion.
89 But rest quietly at the fono of Tranquility.
90 Here Tagaloa-the-Builder's council was convened,
91 The council of the circle of the chiefs on high—
92 While thus he spake a solemn silence reigned:—
93 "Let the Builder have the first kava cup in his circle,
94 Then perfect will be the ship whose keel is laid!
95 To heaven's disposal leave all fish besides,
96 But offering unto Tagaloa made must be bonito.
97 Let fisher Losi ply his craft the wide seas o'er,
98 But offer unto heaven the choicest of his store.
99 And ye of Tagaloa's race, when ye desire to meet,
100 May make the heavens your noble council seat,
101 Or fono of the Rock, or where Confusion reigned,
102 Or peaceful fono which Tranquility is named;
103 The fono of Asia, the fono of Assembly,
104 Or of Lolongo, or Pule-fa'atasi.

105	Malae a Toto'a tou fono ai,	105	At fono of Tranquility, your councils you must hold,
106	I si oa mou ina 'a'e;	106	When ye build ship or house;
107	Pe mua va'a, pe mua fale,	107	But whether ship or house be first, (this is my will,)
108	Alaala Tagaloa ma lona au tapua'i,	108	In heaven will Tagaloa sit at peace, with his peers,
109	A e iifo Tufuga ma ona au tauave."	109	But the Builder and his workmen will come down.
			Confusion and Strife
110	O ai ea na lua'i oa?	110	Pray, who was first, a work so honoured to begin?
111	Na lua'i va'a Tui-Manua.	111	The first to own a ship was great Manua's king.
112	Na fa'aifo le fale Tufuga—	112	This errand brought the people of the Builder down—
113	O le fale Tufuga e toamano,	113	A clan of workmen as ten thousand known,
114	A e toatasi le fatamanu.	114	With Architect-in-Chief, but one alone.
	. . . . .		. . . . .
115	Faaifo le atua gau-aso;	115	The rafter-breaking god came down, (With wrath and angry frown;)
116	Satia si o'u ta fale ua.	116	Alas! my building all complete Is scattered in confusion great.

In this myth there are two versions of genealogical creation: one the characteristic Samoan series of different kinds of rock; the other, the characteristic Maori series of voids and a series of qualities and, later in the myth, the progeny of immensity and space. The dualism of sex is to be noted in the series of abysses. Coupled with the genealogical elements which Samoa shares with the Maori are found other elements which Handy (54, p. 313) associates with the Tagaloa cult, and which Dixon (38) has distinguished as the creation type as opposed to the older evolutionary type. Here Tagaloa is seen as the creator and orderer of the universe. The idea of a vast ocean in which there is no land, and the descent of the bird messenger, are characteristic of this latter type. Samoa shares these features with Tonga (94, pp. 438-440).

The pattern of peopling the earth from maggots growing upon a heavenly sent vine is, according to Dixon (38, p. 219) not found in this form outside Samoa. The use of epithets to distinguish various aspects of a deity is a common Polynesian device; it has survived in the lore of the names of Tagaloa, and is found closely paralleled in Tonga. The incident of the heavenly architects, a mythological account of the origin of the Fale 'ula is inserted here. Coupled with these dignified origins of the universe—the sun, the moon, and the gods—and the highly figurative use which is made of concepts of space and void, is found the typical Samoan punning pattern in which the Samoan islands are peopled by a pair whose combined names form the names of the group: Tutu and Ila: Sava and I'i.

This punning mythology is of never-failing interest to the Samoans: endless incompatible tales are built up by splitting up place names and family names and fabricating myths about the linguistic elements.[3]

Only one creation element is lacking from Tauanu'u's masterly synthesis of discordant tales, the incident by which the *tuli* as he shapes the maggots into men names each part of the body after himself (71, p. 592; 107, p. 213). This incident, which is based on a pun—on the word *tuli,* which means joint or elbow (88, p. 340) is found in another story recorded by Krämer (67, vol. 1, p. 408) for Manua, the story of the Tagaloa-a-ui.

This account is the carefully edited arrangement of a man with a passion for order. The average talking chief on Manua will tell the tale of the various names of Tagaloa and the duties of each, or the tale of the origin of the populations of the different Samoan islands from mythological pairs, but make no attempt at synchronization. The inclusion of elements characteristic of the religions which Handy distinguishes as "Indo-Polynesian" and "Tagaloan" are further evidences of its composite nature. The references to the Fale 'ula and the Tui Manua are inevitable incorporations in a tale told by a Manuan man.

The endless recital of place names and the attribution to places of various qualities and characteristics is a common poetical device in all *solos.*

It is not my purpose to discuss in any great detail Manuan mythology. I did not collect many myths and this excellent series by Powell are all in print. But in the light of the seriousness with which traditional material is treated in Samoa, I wished to use this creation tale as an example. Reference to the poetic version will demonstrate to the reader how obscure are the allusions, how susceptible to reinterpretation.

MANUAN GODS

Williamson (130, vol. 1, p. 88) bases part of his argument upon the hypothesis that Tagaloa was especially the god of the Manuans. I consider this

[3] One of the best illustrations of the way this punning tendency lends itself to plot formation is found in five different tales of the origin of Manono and Apolima, two little islands in western Samoa. Turner (123, p. 228) records three versions: (1) Nono, a son of Tui Fiti, a man named Tuiolautala, and Sa'uma, a brother of Tui Fiti and Tupuivao, a Fijian god, fled in a canoe after a family quarrel over fish. Tagaloa came and sat on the bow of the canoe and warned them not to go to Upolu or Savai'i. Tupuivao vomited up Manono and Apolima and told Nono to live on Manono and Sa'uma on Apolima. (2) Lautala, a Fijian chief, set out on a war expedition to Manua. Then he went to Upolu and then took up his residence upon Manono. He hung up his fish nets to dry; these were destroyed by the gods with whom he fought and killed ten thousand, hence Manono from *mano,* ten thousand. (3) Lautala was a Fijian island which broke from its moorings and was sailed about the ocean by Nono who was seeking for a good location for conducting his wars. He went to Manua and Tutuila, finally settled it in its present position. (4) Manono and Apolima were sons of Tui Fiti. One day Manono angered his father by serving him yams without fish. Manono went for fish, but his father, unplacated, hurled a spear at him. He pulled it from his neck and fled to Samoa. Afterwards, Apolima was named by his father apo-i-le-lima, or "poised in the hand" from the spear-throwing incident.

Steubel (112, p. 105) tells the story without any pun, but says that the island was brought from Fiji by Lautala, set first between Manua and Tutuila, which proved too far away, and was then brought back to its present position where the land was divided between two chiefs, one of whose gods was the heron, the other the rainbow. The Manuan version recorded by Powell (47, vol. 6, p. 73) tells that Tapu-alii, a Manuan chief, had two fishermen named Nono and Lima. They went fishing and were carried off by Liivaa. Although they never returned to Manua, the Manuan people know that these two caused to grow up the islands of Manono and Apolima.

very doubtful. All informants of Ofu and Olosega insisted that Tagaloa was the great god of all Samoa but was not worshipped in Ofu and Olosega. Fitiuta acknowledges no other god, calls the *tufuga* the *aiga sa Tagaloa* (family of Tagaloa), and prays to Tagaloa on all formal occasions. But Taū is said to have formerly worshipped a god incarnate in the *lulu* bird, while Olosega worshipped Fuilelagi, and Ofu, Tagisau and various other minor deities.

I think that the evidence suggests that religion was never as developed and diversified in Manua as in western Samoa, due mainly to the small population and lack of war. Turner and Stair speak repeatedly of war gods and their village, and district gods seem to be socialized gods of families, whose main purpose was to give aid in war, prophesy, and actual help. Around such gods and their emblems there grew up feasts, ceremonial mock combats, special houses where these emblems were kept, and systems of taking omens. In the course of this elaboration of local cults, this extension of family tapus to a whole village, the creator god Tagaloa, in his various manifestations, became relegated to the sky and the origin myth. He nevertheless preserved the greatest reputation among the gods and in the modern Manuan vocabulary Tagaloa is spoken of as an *atua,* while many of the lesser gods are called *aitu,* simply spirit.

All the germs of the western Samoa development existed in Manua,—family lines with *tupua* (family gods incarnate in some object and respected in terms of tapu)—and the tendency to extend their worship through gifted individuals, so that they became local gods. This seems to have happened several times in Ofu, where at least three local "gods" were worshipped, and to have crystallized into a cult on Olosega, where Fuilelagi, embodied in an eel, was worshipped by the entire population. The degree with which the details of this local cult have been preserved, may, I think, to be taken as a fair index of the extent to which the old religion has slipped from the minds of the people in the last thirty years. According to Krämer's (65, pp. 465; 67, vol. 1, pp. 450-451) accounts the people of Olosega worshipped a poison-toothed eel which sometimes crawled out of the water. It was then taken by the people, carried upon a litter such as that used for the Tui Manua, while the people followed it with lamentations. For six days offerings of pigs were laid by the grave and stones were gathered for a monument. All of these eels(*pusi*) were buried in one place known as *o le Fa'autuga o ali'i.*

It is noteworthy that Krämer's text refers to Fuilelagi as a *tupua.* Of this account I was told only that the *pusi* was sacred to Fuilelagi and was regarded as an embodiment of the god; that the appearance of the eel on land meant war and misfortune; and that the eel was tapu to all Olosega people. Fuilelagi was said to have been served by a priest named Fue and food offer-

ings were taken to his house with requests for oracular help from the god. In all the official utterances in which the name of Tagaloa was used on Tau, the name Fuilelagi was used on Olosega. Informants insisted that even *tufuga* prayed to Fuilelagi, never to Tagaloa. Turner (123, p. 225) speaks of the god being carried about on an altar and says any person cooking or eating the eel would have his scalp clubbed and his eyes burned out.

In Ofu conditions were apparently in a state of flux at the time that Christianity invaded the island. No one god had been established which claimed the allegiance of all the people. Tagisau, whose power was localized at a place called Vaiula, was served by two matais named Utu and Fua. These two functionaries seem to have performed the services described by Stair (108, p. 225) as *taula-aitu-vavalo-ma-fai-tui*, priests who predict and curse, for although this descriptive phrase was not used, it was these functions which were attributed to them. The house in which they lived served as a place of oracle and the people took them offerings. There was also said to have been a large rock at which the two priests prayed (*tapu a'i*) and from which they claimed to receive oracles. But no special tapu is reported for Tagisau. On the other hand, Foisia, the channel guardian, who was an ancient chief turned into a rock on the little island of Nuu, was respected by a tapu but was not worshipped. All trees in the village had to be trimmed to a height less than his. A third god of more than family fame was the god particularly worshipped by the family Samuasāō, embodied in a conch shell, which was hung up in the house and much revered. Tapu articles of diet, called "*o le fanau moni o le fofoa,*" (the true children of the conch shell) were eels, turtles (*mali'e*), and human flesh. This god seems to have been less invoked than Tagisau, less widely respected than Foisia.

CLASSES OF SPIRITUAL BEINGS

Manuans distinguish between *atua* (god), *tupua* (local and family gods), *aitu* (demons and ghosts of the dead). The only *atua* recognized in Manua are Tagaloa in his various manifestations, and possibly Pili (Lizard). Described as the children of Tagaloa are Sao (patron of housebuilders), Sina, Tingilau, and Tagaloa-a-u (patron of travelers). It is possible that these were once all regarded as gods and that the insistence upon no *atua* but Tagaloa may be an attempt to rationalize old beliefs in relation to Christian monotheism. The status of Mafue, the earthquake god, is indeterminate. The *atua* had no manifestations, and were said to have only been prayed to by very high chiefs or upon formal social occasions. Powell (46, vol. 25) says Tagaloa le mana was second to the supreme Tagaloa.

The following are the names of Tagaloa as recorded on Manua:

Tagaloa mana; Tagaloa the powerful; in this manifestation he is the patron of canoe building.

Tagaloa leo 'ava; Tagaloa the server of kava. He is the patron of fishermen; god of the sea.
Tagaloa lē Fuli; Tagaloa who does not move.
Tagaloa asiasi nu'u; Tagaloa the messenger or visitor of lands.
Tagaloa fa'a tuputupunu'u; Tagaloa the creator of lands.
Tagaloa lagi; Tagaloa of the heavens.

Krämer (67, vol. 1, p. 394) includes in a mythological family tree, Tagaloa lā, apparently using this as one manifestation of Tagaloa. The Tauanuu creation story (46, vol. 25, p. 271) adds the epithets Tagaloa Savali (Tagaloa the walker-about), and Tagaloa tolo nu'u (Tagaloa the pusher-up [?] of lands).

Krämer (67, vol. 1, p. 438) gives four names or epithets for Pili: Pili vave; Pili the swift; Pili uli; Pili the black; Pili pa'u; Pili the fallen; Pili tama tagi; Pili the crying child.

Pili was the patron god of agriculture and also of fishing in western Samoa and in Fiji (10, pp. 256-259). In the Manuan legend (67, vol. 1, p. 438) he is associated with the story of the ravishing of Sina by an eel; in one variant it is he who ravishes her in her bath. In a western Samoa version of the same story (46, vol. 25, p. 254) Pili is the child of Sina by the fish.

In other western Samoa districts he is associated with Manua in legend, and is also associated with the origin of kava, sugar cane, and taro (46; 12, p. 18; 112, pp. 69-70). The death of a lizard was a portent of great evil and a lizard falling from the roof of a house upon some individual meant his death.

Mafue (earthquake god) from whom fire was obtained by Tiitii (the Samoan Maui), is mentioned in Manuan legend (25, pp. 79-82; 67, vol. 1, p. 401).

Ordinary people prayed to *tupua* who were incarnate in some bird, fish, or plant: and sometimes to gods of villages. These are the spiritual beings discussed in the literature as totems. People are rather vague about these totems to-day so that their comments are not to be absolutely trusted. Nevertheless, I found no evidence of any belief in descent from *tupua*. They descended in families in the male line and the matai of the family was responsible for their service. Certain tapus were associated with them. One Fitiuta family had as its family god *o le 'ate* (the liver), and the liver of all things was tapu to this group.

The establishment of such tapus and the giving of warnings of danger and death seem to have been the principle services performed by these *tupua* for their worshippers. It is impossible to get a list of these *tupua* to-day; each family denies any knowledge of its own and attributes birds and beasts indiscriminately to its neighbors. From only one old woman, I obtained a complete tale of her tupua which runs as follows:

A maiden was pregnant by a chief and she gave birth to an abortion. In violation of the brother and sister tapu, she called her brother to her aid and he helped her wrap the unclean thing in his sacred headdress. Together they threw it away in the bush and forthwith perished for their impious conduct. Meanwhile the chief, its father, passing through the bush heard the little abortion crying. He took it out and it flew away as the *manu ali'i* bird, which became the *tupua* of his descendants. Its cry near the house meant death, and it was death to kill it.

The *tupua* were formally invoked in the morning and evening kava ceremonial and in the event of illness or misfortune. They sometimes spoke through mediums (*taula aitu*) and declared the reason for their wrath—usually some careless infringement of a tapu.

No different in kind, in form, in tapu or in function, is a village god like Fuilelagi of Olosega, or, like o le Fofoa of Ofu (embodied in the conch shell). It is reasonable to suppose these latter to be an outgrowth of the family *tupua*. Such a change from family to village god is recorded by Turner (123, p. 57).

The classification *aitu* is so wide that it suggests that several older concepts have been subsumed under this word.

1. Demon spirits. These are not necessarily regarded as the souls of the dead. Of this class are: Sepo, a demon invoked in cursing children by calling them *tama a Sepo*, child of Sepo; Taumanupepe and Fagaiva, demons of similar character (the relatives of the child apologize to these demons, but there is nothing else to be done if this fails); Saumatafi, a demon known also in western Samoa. She had the power of assuming any human shape she wished, and in the form of a maiden lured young men away; in the form of a youth, young girls; but was said to assume old and ugly forms if those whom she encountered were ill favored.

2. Spirit guardians. These may or may not be regarded as having once been human beings. Fo'isia, the spirit guardian of the Ofu channel, was the best illustration of these, having a tapu of his own as well as a guardian function to perform. To this class of spirit guardians usually belong *aitu tau mau*, spirits which haunt a specific locality, although occasionally these may be regarded as evil; and *tapua fauna*, the spirits which guard land boundaries. These are usually regarded as ghosts of ancestors, as are the ghosts which follow the living about and guard them from harm.

3. Ghosts of the dead. These also are simply referred to as *aitu*. They are believed to preserve human form, but to float rather than walk, and never answer when spoken to. Ghosts are amenable to requests and discipline, in the form of scolding, threats of burning or throwing their bones into the sea, and final extinction with hot water, when administered to them by their own relatives. Particularly to be feared are the ghosts of angry relatives or the ghosts of a strange village who come in ghost boats (*va'a loa*). The death of the young and beautiful is usually attributed to these ghostly marauders from another land.

All *aitus* were addressed by the courtesy term of *sama ali'i* (cruel chiefs).

PRIESTS AND MEDIUMS

The Manuans recognized only two types of priests—*taula aitu*, those who could converse with spirits or be directly possessed by spirits; and *va'a Tagaloa*, those who possessed power to utter curses (*fai tui*), find lost objects, or find out thieves. There were no representatives of either class in Manua when I was there, and neither type seemed essential to the social fabric.

When someone was ill a *taula aitu* was called in and went into a trance, accompanied by convulsive twitchings and loud groans. Finally the injured *tupua* or *aitu* would speak through him and announce the cause of the illness and the price of recovery. The *taula aitu* also made *vai aitu* (ghost medicine for the treatment of the possessed). If the leaves which they needed for their potions could not be found it was the sign that the patient would die. Heads of families, although making daily kava libations to the *tupua* and performing the proxy burial ceremony for those dead at sea, were not called *taula aitu* on Manua. The *taula aitu* also operated through their own *tupuas*, from whom they received oracular commands. Presents of food were taken to such gifted individuals.

Of the class known as *va'a Tagaloa* I could glean very little. They were said to know black (Fijian) practice and to know curses. They very probably correspond to the *'o taula aitu vavolo ma fai tui* (anchors of the gods to predict and curse), as described by Stair (108, p. 225).

In another type of possession the patient, not the practitioner, was possessed either by an angry ghostly relative or by the *tupua* of the family. The person so possessed spoke with the strange voice of the possessing spirit which announced its name and the cause of its wrath. A practitioner was called in who rubbed the possessed man with *vai aitu* (spirit medicine) starting with his feet, and rubbing the ointment in carefully. Sometimes the true identity did not return until the neck was reached. Men might be possessed by female ghosts and women by male.

LIFE AFTER DEATH

The Manuans preserve only the vaguest fragments of pre-Christian ideas about the future life. The names of Pulotu, o le Fafa, whose entrance was a pua tree, and Sa le Fee, are remembered. Leaping off places for souls (*osoga*) occur in several places. There is only one for Ofu and Olosega, but two in Fitiuta, one for each division of the village. Of the kind of life once attributed to this future world, nothing is remembered. The suppression of ideas as vague as the Samoan eschatology by Christian teaching was of course inevitable.

Whether the theories of ghosts that have survived belonged to a different and more local cult, or whether they were less systematized ideas and so escaped the missionaries' attempts to overthrow the native theology, it is impossible to say. But to-day in Manua, side by side with a pious belief in a Christian heaven, exists a theory of the future life, not at all compatible with it nor with a belief that the souls all leaped off the *osoga* and swam away across the sea towards the west. According to this belief, the souls of the dead never venture far from their earthly homes. If buried in a strange land they come and wail about their relatives' houses until their bones are

brought home. If their bones are disturbed by accident, they immediately make it known, crying, "Oh, my jaw bone, my jaw bone," or "My leg bone, my leg bone," until the bone is restored. They linger about as guardians of family lands, as guardians who follow members of the family about and protect them from harm. If they departed this life in anger, they may wreak their anger upon their living relatives, especially attacking pregnant women and newborn children. They are an attenuated and slightly powerful crew, amenable to flattery and cajolery, subject to complete destruction if they presume too far.

As alternative behavior, the ghosts may organize themselves into ghost boats and cruise about among neighboring islands in search of young and beautiful additions to their number.

The Manuan attitude towards the ghosts is a mixture of fear, affection and impatience, very much that same attitude which they entertain towards living relatives who are capricious and powerful. The fear of death away from home, of a lonely and unlocalized ghosthood, seems to be far more preoccupying than the fear of death itself.

SUN CULT

Residents of both Tau and Fitiuta agree that the sun was once worshipped and received human sacrifices. To give offering of human flesh to a god or a chief was called *fai le aso* (make the day), and the offering to the sun was called *o le aso o le la*. This meal of the sun is recorded in several very divergent myths by Krämer (67, pp. 403-405), by Fraser (46, pp. 124-126), by Turner (123), and by Stair (109, p. 48).

The use of this incident in the various tales is an illuminating example of the great fluidity of characters and incidents in Samoan mythology. Three of these versions use the tale as an element in the genealogical history of the Tui Manua. In one of Turner's two versions, a mere fragment, the cannibalism of the Sun is ended by the sacrifice of his daughter by Tui Manua; in Fraser's version the child of the woman who ends the sacrifice is Tagaloa-a-ui, who has six children, one of whom is Tae Tagaloa, the first Tui Manua; in Stair's version a woman who escaped in the flight from the Sun, whose cannibalism was not ended by her pleas but by other means, is named Luai, she married a Tui Manua and had a son, Lu-o-Tagaloa. In Krämer's version, there is no reference to the Tui Manua. In the Stair version no explanation is given of naming the child, with whom the story ends, Lu-o-Tagaloa; in the Krämer version, the Sun and Tagaloa are confused, so that the Sun says to the woman whom he takes to wife, "I am Tagaloa"; in the Fraser version the child of the Sun is later adopted by Tagaloa, which accounts for his name, Tagaloa-a-Ui. In three versions, there is an argument between the brother

and sister, named variously, Luamaa and U, and Lua and Ui, which ends by the sister's offering to immolate herself. In two versions, there is some connection between the incident and the slowing down of the sun; in the Krämer version the Sun institutes his day of cannibalism in anger at being reproached for his speed, and slows down as a gracious act in deference to the mother of his child; in the Stair version, he promises to rise when Lii wishes it. In the Krämer account Lii appears as a man possessing a magic conch shell and a magic bird whom the fleeing brother and sister meet on their journey and from whom they steal his treasures. In the Stair version, Lii and his brothers fished up a conch shell and made a trumpet which so intrigued the Sun that he promised to rise when Lii had finished his work; Lii then perished in the sea with his conch shell. In this version the names of the four brothers are Lua-ui, Lua-fatu, Ulu-ulu-tai and Lii. [Note that the names Lua and Ui—in other tales, the brother and sister—occur here in composition.] The answers to the Sun are given by a woman named Luai. In Turner's version, the first scene is laid at Papatea from which the people fled to Manua; in Stair's account the scene is laid first at Atafu, while in Krämer's the swimming three reach Atafu later and go thence to Manua. Fraser's tale explains two rocks in Fitiuta, named Ui and Luamaa where Ui bore her child and died; while Krämer's account incorporates an explanation of the place name, Faleniu (house of palm) where Ui reared her child. In the Turner version, the first flight proceeds the turn of the brother and sister, a logically motivated tale. But in the Fraser and Krämer versions, the sister secures the cessation of the Sun's demands, and then a perfectly unmotivated flight occurs. In the Krämer versions, the naming of the different parts of the body after Tuli, elsewhere an element in the western Samoan creation myth, occurs. The Fraser version ends with a quarrel between Lu-o-Tagaloa and Pava and concludes with the tale of the flight of Pava and his children to Aana in western Samoa; while the Krämer version flows directly into the tale of the kava making in Pava's house and the origin of the kava ceremony. The Fraser and Krämer versions both mention the services of the *miti* bird in sucking out the nose of the newborn child of the Sun.

I received no such definite plot account but was told simply that formerly there had been made the *aso o le la;* that human victims were taken in turn from different households, and alternatively placed in a *fasa* (*Pandanus*) tree, or exposed on a rock near Fitiuta, O le Tuuga tauloga. The Sun killed them and the people ate them. Afterwards, offerings were made less frequently and the Sun took the bodies of the victims up to heaven, so that no trace of their bodies were seen. A further rationalization of history was supplied in the theory that the Sun had ruled first, theSun had given power to Tagaloa, and Tagaloa had delegated it in turn to the Tui Manua. Some informants

insisted that only the Tui Manua was worshipped. This is all the evidence there is for a sun cult in Manua. It should be pointed out that the ending of the *aso* of Malietoa by moving him to pity, usually by offering up his son as a victim, is a favorite mythological theme in western Samoa (112, p. 72; 123, pp. 237-238). There is a legend of human sacrifices brought to a Tui Manua long ago, but no record of his cannibalism. To a Tui Manua is attributed the ending of cannibalism, commemmorated by the hill Utu Manu between Luma and Faleasao.

HUMAN SACRIFICE, PRAYERS AND OFFERINGS

The only evidence that the practice of human sacrifice ever existed in Manua is contained in myths concerning the *aso o le la*, a tale that a chief of a lost village which preceded Fitiuta used to launch his canoe over human bodies; and a legend that youths and maidens sent as tribute to the Tui Manua were buried alive in the *malae*.

All the prayers which were offered to me as samples were so unmistakably Christian in phrasing that they seemed quite valueless. All informants agreed that to pray (*tapua'i*) was once a matter of a sentence or so, cast in no fixed form. There were no prayers uttered in connection with work, aside from the kava ceremonies.

A few informants spoke of offerings of food being taken to the men who served as *taula aitu* of village gods. The funeral offerings of the Fuilelagi reported by Krämer, seem a replica of the *'aitagi* (death feast).

SUMMARY

In comparison with these Manuan practices, a survey of the literature in western Samoa demonstrates a surprising heterogeneity of religious ideas; the greater number of village and district gods, and the existence of gods like Nifoloa who are alternately beneficent and malignant (112, p. 81). The observances connected with these various local deities were as heterogenous. War clubs of famous warriors were venerated (108, p. 219). Turner (123, p. 67) records a stone which was dressed to keep it warm and given new garments in time of war. There are many analogies between the treatment of village gods and the treatment of high chiefs. In both western Samoa (123, p. 21), and in Manua, a dead incarnation of a god was wept over and mourned as a dead chief. In western Samoa, the method of *ifoga* (ceremonial humiliation) employed to appease gods and chiefs was the same. The offender, or a member of the offender's family, was trussed like a pig and laid at the chief's feet, or in the family oven (108, p. 101; 123, pp. 32, 38, 189).

Turner (123, p. 69) tells of a centipede god which was involved in a ceremony exactly parallel to the mat spreading proxy burial.

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The tapus were of a highly miscellaneous character. In addition to the standard prohibition against injuring or eating the incarnation they included such prohibitions as not sitting back to back lest the family gods, the erstwhile Siamese twins, Taema and Tilifaiga, be insulted; not spilling water on a doorstep lest Tu be angered; and not drinking from a coconut shell with three perforations because the god Taumanupepe had three mouths. Turner's list of several incarnations for the same god also suggests great local differentation equal to that found on Manua.

The Manuan material supported by that recorded for western Samoa suggests that the concept of a family god with incarnations which must be treated with respect, and a belief in the activity of the ghosts of the dead, are the two most constant and active religious concepts in Samoa.

THE TUI MANUA AND THE SEVEN VILLAGES OF MANUA

VILLAGE DIFFERENTIATION

Manuan social organization is not differentiated into any sort of cross sections; there are no clans, no lineages with distinctive characteristics of their own. The differences in status are so shifting that it is impossible to characterize a chiefly class as over against a class of commoners. The women and young men reproduce so much of the pattern of the older men's organization that there is scarcely any striking differentiation along the lines of age and sex. It is the village which has real individuality, an individuality boasted of by its own people, known and commented upon by the members of neighboring villages. The special prohibitions, prerogatives, and observances connected with its high chief are regarded as aspects of this village individuality. So too are its local demons, its supernatural guardians, its legends, and its good fishing grounds. Procedure in relation to neighboring villages, the possession of some special privilege in the larger social structure, or a mere striking variation in intravillage social arrangement are all matters for local pride. When the pattern is so well known and each unit so subject to conscious manipulation, the differentiation of these village patterns follows certain definite lines. A practiced talking chief or an ethnological investigator soon learns what differences to expect, what questions are necessary and profitable to ask if he wishes to become conversant with the social pattern of a strange village.

I shall present, somewhat schematically in outline form, the questions which a curious and pedantic talking chief might ask in the course of a week's visit in an unknown village. Some of these questions would be asked out of intellectual curiosity alone; they cover contingencies which may arise only two or three times in a lifetime. Nevertheless, if the visitor wishes to understand the full import of the introductions to speeches, the basis upon which the current administration of the village is conducted, and the references in at least some of the songs which the children sing, these are the questions which he will have to ask:

The special aspects of the district.
The courtesy phrases of the district.
The title of its high chief.
The legends surrounding the high chiefly title.
The relationship of the district to the other districts of Samoa.

Then for each village in the district it will be necessary to know:

The status of the high chief, if he is to be addressed as *afioga*, or by a lesser term of address.
The name of the fono.
The name of the *malae*.

The high chiefs whose names must be mentioned, either individually or under group titles.
The names of the high talking chiefs: whether they are called *to'oto'o* or *susfa nu'u*.
Which ones have to be mentioned by name.
The name of the taupou.
The name of the *aulumu*.
The name of the manaia.
The other youths who must be mentioned in the aumaga phrases.
The subdivisions of the fono.

This information will equip him to recite the opening words of address acceptably. But for actual participation in village affairs he will need to know:

The seating plan of the fono.
The order of the kava service—if it follows a fixed pattern.
Which high talking chief must receive a *lafo* (gift of a fine mat or tapa).
How the high chief's food is served to him.
If the high chief title is not filled, who is acting high chief, and similarly who is acting taupou and acting manaia.

In order to properly flatter his hosts, he must know:

The relationship of the village to the high chief of the district.
For what privileges or feats the village is renowned.
In what handicrafts and economic pursuits it claims great superiority.
Points upon which the village pride is touchy.
The names of the local gods.
Local tales referring to the origin of the village, the origin of its name, the name of its high chief, the origin of special privileges.
Special functions and privileges attached to particular titles.

For his own information, and for a better understanding of the village he may inquire:

The local place names in the village.
Which fish are i'a sa, (tapu fish), reserved for the high chief.
Whether there are peculiarities of the division of a shark or pig.
The name of the channel guardian.
The location of the leaping off place for souls (*osoga*).

In some or all of these respects each Manuan village differs from each other village, and Manuan villages have special characteristics as opposed to the rest of the Samoan Archipelago. If the visitor is from outside Manua, he will have to bear certain of these general features in mind. He will remember that Manua is the proudest district in all Samoa, making more extravagant claims and fewer concessions. Manuans attribute no origins to Fijian inspiration, but re-tell western Samoa stories of origins of tattooing, or fine mat weaving so that they begin and end in Manua. The tattooing origin story is retold so that two Manuan women swam to Fiji, muddling a message from Samoa, instead of Fijians swimming to Samoa, as in western

Samoa. The first fine mat is said to have been begun in the far away village of Fitiuta, on the island of Tau, by Sina herself, carried to western Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji, and brought back to Manua. It was at Fitiuta that Tagaloa instituted the kava ceremonial, and, quite illogically, a Manuan man who ended Maleetoa's cannabalism. The western Samoan version attributes this event to Maleetoa's anguish over seeing his own son trussed for the sacrifice.

The visitor to Manua must be careful to remember all these quaint, and from his standpoint, mistaken notions which his hosts entertain. And he must learn all the wealth of detail surrounding the Tui Manua. All Samoans know that the Tui Manua claims to have once been king of the whole archipelago. They are exasperated by Manua's claim for him; by Manua's claims to priority; by Manua's claims to sacredness; by Manua's self sufficiency and singular ways. Where other islands boast of their history, Manua keeps obstinately silent. Manuans say scornfully that the other Samoans bandy their history about, let their most cherished myths become common upon the lips of strangers, but that Manuans will not so cheapen their tradition. A mere handful of people—a paltry 2200 to Tutuila's 8000 and western Samoa's 30,000—poor in wood and poor in craftsmanship, Manuan pride is the pride of decayed gentility. Tutuila, richer in resources, alternates between cringing before a pride far greater than her own, and hurling invective at Manua. When Manua claims the origin of all things, Tutuila counters that many Manuan practices are but recent innovations from the larger islands. A Tutuila chief will add to his reluctant comments upon the superior sacredness of the Tui Manua's bed scathing remarks upon the Manuan dialect which is full of strange words like *lefu* and *sa'a*, and strange pronunciations like *mimigo* for *mimilo*; and he may even conclude his remarks by mimicing the gutteral quality of Manuan speech. But when the talking chief of Tutuila goes to Manua, he knows that he is entering the confines of a tradition which is prouder than his own, a tradition which centers about the Tui Manua and his court, and the mysterious far away village of Fitiuta.

TRADITIONS OF THE NAME OF MANUA

Almost all explanations of Samoan place names involve ingenious and elaborate punning; this punning is usually ex post facto and varies from locality to locality. (See p. 156.) The explanations of the principal place names in Manua are of this character. Turner (123, p. 223) records a variety of explanations of the name of Manua, as the child of rocks and earth born "wounded"—Manua meaning wounded. Powell (85, p. 152) gives an account in this version:

> When the other child (the first child was Satia-le-moa, arrested-or-torn-just-below-the-thorax, later contracted to Samoa) of Day and Night was born, one of its sides was found much abraded which, when observed by the parents, led them to exclaim, "how much this child is wounded!" and they called it Manua Tale, Great Wound.

Other explanations (123, p. 223) content themselves with saying that because a mythological warrior named Fitiuamua, conquered all Samoa, and dwelt at Samoa, Manua was called Manua Tele.

Most informants today repeat in prose the gist of the *solo* quoted by Churchill (29).

Fea le nu'u na lua'i tupu	Where is the land which first uprose?
Manu'a tele na lua'i tupu	Great Manua first uprose.
Se papa le tai le a o'o atu	A rock the sea will not encroach upon.
Ma le masina e solomana'o	And the moon inconstant
Mo le la se tupu le fano	The sun an unchanging image of god,
E tupu le vai, e lupu le tai	Upgrows the sweet water, upgrows the sea,
E tupu le lagi.	Upgrows the sky.

There are two recorded versions of the name Tau: according to Powell's version (85, p. 152) to Faia, a chief on the island of Tau, a lady named Faleilelagi, bore five children—Auapo (nearly night), Tau (gently-breathing), Fa'aleasao (hardly able to get down), Aga'e (the old name for Fitiuta: panting), Luanu'u (two lands); according to Turner (123, p. 223) Tau was named for the daughter of Faleilelagi, who was born dumb (U).

Fitiuta is said to be named Fiji-inland, in memory of the yams which a Manuan man made spring up inland in Fiji whence he had gone to rescue his sister, whose husband the Tui Fiji was mistreating and accusing her of causing famine. This fertile yam garden in Fiji was named Fitiuta and the returning Manuan is said to have changed the name of Agae to Fitiuta. (See 67, vol. 1, p. 419; 123, pp. 224, 225.)

The name of Olosega is loosely connected with various tales in which the parrot (*sega*) is invoked in explanation. Turner (123, p. 226) gives two versions, in one of which, Sega, an Ofu chief, married Olo, the lady of the wandering island later called Olosega, in memory of both of them. According to the other version, some parrots flew ashore from a Fijian canoe and were kept in a fort (olo)—hence, Olosega.

Ofu, the common word for clothing, or clothe, is simply explained by attributing another child to Faleilelagi which was clothed rather earlier than her other offspring.

TRADITIONS SURROUNDING THE TUI MANUA

For traditions concerning the Tui Manua the published literature offers two main sources: Krämer's collection based mainly upon the information contributed by Arthur Young; and the variety of stories collected by Powell from Fofo and Tauanuu. Williamson (130, vol. 1, pp. 50-53) has taken all of these various tales into most elaborate consideration, attempting to collate them and use them as evidence in an historical scheme. Upon this fragmentary Manuan mythology, as compared with almost equally fragmentary my-

thology from western Samoa, he bases a huge superstructure of historical hypothesis, attributing to Manua, a close connection with Tagaloa which in turn would establish Manua as the seat of the Tagaroan invaders of Samoa. Although I find it necessary to disagree with Williamson most fundamentally —to disagree not so much with the conclusions he draws which are as plausible as any other, but rather with the validity of any conclusions based upon the shifting sands of Samoan mythology—I wish here to express my indebtedness to his lucid and thoroughgoing scholarship.

Although I regard the local traditions of Fijian and Tongan invasions and conquests as too much stock in trade of the Samoan tale teller to take them at all seriously, it is only fair to Williamson, who bases part of his hypothesis upon the absence of any Manuan tradition of the expulsion of the Tongans, to report that I found just such traditions, hitherto unpublished, current in Manua. The Tongans are said to have completely conquered Ofu and Olosega but never to have subdued Tau. During many generations they are said to have occupied Ofu and Olosega intermarrying with the local populations. To this invasion, subsequently expelled, the Manuans attribute the infinitesimal cultural differences between Tau and the other two islands; and, alas, for the hypothesis that the Tagaloa cult was introduced by the Tongans, the fact that on Ofu and Olosega Tagaloa is not worshipped, although he is held in high honor.

I have used the term "surrounding" advisedly, for the bulk of the mythology is a narrative aura which has been woven for generations about the titular king of Manua. Most tales content themselves with saying, "and he married a daughter of Tui Manua," or, "and Tui Manua gave him two speaker's staves." Informants when pressed will state that the hero of the tale is the fourth Tui Manua or the eleventh, with the same insouciant disregard for historical fact which makes a Samoan who is told that his alleged age of sixty is surely too old, reply, "Oh well then I am twenty-four." In such tales as these the Tui Manua together with the Tui Fiti and the Tui Tonga must be regarded as stock characters; among a people less fond of specifying name and circumstance, the hero would be merely, "once upon a time there was a king." Samoan tales have a very small list of dramatis personae, a lively disregard of particular heroes is accompanied by a small number of actors to whom the various tales may be attached. For heroines, Sina is almost always chosen; to her name and to that of Tagaloa and Pili various distinguishing epithets are added in an attempt to convey some slight individuality to the actors in a particular story. These tales in which the Tui Manua plays a long series of roles, as father-in-law, successful adventurer succeeding to his father-in-law's title, pursuer of the inevitable Sina, ravisher of his sons' wives, or possessor of the familiar "hook of fortune," I think may be very well disregarded. The incidents are in no wise peculiar to

Manua; the motivations and characterizations are so slight that they throw scarcely any light even upon interisland jealousies.

In a different category belong the tales which relate specifically to the origin of the title of the Tui Manua and to the sanctions and observances which surround it. These form the background for the Manuan's conception of their king and provided them with a traditional plank upon which to stand when making extravagant claims to importance. As history they are again quite negligible. If Raratonga preserves the tale of the Alia family as Powell states, this should be taken as evidence for the age of the myth and for some sort of historical connection between Raratonga and Samoa; it proves nothing else.

The traditions proper of the Tui Manua center about two themes: the sanctions attached to the title, to the fono, and to the ceremonies of the Tui Manua; and the perennial and age-long rivalry between Fitiuta and Tau.

The Tui Manua derives his sanction from Tagaloa, from the Sun, or from Tagaloa as the Sun—in one tale the Sun is spoken of as Tagaloa. Present day rationalizations state that the Sun gave his power to Tagaloa and he in turn delegated it to Tui Manua. Some talking chiefs claim that Tui Manua prayed to Tagaloa, others that Tagaloa, having set him up, actually showed deference to the Tui Manua. Tagaloa sometimes appears as the ancestor of the Tui Manua (46, vol. 25, p. 107; 47, vol. 6, pp. 117, 188) at other times as merely the divine authority who confirmed him in his title. Into this tale of sanctions and origins is woven the conflict between Fitiuta and Tau. In one myth (67, vol. 1, p. 382) based on the record of Arthur Young, the two motifs are completely merged. The Tagaloans came down from heaven and gave to Galeai, the son of Agae-inland and Agae-towards-the-sea the lesser title. (Galeai is a high chiefly title of Fitiuta, which has been eclipsed by the title of Tufele.) Galeai was instructed to never unloose his tapa (turban) which contained his title but to build a house at Lefanga and leave it empty. Then Tagaloa instructed the Tagaloans to descend there and take with them the greater title of Tui Manua, and to take also the kava chewers of the Tui Manua and the things of the sky. Then the Tagaloans descended and took away Galeai's title so that he became a common man. Galeai married Valooletoelau, the daughter of Tuiosana, and to them was born a son. This boy was fetched up to heaven and both titles, the lesser and the great, were laid upon him, and he was sent to Fitiuta-inland, together with the *fale ula* and speakers' staves (67, vol. 1, p. 382; 29, p. 1038).

So according to this version, the Tui Manua was the descendant of Galeai, high chief of Fitiuta; after making this compromise with Fitiuta claims, the tale proceeds to bestow all honors, both the Galeai title and the Tui Manua title and its prerogatives upon the first Tui Manua. (This is not

even true to the most immediate facts for there is a Galeai title held in Fitiuta to this very day.)

Powell (46, vol. 25, pp. 107) collected a version which is prefaced by a long series of other tales, the origin of kava, the flight of Pava from Manua, and the capture of Sina by means of a net. All of these incidents are woven around Tagaloa-a-Ui, from whose marriage with Sina, Tae Tagaloa, Le Fanoga, who subsequently became the war god of Manono, and Laamaomoo were born. Le Fanoga invaded heaven, in the familiar incident of the child's search for his father, disturbed the kava ring, and was given a test to pluck the fierce kava, in which he succeeded. Then follows the unmotivated statement that the council then deliberated and decided to send the *fale ula* and the sacred title down from heaven. These Tagaloa-a-Ui bestowed on his son Tae Tagaloa who became king of Manua and all Samoa. The rest of the tale is concerned with the fate of the other brothers from one of whom originated the owl; from the other, the heron.

According to another version (47, p. 117) which agrees with parts of this story, the four children of a pair named Day and Night, one of whom was Masina-au-ele, went searching for land in the eastern groups. The Tagaloans saw the lady and declared her fit for Tagaloa. Omitting the episode of capture with a net, Tagaloa married her and they had a son named Le-afi-mu-mamoo. As the family was abused, Tagaloa, the Creator of lands, made Manua as a refuge for the brothers of his wife and made his son king, and he instructed all the other Tagaloas to be kind to the new king and uphold his reign.

Powell collected another version of a different part of the tale (47, vol. 6, p. 67). Here Tagaloa-a-Ui used to take his sons to heaven with him. Tae Tagaloa sat quietly outside but Le Fanoga was noisy and troublesome. Then the gods bade Tagaloa-a-Ui take "dignity and authority and a palace and sovereign rule" to earth and establish them there, conferring the title on one of his sons, so that the peace of heaven might no longer be disturbed. Accordingly Tagaloa-a-Ui gave the title to Tae and bade Le Fanoga dwell titleless at Lefaga. While another version (47, vol. 6, p.69) simply begins, "By Tagaloa's appointment there was only one king for the whole Samoan group, which included Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Raratonga, Tahiti, and Wahua."

The other most popular tradition surrounding the Tui Manua is the set of tales which concern themselves with the strife of two brothers for the sacred title and the ruse by which this was obtained. The story was told to me and it ran as follows:

Alia tama, the younger, and Alia Matua, the elder, were two brothers, sons of the sacred high chief of Fitiuta, who was not however, a Tui Manua. Alia Matua was the son of a Fitiutan woman, Alia Tama of a Tau woman. Alia Matua was annointed king and given the sacred crown of tapa. But the younger brother conspired against his

elder brother, aided and abetted by his Tau mother. One day when the two brothers were travelling, the younger begged the elder for a drink of coconut milk. The elder protested that he, as a sacred chief, could not climb a tree. The younger importuned him to lay his crown at the foot of the tree, and while his brother was aloft, he seized the crown and ran off to Tau where he was proclaimed king. Afterwards his father summoned him to Fitiuta. Fearing his father's wrath he crept into the house and even lifted up the coarse under mats, which in those days were called *aupola*. But his father said, "'No, sit upon them," and they immediately became sacred and had to have their names changed to *tapu'au*, a collective title for high chiefs. So the younger brother had the mana of Tui Manua and ever after that the Tui Manua reigned in Tau. Alia Matua became high chief of Fitiuta and the progenitor of the Tufele family.

There is one other incident which is equally popular and is also based upon the theme of rivalry between Tau and Fitiuta. This is the tale by which two wives of the Tui Manua, or Tagaloa, or Le Folasa, a prophet, were both pregnant and the title was to go to the child born first. Powell (47, vol. 26, p. 298) collected one version with a further incident which was based upon the superior sanctity of the younger brother. Although the elder possessed the title, the younger was so sacred that his mana communicated to a bathing pool, nearly killed his elder brother, the nominal king. This incident is followed by the ruse and theft of the crown (67, vol. 1, pp.283-284). There are a number of variations in this tale of which there are several versions: In one, the son steals his father's title by the same ruse, and the incident of the two mothers follows; in another (46, vol. 25, p. 137) the title is originally given to the younger, because his birth was proclaimed with decent slowness, and then stolen by the older.

Aside from the minor tales accounting for some particular custom or place name and his participation as stock hero in tales of widely distributed plots, these two are the main tales told of the Tui Manua. The tale of the two mothers and the stolen crown lends itself particularly well to the claims of Fitiuta and the way in which the tale is revamped and shaped to new needs is illustrated by the version which I received which claims that Tufele, the present high chief, not Galeai, the ancient high chief now somewhat in eclipse, was the descendant of the deposed king.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI MANUA

The Tui Manua was selected by the ruling talking chiefs of Tau. Contrary to custom, the members of his own family had nothing to say about the matter. Lefiti and Soatoa, known collectively as "Vaimagalo," (Sweet water), were the two next ranking chiefs in Tau. They exercised a great many privileges in connection with the Tui Manua but it is not known what role they played as electors. The new Tui Manua was chosen after the formal period of mourning for the last king (usually about three weeks) was ended. Krämer (67, vol. 1, p. 372) speaks of a procession led by the talking chiefs walking two by two, with the new Tui Manua coming last,

and says that when the procession reached the *fale ula* they all shouted, "Tatou Mua Tatou Mua." I consider this unlikely. This cry is the one used by young men when calling upon a visiting maiden. It does not possess the necessary dignity for such an occasion.

The account of the procession is probably correct. The occasion was marked by a series of ceremonial food offerings called respectively O le alofi puaá, (offering of pigs, literally, the kava ceremony of pigs); O le alofi manu (the offering of chickens), O le alofi i'a (the offering of fish), and O le alofi fai'ai (the offering of cooked bananas). These offerings were held on different days, and the food was spread out on the *malae* on platters, not piled up. It was divided into two portions; one for the Tui Manua, and one for his wife. Only the Anoalo, or the Aiga Sa Tui Manua (the descent group of the Tui Manua) might eat of these offerings. Finally a week later the great installation feast (O le Faatuuiga o le Tui Manua) was held. This was called "O le ao o le ali'i sa" (day of the sacred kava ceremonial). The Tui Manua was anointed with coconut oil, and a white tapa filet was bound about his head. This ceremony was performed in front of the council house by Lefiti and Soatoa. All the people cried out, "Tui Manua thou art my lord," seven times.

Ella (41, p. 631) says:

> Kings in ancient times were publicly proclaimed and recognized by annointing in the presence of a large assembly of chiefs and people. A sacred stone was consecrated as a throne, or rather, stool, on which the king stood, and a priest,—who must also be a chief—called upon the gods to behold and bless the king, and pronounced denunciations against the people who failed to obey him. He then poured scented oil from a native bottle over the head, shoulders, and body of the king, and proclaimed his several titles and honors.

If this refers to western Samoa, as it most probably does, the ceremony lacked Manuan uniqueness.

Williams (129, p. 18) speaks of binding an unfolded turban about the king's arm at his installation. Hocart (61) also in describing the coronation ceremony in Fiji speaks of the accompanying kava ceremony and the proscription of all noise and disturbance in the village. The village of Tau was guarded by the aumaga, children were hushed, dogs scattered, strangers forbidden to enter the village. Neither Fitiuta nor Ofu nor Olosega attended the ceremony, which was strictly a local Tau affair. This accords rather strangely with the pretensions of the Tui Manua to lordship over the whole group and makes it seem more plausible that these pretensions were the extravagant claim of an established local chief rather than that the recent state of the Tui Manua was only a remnant of his former glory. The three political units of the local Tau fono and Faleasao were each housed in separate houses, making four in all. Following the anointing of the new Tui Manua, the

kava ceremony peculiar to him, known as O le Taiga o le Ipu o Tui Manua (The Bringing forth of the Cup of Tui Manua) was held. This was followed by a feast at which the Tui Manua distributed *toga* to the *to'oto'os*. In this feast, the aumaga and the fono shared, although previously only the family of the Tui Manua had consumed any of the food offerings.

The ceremony of installation marked a break far more important than the break between king and crown prince. He who was now sacred king, from whom mana flowed, and whose touch could bring sickness and death, or conversely remove these penalties, had been but yesterday a common man, or possibly the holder of a small title, without mana. He had probably been tattooed as any other chief's son, his higher descent marked only in a greater number of stripes than those given to the sons of Tauānuu who shared his suffering. He was circumcised as any other boy. He had not even been the leader of the aumaga, as he would have been had he been the son of Tui Olosega or Misa of Ofu. And suddenly, with the assumption of his title he put on sanctity, a sanctity not inalienable, for it can be withdrawn, but a sanctity which is all inclusive while it lasts.

THE TAPU OF THE TUI MANUA

Of the many things which were "Sa i le Tui Manua" (forbidden in the name of or for the sake of the Tui Manua) only a few rank as tapus. The family name of *moa*, of the Tui Manua family, was sacred, and all chickens on Manua were called not *moa* (fowl), but *manu* (bird). A mat upon which he had sat, a post against which he had leaned had to be sprinkled with water to remove the tapu. Mats upon which he had sat were usually rolled up after this purification and not used again, but this was said to be out of politeness, not from fear of the tapu. His hair could be cut only by his wife, his taupou or by Tauanuu, the chief of the *to'oto'os* of Tau. His hair and nail parings were either thrown away in some far place, burned, buried, thrown in the sea, or occasionally kept by his wife in a small parcel of white bark cloth which she guarded carefully lest others touch them and come to harm. The remnants of his food could not be fed to pigs or dogs, nor could any person eat of them except Tauanuu. In any other event the remnants were thrown away, burned, buried, or cast into the sea. It was the same with cast off garments. Anyone coming in contact with any of these would immediately fall ill of boils. The whole emphasis is upon the supernatural danger which would fall upon the transgressor; there does not seem to be any of the sense of the chief's mana being outraged and his own safety thereby endangered. A person who had unwittingly broken one of these tapus (all reported offenders were children, the assumption being that adults who knew the weight of the penalty would be sufficiently circumspect) would go and tell his family, who would then proceed to the Tui

Manua with great lamentations and prayers for help. According to Churchill (29, p. 1044) no one might proffer a request directly to the Tui Manua, but must communicate his petition to Tauanuu who communicated it in turn to Soatoa and Lefiti, who then sat upon the pavement outside the house, repeating their request with averted faces. I think it likely that this was true only of political requests, because ordinarily the taupou and Tauanuu attended directly and with less ceremony upon the Tui Manua. The Tui Manua could not refuse to save those who had broken his tapu, because "he was the father of his people." The offender was brought and prostrated himself before the Tui Manua, who first sprinkled him with water. He then lay face down upon the floor and the taupou covered him with a mat. Upon this mat the Tui Manua then placed his sacred foot and the offense was dissolved and the evil consequences averted. This ceremony was known as *"O le Solesole,"* or *"o le Fa'atapatapa."*

Water might not be taken from the hole from which his drinking water had been drawn for an hour afterwards. None might touch fruit which had been planted for him nor fish caught for his especial use, except again Tauanuu. Steubel (112, pp. 70, 106) says that none might touch food which he himself had planted. Taro for his use was planted by some young male relative and could be eaten by no one else. When he went abroad he was forbidden to raise his head near a fruit tree lest the fruit wither.

All of these prohibitions had associated with them the idea of a supernaturally imposed penalty. Separated from these by a barely perceptible line are the wealth of prohibitions and observances enforced by public opinion and regarded as equally obligatory. These I shall call etiquette.

ETIQUETTE SURROUNDING THE TUI MANUA

The observance which was most firmly impressed upon all minds, Manuans and foreigners, was the Manuan custom by which the Tui Manua alone had a cup in the kava ceremony. All other chiefs were told merely, "drink you kava," for him alone might the talking chief cry out, "Bring me the cup of Tui Manua." This usage is typical of the method by which the Tui Manua's rank was enhanced. Privileges ordinarily permitted to all important chiefs in other parts of Samoa were reserved for him alone; he alone had his food served by a server who first seated herself on his left; he alone had his coconut sliced off instead of pierced, he alone had a great ceremonial funeral (*lagi*); to him alone was the term of high chiefly address *lau afioga*, applied. Thus by making a clean sweep of the privileges which upon another island would have belonged to those immediately below him in rank, his state was made more solitary and impressive. His uniqueness was enhanced in other ways also. He was the only chief in Manua whose bed was too sacred for his wife to share; his taupou could serve none but himself; when his

talking chief made a proposal of marriage for him it was carrying no gift except a palm branch that he came. And for use in addressing him and in speaking of him there was a long and special vocabulary illustrated by the following list:

Afi Afi:	the palm branch used in his proposal of marriage.
Ali'a Matua:	the eldest son of the Tui Manua.
Aufata:	his canoe and the litter upon which he was carried.
Alo Tupu Sa:	his child.
Atuali'i:	those who chewed his kava.
Aoaalo:	his descent group.
Avega o le soi:	an offering of breadfruit for his masi pit.
Ua ao i le lagi le Tui Manu'a	"the Tui Manua is dead."
Fale to'a:	the house where he slept.
Fa'ana:	his taupou.
Fa'atafa:	to be sick, of the Tui Manua.
Fa'a tapa tapa:	see *sole sole.*
Foga'olo:	the land upon which his house stood.
Masiofi:	his wife.
O le Mamalu:	the installation of his taupou.
Matumaevae le'a lavalualua:	his cup name.
O Manu'a tele:	his conch shell trumpet.
Moa:	his family name.
Pelau sa ma'a:	the house of his wife.
Taute:	to eat, of the Tui Manua.
Taufa:	to drink, his drinking cup.
Tufa e'e:	his bathing place.
Talotōtō:	his specially planted taro.
Ti'eti'etalaga:	his spring of drinking water, inland (Samoan name for Maui).
Tausiga:	offerings of food made to him.
Tulu'aiga:	a feast given by one of the other Manuan villages to the Tui Manua and the Fale Tolu.
Taulaga:	day by day offerings to the Tui Manua, imposed as fines. Tribute.
Taiga o le Ipu:	the bringing forth of his cup.
Taiga o le Sua:	the serving of his food.
Tama Paia:	child born to the Tui Manua after his installation.

Breadfruit for the Tui Manua was cooked in the shell; his *palusami* was wrapped only in taro and breadfruit leaves, banana leaves being forbidden. The coconut palmleaf was called *lau popo* in deference to the leaf of palm which hung over the Tui Manua sacred post. When he ate, two posts had to intervene between him and another chief. When he was ill, the village was isolated, no one was allowed to go or come from Fitiuta or the other islands. At the close of such a period of quarantine, the Tui Manua would *tali toga,* (distribute fine mats) to his *to'oto'os* to (*taga le sa*) remove the prohibition.

The *taufa* (the coconut shell bottle in which the Tui Manua's water was carried) had two holes in the top but no sennit attached for carrying. Instead his taupou carried it aloft, cupped in her hand. She was forbidden to

speak while carrying his drinking water. All those who were abroad retired from her path and from the beach while she dug a fresh hole and drew the water. The Tui Manua's bed place was raised upon many mats. When the Tui Manua walked abroad all those who chanced to encounter him had to seat themselves crosslegged and then prostrate the upper parts of their bodies, placing their faces downwards upon the extended under arm. So they had to remain until the Tui Manua had passed. When he went abroad upon official errands, as to visit another village, the sacred conch shell (*o Manua tele*) which was kept in the house of Maui, called Fogaola, was blown before him. Upon these official journeys he was carried upon a litter to the edge of the village and met by a new litter at the entrance to the next village. A palm branch was placed over the *pou matua* (post of the high chief in the right hand side of the house) of the building in which he took his temporary residence.

The cup from which his kava was served to him could be used by no one else. It was kept in the *fale ula*. The first breadfruit feast could not be made until a first breadfruit called "o le 'ulu fai pulou o Tui Manua" was offered to him. The shoulder and breast of the pig, and the steak section nearest the tail of a fish were sacred to him. The platter upon which his food was served had to be held straight, lengthwise with the short end pressed against the taupou's breast. It was forbidden to place before him a whole chicken; it must be cut up before it was served. Also fish had to be removed from their leaf wrappings before they were served to him. After washing his hands in a finger bowl, he was given a special towel of white tapa upon which to dry them. Food served to him at the time of a great feast was either spread upon the *malae* or piled and distributed in Falesoa, the house of Matautia. His wife and his taupou were permitted to sleep in the *fale toa* but all the rest of the family slept in the *fale ula*. The *fale ula* (guest house of the Tui Manua in which fonos were held) had four center posts, arranged in a hollow square, instead of the traditional one or three center posts. Here was kept his kava bowl which had ten legs. There were no special ceremonies connected with this house.

MARRIAGE OF THE TUI MANUA

The party of proposal headed by a high *to'oto'o* proceeded to the guest house of the chief whose taupou was sought in marriage for the Tui Manua. They went empty handed, except for a palm branch (*o le afiafi*) which was placed over the left hand side post until negotiations were completed. The bride of the Tui Manua was met by a litter and carried in state through the village. The dowry was *lafo* to the *to'oto'os*, and they in turn recited the longest chants which they knew. The sacred conch shell was not blown. A

special house was built for the *masiofi* (wife of Tui Manua) which was called Pelau Sa Ma'a.

The position of the *masiofi* is anamolous within the general Samoan pattern. Wives of high chiefs are as a rule treated with far less courtesy and ceremony than that which is accorded to the taupous. The courtesy term for chief's wife is *faletua* (she who sits in the back of the house). The highest forms of the courtesy language were reserved for the taupou: upon a malaga it was the taupou who was most honored and who had a post at the front of the house and a cup of kava. On Tutuila and in other villages of Manua the taupou and the manaia were buried with the same honors which were accorded the chief whose title they ornamented. It was said that the wife of a high chief who had been a taupou would always derive more honor from her past status than from her present.

The sole exception to these generalizations of which I have any knowledge is the wife of the Tui Manua. When food was offered by the *to'oto'os* it was offered not to the *taupou*, but instead a section was set aside for the *masiofi*. As a bride she was carried on a litter and honored in every way.

THE TAUPOU OF THE TUI MANUA

The taupou of the Tui Manua, known as the *faana*, on the other hand was less honored than was the custom for other taupous. Her position was less that of village maiden, than that of honorary personal servant to the Tui Manua. She made his bed, served his food, served his kava, fetched his drinking water, and was prohibited from performing these services for any one else. When she died, there was no *lagi* and she was buried with a state far slighter than that accorded to her lord. In deference to the Tui Manua neither Soatoa nor Lefiti were permitted to make taupous although each possessed a taupou name in connection with his title. At a *talolo*, only the *faana* might wear the ceremonial headdress. There were two *taupou* names (*sa'otama'ita'i*) in the Tui Manua family; the greater of these was Samalaulu, a name said to have been born originally by the daughter of Lia Tama; the lesser name, Nanuola, belonged to the Taofi branch of the family. Another peculiarity of the *fanana* was that she might be, contrary to the traditional requirement, the daughter of the Tui Manua. This seems to have been the case only if the daughter were a *tama paia* born after the accession of the Tui Manua to his title. The children of the Tui Manua were called *alo tupu Sa* (the children of the sacred king) and treated with some respect but not regarded as possessing any particular sanctity unless they were born after the Tui Manua was annointed. This seems to have been a rare occurrence, as the Tui Manua was said to have usually been a very old man. But a child so born was invested with all its father's sanctity. Only its

mother or Tauanu'u could cut its hair. And such a child might become taupou. It is interesting to note in this connection the wife of the Tui Tonga was, according to Williams (129, p. 187) taken from him after she had borne him two children.

Ordinarily the *faana*, like all taupous, was chosen from the descendants of a paternal aunt. But the observance of the proper balance between the male and female lines in the Tui Manua family was almost completely obscured by several different facts: this preference for making a girl *tama paia faana*, the fact that all the prerogatives of the *ilamutu* and the *tamafafine* had been definitely taken over by the *to'oto'os* of the village, so that the people said, "Tauanuu is like the *ilamutu* in the aiga sa Tui Manua"; and the peculiar divorce which had been effected between the manaia and the heir apparent.

THE MANAIA OF THE TUI MANUA

The Manaiaship in Tau was not held by a son, or descendant in the male line of the Tui Manua family. Instead the title, Silia, was an independent title, held in a branch of the Tui Manua family and apparently passing down in the distaff line, much as the taupou name descended in other families. This title, although its holder remained only a *taule'ale'a*, as long as he held it was an exceedingly high one. The term of address for chief (*lau alala*) was used to Silia, the leader of the aluali'i (kava chewers of the Tui Manua). The Silia was said never to become the Tui Manua; he was not appointed by the Tui Manua, he did not rise to any other title. He remained all his life in an anomalous and highly honorary position, the chief of the young men. The present holder of the title, is the son of the sister of the last Tui Manua, Etisela, who was the first wife of the father of the present Tufele, high chief of Fitiuta. There was no title for the heir apparent, and only with a *tama paia* was there a presumptive choice made at an early age. It was said that although the Tui Manua could not be tattooed after he was annointed, the *tama paia* could be tattooed and circumcised. It seems almost as if the customary arrangement were completely reversed, the distaff side providing the manaia instead of the taupou. To complete the anomalous position the family of the Tui Manua is said to have had no family god.

DEATH AND BURIAL OF THE TUI MANUA

At the death of the Tui Manua the whole village was under a strict tapu. There was no fishing, no work done, no fires for cooking lighted anywhere near the house. Fires were kept burning in the house where the body lay in state. Messengers were sent to the other villages; Maui went to Fitiuta and Levao to Ofu and Olosega, blowing the conch shell trumpet and crying out "Ua ao i le lagi le Tui Manua" (Tui Manua is dead), and

"Ua tua le malo o Tui Manua" (Tui Manua's government is fallen). Coconut leaves were laid on either side of the *fale ula* about three houses away. Before burial the body was carried through the village upon a litter. Burial was in the earth, on the back with hands clasped on abdomen, and feet towards the rising sun. This is the Tau, not the Fitiuta, burial posture. It was forbidden for anyone to wear anything upon the head until after the period of mourning had ceased. Fine mats and tapa were brought by chiefs of the other villages and distributed to the *to'oto'os*. Tauanuu and other *to'oto'os* watched the body. It was buried wrapped in a fine mat and everything which came into contact with it was thrown into the grave. It was said that the body of Alia Tama had not been buried but had simply disappeared.

GENEALOGIES OF THE TUI MANUA

It is no longer possible in Manua to get even such pretentious geneaologies as those collected by Powell and Krämer. The following three geneaologies recorded by Powell (47, vol. 6, p. 74; 46, vol. 25, p. 138, and vol. 26, p. 299) are of the traditional Polynesian type and include no marriages nor collateral lines. All of them were obtained from Tauanuu, the "legend keeper" of the Tui Manua house. They read as follows:

Account 1.	Account 2.	Account 3.
1. Ta'e o Tagaloa	1. Ta'e Tagaloa	1. Ta'e Tagaloa
2. Fa'a-ea-nu'u	2. Fa'a-ea-nu'u	2. Fa'a-ea-nu'u
3. Sao-io-io-Manu	3. Sao-io-io-manu	3. Sao-io-io-manu
4. Le Lologo	4. Lelogo	4. Lelogo
5. Ali'a Matua	5. Ali'a matua	5. Ali'a matua
6. Ali'a Tama	6. Ali'a tama	6. Ali'a tama
7. Piu Piu-po	7. Fa'a-ea-nu'u	7. Piu-Piu-po
8. Fa'a-ea-nu'u	8. Piu-Piu-po	8. Fa'a-ea-nu'u
9. Ti'aligo	9. Sili-vi-vao	9. Sili'a-i-vao
	10. Ti'aligo	10. Ti'aligo
	11. Se-manu	
	12. Fa'atoalia	
	13. Taliutafa	
	14. Tialigo	
	15. Seuēa (f)	
	16. Salofi	
	17. Taliutafa	
	18. Talolo-mana	
	19. Vao-mana	
	20. Talolo	
	21. Talolo-fa'a-lelei-nu'u	
	22. Poumele	
	23. Segi	
	24. Pule ta faga-faga	
	25. Iolite	
	26. Tui-a-aitu	
	27. Taalolo-fana-ese.	
	28. Le Vao	

Krämer (67, vol. 1) attempts a very different task. His is based upon the record of marriages and the offspring from these marriages; sometimes the names of the men who became Tui Manua are mentioned, and the descent of the mothers of the Tui Manua is usually stated. He received this account from a Tutuila talking chief, and it purports to give the genealogy of the main line and of two branch lines, those of Makelita and of Alalamua From my observation of the keeping of Samoan geneaologies and of the frequent falsifications and rearrangements involved, I am inclined to think that probably many of the marriages recorded in this genealogy took place, probably not in this order. As a record of the probable course of the intermarriages of the Tui Manua family, it is to a certain extent indicative. Mr. Williamson (130, vol. 2, p. 92) stresses the number of women in the geneaology of Makelita. I imagine that this was a pretty gesture on the part of the talking chiefs of her day. If the descent from mother to daughter had been an archaic pattern prevailing at this time in Manua it would have been likely to occur in the major genealogy also. Very probably this genealogy was not fabricated entirely, but is a hodge podge of recollected marriages of *fa'anas* in the past.

Krämer's Manua list reads as follows. Numbers preceded by an asterisk refer to names not indicated as a Tui Manua.

15. Aga'e i uta (Inland Aga'e)
16. Galea'i
17. Li'a
18. Li'aititi
19. Li'atama
*20. .....
21. Nauola (f)
22. Liusfi
23. Paiau (f)
*24. .....
..25. .....
*26. .....
27. Tuiologano
28. (Fatutū)
*29. .....
30. Mamana
31. (Fua)
32. Taofi

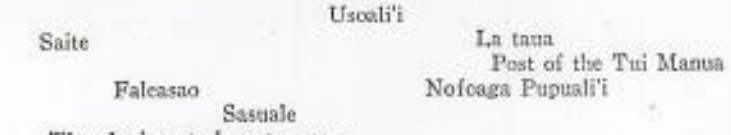
THE POSITION OF THE TUI MANUA IN THE MANUAN ARCHIPELAGO

Tui Manua was acknowledged as high chief throughout Manua. Ofu and Olosega brought him tribute of fish and breadfruit for his *masi* pit, and the high chiefs abstained from names for their kava cups or *lagis* at their death. Nevertheless, the social organization did not indicate a uniform relationship between the Tui Manua and each of the seven villages. To Tau proper, excluding Faleasao, he was high chief of the village; the rank of all other chiefs within Siufaga and Luma was pared down to a ceremonious acknowledgment of this rank. No other chief in these two divisions of Tau might make a taupou. Next in intimate relationship to his rank must be included the village of Faleasao, once probably a part of Tau. But Faleasao had a high chief of its own, Asoau, who might make a taupou and a manaia,

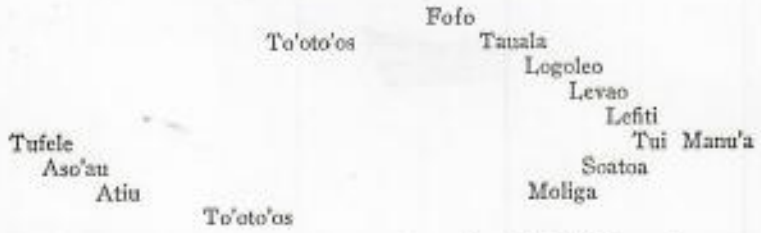
and who ranked, not with Lefiti of Siufaga and Soatoa of Luma as an appurtenance of the Tui Manua's court, but with Tufele of Fitiuta, Misa of Ofu, Tui Olosega of Olosega and Laolagi of Sili. This group of high chiefs of other Manuan villages all had the right to make taupous and manaias and were locally given much honor; collectively they were called "Faitui," which Churchill translates as "kingmakers," and they stood in a peculiar relationship to the Tui Manua. At his installation, his wedding, his recovery from illness, and his death, *toga* was distributed to the high *to'oto'os* of his own village; but upon other occasions, particularly during a royal tour of the archipelago, he distributed *toga* to this group of high chiefs, who became temporarily the talking chiefs of their respective villages.

When the fonos are considered a slightly different alignment is revealed. The fono of Luma and Siufaga (Tau village) was called "O le fono tele" (great fono) or "fono o le faletolu" (fono of the three houses); that of Luma, Siufaga, and Faleasao, "fono tele ma Faleasao" (great fono held with Faleasao). In this fono, Asoau, the high chief of Faleasao occupied the left hand section of the house, the seat of honor across from the post of the Tui Manua. When all of the villages of the island of Tau, Luma, Siufaga, Faleasao, and Fitiuta met together, the fono was called "O le fono vaitoilau." Tufele occupied the left hand seat of honor in the section "Faleasao" and Asoau sat upon his right. Curiously enough there was no provision for the great fono of Manua although it was occasionally convened. Some of the high talking chiefs of Tau gave up their posts to the high chiefs of Ofu and Olosega.

The divisions of the fono vaitoilau are as follows:



The designated seats are:



The fono of Tui Manua was also called "O le fale, ula tau tagata" (crimson house where men assemble), while the fono of Fitiuta was called "O le fale 'ula tau aitu (crimson house where ghosts, or shadows, gather). This was regarded as a shadow of the Tau fono, an everlasting remem-

brance that the *fale ula* has been sent down by heaven to Fitiuta not to Tau. The custom of the Fitiuta high chiefs periodically assuming various of the Tui Manua's prerogatives, a liberty never taken by the other Manuan high chiefs, was also explained on the grounds of this original priority.

THE KAVA CEREMONY OF THE TUI MANUA

The great ceremonial kava of the Tui Manua was called either the "alofi sa" or "o le taiga o le ipu o Tui Manua" (the bringing forth of the cup of the Tui Manua). These ceremonies were held only on special occasions; the ordinary daily kava of the Tui Manua was served with much less ceremony. The whole of the aumaga gathered outside the great guest house where the ceremony was held. They guarded the village against noise or intrusion of any sort and accompanied the *fa'ana* in her walk to the guest house. She carried the sacred cup of the Tui Manua, which was called either Matumavae or Lealavatualua, suspended by a cord from the end of a palm branch. This cord had five knots in it. She carried it stiffly at arm's length and stooping, laid it in front of the Tui Manua. The Tui Manua untied the string and the *fa'ana* took the cup into her cupped hand.

Eleven kava bowls were used in the ceremony. The central bowl was called "O le matua tu o le alofi;" those on each side, "o lago tanoa." When the kava had been made, all the aumaga gathered without, clapped their hands, and Tauanua called out "Tui Manua e!" to which the aumaga replied with a great shout, "lo'u alii e!" seven times.

While the *fa'ana* held the sacred cup, another cup was used to dip the kava from the kava bowls. Kava was poured into the sacred cup; first from the central bowl, then from one on the right, then from one on the left. As fast as the cup became filled, the kava was poured out upon the floor. When the round of the eleven bowls had been completed, the *fa'ana* returned to the central bowl; the cup was filled again and she carried his kava to the Tui Manua in her cupped hand. After the Tui Manua had drunken he put the cup face downward on the mat in front of him. After the ceremony was over the *fa'ana* took the cup away. But immediately upon serving the Tui Manua, she went to the side of the house where a finger bowl and cup lay, and using the cup as a dipper, poured water over her hands and arms. Then she left the house and the rest of the kava was distributed by a boy. The *to'oto'os* of the Saite section presided over the distribution. The kava was always served from the central bowl. As this became empty the other bowls were emptied into it. The server stood in front of the central bowl, and before presenting the cup to be filled, beat out five counts with the hand in which he held the cup, towards the left five bowls, then towards the right five bowls. The order of service was the Tui Manua, Sa Suale, La Taua, and then Saite.

THE FA'ALUPEGA OF MANUA

There are two old records of the *fa'alupega* of Manua, phrases which are really specific greetings to the majesty of the Tui Manua rather than to the district as a whole. Krämer's version (67, vol. 1, pp. 367-368) is:

Tuloaga le Manu'a
Tuloaga i lau afioga Tui Manu'a e lo'o e afio i le Fale 'Ula.
Afia mai laia i ou ega ma lou faleto'a

Alala maia fa'atui,

Alala mai 'oulua Vaimagalo.
Mamalu mai 'outou to'oto'o o le Fale 'Ula
Mamalu mai 'oulua le Manu'a.

Acknowledgment of Manua,
Acknowledgment of your highness Tui Manua who dwells in the fale ula.
Reverence to your royal mats and your sleeping house,
Reverence to the pillars of the government,
Reverence to you two, "Sweetwater" who protect the speakers' staves of the fale ula who protect Manua.

Churchill's version, based upon the written record of Arthur Young, is quite different:

Acknowledgment of thee, Child of Manua,
Acknowledgment of thee, Three Houses,
Acknowledgment of thy highness the Tui Manua,
Acknowledgment of thee, the Fitiuta.

From my own inquiries I am inclined to think that the phrases for Manua as a whole were a random selection from the phrases used for Tau, with the possible addition of a phrase or so in recognition of Fitiuta. The flowery embellishment of terms applying to the Tui Manua's personal life is just one of the possible elaborations of the *fa'alupega*. Churchill was told by Laupepa that the phrases for the district of Manua were scarcely ever used. The fact that the Tui Manua was so intimately bound up with the local organization of Tau makes the *fa'alupega* of Tau a more exact statement of the ceremonial frame of his life than is this slender and miscellaneous collection of phrases.

Churchill gives a statement of the *fa'alupega* of Tau. This is a remarkably full *fa'alupega*, and is really a crystallization of the entire ceremonial life of Tau. The following are quoted for they are more authentic than any which could be obtained today.

Acknowledgment of the Malae, o Vavau.
Acknowledgment of the Malae-the-Great, (the two *malaes* in Tau village).
Acknowledgment of the Fale'ula; (council house) of the Tui Manua.
Acknowledgment of the Three Houses; (ceremonial name of the titled men of Luma and Siufaga, the two hamlets which make up Tau village).
Acknowledgment of the highness, Tui Manua.
Acknowledgment of the Brother Chiefs, Soatoa and Lefiti.
Acknowledgment of the Cluster of Chiefs (*pupu ali'i*).
Acknowledgment of the High Talking Chiefs (*to'oto'o*)
Acknowledgment of the Orator Tauanuu.

Phrases referring to aumaga:

Acknowledgment of the Kava Chewers (atuali'i) of the *fale ula.*
Acknowledgment of the sons of the King.
Acknowledgment of your lordship, Silia.
Acknowledgment of the sons of the Brother Chiefs.
Acknowledgment of the sons of the High Talking Chiefs.

Phrases referring to the aualuma:

Acknowledgment of the Samala'ulu
Acknowledgment of the Aufaoa
Acknowledgment of the daughters of the Brother Chiefs,
Acknowledgment of the children of the High Talking Chiefs.

Ripley, quoted in part by Churchill, adds: "Acknowledgment of the Anoalo" (descent group of the Tui Manua) and your excellencies Tauala, Tulifua, Tauese and Milo. To the phrase "Acknowledgment of the Brother Chiefs" he adds, "Acknowledgment of the Brother Chiefs, Soatoa and Lefiti"; and to the phrase "Acknowledgment of the High Talking Chiefs," he adds the names of "Your excellencies Fofo and Faamausili and Alamua and Atiu." In the phrases for the aualuma he adds the taupou name of Lefiti (Tui Togama'atoe), Masina (house name of Soatoa), and Onea (house name of Lefiti).

Krämer (67, vol. 1, p. 368) gives the *fa'alupega* of Tau as follows:

Acknowledgment of three, the Three Houses; Malae tele and Malaevavau; the highness, Tui Manua; thee, Brother Chiefs, Soatoa and Lefiti; the Cluster of Chiefs; thee, High Talking Chiefs (*to'oto'o*), Tuliiua, and Tauese, and Milo and Faamausili and Tuaau and Fofo and Atiu; your excellency, Tausanuu, the elder of the lore of the *fale ula* who guards the title and shows forth the word of the King. Honorably enter, Three Houses, the Kava Chewers of the *fale ula*, the sons of the King, your lordship, Silia, the Sons of the brother chiefs, the Sons of the High Talking Chiefs, the Sama'au'ulu and the Aufaoa, the Gaguola (taupou name of the Taofi branch of the Tui Manua family) and the Aufoa, the daughters of the Brother Chiefs, the children of the High Talking Chiefs.

RELATIONSHIP OF THE TUI MANUA TO THE REST OF SAMOA

Some of the myths and many boastful and extravagant statements of talking chiefs claim for the Tui Manua a one time lordship over the rest of Samoa, and over Tonga, Fiji, Wallis and other islands. Based upon the pleasing theory that their king was king of the world, the Manuan talking chiefs have but to hear the name of a new part of the world, to include it in their lord's realm. (For a collection of myths relating to these claims to supremacy see Williamson (130, vol. 1, pp. 107-109). The claim that human sacrifices were once sent from over the sea and buried alive in the *malae* is probably equally the product of a grandiose illusion. But one curious element of the respect in which the Tui Manua was held was the attitude summed up in the ceremonial cry, "Tui Manua e lo'u ali'i e." (Tui Manua, thou art my lord). This cry is cast in archaic style, addressing as it

does a sacred chief with the direct second person singular pronoun, a practice which would not be tolerated today. It is used ceremonially over the entire Samoan archipelago, and were the Manuans to be believed, in Tonga also. For this, of course, there is no factual basis. There were three occasions upon which this cry was uttered, outside of Manua: (1) when a warrior takes a head in battle; (2) by the funeral party going to the funeral of a chief; (3) by the official jester of Upolu, Salaese, who could snatch his fill from the pile of sacrosanct food which had been piled up for the installation of the king (o le fa'tu'u'iga le tupu), and who shouted as he did so, "Tui Manua, thou art my lord."

The phrase is used on Manua on all important ceremonial occasions connected with the Tui Manua; at his installation, his marriage, his formal kava ceremony, and his death. The Manuans explain the origin of the phrase as follows:

> Tui Tonga came to visit Tui Manua, and although warned against it, bathed in Tui Manua's sacred bathing pool. The people warned him that he would die, but he paid no heed, dived and died before he hit the water. The men of Tonga lamented for him, singing a Tongan song, but he gave no sign of reviving. Finally, the Tongans, in despair, sent a Manuan man named Faitolo to Tui Manua to tell him that Tui Tonga was dead. Tui Manua asked what the Tongans were doing. He was told that they were singing a Tongan song. He instructed Faitolo to return to the Tongans and tell them to cry instead, "Tui Manua e lo'u ali'i e." They fulfilled this command and the Tui Tonga came back to life. Then he acknowledged that the Tui Manua was more powerful than he and promised ever afterward to sing that song in memoriam, and the Tongans went home to Tonga stopping at each of the Samoan islands on their way and teaching the people that on the way to a funeral of a chief they must sing, "Tui Manua, thou art my lord."

Krämer (67, vol. 1, p. 9) speaks of the use of the cry at the funeral of chiefs on Savaii, and Churchill (29) says:

> In western Samoa when the great kings stretch out their hands to take food from the heap which has been piled before them by vassal folk the food is tabu to the Malietoa or the Tui Atua or the Tui A'ana who may at the time be king supreme. Death would be meted out to any man, no matter how high his rank, who should touch the sacrosanct offering. To any man save one. He, with wild gesticulations, in themselves a sin against the kingly tapu, with loud shouts, which are an indignity before the king's majesty, grasps the food with greedy hands, stuffs it into his mouth and eats, even while the royal hand is stretched out, and he cries and none may gainsay him; "Tui Manua e lo'u ali'i e!"
>
> When a great chief dies his warriors beat their heads and breasts with stones until the blood streams from them. In this ceremony of *ologa*, or attack, the *'aualoga* party performing it take the corpse on its bier with them through the town, killing the animals they meet, destroying canoes, hacking trees, leaving a trail of mourning havoc behind them, and all this while they cry aloud, "O, King of Manua, thou art my lord."

Powell (85, p. 153) speaks of the use of the cry in both Upolu and Savaii by the bearers of a chief's bier. Von Bulow (22, Globus, 71, p. 149) says merely that the cry is sung at a chief's death. Fraser (47, vol. 6, p. 71)

quotes a text given to Powell which reads: "Tui Manua was first (in Samoa) because, when a chief of Upolu or Savaii dies, he is carried about upon a bier all through his village, and they shout out "O Tui Manua, this is your chief." Steubel (112, p. 92) repeats the statement that the warriors who carry the bier shout the cry. Williamson (130, vol. 1, p. 107) suggests that this custom was only followed in Savaii and is therefore significant of Manuan connections with Savaii, but this custom is also followed on Tutuila, according to accounts which I received from reliable informants on Tutuila, and according to Churchill, in Upolu also.

If this cry were used only at funeral ceremonies, I should suggest that it was a possible recognition of the presumptuousness of the small chiefs of other islands in arrogating to themselves the privileges of a *lagi*, sacred to the Tui Manua. The other two customs, however, blur this hypothesis hopelessly. The whole complex certainly suggests that in some fashion the inhabitants of the other islands recognized the claims of the Tui Manua. Whether those claims were ever other than ceremonial it is impossible to tell. In this connection it is important to remember that the prerogatives of all Samoan high chiefs were more ceremonial than actual; the real government lay in the hands of the fonos.

TAU

The social organization of Tau is complicated because it was the seat of the Tui Manua which gave it something of the character of the capital, and also by the fact that, since the abolition of the Tui Manua title, the village is in the process of splitting up into two parts, Lumā and Siufaga. Traditions of villages which existed before Tau are all of the most mythical character. Some informants believe that there were once two inland villages, Aualuma and Anapo, the descendants of whose inhabitants now occupy Lumā and Siufaga. According to others there were once three inland villages, Faleapo, Faleautu, and Aualuma. In the days of these prehistoric villages there lived a man and woman named Tele and Mi. They had three children, Le, Pua, and Iti, whose descendants Sasuale, Sapua, and Saiti were responsible for the creation of the first fono divisions which were named after them. This, they regard as the origin of the phrase, "Faletolu" (House of the Three, or Three Houses) used to dignify Tau. In a less remote period, Tau was one village and Faleasao only a division of the fono. Later, Faleasao split off and became a village in its own right, still sitting, however, in the Faleasao section of the fono. Further division of the large village of Tau has followed strictly geographical lines; it has split down the middle, and the two hamlets, Lumā and Siufaga, are developing separate social organizations. Unless the title of the Tui Manua should be revived, the unity of the Faletolu will probably become a matter of history.

In the fono plan and the social arrangements under the Tui Manua changes are taking place. For one aumaga, the Atualii, presided over by Silia, the perennial manaia, there are now two aumagas between which there is a lively competition. Silia still rules in the Lumā aumaga and when the aumagas work together, but Timale, the manaia of the house of Lefiti, now regarded as the ranking title of Siufaga, rules in the Siufaga aumaga. The two aumagas are presided over by separate talking chiefs: Migao presides in Lumā, and Faaee in Siufaga. The split between the aumagas is therefore virtually complete, while the fonos of the two villages have not as yet had complete plans worked out for them.

Under the Tui Manua, Soatoa and Lefiti were regarded as of equal rank under the king. There was no thought of one presiding over one section of the village and one over another. But Soatoa lives in Lumā and the house of Lefiti stands in Siufaga. (In 1926 there was no Lefiti: Tufele and Soatoa, ranking members of the Salefiti, through a series of recent marriages, kept the appointment from being made, thus enhancing their own prestige). With a further desire to differentiate between the two chiefs, Lefiti is no longer said to be an Usoalii (Brother Chief) but is said to be a Pupualii. This places Lefiti as the highest of the group of chiefs, known as a "Cluster of Chiefs" under the Tui Manua. These chiefs were Moliga (ranking chief), Fua, Fasua, Leasau, and Nua. The title of Fua has now been dropped from the list so that there is still one high Pupualii and four beneath him. It is also interesting to note that all the Pupualii live in Siufaga. The high talking chiefs of the old regime, Tauanuu, Faamau, Tauese, Alamua, Atiu, Tulifua, and Fofo, all lived in Lumā. Here then is a case where residence and rank actually coincide but the coincidence remained unremarked in native nomenclature or theorizing. Moliga, chief of the Pupualii, once had the right to tapu the sea. In both villages there are groups of lesser chiefs known as Usoalii (Brother Chiefs) who sit in the unnamed, undistinguished section of the Tau fono which is reserved for them. Each group of Usoalii has a special talking chief called *tulafale ali'i* associated with it, Levao in Lumā, and Faaee in Siufaga.

Although Silia rules in all Tau, and no chief in Tau except the Tui Manua might have a taupou (theoretically) still to-day there are manaia and taupou titles for both Soatoa and Lefiti. Soatoa's manaia title which has no incumbent is said to Vaimagalo, the title which he once shared with Lefiti, and his taupou title is Saaifetu. Lefiti's manaia title, Timale, and his taupou name Togamaatoe, are very probably older as Krämer mentions the first and Churchill the second. The great fono of Tau is no longer convened and gradually a *fa'alupega* of Lumā and Siufaga will be developed until some day, perhaps, each village will seem to its inhabitants a ceremonial

and geographical entity which must have existed from time immemorial. The Silia title is held by a man well past forty years of age. As this title is virtually self-perpetuating, it can exist without the Tui Manua. The fact that the present incumbent is the half brother of the present Tufele, high chief of Fitiuta and Governor of Manua, whose father is said to have taken active part in the abolition of the Tui Manua title, may also account for his continued incumbency. Soatoa has made no taupou nor manaia. He rests upon his prestige as highest chief of Lumă, County Chief under the Naval Government, and husband of Toaga Young, sister of Tui Manua Makelita, widow of a U. S. Navy pharmacist's mate and the richest women on Tau. He makes slight bid for traditional forms of prestige. Meanwhile Silia, who is given license by the atypical form of his title, and his anomalous relationship to the Tui Manua, has begun to claim more and more honors for his beautiful daughter. Although he has never risked a Faatuuiga and formal bestowal of a taupou name, she is everywhere spoken of as the taupou of Lumă and it is possible that in the next generation the privilege of making the Lumă taupou may pass to the Silia title instead of to the Soatoa title. The close blood kinship of the Silia and Tui Manua families invests the Silia with a kind of aura as opposed to Soatoa's more prosaic claims.

Neither Soatoa nor the fabricators of the prestige of the Lefiti title have assumed cup names under the very shadow of the *fale ula*, but Soatoa's food is now served to him in the manner once reserved to the Tui Manua.

The channel guardians of Tau are said to be Tuleisu, a female ghost, Logo, Tausuafe and Vaoga, male ghosts. Tuleisu died so recently that some of her children are still living.

Tau has no god except the Tui Manua, but is said to have shown great veneration for O le Lulu, the owl, whose consecrated shelter was the *pua* tree.

FALEASAO

Faleasao is a tiny village about twenty minutes' walk from Lumă. Its lowly degree, the fact that only one title from Faleasao (Asoau) is included in the fono Vaitoilau of all Tau, the coincidence between the name of a division of the fono and the name of the village, the assignment of the function of spies to the village of Faleasao in Tau and the section Faleasao in Fitiuta, all suggest that this village is the extension of a one time mere political division. Against this hypothesis is Hood's record (63, p. 30) of the existence of a Tui Faleasao in 1862, whose special bed place was screened off with tapa. If Hood were not drawing freely upon his general knowledge of Samoa in order to fill in details of his landing at Faleasao, this would indicate a diminution of the status of Faleasao during the last seventy-five years. This suggestion is given some weight, although not a great deal, by the inclusion in Krämer's *fa'alupega* of four titles; two chiefs, Ala and

Lauulu, and two *to'oto'o,* Lesa and Vaiafala; none of which are held today nor mentioned in the *fa'alupega.* Asoau is now said to be the only *to'oto'o* in Faleasao, combining the function of *to'oto'o* and high chief in his own person. Krämer gives his taupou name as Tupua; to-day his taupou name is said to be Tupua or Taapi (the name of Misa's taupou) and his manaia name is said to be Alagafa. The chiefs who rank next to Asoau are known collectively as Alagafa. There sit outside the house when the fono of all Tau is convened. There are two *tulafale ali'i,* Muaō and Maao. Vaovao rules over the aumaga and Matagi is the talking chief especially attached to the personal service of Asoau.

Faleasao is divided into two parts, Tufu and Suai. There are no political divisions of the fono at present. It was Faleasao's duty to contribute taro to the Tui Manua and Faleasao had the privilege of making the litter of the Tui Manua's bride. According to Churchill, quoting Ripley, the *malae* was called Faletolu and the house name of Asoau was Poulima. The *fa'alupega* are:

> Acknowledgment to you, Faleasao,
> Acknowledgment of your lordship, Aso'au,
> Acknowledgment of the Alagafa.
> Acknowledgment of Tupua and her household.
> Acknowledgment of the daughters of the Alagafa.
> Acknowledgment of thee, famous in war, Faleasao.

Krämer (67, vol. 1, p. 370) records: Acknowledgment of: thee Faleasao, lau *alala* Asoau; the speech of Ala and Lauulu and their famous ancestry; the foreign war; you two High Talking Chiefs, Lesa and Vaiafala; the aumaga of Faleasao; the son of Asoau; the teachers of the young; the sons of the high talking chiefs; the aualuma of Faleasao; the household of Tupua and her younger sisters; and the presence of Faleasao.

Churchill (29) records acknowledgment of: the *malae;* thee, Faleasao; *lau alala* Asoau; the Alalagafa, the Foreign War; the aumaga of Faleasao; the son of Asoau; the teachers of the young; the aualuma of Faleasao; Tupua and her household and younger sisters. He adds that Ripley contributes also the phrases, "you high talking chiefs, your excellencies Ala and Malauulu."

FITIUTA (AGAE)

The change from the ancient name of Agae to Fitiuta as related in a folk tale (p. 174) was never complete and many people still use the name Agae by preference. Fitiuta has the reputation of being the most difficult (*fa'igata*) village in Manua; the proudest, the most complex, and the most ancient. Separated from Tau by such a troublesome trail that many Tau people have never made the journey across the island, with a dangerous reef and

an unsatisfactory channel, Fitiuta is the most isolated village in Manua. It is also the only village not built on the seashore. Fitiuta plantations are believed to be the best in Manua; the village has a great reputation for a plentiful food supply.

The question of rank is a moot one. The present organization is based upon an unquestioning acceptance of the Tufele title as having been the high title of Fitiuta for hundreds of years. He is the only chief who makes a taupou and a manaia; he is the lord of the fono, the owner of the great guest house, of such high pretension that he disputes many of the claims of the Tui Manua himself. The Galeai title seems, however, to have certain claims to an ancient distinction which it has lost. Tutuila chiefs talk of a day when Galeai was accorded highest honor in Fitiuta. At the present time, tales of Galeai's rank are lowest in Fitiuta; he is accorded a little higher rank in Tau, still higher rank in Tutuila. As changes in a village organization have to slowly make their way into the theory of far-away villages this is perhaps significant. Galeai's title in the *fa'alupega* is Pulefano. His title stands alone in the long series of phrases even today. He is said never to have attended any ordinary fono but only the Council of Seventeen, the fono Tau Aitu, which met secretly at night to deliberate over a war. But he is said to have reserved the right to veto the decisions of the fono. However this may be, the present incumbent of the title was living in retirement on Tutuila in 1926.

Tufele, the present high chief, is connected with almost all the high titles on Tau. His father's first wife was the sister of the Tui Manua, and the present Silia is his half brother. His mother's family lay claim to an Asoau title in Upolu which they assert gives them claims upon the Asoau title in Faleasao. For, "you may be related by blood or by title," explained Tufele. This claim was admitted by Asoau who contributed heavily to the birth feast of Tufele's first child. Tufele's great-grandfather, Peuai, after he had succeeded to the Tufele title, married the daughter of Lefiti, and their son held first the Timale title, manaia to Lefiti, and afterwards became Tufele. Tufele at present lives in Siufaga, the better to discharge his duties as Governor of Manua, and exercises many privileges as ranking member of the Sa Lefiti.

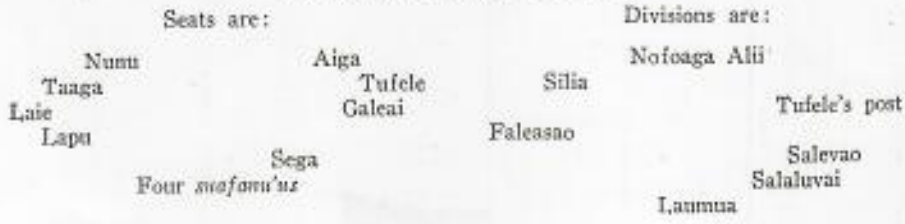
The tendency of Fitiuta to make counter claims to those of Tau, coupled with the enormous strengthening of the house of Tufele through the abolition of the Tui Manua title and the appointment of the father of the present Tufele as governor, make it almost impossible to evaluate the age of the present social organization in Fitiuta. The present Tufele, who followed his father as governor, is a man of great force and resourcefulness, and was educated in Hawaii. Fitiuta has the reputation of being a most conservative village today. But a knowledge of the flexibility of talking chief's formulas,

together with the conflicting accounts from Tutuila, call for a certain amount of skepticism.

In Fitiuta there are seventeen high chiefs whose names must be mentioned in the *fa'alupega*. These are Tufele and the other three chiefs who are known as Falefa, the Four Houses, Pomele, Moa and Taniiliili; the four chiefs who are known as Mapū (Tei), Paopao, Nunu and Ali; four talking chiefs known as *suafanuu*, Vee (Ve'e), Filipu, Logai (Logai) and Ale; and four *to'oto'o*, Lapui Laie (Laiē), Taaga (Taaga) and Sega, and Galeai, the *pulefano*. In the light of western Samoan usage it is important to note that the Falefa are chiefs, not talking chiefs, nor electors. In Fitiuta alone do the *to'oto'os* rank below the *suafanu'us*.

Laie occupies the post of honor directly across from Tufele; the four posts in the front are known as Laumua and are occupied by the four *suafanu'us*, the back center post is included in the section on Tufele's right known as Nofoaga Alii, the seating place of chiefs, occupied by Aiga and a group of small chiefs called *Pupuali'i*. The front left segment is Faleasao with the duty of acting as scouts in war. The back left segment is Silia. The front right section is Salaluva where Sega sits and between the three posts of this section and Tufele's post is Salevao where Galeai had a post which he did not occupy. Some informants denied the existence of Saleluvai and this may be a mere inroad upon the importance of Salevao, where Galeai was supposed to rule. The ordinary order of the kava ceremony was to serve Tufele, Faleasao, Nofoaga Alii, Silia, Salaluvai and Salevao.

Fono Lautitlaulelei o Fitiuta



The *fa'alupega* which I was taught are:

Acknowledgment of thee, Fitiuta.
Acknowledgment of the Fale ula where shades gather
Acknowledgment of your highness (*afioga*), Tufele, and the Four Houses, Pomele, Moa, and Taniiliili.
Acknowledgment of the Chiefs (who are called) Mapu, Tei, Paopao, Nunu, and Ali.
Acknowledgment of the Talking Chiefs (called) *suafanu'u*, Vee, Filipu, Logai, and Ale.
Acknowledgment of the High Talking Chiefs (called) *to'oto'o*: Lapui, Laie, Taaga, and Sega.
Acknowledgment of thee, the Pulefano.
Acknowledgment of the Folasa.

Acknowledgment of the Aumaga and the sons of Usoalii.
Acknowledgment of Laulauga and her younger sisters.
Acknowledgment of the daughters of Usoalii.
Acknowledgment of the daughters of those who dwell in Maia.

Krämer (67, vol. 1, p. 370) gives acknowledgment of: thee, the Fitiuta; of your lordship (*alala*) Tufele; the *faleula* where shades gather; the Brother Chiefs, Ili and Sega, Tuivao, and Teleaai; those of the Mapu who dwell here; Vaiamutiee; the High Talking Chiefs (*to'oto'os*) Lapui, Lealaiee and Sega: Honorably enter (*alala mai*) your lordships Tafua and Lagai; thee, the Fitiuta; the aumaga of Fitiuta; the son of Tufele; the sons of the Brother Chiefs; the sons of the High Talking Chiefs; the *aualuma* of Fitiuta; Laulauga and the Afaoa; the daughters of the Brother Chiefs, and the daughters of the High Talking Chiefs. He translated *Mapu* as meaning "members of the King's family."

Churchill's list (29) based on that of Arthur Young, records acknowledgment of: the *faleula* where shades gather; the Fitiuta; your lordship (*alala*) Tufele; the brother chiefs; The Four Houses of Usoalii; the High Talking Chiefs (*to'oto'os*); those who dwell here of the Mapu, the Pulefano; the capital (*laumua*); the son of Tufele, the sons of the Brother Chiefs; the sons of the High Talking Chiefs; Laualuaga and her younger sisters; the daughters of the Brother Chiefs; the daughters of the High Talking Chiefs. And from the record of Ripley he adds names of the four *to'oto'os* addressed as *alala*, and the four *suafanu'us* which agree with my record.

The functions of acting as heralds fell, in Fitiuta, not to the children of the members of a division of the fono, but to the sons of *suafanu'us* and *to'oto'os*.

The great guest house of Tufele's father which was destroyed in the hurricane of 1915 and from the remains of which four large houses were built, contained a post for every important matai in Fitiuta. Among the less important there was a definite order of succession to the seats of nobler relatives whose titles belonged in the same category,—chief or talking chief. If the man of higher rank were absent, his post could be filled by the man next in line. This did not apply to the post of Tufele, nor, it would seem, to the post of Galeai. For example, Lapue's place could be taken by Taulai and Toga; Pomele's by Leau, Mauaga, and Taua.

The great fono of Fitiuta was called "O le Fono Lautilaulelei." The "Council of Seventeen," which declared war was called "O le Fono o le Fale Ula Tau Aitu." When the Tui Manua came to Fitiuta the following seating plan was observed:

Tui Manua	Tufele
Alii tama o Tui Manua (Chiefs who are children of the Tui Manua).	Alii matua Tufele (Chiefs who are the elders of Tufele).
Suafanuus	

Fitiuta was divided into two geographical divisions, Maia, called also Tuaolo; and Usolaii, called Limaolo. The following story is told of the origin of the two divisions.

A Tufele who then lived at Fagā outside Fitiuta stopped a party from Atuatafu, a prehistoric village, which was carrying the first breadfruit to the Tui Manua. War followed and Tufele made *to'oto'os* of his helpers. The first *to'oto'o* whom he made was Laie. Then Tufele came to Tutu on the dividing line between the lands which are now Maia and Usoalii and shook the sand from his feet and said, "Maia! This is the place of the *to'oto'o*. I will go on and this is my place Usoalii." The ancestors of Pomele, Moa, and Taniilili, were there and he gave them each a house site; to Taniilili he gave Mutia, to Moa, Saua, and to Pomele, Muliga.

The division of the aumaga follows these lines. They are called "O le aumaga" (this is the aumaga of Maia which Fitiuta claims is the only real aumaga in existence), and "O Alo o Uso Alii" (sons of Usoalii). There were two *osoga* (leaping off place) in Fitiuta: Samanu is Usoalii; Tauga in Maia. Souls of each division used their own leaping off place.

Fitiuta talking chiefs make certain definite claims against the pretentions of Tau. They insist that Tufele should be called Afioga; that he has a cup name, Puleaoao; that the center kava bowl of his ceremony is called Pule Malo; that the first breadfruit is called Ulu Matua and is offered to Tufele; that Tufele was anciently carried on a litter, a conch shell was blown for him, and that he could have a *lagi* at his death.

Tufele's taupou title is "Laulauga," his manaia title, "Le Folasa." His house name "La Atu Toi Lau," according to Churchill it was "Le Alofi a moa"; and his inland bathing place, "Malafasagae." A spirit also named Malafasagae presided there. Tufele was circumcised alone without a *soa* (companion), being said to "make a companion of the knife." He was tattooed with either four or eight other boys. Whereas common folk had four *aso soni le tua* (stripes on their backs), and the sons of the Falefa had three, Tufele had only two. When Tufele married he was said to *fa'ava*, the word of lowest prestige here being raised to highest terms. At his wedding the matais gave pigs, the aumaga, chickens, and his relatives, taro. His wife was said to have been called Toa. At the ceremony of making his taupou the kava cup was held aloft in one hand, while for the manaia the cup was held in the right hand while the server's left hand firmly grasped his wrist. Two chiefs, Tela and Pao, were called Matua o Tufele, the elders of Tufele. They served as special guardians of the title.

The remains of Tufele's food, his hair and nail clippings were tapu. Long ago when he walked abroad those who met him were forced to sit cross-legged with bowed heads and hands between their knees. Only his wife and taupou could touch his bed. Despite all these reported prohibitions, there is no record of any ceremony for removing the effects of accidentally transgressing his tapu.

From a group of excellent informants I received a most elaborate account of the suitable funeral of a Tufele. The account is more elaborate than any I received for the Tui Manua. Curiously enough, it is the only attempt to describe costumes which I ever heard of. As usual in Samoa, this may be a mere fabrication of a group of ingenious talking chiefs. But it is true that there was a funeral of a Tufele fairly recently. These same ceremonies were observed for the death of a taupou or a manaia.

The village was *tapued* with coconut palm leaves placed at each end. The oil, the tumeric, the mats upon which the body lay, were all thrown into the grave. The body was carried on a litter by the Falefa and was preceded, in procession, by:

The four *to'oto'os* wearing white tapa girdles, black bark kilts (*titi*) and necklaces *lau paoga* (variety of *Pandanus*).

The four *suafanu'us*, wearing black tapa girdles, kilts of red *ti* leaves and necklaces of *lau fala* (*Pandanus*).

The four *Mapu* in patterned tapa *lavalavas*, no kilts and no necklaces.

The four *to'oto'os* carried conch shell trumpets and the "sons" of the four *to'oto'os* brought up the rear of the procession beating drums. Women and children had to remain indoors. The grave of Tufele was referred to as "O le Loa"; all other graves *ti'a*.

The three Falefā chiefs who, with Tufele, had the right to make a taupou but not a manaia, refrained from doing so out of courtesy to Tufele. Their taupou names were, of Pomele, Iliganoa; of Moa, Falenaoti; of Taniiliiili, Tapuli. In Tau it is said that Galeai's taupou name was Tauaveave, but in Fitiuta it was denied that he had a taupou right.

Fitiuta had two distinctive ceremonies: "Alofi Sa o le Fale ula Tau Aitu," (the Sacred Kava Ceremony of the fale ula, where shades gather), and a "Sataulafafa" (special feast) in which only tattooed men might participate. At this feast a great number of pigs, which had been placed under a long prohibition, were consumed.

The Alofi Sa was not held at the installation of a Tufele, but only when visitors came to Fitiuta. It was employed to impress strangers and to intimidate and try the nerves of unwelcome guests. It is an institutionalization of the formal hush which proceeds any kava ceremony. The members of the fono and the guests gather first. No one wears necklace or belt or flower in the hair. Tufele enters last. From the moment of his entrance, no one may stir or speak. The slightest twich or sneeze might formerly have been punished by death by the aumaga who watched without. If Fitiuta desires to make her guests uncomfortable this may go on for hours. The speech which opens the Alofi Sa is made by a *suafanu'u*, who says: "Ua tonu lau afioga. O le ā pule le 'ava," (True, Your Highness, let us make the kava), hinting that Tufele has just expressed this wish. The aumaga are then instructed to bring in the kava utensils. The taupou takes no part in this ceremony. Four *taule'ale'as* enter, carrying in order the kava bowl on both outstretched hands, the cup in one outstretched hand, the strainer suspended

from one outstretched hand, and the last boy carries the water bottles at his side. Three youths stay inside, and one goes outside to shake out the strainer. When the boy outside sees that there is no rubbish in the kava strainer, he throws it back to the kava maker who catches it between his palms and the boy outside claps his hands once. Then the whole aumaga claps. Then Vee declares the kava ready to be distributed and requests Laie to preside over the distribution. Laie takes the cup and beats with it in the air, saying "Ua usi le alofi" (The kava ceremony is begun). The kava is then called for Fitiuta chiefs and guests in order and taken to them: Lapui, Taaga, Sega, Ali, Taniiliili, Tela, Moa, Leu'i, Galeai, Pomele and Aiga. Each of these refuses the kava when it is taken to him. The kava of all of these was called softly. Now the talking chief raises his voice to a great shout, "Ua soli le alofi Le malama e sau. Au mai Puleaoao" (The circle is made, the light has come. Bring in Puleaoao). [This is a very free translation.] The manaia who is serving takes the cup, holds it breast high until he reaches the center post—he must make the complete circuit of the house as the quadrant between Tufele and the kava bowl is *sa*—then lifts it aloft in both hands and carries it around the edge of the circle. The other chiefs may then be served but not with the cup of Tufele which is given to Laie. According to other accounts, the other members of the Falefā might use Tufele's cup. Thirteen kava bowls were used in the Alofi sa, and the side bowls were emptied into the central bowl as it became empty.

Fitiuta worshipped no god except Tagaloa and had no priests.

OFU

Ofu was renowned as the *Tumua* of Manua. This word was applied to the chief village in two western Samoa districts. But in Manua it means rather "First Stand" or "First Position" for it was here that all malagas from outside Manua were forced to land. A champion of the visitors and a champion of Ofu fought with clubs. If the visitor won, which he was permitted to do if the malaga was welcome, the malaga was formally entertained and then permitted to pass on to Olosega, where the same process was repeated. But if the malaga was unwelcome the duty of expulsion devolved upon the people of Ofu. Their champion must subdue the stranger; the visitors would then usually withdraw in humiliation. Failing this, the visitors were set upon by the village and forced to take to their boats.

Neither Ofu nor Olosega stood in as a close relationship to the Tui Manua as did the villages on Tau. Ofu had the privilege of constructing the litter upon which the body of the deceased Tui Manua was carried. The village was tapu for a week after his death; no boats might go upon the lagoon and no work be done in the village.

When Ofu and Olosega had a joint fono it was called "O le fono o Nuu

Lua" (Council of the Two Villages), or "O le Fono Tele o Ofu ma Olosega ma Sili" (Great Council of Ofu, Olosega, and Sili). In this fono Tui Olosega sat at the left hand post, Misa, high chief of Ofu, at the right hand post, and Laolagi, high chief of Sili, sat at Tui Olosega's left; the talking chiefs of all three villages sat in front.

The faalupega of Ofu, as recounted to me were as follows:

Acknowledgment of Ofu
Acknowledgment of your lordship (susuga), Misa.
Acknowledgment of Alaufau (section of village presided over by Sae and Faoa), and Faoa and Sae.
Acknowledgment of Salemataafa (section of the village in which the talking chiefs lived).
Acknowledgment of your High Talking Chiefs, Velega and Lei.
Acknowledgment of the Tulualii and the Otu Tagaloa (*aumaga*).
Acknowledgment of the sons of Faoa and Sae.
Acknowledgment of the sons of the High Talking Chiefs.
Acknowledgment of the Aualuma.
Acknowledgment of Talaaoao and her younger sisters.
Acknowledgment of the daughters of Sae and Faoa.

Krämer gives the following:

Acknowledgment of Ofu your lordship (*alala*), Misa!
The Brother Chiefs Laolagi and Lemanu.
Alaufau.
Your highness Faoa and the title of Sae.
You two High Talking Chiefs (*to'oto'o*).
Your highness Velega and your reverence Lei.
Salemata'afa.
Togoalei (name of the malae).
The Aumaga of Ofu.
The sons of Misa.
The sons of Faoa.
The sons of the rulers.
The Aualuma of Ofu.
Taloaauau and her younger sisters.
The daughters of Faoa.
The daughters of Salemataafa.

The principal difference between Krämer's account and mine is the emphasis upon two chiefs Laolagi (La'olagi), (possibly he of Sili) and Lemanu, not mentioned to-day; the use of the old form *alala;* the disregard of Sae in the phrases for the aumaga and the *aualuma* and the elaborate phrasing of the phrases for the two talking chiefs, Lei and Velega, the latter of whom is addressed with the chiefly term, *alala,* and the former with a term *fetala'iga* which Krämer translates as "machtigkeit" and Pratt as a "chief's speech," the usage with which I am familiar.

In Churchill's manuscript the heading originally written "Ofu" has been erased and replaced by "Alaufau." Apparently Churchill regarded the divi-

sion of Alaufau as the proper name of the village. A translation of his text account follows.

> Acknowledgment of: Togalei; Ofu; your highness, Misa and the Brother Chiefs; Alaufau; your highness Faoa and the title of Sae; the Salemataafa; your excellency Velega; the Aumaga of Ofu; the sons of Misa; the sons of Faoa; the sons of the rulers; Taloau and her younger sisters; the daughters of Faoa; the children of Salemtataafa. [He adds from the Ripley account, that the phrases for Alaufau, Sae, and Faoa are combined and the two Talking Chiefs Le'i and Velega specified.]

Misa is the present high chief of Ofu. He is said to be the only *pupuali'i* in Ofu and he is also the only *Fa'atui* in Ofu. His title is regarded as a new title and of small renown. The Misa title is said to have been immediately preceded by a high chiefly title, Sua, and before the Sua title there is said to have been a Tui Ofu. The first Tui Ofu, as also the first Tui Olosega, Tui Tau and Tui Aga'e [according to the local Ofu myth] was the son of a Tui Manua. Once a Tui Ofu married an Olosega woman, and going to fetch his wife home after she had been visiting her parents, he found himself empty handed, with no present for his relatives-in-law. In desperation he presented them with his high chiefly title and as a result never again dared to return to Ofu. A chief with the title of Sua ruled in his stead but was accused of trying to dry up the water supply and cast out by his people. From those days, a Misa has ruled in Ofu.

When the talking chiefs of Tau seek to explain why there is no Tui Ofu, they tell a different story.

> Once upon a time there was a high chief for each Manuan village, each chief holding the title of *Tui*. These chiefs held a council and out of courtesy to the Tui Manua either gave up their Tui titles and took new names or as the Tui Tau did, kept the title but descended to small rank.

When Misa went abroad the people were required to remain out of his path and within doors but no obeisance was demanded of them. At his death there was no *lagi* out of courtesy to the Tui Manua but the whole village refrained from work for a week, and the people were forbidden to put lime on their hair or to smoke. While Misa's body lay in the house all the chiefs present had to sit with their legs stretched out in front of them, behavior which is rated as an intolerable breach of manners on any other occasion.

Leui was Misa's special talking chief who prepared his food and ate the remnants of it and accompanied him upon small malagas. He and the two *to'oto'os* alone might eat the remnants of Misa's food; others doing so were punished with swellings. The man who cut Misa's hair was forbidden to talk, smoke or smile while doing so. His taupou might touch his bed; but this was forbidden to a daughter who had not been given the title. The top of Misa's coconut was simply pierced.

His house name and the name of the *malae* is Togalei. His taupou name

is Talaaoao, his manaia name is Tulualii. Since the abolition of the Tui Manua title and its accompanying prohibitions, Misa has taken as the name of his cup, "Tumua o tasi i Samoa," a phrase which refers to Ofu's prerogative of being the "First Stand." The chief kava bowl was called simply *matua* (elder) and the side bowls, *talitali*. Misa could put a tapu on the sea or on the use of pigs.

Misa's prestige was so slightly greater than that of the next highest chiefs, Sae and Faoa, that the village was conceived as "The side of Misa and his talking chiefs" and "The side of Sae and Faoa and their talking chiefs." At the end of the last century Faoa outranked Sae in the recorded *fa'alupega* but today they are regarded as of equal rank. Faoa's title means "take away" and refers to a historical clubbing match. Sae's title means "Keep out people" (from the ring of the Tui Manua). Misa rules over the division of the village known as Usolaii or Aluuluu which included the *malae*, Togalei, while Sae and Faoa preside over Alaufau. The *to'oto'os* and lesser talking chiefs live in the division Salemataafa.

Ofu has two talking chiefs of the *suafanu'u* class and two *to'oto'o*, Velega and Lei. Tau gave to Ofu the *to'oto'o* title of Lei as a sign of Ofu's defeat in war. Some Ofu people still insist that there is only one *to'oto'o* in Ofu, that is Velega. But when a malaga distributes tapa, Lei claims his share.

The Ofu fono has the most flexible seating plan in Manua so that it is impossible to say whether the correspondence between the geographical divisions and the seating plan of the fono is new or old. According to the present arrangement there are these possible seating plans.

First Plan

Itu tua (Rear division) Place of the Usoalii

Alaufau
Tala
(Division of 3 posts Alaufau)

Nofoaga Salemata'afa (Seating place of the talking chiefs)

3 posts

Itu Luma
(front division)

MISA

Second Plan

Sala

Faoa
Sae
Mamao

Malae
Lei
Velega

Sua

Muasau

MISA

Third Plan

Usoalii

Faoa
Sae

Misa

Velega

And by still another:

Velega

Faoa Sae

MISA

On a *malaga* the Tui Manua was permitted to visit Ofu and Olosega and he is said never to have left the Manuan archipelago. The Tui Manua occupied the right hand post and Misa sat in front. But if a malaga came from Fitiuta, Misa occupied the right hand post, Tufele the left hand one, and the talking chiefs sat in front. If Asoau and Tufele came at once, Misa sat at the back, Asoau on the left and Tufele on the right. Sae and Faoa could act as *to'oto'o* by changing their seats; they could then make speeches and receive *lafos*. Misa is the only high chief in Manua who customarily sits at the front of the fono.

Kava can be made either in front or at the back of the house. The order of service is: Misa, Faoa, Lei, Muasau, Sae, Velega, Sua, Maui, and Toaaga. Misa and his taupou and manaia are served with a cup held aloft in both hands. At the installation of a new matai, the candidate sits in the front of the house with his fly flap. Misa is served first and then the new matai.

Among the three political divisions of Ofu; Alaufau, Usoalii, and Salemataafa; Alaufau, the section presided over by Faoa and Sae, provided the scouts (*muao*) for war. The inhabitants of Usoalii, Misa's division, cared for his house and personal honor and prestige. This was called "tausi le maota" (care for the high chief's house). The Salemataafa had no function except the regular functions of talking chiefs, presiding over the distribution of food and other ceremonies. The *fa sa* (fish reserved for the chiefs) of Ofu were the *malauli*, the *ulua*, and the turtle. These were given to Misa if caught by an inhabitant of Usoalii and to Sae and Faoa if caught by an Alaufau man. In the division of a shark Misa received the *iu* and the *sogo* went to Sae and Faoa.

It will be seen that Ofu was in a fair way of becoming two villages. Still the change was far from complete. In 1925, Misa had no manaia and the son of Sae received manaia honor from the whole village. Furthermore the anamoly of two high chiefs of equal rank in Alaufau worked against a split. The older *fa'alupega* indicate that Sae's rank had increased during the last thirty years, very probably exercising a continuous check upon Faoa's ambitions. Either Sae or Faoa would side with Misa if the other one became too presumptious. The *tufuga* of each of the three divisions were separate; that is, a *tufuga* only attended an *umu sa* held for a *tufuga* of his own residence division.

Sae claimed about as high rank as Misa. He claimed that his house name was Utuone; Churchill gives it as Peau. He claimed that Tutone was the

name of his kava cup also, and that his manaia name was *Asi o le Folasa*: Churchill quotes Ripley as including the name Asinafolasa in the phrase which reads, "Acknowledgment of Alaufau and the Asinafolasa and Faoa and the title of Sae." He gave his taupou name as *Foi i le lua*, and maintained that Alaufau was tapu when he died. Churchill gives Faoa's house name as Faletau. He was not in Ofu when I was there.

The geographical divisions of Ofu are: Alaufau, Uscalii, Salemataafa, Nuututai, Nuusilailai and Nuupule—the last three are small islands, bordering the lagoon. Nuututai was owned by the three families Sa Sae, Safaoa and Samuasau. There were said to have been three prehistoric inland villages: Ofa, Ola, and Pua. There is also said to be a place inland called O le Tuna, where a great rock is hollowed out to catch rain water.

Ofu had no distinctive village feasts or ceremonies. Even the feast of the first breadfruit was said to have been a family affair.

The channel guardian was Foisia, at present embodied in a great rock, which somewhat resembles a headless man, and which stands on the little island of Nuututai. The story runs as follows:

> Foisia was a Fitiutan man who married a daughter of Tui Ofu. They had three children. His head was detachable and he was accustomed to remove it while bathing. The children spied upon him and capturing the head, hid it. He chased them, recovered his head, and then killed his children. He then married a new wife, named Sinatiloa, the daughter of Soli, a matai of Ofu. They had one child whose name was Asi. He angered his wife and she turned him into stone. (Apparently without his head). Asi also lives in the channel and acts as guardian. The people of Ofu have to take care not to let their palm trees grow any higher than Foisia or he will send great misfortune upon the village. [Krämer (67, vol. 1, p. 451) records a completely different tale of Foisia as a leader of a war against Tau.]

Only those who held titles, and their wives and children might use the *osoga* (leaping off place for souls). The rest of the people simply walked the earth, or sailed in the ghost boats.

Vaiula, the place where the Church now stands was once sacred to Tagisau, an Aitu who was served by two matais, named Utu and Fua. At this place there was a large rock to which offerings are said to have been brought and from which Utu and Fua received oracles. Their special functions were to give oracular replies and to "fai le tui" (utter curses which would kill enemies). Fua prayed also for success in agriculture and Utu prayed for things relating to the sea. Their services were also required to silence troublesome ghosts.

This account was amended by one informant, Muasau, to place his own *tupua*, O le Fofoa, on an equality with Tagisau. He claimed that O le Fofoa whose embodiment was a conch shell had been extensively worshipped by the village and served by former holders of the Muasau title. The things which were prohibited to those who served the god were called "The true

children of the conch shell." These were eels (tapu to the god of Olosega), *malauili*, and turtle (*i'a sa* on Ofu), and human flesh.

O le Lulu (the owl), the fairly well recognized tupua of Tau village was regarded as a war spirit on Ofu. He was said to be a man who had been changed into a bird and his cry meant war. To Tagisau, Foisia, and O le Lulu the people applied the term *aitu;* Muasau spoke of O le Fofoa as a *tupua*. To no one of these was the term *atua* applied.

A story regarding Sasa, a place inland in Ofu, was recited to me.

Sasa was inhabited by a ghostly grave robber who was finally overcome by an Ofu boy delegated by the aumaga to capture him. The boy annointed himself with evil smelling oil and took several hearts of coconut with him. The boy conquered the ghost by the familiar trick of pretending to eat the liver, which the ghost presented to him, and really eating the heart of coconut. Then the ghost ate his own liver, and was so weakened that the boy dragged him to the seashore and killed him. [Krämer (67, vol. 1, p. 447) records a text version of this tale.]

An *aitu* named Pipa Umi, and Fuilelagi, the *tupua* of Olosega, were known and reverenced on Ofu.

Ofu were particularly afraid of ghostly grave snatchers and for that reason, the friends of the dead used to annoint themselves with evil smelling oil and watch on the new grave for several nights after the burial.

OLOSEGA

Olosega was the chief village on the island of Olosega. In 1925 it had 46 matais, while the other village, Sili, had only 8. Nevertheless, Sili, like Olosega, sent its high chief and a *to'oto'o* to the great fono of Manua. This is a good example of the lack of correspondence between the size and wealth of a village and the prestige in which it is held away from home. But in local affairs, Olosega on account of its greater population played the leading part. The Tui title of Tui Olosega was explained by the late arrival of Olosega in Manuan waters. The Tui Olosega is said to have offered to follow the example of the other Tuis and give up his title, but the Tui Manua said he had no other names left so he should keep it. Olosega performed no special functions for the Tui Manua. Tui Olosega had no *lagi* but the village was tapu for three days at his death. His only claim to a prerogative supposedly confined to the Tui Manua was his contention that his coconut could be cut instead of merely pierced.

Tui Olosega's house name was Talamoa, his taupou name Taapi Faletele and his *manaia* name was Selutoga. According to Churchill (29) his house name was Lagituaiva (the Ninth Heaven). Tui Olosega had taken as his cup name Tuanu'ulelei. The *malae* was simply called O le Talamoa o le maota. There were no formal divisions in the fono. The seating plan was simply:

O Tulafale
(Division of small talking chiefs)

Uso ali'i — Tui Olosega

O To'oto'o
High talking chiefs

The present *fa'alupega* of Olosega are:

Acknowledgment of thee, Olosega.
Acknowledgment of Talamoa.
Acknowledgment of your highness, Tui Olosega.
Acknowledgment of Povono and the High Talking Chiefs, Malae and Malemu.
Acknowledgment of the Mavaega.
Acknowledgment of the *Aumaga*.
Acknowledgment of the sons of Tui Olosega and the Brother Chiefs.
Acknowledgment of the sons of High Talking Chiefs.
Acknowledgment of the household of Ta'api.
Acknowledgment of the daughters of the Brother Chiefs.
Acknowledgment of the daughters of the High Talking Chiefs.

Krämer's list (67, vol. 1, p. 373) is quite different. A translation runs: Acknowledgment of the Talamoa; thee, Olosega; your highness, Tui Olosega; the Malelena; the Brother Chiefs Vo'a and Fetui; Satui and your excellencies Malae and Malemo; thee, Toga; your orators, Ape and Niutao; your excellency Tivao; Olosega before me and its title; the aumaga of the Tui Olosega; of the brother chiefs; the aumaga of Toga; the sons of the rulers; the aualuma of Olosega; Ta'api and her younger sisters; the daughters of the rulers. Krämer translates Malelena as "thy speech which is like the flight of a pigeon."

Churchill's text acknowledges; the Talamoa, Olosega; brother chiefs; the Tui Olosega, Olosega before me, or in front, and its title; Satui and the talking chiefs Malae and Malemo, le Toga, the speakers, Ape and Niuatoa. His phrases for the aumaga and the aualuma are the same.

The village itself was divided into Satui, Pouono, and Olosega. Tui Olosega lived in Satui and this was the section which cared for his house. The talking chiefs lived in Pouono and the Uso Alii in Olosega. Olosega provided the war scouts. No posts were assigned in the fono except the post of Tui Olosega, but each group sat in the section assigned to them as a group. Chiefs were called Mavaega. Next to Tui Olosega ranked Male and Malemu, two *to'oto'o*. The sons of Malemu acted as town criers. Next to them ranked Nofoa and Lula, Uso Alii and after them Pava, Tago, Seomalo, Voa, Tupolo, and Fetui. This was the order in which they were served in the kava ceremony. All of these could have cross beams up to one less than the Tui Olosega in their houses. There was one aumaga for the whole village and one aualuma called Sataapi, the family of Taapi. Taapi was also given as a taupou name in Faleasao.

The tapu fish were the same as those of Ofu.

Olosega acknowledged only one *tupua*, Fuilelagi, whose embodiment was the eel (*pusi*) which was tapu to all the people of Olosega and Sili. If the *pusi* were seen inland it was a sign of approaching disaster. The Olosega people say: "Tagaloa is the god of all Samoa but he is not prayed to in Olosega." Fuilelagi was worshipped in a place called Faautuga where the long house of his priest, Fue, stood. No food might be eaten in this house in which some sort of sacred oracle stone was lodged. Fuilelagi did not speak through Fue; he spoke to him. To Fuilelagi the people prayed because, they said, "The people had voted to have him for their god."

There was no leaping off place in Olosega. The most important local landmark was O le Maga, a rock standing upon an eminence looking towards Tau. There was once a Tau man named Fufu who lived in Olosega but was homesick for Tau. Tagaloa refused to let him return to his beloved island and he stood, looking towards his home, until finally he was turned to stone. The rock O le Maga is not regarded as an *aitu* to-day.

Formerly Olosega people are said to have lived inland, where the house of Tui Olosega had seven *paepae* (foundation terraces).

SILI

Sili is a tiny village on the north shore of the island of Olosega, situated on a narrow shelf of beach under an overhanging cliff. In 1926 it had only 86 inhabitants and only 8 *matais*, but its social organization suggests the possibility of the past glory which it claims. The high chief title is Laulagi, a title which has been vacant for a generation. Next to Laulagi rank Sea, Seui and Fonoti, Usoalii, brother chiefs, and then Lolo, the *to'oto'o* Sili, High Talking Chiefs, and four talking chiefs of the *suafanu'u* class (Nua, Sualevae, Taimai and Alaiga).

The old seating plan of Sili:

Nofoaga Alii
(The seating place of chiefs)

Visiting chief's post. La'olagi

Sea

Lolo

Seui

Fonoti

Four suafanu'us

Present seating plan in which Sea is the ranking chief

Suafanu'us

Visiting chief Sea

Uso Alii

Lolo

The *fa'alupega*, as I was told them were as follows:

Acknowledgment of thee, Sili,
Acknowledgment of your lordship (*susuga*), La'olagi, and the brother chiefs Sea, Seui and Fonoti. [The word *susuga* applied was not in use in Manua when the last La'olagi lived.]
Acknowledgment of your excellency, Lolo,
Acknowledgment of the *suafana'us*.
Acknowledgment of the elders.
Acknowledgment of the Aumaga of Sili.
Acknowledgment of the sons of the Brother Chiefs.
Acknowledgment of the sons of the elders.
Acknowledgment of the household of Tuilua'ai.
Acknowledgment of the daughters of the Brother Chiefs.
Acknowledgment of the daughters of the Elders.

Krämer's list (67, vol. 1, 374) translated, reads: acknowledgment of thee, Sili, your highness, La'olagi, the Brother Chiefs Muasau and Moala, thee, the High Talking Chief, Lolo, the aumaga of Sili, the son of La'olagi, the sons of the Brother Chiefs, and the sons of the High Talking Chiefs, the aualuma of Sili, Tuilua'ai and her younger sisters, the daughters of the Brother Chiefs and the daughters of the High Talking Chiefs. [A chief who claims high prestige residing in Ofu to-day is named Muasau].

Churchill's phrases, based entirely on the record of Arthur Young, are briefer: Sili, Laolagi, High Talking Chief, Lolo, and in the aumaga and aualuma phrases only Tuiluaai and the children of Laolagi and the High Talking Chiefs are memtioned.

The village of Sili was divided into Lolofaga and Fuapoe, where the house of Laolagi stood. Churchill gives Laolagi's house name as Tepatasi and says the *malae* was called Talamoa like that of Olosega, to which village he refers as Vaiopi. Laolagi's taupou was called Tuiluaai and his manaia name was Faleagasala. Lolo presided upon all occasions and Sili's proudest boast is the possession of the Lolo title, which entitles its holder to fare forth upon the sea when all else are forbidden to do so on account of the death of the Tui Manua. This privilege was conferred upon a Lolo from whom a Tui Manua once asked some paper mulberry bark and some dye. Lolo presented the Tui Manua instead his two sons and the Tui Manua was so pleased with the courtesy that he exempted him and all those who should ever bear his title from observing the tapus connected with the mourning ceremonies for a Tui Manua. Sili like Olosega worshipped Fuilelagi and the leaping off place for the souls of the whole island is located in Sili.

Tradition records that there was once an island village called "Sili i uta," about which Churchill records the following cahnt:

Na sauni folau Silitai	When Sili-by-the-sea gets ready for war
'a e tapua'i na ifo Silifuta.	Sili-inland comes down and prays for victory.

Sea, who now rules in Sili as the holder of the title of highest rank, now that there is no Laolagi, has created for himself a taupou to whom he has given the name of Laolagi. This is an interesting example of the source of a title.

All through this account of the separate villages, there will be seen to be discrepancies between the records of Krämer and Churchill—who had one common source (Arthur Young) and several different ones—and my own. Although a few of these differences may be errors, most of them, I believe to be indicative of the rapid change which goes on in the supposedly static and traditional Samoan social organization.

It is appropriate to conclude this account of Manuan social organization with a description of the ceremonial elaboration which is uppermost in the thoughts and first in the affections of all Manuans. The fine art of social relations, crystallized in formal phrases, made explicit in seating plans and kava ceremonies is to them sign and symbol of all that is most desirable in the conduct of human life, a continuing ceremonious statement of a gracious social order.

GLOSSARY

In my spelling of Samoan words I have adhered to the usage of former students of the language. I did not make any formal study of the language but simply used it as a means of communication. The fact that many Samoans are letter-perfect in writing their language as the missionaries first transcribed it, made any departure on my part a matter for violent controversy, so that I make no attempt at a careful phonetic rendition. The early missionaries chose to indicate the nasal *ng* sound with a *g* when it occurs either initially or centrally. This usage does not conform to the usual spelling of Polynesian languages but I have adhered to it because students of Samoan sources find the other spelling confusing and difficult. Only linguistic students, who will be able to adjust themselves readily to the different spelling, and Samoan students, will be interested in the native terminology.

This statement applies only to words in the glossary. In the body of the text Samoan geographic terms and proper names are spelled in accordance with Bishop Museum practice.

The following sets of Samoan words which appear in the text are omitted from the glossary: words which appear only once or twice in the text and which are followed by translations; kinship terms; titles, proper names, and words associated with rank; words which occur only in phrases and sentences, accompanied by a complete translation; words from other Polynesian dialects which occur only once in the text.

aiga: relative; household.
'aiga: meal; feast.
'aittagi: mourning feast.
aitu: ghost; spirit.
ali'i: chiefs.
alo: a chief's younger relative.
alofi: kava ceremony.
aso: day; day of human sacrifice.
Atua: god.
aualuma: group of girls and young women who attend the *tanpou*.
'aumāga: group of untitled men in the village.
'ava: kava.
avaga: elopement.
fa'afetai: thank you; thanks.
fa'alupega: courtesy titles of a village or district.
fa'amasei'au: the defloration ceremony.
fa'atu'uiga: ceremony for conferring a title.
fafine: woman; female.
fala: mat; Pandanus.
fale: house.
fanua: place; land.
fefe: to be afraid; fear.
fiafia: to rejoice; happiness.
fono: the formal gathering of chiefs; a formal meeting.
fua: freely; without cause.
gafa: genealogy.
i'a sa: tabued fish sacred to chiefs.
ifo: to ceremonially humiliate oneself.
ifoga: the ceremony of humiliation after giving offense.
igoa: name; title.
ipu: cup; the kava cup.
ilamutu: senior females of father's line.
i tai: seaward.
itu: side; party; applied to groupings of affinal relatives.
i tua: the back; the unimportant section.
i uta: landward.
la: sun.
lafo: to give *toga* to a talking chief; the *toga* so given.
lagi: the death feast of a chief.
lavalava: wide loin cloth of trade cloth.
māfaufau: judgment; common sense; to meditate.
malae: open square in center of village used for ceremonies.
malaga: a travelling party; to travel.

mamalu: to give property away to validate a title; one so validated.
manaia[1]: the titular heir of a chief.
manu ali'i: a bird; *Porphyrio samoensis.*
mata: eyes; to see.
matagi: wind.
matai: the holder of a title of chief or talking chief; the head of a household.
masi: fermented breadfruit.
muli: the last; the least important.
musu: to be unwilling.
namu le tai: to tapu the sea.
namu le 'ele'ele: to tapu the land.
niu: a coconut.
nu'u: village.
oloa: one category of property; that given by the man's side in affinal exchanges.
osoga: leaping off place of souls.
paia: sacred.
pāepae: house platform, or pebble pavement.
paopao: a very small outrigger canoe.
palusami: a made dish of coconut milk and taro leaves.
pusi: a sea eel.
sa: forbidden, tapu, set apart.
siva: dance; to dance.
soa: a companion in circumcision; an intercessor in a love affair or a proposal of marriage.
solo: a metrical composition dealing with mythological material.
suafa: courtesy word for name or title.
suafanu'u: a class of talking chiefs in Manua.
susuga: a term of address used to chiefs.
tafolo: a made dish of coconuts and breadfruit.
tagata: man, people, mankind.
talolo: a formal offering of food to visitors.
tama: youth; woman's child; child.
tama fafine: child of the distaff side of the house.
tama'ita'i: lady; courtesy term for all women.
tama tane: child of the male line.
tane: male.
tapua fanua: ghostly guardians of places.
tapua'i: prayer, petition to gods.
tapui: a hieroglyphic charm placed on property which carried automatic penalties for infringement.
taua: war.
tauga: a ceremonial gift of food presented to a girl by a boy.
taula aitu: a seer; a man of special spiritual gifts.
taule'ale'a: a young man without a title; an untitled man.
taupo[2]: the titled girl of a chief's family.
ti: *Cordyline terminalis.*
tinā: mother.
titi: small; a grass skirt.
toga: one category of property; dowry property.
to'oto'o: Manuan term for high talking chiefs, speaker's staff.
tuafafine: sister, man speaking.
tuagane: brother, woman speaking.
tufuga: master craftsman.
tui: prefix often applied to high chiefs.
tulafale: talking chief.
tulafono: a decree of the fono.
tupua: a family of village god.
umu: an oven.
upeti: a tapa patterning board.
uso: sibling of the same sex.
va'a: a canoe.
vai: water, medicine.
vai aitu: medicine used to restore possessed persons to consciousness.

[1]This is the traditional spelling and does, I believe, correspond to the western Samoan pronunciation. In Manua, however, this word is pronounced *maneia*, both when applied to the chief's heir and when used attributively to mean beautiful.

[2]Pratt spells this *taupou*, but I prefer the simpler phonetic spelling.

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family Gods

SAMOAN WOMAN IN COSTUME OF THE PAST.

Frontispiece.

SAMOA

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

AND LONG BEFORE.

TOGETHER WITH

NOTES ON THE CULTS AND CUSTOMS OF
TWENTY-THREE OTHER ISLANDS
IN THE PACIFIC.

BY

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WITH A PREFACE BY

E. B. TYLOR, F.R.S.

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a creeper bird called the Fuia (*Sturnoides atri-fusca*). If it came about in the morning or the evening it was a sign that their prayers were accepted. If it did not come Moso was supposed to be angry. The bird did not appear at noon owing to the glare of the sun. The priest interpreted to the family the meaning of the *chirps* as his inclination or fancy dictated.

7. *Long Moso* was the name of another family god. The turtle and the mullet were sacred to him, and eaten only by the priest. The family prayed to him before the evening meal.

8. The Fai, or stinging ray fish, and also the mullet were incarnations of *Moso the strong* in another family. If visitors or friends caught or brought with them either of these fish, a child of the family would be taken and laid down in an unheated oven, as a peace-offering to Moso for the indignity done to him by the strangers. If any member of the family tasted of these sacred fish he was sentenced by the heads of the family to drink a cupful of rancid oil dregs as a punishment and to stay the wrath of Moso.

16. NAFANUA—*Hidden inland.*

This was the name of the goddess of a district in the west end of the island of Savaii. She was the daughter of Saveasiuleo, the god of Pulotu, and was *hidden* inland, or in the bush, when an infant by her

mother, who was ashamed of the illegitimate birth. She came from Pulotu, the Samoan haedes, at a time when the ruling power was so oppressive as to compel the people to climb cocoa-nut trees with their feet upwards, their heads downwards, and to pluck the nuts with their toes. As she passed along she saw a poor fellow struggling up a tree with his head downward, and calling out in despair that he could endure it no longer. She told him to come down, and that she would put an end to it. She summoned all to battle, took the lead herself, and completely routed the enemy, and raised the district to a position of honour and equality. When she went to the fight she covered her breasts with cocoa-nut leaflets that the enemy might not see she was a woman, and the distinguishing mark or pass-word of her troops was a few cocoa-nut leaflets bound round the waist. After the battle in which she conquered, she ordered cocoa-nut leaflets to be tied round the trees, marking them out as hers, and defying the enemy or any one else to touch them. To this day a strip of cocoa-nut leaflets encircling a tree is a sign that it is claimed by some one for a special purpose, and that the nuts there are not to be indiscriminately plucked without permission.

2. Nafanua was also the name of a village god on the island of Upolu. In a case of concealed theft, all the people assembled before the chiefs, and one by one implored vengeance on himself if he

were on a journey, but on coming to that place left the public highway along the beach and took a circuitous course far inland, owing to their dread of Salevao. He was generous, however, to travelling parties of mortals. When the chiefs laid down a previously arranged number of cooked pigs and other food to visitors, there was an odd one over and above found among the lot, and this they attributed to the special favour of the god (see 11).

A story of his kindness to Nonu, one of his worshippers, relates that when Nonu was on a visit to the King of Tonga, he and the king had a dispute about the age of the moon. Nonu maintained that it was then to be seen in the morning, the king held that it was not visible in the morning. Nonu said he would stake his life on it; and so it was left for the morning to decide. In the night Salevao appeared to Nonu and said to him: "Nonu, you are wrong; the moon is not now seen in the morning. But, lest you should be killed, I will go and be the moon in the horizon to-morrow morning, and make the king believe you were right after all, and so save your life." In the morning Salevao, as the moon, was seen, and Nonu was saved. Such stories added alike to reverence for the god and to the treasury of the priest.

3. Salevao was the name of a family god also, and incarnate in the eel and the turtle. Any one of the family eating such things was taken ill; and

before death they heard the god saying from within the body: "I am killing this man; he ate my incarnation."

In a case of sickness, a cup of kava was made and poured on the ground outside the house as a drink-offering, and the god called by name to come and accept of it and heal the sick.

In another family the head of the household was the priest. At the evening hour, and other times fixed for worship, all were studiously present, as it was supposed that death would be the penalty if any one was absent.

28. SEPO MALOSI—*Sepo the strong.*

1. Was worshipped in Savaii as a war god, and incarnate in the large bat, or flying-fox. While the bat flew before the warriors all was right; but if it turned round and shut up the way, it was a sign of defeat and a warning to go back.

2. But Sepo in many places was a household god. In an inland village family in Upolu he was called the "Lord of the mountain," and incarnate in the domestic fowl and the pigeon. In another family he was seen in a very small fish which is difficult to catch; and by another family he was supposed to be in the prickly sea-urchin (*Echinus*). The penalty of eating this incarnation was death from a supposed growth of a prickly sea-urchin inside the body.

and these were covered with fragrant-scented leaves and flowers. When they started to fight they prayed and professed to be guided by the flight of the Ve'a. If it flew before them that was enough, they followed. A notable instance of the power of Vave is given in an account of the battle with the Tongan invaders. Many were killed in single combat by a hero called One. Vave was once more implored to help, and that very day One was killed at a single blow by a chief called Tuato, and hence the proverb which obtains to the present day :

"Ua 'ai tasi Tuato, or
Tuato bites but once."

The power of Vave was again seen in another way. A number of gods came to raise a rocky precipice right between the village and the ocean. Vave, however, was immediately up in arms against them, and drove them off for miles along the coast into another district, where they effected their object and made the beach there a great high iron-bound shore, which remains to the present day.

4. In another place Vave was the name of a household god, and incarnate in the eel. If any one of the family was sick, Vave was prayed to in the evening. Next morning a search was made among the bundles of mats and other property. If an eel was found among them it was a sign of death ; if not, it was a sign of recovery.

CHAPTER V.

GODS INFERIOR, OR HOUSEHOLD GODS.

1. ALOIMASINA—*Child of the Moon.*

THIS was the name of a household god, and seen in the moon. On the appearance of the new moon all the members of the family called out : "Child of the moon, you have come." They assembled also, presented offerings of food, had a united feast, and joined in the prayer :

"Oh, child of the moon !
Keep far away
Disease and death."

They also prayed thus before leaving the house to go to battle :

"Oh, child of the moon !
Bury up your hollows
And stumps of trees
And lumpy stones
For our running at ease."

2. APELESA—*Sacred fulness.*

1. In one family this god was incarnate in the turtle. While one of the family dared not partake, he

would help a neighbour to cut up and cook one; only while he was doing that, he had a bandage tied over his mouth lest some embryo turtle should slip down his throat, grow up, and cause his death.

2. In another family Apelesa spoke at times through an old man. When an oven of food was opened the first basket was hung up on the outside of one of the posts of the house for the god. If the rats, or a dog, or any hungry mortal took it in the night, it was supposed that Apelesa chose to come in *that* form for his offering. He was also considered the guardian of the family, and if any other gods came about he frightened them away.

3. In another family a woman called Alaiava, or *means of entertainment*, was priestess of Apelesa. She prayed at parturition times, and in cases of severe illness. Her usual mode of acting the doctor was, first of all, to order down all the cocoa-nut leaf window-blinds of one end of the house. She then went into the darkened place. Presently that end of the house shook as if by an earthquake, and when she came out she declared what the disease was, and ordered corresponding treatment; the result was that, "some recovered, and some died."

In this family the first basket of cooked food was also sacred to the god, but their custom was to take it and hang it up in the large house of the village where passing travellers were accustomed to call and rest. No one of the village dared to touch that

basket without risking the wrath of the god. Any passing *stranger*, however, was as welcome to partake as if he had been specially sent for it by Apelesa.

3. Asomua—*First Day.*

This was a household god, and particularly useful to the family in detecting and telling out the name of the thief when anything was missed. He was called *first day*, as it was supposed that he existed in the world before mortals.

4. Leatualoa—*The long god, or the centipede.*

This was the name of a god seen in the centipede. A tree near the house was the residence of the creature. When any one of the family was ill, he went out with a fine mat and spread it under the tree, and there waited for the centipede to come down. If it came down and crawled *under* the mat, that was a sign that the sick person was to be covered over with mats and buried. If, however, it crawled on the top of the mat, that was a sign of recovery.

5. O le Aumā—*The red liver.*

This family god was seen, or incarnate, in the wild pigeon. If any visitor happened to roast a pigeon while staying there, some member of the household would pay the penalty by being done up in leaves, as if ready to be baked, and carried and

laid in the *cool* oven for a time, as an offering to show their unabated regard to Aumā.

The use of the reddish-seared bread-fruit leaf for any purpose was also insulting to this deity. Such leaves were in common use as *plates* on which to hand a bit of food from one to another, but that particular family dared not use them under a penalty of being seized with rheumatic swellings, or an eruption all over the body called tangosusu, and resembling chicken-pox.

6. Iulautalo—*Ends of the taro leaf.*

To this family god the *ends* of leaves and other things were considered sacred, and not to be handled or used in any way. In daily life it was no small trouble to this particular household to cut off the ends of all the taro, bread-fruit, and cocoa-nut leaves which they required for culinary purposes. Ends of taro, yams, bananas, fish, etc., were also carefully laid aside, and considered as unfit to be eaten as if they were poison. In a case of sickness, however, the god allowed, and indeed required, that the patient should be fanned with the *ends* of cocoa-nut leaflets.

7. O le alii o fiti—*The Chief of Fiji.*

This was the name of a god in a certain household, and present in the form of an eel, and hence the eel was never used by them as an article of food.

This god was supposed to be unusually kind, and never injured any of the family. They showed their gratitude by presenting the first fruits of their taro plantation.

8. Limulimuta—*Sea-weed.*

This was the name by which another protector was known. If any members of the family went to fight at sea, they collected some sea-weed to take with them. If in pursuit of a canoe, they threw out some of it to hinder the progress of the enemy, and make the chase successful in obtaining a decapitated head or two. If the enemy tried to pick up any of this deified sea-weed it immediately sank, but rose again and floated on the surface if one of its friends paddled up to the spot.

9. Moso'oi.

This is the name of a tree (*Cananga Odorata*), the yellow flowers of which are highly fragrant. In one place it was supposed to be the habitat of a household god, and anything aromatic or sweet-scented which the family happened to get was presented as an offering.

At any household gathering the god was sent for to be present. Three different messengers had to go at short intervals, as it was not expected that he would come before the *third* appeal or entreaty for his presence.

10. FATUPUAA MA LE FEE—*The pig's heart and the octopus.*

Another family supposed that two of their gods were embodied in the said heart and octopus. Men, women, and children of them were most scrupulous never to eat either the one or the other, believing that such a meal would be the swallowing of a germ of a living heart or octopus growth, by which the insulted gods would bring about death.

11. PU'A.

This is the name of a large tree (*Hernandia Peltata*). A family god of the same name was supposed to live in it, and hence no one dared to pluck a leaf or break a branch.

The same god was also supposed to be incarnate in the octopus, and also in the land crab. If one of these crabs found its way into the house, it was a sign that the head of the house was about to die.

12. SAMANI.

This was the name of a family god. It was seen in the turtle, the sea eel, the octopus, and the garden lizard. Any one eating or injuring such things had either to be *sham* baked in an unheated oven, or drink a quantity of rancid oil as penance and a purgative. This god predicted that there was a

time coming when Samoa would be filled with foreign gods.

13. SATIA.

1. In one place the member of the family supposed to be the priest of the god was noted for cannibalism. At times he would cry out furiously and order those about him to be off and get him some of his "sacred food." He professed to be doctor as well as demon. A great chief when ill was once taken to him, and the doctor's bill for a cure was the erection of a mound of stones, on the top of which a house was to be built. The bill was paid by the retinue of the chief.

2. In another family it was supposed that their god Satia had the power to become incarnate in a man or a woman. If he wished to go to a particular woman, he became a man; and if he desired a man, he changed into a woman.

14. SENGI VAVE—*Snatch quickly.*

An old man named Sengi, or *snatch*, was an incarnation of this household god. All the fine mats and other valuables were in some mysterious way under his control. On returning from any kind of daily work in the bush every one on entering the house had to salute him, as the representative of the god, in some apologetic phrase, such as "I beg your pardon." If any one omitted this mark of respect,

or servants, who were commissioned to go forth and eat up the plantations of those with whom he was displeased. In times of plenty as well as of scarcity the people were in the habit of assembling with offerings of food, and poured out drink-offerings of *'ava* to *Le Sa*, to propitiate his favour.

A story is told of a woman and her child, who in a time of great scarcity were neglected by the family. One day they cooked some wild yams, but never offered her a share. She was vexed, asked the child to follow her, and when they reached a precipice on the rocky coast, seized the child and jumped over. It is said they were changed into turtles, and afterwards came in that form at the call of the people of the village.

Cannibalism.—During some of their wars, a body was occasionally cooked by the Samoans; but they affirm that, in such a case, it was always some one of the enemy who had been notorious for provocation or cruelty, and that eating a part of his body was considered the climax of hatred and revenge, and was not occasioned by the mere relish for human flesh, such as obtained in the Fiji, New Hebrides, and New Caledonian groups. In more remote heathen times, however, they may have indulged this savage appetite. To speak of roasting him is the very worst language that can be addressed to a Samoan. If applied to a chief of importance, he may raise war to avenge the insult. It is the custom on the submission of one party to another to bow down before their conquerors each with a piece of firewood and a bundle of leaves, such as are used in dressing a pig for the oven; as much as to say, "Kill us and cook us, if you please." Criminals, too, are sometimes bound hand to hand and foot to foot; slung on a pole put through between the hands and feet, carried and laid down before the parties they have injured, like a pig about to be killed and cooked. So deeply humiliating is this act considered that the culprit who consents to degrade himself so far is almost sure to be forgiven.

From such references to cannibalism as we have at pp. 47, 48, and also the following fragments from old stories, it is further apparent that the custom was not unknown in Samoa.

During a great scarcity occasioned by a gale cannibalism prevailed. When a light was wanted in the evening, two or three went to fetch it—it was not safe for one to go alone. If a child was seen out of doors, some one would entice it by holding up something white and calling the child to get a bit of cocoa-nut kernel, and so kidnap and cook.

A story is also told of a woman who had a child who was playing on the surf on the beach. Three of her brothers came along and begged her to let them have the child. She said that if a *bloody* surf should suddenly appear they might have the child, but not otherwise. Presently the surf dashed red and bloody

on the shore. She kept to her word, and let the heartless fellows carry off the boy to the oven.

Here is another piece about Ae a Tongan, who attached himself to the Samoan chief Tinilau. Tinilau travelled from place to place on two turtles. Ae wished to visit Tonga, and begged from his master the loan of the turtles. He got them, with the caution to be very careful of them. As soon as he reached Tonga he called his friends to take on shore the turtles, kill them, and have a feast, and this they gladly did.

Tinilau, after waiting long for the return of the turtles, suspected they had been killed. This was confirmed in his mind by the appearance on the beach of a bloody wave. He called a meeting of all the avenging gods of Savaii, and put the case into their hands. They went off to Tonga, found Ae at midnight in a sound sleep, picked him up, brought him back to Samoa, and laid him down in the front room of the house of Tinilau.

At cock-crowing Ae woke up and said aloud, "Why, you cock! you crow like the one belonging to the *pig* I lived with." Tinilau called out from his room, "Had the fellow you lived with such a fowl?" "Yes, the *pig* had one just like it." "Tell us more about him," and so Ae went on chattering, and still using the abusive epithet *pig* when speaking of his master, and talked about the turtles, what a fine feast they had, etc. As it got

lighter, he looked up to the roof and said, "This too is just like the house the *pig* lived in." By-and-by he woke up, as it got light, to the full consciousness that somehow or other he was again in the very house of Tinilau, and that his cannibal master was in the next room. He was dumb and panic-stricken. Orders were given to kill him, and he was despatched accordingly, and his body dressed for the oven. And hence the proverb for any similar action, or if any one takes by mistake or intention what belongs to another, he says in making an apology, "I am like Ae."

Another curious fragment goes from cannibalism to the origin of pigs. A cannibal chief had human victims taken to him regularly, and was in the habit of throwing the heads into a cave close by. A great many heads had been cast in, and he thought no more about them. One day, however, he was sitting on a rock outside the cave when he heard an unusual noise. On looking in, the place was full of *pigs*, and hence the belief that pigs had their origin in the heads of men, or, as some would call it, a humbling case of evolution *downwards!*

Cooking.—The Samoans had and still have, the mode of cooking with hot stones which has been often described as prevailing in the South Sea Islands. Fifty or sixty stones about the size of an orange, heated by kindling a fire under them, form, with the hot ashes, an ordinary oven. The taro,

lady called Ui, and her brother Luamaa, fled from Papatea and reached Manu'a, but alas! the sun there too was demanding his daily victims. It went the round of the houses, and when all had given up one of their number it was again the turn of the first house to supply an offering. The body was laid out on a Pandanus tree, and there the sun devoured it. It came to the turn of Luamaa to be offered, but his sister Ui compassionated him, and insisted on being offered in his stead. She lay down and called out: "Oh, cruel Sun! come and eat your victim, we are all being devoured by you." The sun looked at lady Ui, desired to live with her, and so he put an end to the sacrifices, and took her to wife. Another story makes out that Ui was the daughter of the King of Manu'a, and that he gave up his daughter as an offering to the sun, and so end the sacrifices by making her the saviour of the people.

4. Some of *the planets* are known and named. Fetū is the word used to designate all heavenly bodies except the sun and moon. Venus is called the morning and evening star. Mars is the Matamemea, or the star with the sear-leafed face. The Pleiades are called Lii or Mataalii, eyes of chiefs. The belt of Orion is the amonga, or burden carried on a pole across the shoulders. The milky way is ao lele, ao to'a, and the aniva. Ao lele, means flying cloud, and ao to'a, solid cloud. Meteors are called, fetū ati afi, or stars going to fetch a light;

and comets are called pusa loa, or an elongated smoke.

5. Tradition in Samoa, as in other parts of the world, has a good deal to say about *the moon*. We are told of the visit to it by two young men, the one named Punifanga and the other Tafaliu. The one went up by a tree, and the other on a column of dense smoke from a fire kindled by himself for the purpose. We are also told of the woman Sina, or *white*, who with her child has long been up there. She was busy one evening with mallet in hand beating out on a board some of the bark of the paper mulberry with which to make native cloth. It was during a time of famine. The moon was just rising, and reminded her of a great bread-fruit, looking up to it she said, "Why cannot you come down and let my child have a bit of you?" The moon was indignant at the thought of being eaten, came down forthwith, and took her up, child, board, mallet, and all. At the full of the moon young Samoa still looks up, and traces the features of Sina, the face of the child, and the board and mallet, in verification of the old story.

The moon was *the timekeeper of the year*. The year was divided into twelve lunar months, and each month was known by a name in common use all over the group. To this there were some local exceptions, and a month named after the god, who on that month was specially worshipped. It is said

plenty of other trees which will answer our purpose." Then the owl turned to Iva and all the others on to Lua, and implored help in killing the serpent, but each in turn answered as did Sefulu. Tasi, however, replied to the entreaty of the owl, and said, "Yes, I will," and grasping his felling axe, struck out at the serpent and killed it. "Well done, Tasi!" said the owl, "and to keep in remembrance for all time to come your bravery, and respect for me, you shall stand foremost in everything that is numbered. Sefulu who has been *first* shall now be *last*, and you who have been last shall always be first." And so it has continued to the present day—the first, Tasi, and the tenth, Sefulu.

5. The appearance or forms of things, as in this latter instance perhaps, have also suggested some other *fabulous stories*. They say that the rat had wings formerly, and that the large bat or flying fox at that time had no wings. One day the bat said to the rat: "Let me try on your wings for a little, that I may see how I like flying." The rat lent the bat his wings, off flew the bat with the wings, and never came back to return them. And hence the proverb applied to a person who borrows and does not return: "Like the bat with the rat."

Take another illustration. With the exception of the mountain plantain (*Musa uranospatha*) all the bananas have their bunches of fruit hanging downwards towards the earth, like a bunch of grapes.

The plantain shoots up its bunch of fruit erect towards the heavens. As the reason of this, we are told that of old all the bananas held their heads erect, but they quarrelled with the plantain, fought, were beaten, and, ever since, have hung their heads in token of their defeat, whereas the plantain is erect still, and the symbol of its own victory.

6. They have a number of *other fabulous stories* referred to in proverbial language in daily use. Take the story of the fowl and the turtle. A fowl made her headquarters over a rock from which a cool spring of fresh water ran out into the adjacent stream. One day a turtle made its appearance. It was enjoying the cool fresh bath, and rising now and then to look about, when it was addressed roughly by the fowl: "Who are you?" "I am a turtle." "Where have you come from?" "From the hot salt sea." "What are you doing here?" "Bathing, and enjoying the fine cool fresh water." "Be off, this is my water." "No, it is mine as much as it is yours." "No, it is mine, and you must be off." "No I won't. I have as much right to be here as you." "Well, then," said the fowl, "let us decide in this way which of us will have it. Let each of us go away, and whoever is *first* here in the morning shall have the right to the spring. "Let it be so," said the turtle, "I'm off to the briny sea; you go away to the village."

The turtle was back from the sea, up the river,

and at the spring, very early in the morning. The fowl thought there was no need to hurry, as she could with *one* bound on her wings be at the rock; and so she roosted till the sun was rising, and then flew over to the rock, but there was the turtle before her! "You are there, I see," said the fowl. "Yes, I am," replied the turtle, "and the spring is mine." And hence the proverb applied to the lazy and the late: "Here comes the fowl, the turtle is before you!"

7. Here is another of these fabulous stories:—There were three friends, a rat, a snipe, and a crab. They thought they would like to look about them on the sea, and so decided to build a canoe and go out on a short cruise. They did so, and when the canoe was ready off they went. The snipe pulled the first paddle, the crab the second, and the rat steered. A squall came on, and the canoe upset. The snipe flew to the shore, the crab sank and escaped to the bottom, and the rat swam. The rat was soon fatigued, but an octopus came along, and from it the rat implored help. "Come on my back," said the octopus. The rat was only too happy to do so. By-and-by the octopus said: "How heavy you are! my back is getting painful." "Yes," said the rat, "I drank too much salt water when I was swimming there; but bear it a little longer, we shall soon be at the shore."

When the octopus reached the shore off ran the

rat into the bush. The octopus felt the pain still, however, and now discovered that the rat had been gnawing at the back of its neck. The octopus was enraged, called all his friends among the owls to assemble, and begged them to pursue and destroy the rat. They did so, caught it, killed it, and ate it, but there was hardly a morsel for each, they were so many. And hence the proverb in exhorting not to return evil for good:—"Do not be like the rat with the octopus, evil will overtake you if you do."

8. Here is a story of Toa and Pale, or Hero and Helper.

The King of Fiji was a savage cannibal, and the people were melting away under him. Toa and Pale were brothers, they wished to escape being killed for the oven, and so fled to the bush and became trees. It was only the day before a party were to go to the woods to search for a straight tree from which to make the keel of a new canoe for the king. They knew this, and so Pale changed himself into a crooked stick overrun with creepers, that he might not be cut by the king's carpenters, and advised Toa to do the same. He declined, however, and preferred standing erect as a handsome straight tree.

The party in search of a keel went to the very place, liked the look of Toa, and decided to cut it down. They cut, and Toa was felled to the ground, but Pale, who was close by, immediately raised him

CHAPTER XX.

NAMES OF THE ISLANDS.

Illustrating Migrations, etc.

1 OF THE GROUP GENERALLY, it is said that a couple lived at Pulotu called Head of Day and Tail of Day. They had four children—(1) Ua, or *Rain;* (2) Farī, *Long grass;* (3) Langi, *Heavens;* (and 4) Tala, or *Story*. The four went to visit Papatea. Pulotu is in the west, Papatea in the east. The Papateans heard of the arrival of the four brothers and determined to kill them. First, Ua was struck on the neck; and hence the word *taua*, or beat the neck, as the word for war. This was the beginning of wars. Others stood on the neck of Farī, and hence the proverb in war: "To-morrow we shall tread on the neck of Farī." Others surrounded and spat on Langi, and hence the proverb for ill-usage, or rudely passing before chiefs: "It is spitting on Langi." Tala was spared, and escaped uninjured.

Tala and Langi returned to Pulotu and told

about their ill-usage. Then Elo, the king of Pulotu, was enraged, and prepared to go and fight the Papateans. This was the first war in history. They went, they fought, they conquered, and made a clean sweep of Papatea; and hence the proverb: "Like the rage of Elo." Also for a village destroyed in battle they say: "Ua faa Papateaina" —*made to be like Papatea.*

All who fled to the bush were sought and killed, only those who fled to sea escaped. A man called Tutu and his wife Ila reached the island of Tutuila, and named it so by the union of their names. U and Polu reached Upolu, and hence the name of that island by uniting their names. Sa and Vaila reached Savaii, united their names also, and, for the sake of euphony, or, as they call euphony "lifting it easily," made it Savaii instead of Savaila.

Elo and his warriors went back to Pulotu. Langi and Tala after a time came to Samoa, but went round by way of Papatea,[1] and from them also the people of Manono and Apolima are said to have sprung.

2 MANU'A.—This name embraces three islands at the east end of the Samoan group. Manu'a means *wounded*. As the story runs, the rocks and the earth married, and had a child, which, when born, was covered with *wounds;* and hence the name of the said small group of three islands.

[1] There is an island called Maatea in the Paumotu group.

The story of Lu figures here again. He had a son who was named Moa, after his preserve fowls, and this Moa became king of Manu'a. From that time fowls were no longer called *Moa* on Manu'a, but Manu lele, or *winged creatures*, out of respect to the name of the king.

Fitiaumua, or *Fiji the foremost*, is also mixed up with Manu'a history. He was said to have come from the east, was a great warrior, conquered at Fiji, and in his lust for conquest came to Samoa. He subdued all the leeward islands of the group, reached Manu'a, and there he dwelt. All Samoa took tribute to him, and hence the place was called the Great Manu'a.

(1.) *Taū* is the name of the principal island of Manu'a. Its principal village is also called Taū. It is said to have had its name from the child of Faleile-langi — *House roofed by the heavens*, that is to say, no house at all, and alluding to the remote tradition of a time when people had no houses. This lady was the daughter of the god Tangaloa, and had a child who was *dumb*, and from that child she named the island Taū. Ū expresses the hollow unintelligible sound emitted by the dumb.

Fitiuta, or Inland Fiji, is the name of a principal village. It was formerly called Anga'e, or *Breathing hard*, from the hard breathing at its birth of a child of Rocks and Earth. But the name was

changed. Moiuuoleapai, a daughter of Tangaloa, married the king of Fiji and went and lived there. She was ill-used and sent to the backwoods of Fiji. Taeotangaloa heard that his sister was being ill-treated, and went off to Fiji to see if it was true. It was true. He stood by her, cheered her solitude, and by a great yam and banana plantation he turned the bush into a fruitful garden. The king of Fiji heard of it, went and made up matters with his cast-off wife, as he much wished the yams, which were scarce at the time, and hence the proverb: "Do you call them friends who are but friendly to the *yam?*" The king named the fertile spot Fitiuta, and when Taeotangaloa returned to Manu'a he changed the name of the village from Anga'e to Fitiuta.

(2.) *Olosenga* is the central island in the Manu'a group. This was called the land of the god Fuailangi, *Originator of the heavens*. He dug up the earth on the land of the chief Niuleamoa on Taū. The latter pushed it off into the sea as a floating island, jumped on to it with the god Fuailangi, together with a lady called Olo, and other two chiefs named Puletainuu and Masuitufanga. Away they went to Tonga, seeking some place suitable for the residence of a war god. They returned to Samoa, touched at Savaii and Upolu, and then went to Tutuila, but as the people there began to make a dunghill of their floating

island, they went back to Manu'a, and rested between Taü and Ofu, as Fuailangi thought he could there fight at pleasure with the people on either side of him.

Senga, the chief of Ofu, looked out, was surprised to see the new island, went over to look at it, and soon after married Lady Olo. They united their names, and called it *Olosenga*. The god Fuailangi in after years was in repute, and dreaded. He was incarnate in the sea eel, had an altar which the people carried about with them, and any persons cooking or eating the sea eel had their eyes burned and their scalps clubbed as a punishment. Another story is that some parrots flew ashore from a Fiji canoe. Olo means *fort* and Senga a *parrot*, and hence the island was called Olosenga —the fort or refuge of parrots.

(3.) *Ofu* is the name of a third island at Manu'a. Ofu means *clothed*. Falcile-langi, the daughter of Tangaloa, had another child, and this one they clothed, and, in remembrance of the early tailoring, the island was called Ofu.

3. TUTUILA.—The prevailing story of the origin of the name of this island is the one already referred to. Tutu the man and Ila the woman came from the eastward, and dwelt on the island. They had a daughter born to them there and called her Salaia. When weak and dying they begged that after their death their names might be remembered.

After they passed away Salaia, or, as some call her, Sangaia, united the names of her parents, and named the island Tutuila.

4. NUUTELE is a small island off the east end of Upolu. It is said to have been so named from two men who came to seek a steersman for the king of Fiji. Nuu was the name of the one, and Tele the other. The union of their names became the name of the island.

5. UPOLU.—There are a number of diverse stories as to the origin of this name, as is the case with all these ancient legends.

(1.) The most prevailing fragment is the one already alluded to of the two called U and Polu who fled from Papatea. Their united names became the name of the island. They had a son, and they named him king of Upolu. He called his village the Malae, or meeting-place of Upolu, and all the gods of the group assembled there at times. It was here they met to discuss the question as to the duration of human life (see p. 9).

(2.) Upolu was said to be the capital of Pulotu. In a time of war a number of people fled from Pulotu, reached this island of the Samoan group, and called it Upolu, in remembrance of their native land.

(3.) Timuateatea, *Wide-spreading rain*, the daughter of Tangaloa of the heavens, married a chief on earth called Beginning. They had a son called Polu.

The father, in thinking of some employment for his boy, looked over to the mountains of Savaii, and it occurred to him that it would be well to get a canoe and go over and see whether there were people over there or only mountains. He called Polu, and told him to go up to his grandfather in the heavens and fetch some carpenters, that they might build a canoe, cross the channel and explore Savaii. Polu refused, but at length yielded and went up. The carpenters did not care about the job, but Polu was most urgent, and would take no denial. U is the word for *urge*. His grandfather asked the name of his island. Polu said it had none; and on this Tangaloa said: "Very well, when you go down call it *U*polu, in remembrance of your being so urgent on the carpenters."

6. MANONO, a small island, 3 miles in circumference, between Upolu and Savaii, has the following historic fragments:—

(1.) Nono came from Fiji. He was the son of Tuiolautala, king of Fiji. There came with him Sa'umā, the brother of the king, and Tupuivao, the god of Fiji. A family quarrel about a fish led them to come away. Their canoe made the land between Savaii and Upolu. The god Tangaloa came down and stood on the bow of their canoe and told them not to go to Savaii or Upolu, lest they should be trampled upon, but remain where

they were. Then Tupuivao vomited a quantity of land he had swallowed at Fiji, and so made Manono and its neighbouring island Apolima. He also appointed Sa'umā to live on the latter, and Nono to take up his abode on Manono, which they so named from Mā and Nono.

(2.) The chief Lautala came from Fiji on a war expedition. He first touched at Manu'a, and then came and conquered Upolu. After that he lived on Manono. He made a net, fished, and hung it up to dry. In the night a number of gods came and tore it to pieces. Lautala then attacked the gods, and drove them off with great slaughter. He could not count the number killed, but supposed them to be *Manō*, or ten thousand, and hence the name of the island Manono.

(3.) Lautala was the name of an island at Fiji, and noted for war. It broke away from Fiji, and was brought sailing along the ocean to Samoa by the chief Nono, who came to seek a suitable place for carrying on war. He first went to Manu'a, but did not like it. He then went to the space between Tutuila and Upolu, but did not fancy that either. Then he came to the space between Upolu and Savaii, and thought that would do, as he could attack Upolu or Savaii, whichever he pleased. He anchored his island there, where it now is, and named it Manono, after himself. Hence it is said that Manono is not a part of Samoa, but a fragment of

Fiji, and that of old there was no land between Upolu and Savaii.

7. APOLIMA is a small island three miles from Manono. Manono and Apolima were two sons of the king of Fiji. One day Manono cooked an oven of yams for his father and brother chiefs, but served it up without a fish. His father was angry, and so off went Manono with a spear and speared a fish and took it to his father. His father was still angry, and hurled a spear at him. He fell, pulled it out of his neck, and got up and ran off to Samoa.

Apolima remained still in Fiji, but after a time came in search of his brother and found him where he now is. Before he left Fiji his father told him to call himself Apo-i-le-lima, or Apolima, which means, *Poised in the hand*, from the spear which he held when he speared Manono. They have been often attacked, but never conquered, from their impregnable island fortress. It is a great high hollow basin-shaped island, inaccessible all round but at one narrow chip in the west side of the basin, which can be easily defended.

8. SAVAII is the largest island of the group, and the name is accounted for in various ways:—

(1.) The king who propped up the heavens had a wife called Flying Clouds, and two children, the one was called Savaii the Great, and the other Upolu the Great. Savaii dwelt on Savaii, and Upolu on Upolu, and gave their names to their respective islands.

(2.) A couple came from Fiji, the one was named Sa and the other Vaii, or Vaiki, according to some. They landed at the south-west side of the island, and lived there. Vaii, the husband, died, and then Sa put her name first and united the two, as Savaii, the name of the island.

(3.) Two brothers, the one called Vaii, and the other Polu, with their sister, Vavau, came from the east. The young woman, Vavau, divided the land—told Polu to go to Upolu, and Vaii to remain on Savaii. Her name is perpetuated in the word, which, as a noun, means "ancient times," and, as an adjective, is used to express ancient, perpetual, and everlasting.

CHAPTER XXI.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND PLACES OF NOTE ON UPOLU.

ON Upolu the name of Pili has an early place among the doings of mortals and in the division of the lands. In one of the traditions his history runs thus:—Manga had a daughter called Sina, who married the king of Manu'a. They had a daughter called Sinaleana, *White of the cave*, because she lived in a cave in which there was also kept the parrot of the king. The god, Tangaloa, of the heavens looked down and fancied her. He sent Thunder and Storm for her; they did not get her. Lightning and Darkness were also sent to fetch her, but they also failed. Next Deluging Rain, dashing down in great egg-drops, was sent, but to no purpose. He then let down a net, which covered up the mouth of the cave, caught her, and pulled her up to the heavens. She became his wife, had a child, and named him Pili, or *Entangled*, from the way in which she was entangled in the net.

Pili grew up to manhood under the care of the

gods, and was sometimes told, pointing down to the earth, that that place was his. He begged of his father Tangaloa to be allowed to go down. The reply was: "If you go down, come up again. But if you wish to go and not return, take my wooden pillow and fishing-net with you."

He was let down to the earth by the fishing-net, and placed on Manu'a. The king of Manu'a asked where he came from, and on hearing that he was his grandson, and that his mother, Sina, was still up in the heavens, he wept aloud. Pili went to visit Tutuila, tried his hand at fishing, but caught nothing, and was mocked by the Tutuilans. He then swam away to Savaii, took up his abode at the village Aopo, and from that was called Piliopo. He quarrelled with the chief there and went off to the village called Palapala, where he met with Tavaetele, *Great tropic bird*, who had come from Aana on Upolu to seek taro plants. The Palapala people were generous, and presented the Upolu chief with 100,000 plants. The retinue of the chief made a difficulty about taking so many across the channel, but Pili stepped forward and said he would bring them all over himself, which he actually did, and helped in making a taro plantation, which extended from the one side of Aana to the other, right across the island. He remained there and married Sina, the daughter of this chief.

Pili and his wife had four children. First there

were twins, the one called Tua and the other Ana Tua was so named from the *back* of a turtle which Pili caught at that time, and Ana from the *cave* in which it was taken. The next born was called Tuamasanga, or, *After the twins*. Then followed Tolufale, or *Three houses*, from the three houses into which the mother was taken before the child was born.

When Pili was old and dying he called his children together and appointed them their places and employments. To Tua, the eldest, he gave the plantation dibble, as the business of agriculture, and the eastern division of Upolu now called Atua. To Tuamasanga he committed the orator's staff and fly-flapper, with which to do the business of speaking, and, as a residence, the central division of Upolu called Tuamasanga: hence the name of the district there called Sangana, *sacred to oratory*. To Ana he gave the spear as the emblem of war, and as a district, the western division of Upolu called Aana. Tolufale was to live on Manono, but to go about and take the oversight of all. The old man finished up his will with: "When you wish to fight, fight; when you wish to work, work; when you wish to talk, talk." After his death they separated, and went to their respective places and employments.

1. ATUA is the eastern division of Upolu, and it again was subdivided into what they called the head, the middle, and the tail.

(1.) *Aleipata* is a district at the east end of the island, and was called the head, as the titled king or *head* of Atua resided there. The name originated in Alei and Pata, a couple who were said to have come from the heavens and taught their children to build houses. They were very good-looking, and charged their children that when they died they were to be buried in a standing posture, with their faces uncovered, that people might still come and look at them; and from this probably originated the custom of embalming practised there.

Lefao was the name a chief who came from Tutuila and lived in one of the districts bordering on Aleipata. When the meeting was held for the division of the lands of Atua he did not attend, but the chiefs voted him the place and neighbourhood where he lived at Lepa, or the *wall*, which, of old, ran across the island and ended there, and hence the place was named Salefao—sacred to, or, *the province of Lefao*.

(2.) *Lufilufi*.—This settlement, on the north side, was the principal residence of the kings of Atua. The word means *food-divider*. It had its origin in the name of a fish called Naiufi, which was cut up, on one occasion, with surprising dexterity by one of the king's attendants with only a bit of the cocoa-nut stem as a knife. He received on that account the name of *Lufilufi*, and was promoted to be chief carver to the king, and to rule in all divisions of food on public occasions. The town was named after him, and to

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B.R. 519B, LONDON Chapter XIII

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE SAMOA GROUP

Physical Geography: History: Growth and Distribution of Population: People

The Samoa group consists of a chain of islands stretching approximately from lat. 14° 32′ s, long. 168° 08′ w to lat. 13° 30′ s, long. 172° 50′ w (Fig. 177). From east to west they are: Rose atoll, with a land area of about 0·05 sq. mile; the Manu'a group, comprising Ta'u, Olosenga and Ofu, with areas of 19·1, 0·6 and 1·8 sq. miles

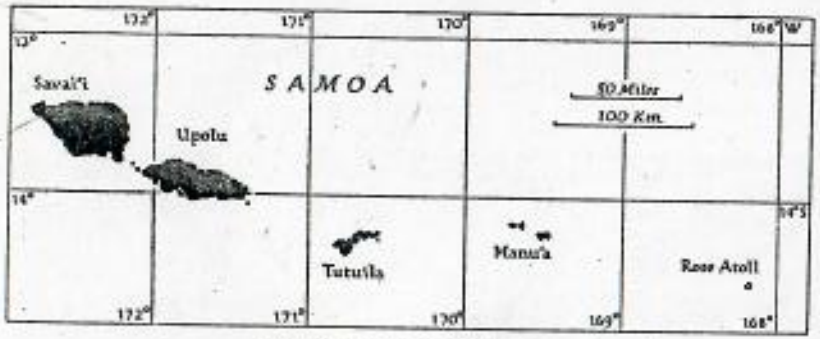

Fig. 177. The Samoa group
Based on Admiralty charts nos. 780, 1730.

respectively; Tutuila, 49·6 sq. miles; Upolu (including the islets of Fanuatapu, Namua, Nu'utele, Nu'ulua and Nu'usafe), 400 sq. miles; Manono, Apolima and Savai'i, 700 sq. miles. Tutuila and the islands east of it are administered by the United States, and are known as American Samoa. The islands west of Tutuila are administered by New Zealand under mandate from the League of Nations and are known as the Territory of Western Samoa.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

Structure

Little is known about the geology of these islands. The whole group is built up on a submarine ridge separated from neighbouring groups by depths of at least 2,500 fathoms. Further, the islands themselves can be divided into four groups separated from each other by channels or stretches of sea of considerable depths. The large islands

Great Britain Naval Intelligence, 1943

Current to 1939 ?
Rose p675

Tu Manua p601

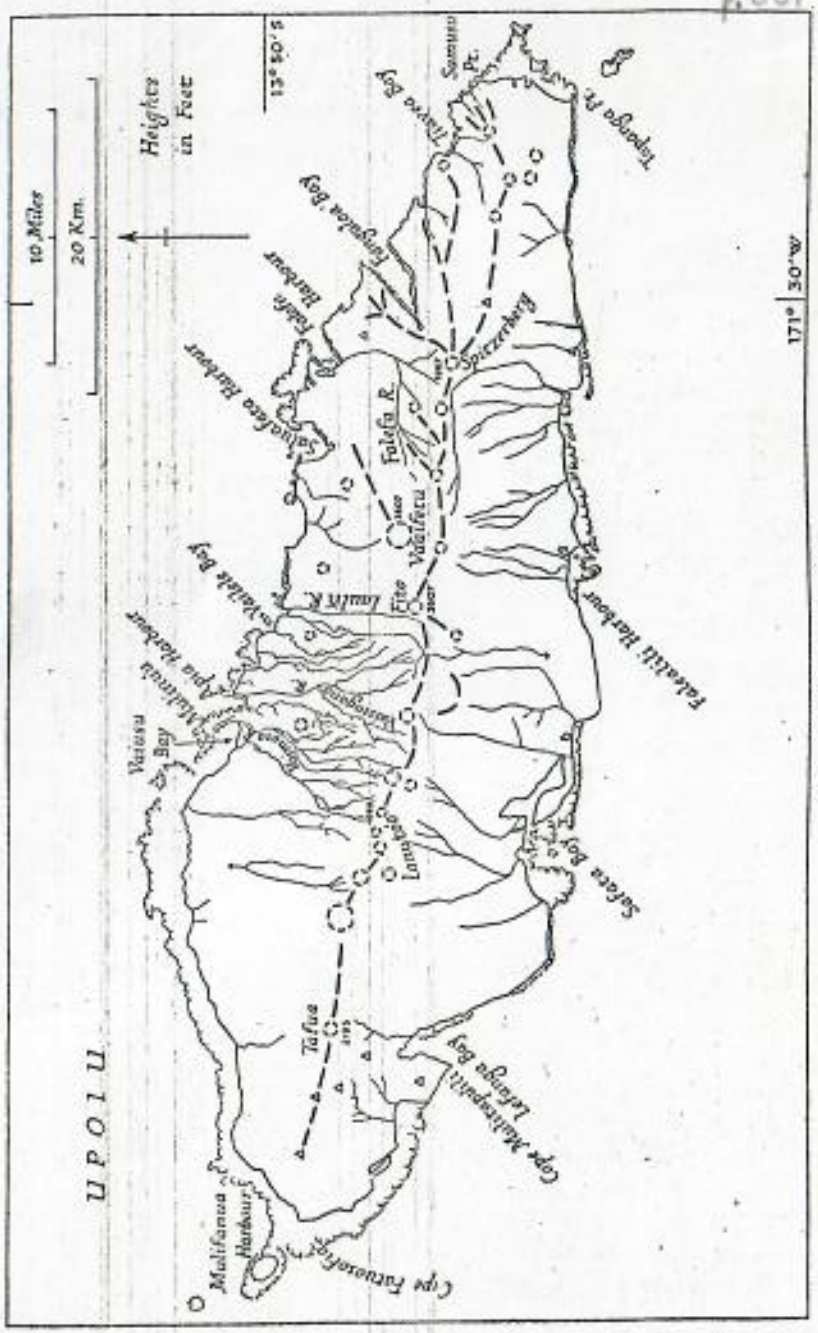

Fig. 178. Upolu: physical
Based on: (1) Admiralty chart no. 1730; (2) Lands and Survey Department, Samoa, map no. 1; (3) G.S.G.S. map no. 4399; (4) map in *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*, A–4 (Wellington, 1936).

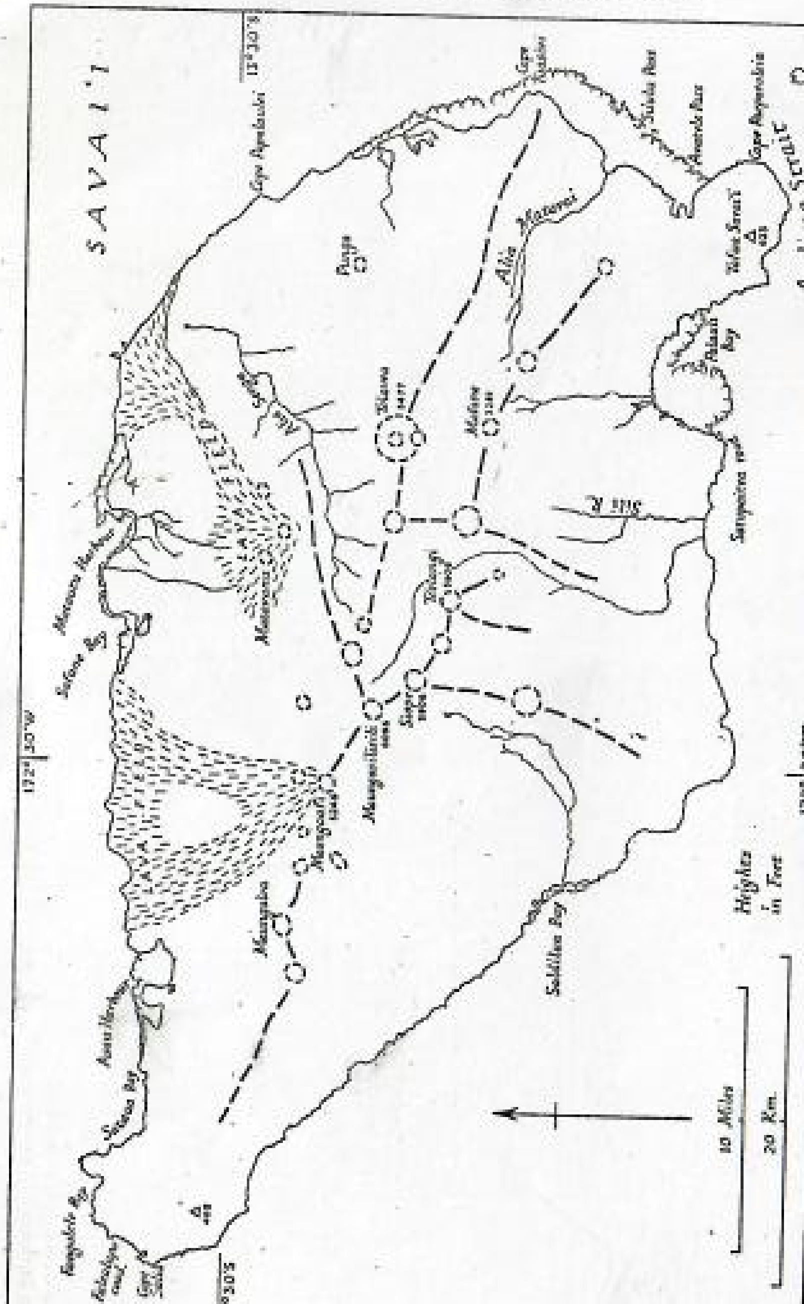

Fig. 179. Savai'i: physical

Based on: (1) Admiralty chart no. 1730; (2) U.S.H.O. chart no. 2921; (3) Lands and Survey Department, Samoa, map no. 2; (4) G.S.G.S. map no. 4299; (5) map in *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*, A–4 (Wellington, 1936).

of Savai'i and Upolu are separated from Tutuila by a passage 44 miles wide and nearly 2,000 fathoms deep. Tutuila is separated from the three islets of Ta'u, Ofu and Olosenga by a distance of 40 miles and a depth of rather more than 800 fathoms. They in turn are separated from the isolated Rose atoll about 80 miles eastward by a depth of 800 fathoms or more. The Samoa islands may therefore be regarded as the tops of a single mountain chain. With the exception of Rose atoll they are all high islands of volcanic formation.

There is some similarity between the geological history of Samoa and that of Hawaii. Tutuila shows a state of erosion analogous to that of Oahu. Upolu, with its clearly defined craters (Fig. 178) and

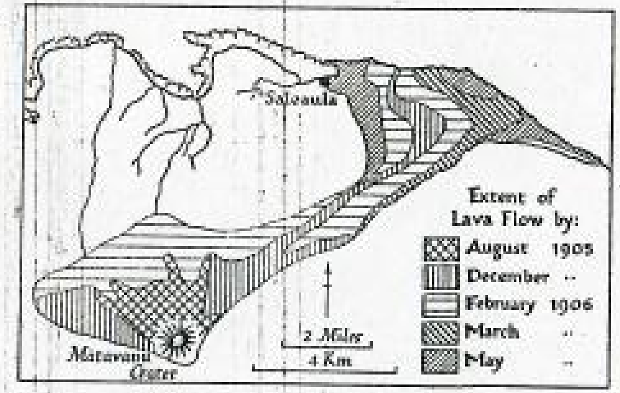

Fig. 180. Lava flows from Matavanu crater, 1905–6

The extent of the lava flows at successive periods is indicated, after the eruption beginning 4 August 1905. Based on Tempest Anderson, 'The volcano of Matavanu in Savai'i', *The Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London*, vol. LXVI, p. 622 (London, 1910).

greater erosion at the eastern end, is comparable to Maui, while Savai'i is similar in formation to the island of Hawaii (Fig. 179). In fact the profile of Savai'i seen from the sea is not unlike that of Mauna Loa in Hawaii.

While little is known about the actual periods of the eruptions, the evidence of erosion would suggest that volcanic activity ran through the chain from east to west. Starting with the submarine volcano which forms the foundation for Rose atoll, it ended with the large island of Savai'i, where an eruption of Matavanu occurred in 1905 and continued intermittently till 1910. In the course of this eruption the lava flow reached the sea, enveloping about 9 miles of coast and covering a considerable area (Fig. 180).

Ranges of hills running east and west form the backbone of each of the three principal islands. Except in Tutuila, where more erosion has taken place, extinct craters are situated along these ranges only a few miles apart. This arrangement of the craters suggests that the line of islands marks the position of a long fissure in the ocean floor, through which at scattered points and intermittently over a long period volcanic material has been extruded. In Tutuila (Fig. 203), where no craters recognizable as such remain, it is possible that Pango Pango harbour may have been formed from a gigantic broken-down crater. The lava from these craters, which forms the mountains and indeed the rock of the greater part of the islands, is a coarse vesicular basalt. Spurs or ridges formed by old lava flows branch off from the craters to the sea. Their slope is usually gentle, varying from 5 to 10°. Round the shores a flat belt of coral debris has been built up. In places this belt has been covered by lava flows which have run out into the sea forming low headlands.

Lakes and Rivers

In some craters, notably Pule in Savai'i and Lanuto'o in Upolu, deep lakes have formed. In the latter, for some reason not yet explained, the water level remains more or less constant throughout the year. The crater is of considerable age and the sides are covered with dense vegetation. A small crater behind Safune bay is fed by a stream passing over a waterfall. The rocks of many craters are, however, too porous to hold water. A characteristic of Samoan streams is that they have more water near their sources than near the sea, and some streams do not reach the sea above ground at all. This is due to the porous nature of the coarse basalt rocks. Water makes its way through the fissures into the lava and may run off through the tunnels which were originally formed by the draining off of hot lava beneath the cooled and solidified crust. Parts of northern Upolu are characterized by deep-cut hanging valleys and waterfalls similar to those in the Kohala district of Hawaii. Rivers on the south sides of the western islands of the group, where they are more frequent, tend to spread out to some width, but they are shallow and easily fordable. In Savai'i the principal streams on the south coast are the Sili river and the Falcata, and on the east coast the Alia Senga, the lower course of which is generally dry. In Upolu fair numbers of small streams, chief of which is the Vaisingano, flow from the north side

Plate 112. Entrance to Pango Pango harbour, Tutuila

The view is from within the harbour, on the west side.

Plate 113. Shores of Pango Pango harbour

Behind a narrow fringe of cultivated low land rise steep forest-clad hills. The road is on the left.

Plate 114. Forest in the mountains of Upolu

On the slope of Lanuto'o, at a height of about 2,000 ft. There is a thick growth of tree ferns, while climbing *Freycinetia* (with narrow leaves) and *Rhaphidophora* (with broad leaves) cover many tree trunks.

Plate 115. A deep valley on the north coast of Tutuila

Looking down into the head of Fangasa bay from the top of a track over the hills to Pango Pango. Owing to the rugged nature of the country there are no formed roads in this region.

of the watershed. In Tutuila, where most of the streams are short, few reach the sea.

Coasts

(Plates 110–113, 115)

Coral reefs, mostly of the fringing type but occasionally of barrier form, with lagoons behind, suitable for seaplanes or small craft, occur round the three largest islands. But in Savai'i owing to the more recent formation of the island the coral is not so well developed. At numerous points on all coasts there are passages through the reef where the outfall of fresh water has inhibited the growth of coral. The beaches behind these openings are exposed to heavy surf.

Immediately behind the shore is a belt of flat land, either of coral sand or of alluvial deposits. Occasional patches of mangrove swamp occur. The belt of flat land varies in width from a very narrow strip in parts of Tutuila, scarcely large enough to provide space for a village, to large areas on the north of Upolu. The coastal flat is not continuous, owing to the headlands formed by flows of lava. These headlands may be high or low, but in either case they are very rugged and travel across them is difficult. Long stretches of such coast, known as iron-bound coast, are characteristic.

Passes in the barrier reef on the north of Upolu and to a lesser extent on the east of Savai'i lead to numerous anchorages. Some like Saluafata are very well protected and could be developed into useful ports were trade to warrant expenditure for improvements. In Savai'i most of the bays suitable for anchorages are fairly shallow, and reefs, usually with passages through them, either fringe the shore or stretch across their mouths. Tutuila, in spite of a comparative absence of large reefs, has few good anchorages apart from the very fine harbour of Pango Pango. The only ports in the group are Apia on Upolu and Pango Pango in Tutuila (pp. 655, 657).

Climate

Situated about lat. 14° S and with the nearest large islands, the Tonga group, about three hundred miles away, Samoa has a purely oceanic climate unaffected by neighbouring land masses. But the south-east trades tend to be locally deflected by the mountain masses of the larger islands and blow from a more or less easterly direction parallel to the north and south coasts.

The following figures and description are based, unless otherwise stated, on data from the meteorological station at Apia, 1890–1920.

Barometric pressure varies from 1008 mb. in January to 1012 mb. in July, August and September. There is a semi-diurnal variation of about 1·5 mb. with maxima at 0900 hr. and 2200 hr., minima at 0700 hr. and 1900 hr. The pressure dip during thunderstorms is extraordinarily small and can be recorded only with a special photographic recording barograph.

For eight months, April to November, the dominant winds are the south-east trades. In the 'wet season' from December to March, the trades are interrupted by northerly and westerly winds. Hurricanes which blow occasionally from January to March are liable to do considerable damage to crops and structures generally. They start by blowing from the east and then back through north to south-west.

The trade-wind layer extends upwards to an altitude of about 6000 ft., blowing with an average speed of about 11 miles an hour. Above is an anti-trade layer extending from about 6000 ft. to about 15,000 ft. and flowing south-eastwards. The speed of this wind increases with altitude from about 11 miles an hour to 18 miles an hour. Above 18,000 ft. there appears to be a high-level trade wind blowing from the south-east.

Temperature. Temperature is high but relatively constant. The mean monthly temperature for November to April is 79° F. During the trade-wind season the lowest mean monthly temperature occurs in July, when it falls to 77° F. Absolute maximum and minimum for the years 1890–1920 were 93 and 63° F. Daily temperature has an average variation of about 11° F., falling to about 4° below the mean at about 0500 hr., then rising steadily till midday and falling slowly through the afternoon and evening.

Rainfall. Precipitation is heavy, amounting to an average annual fall at Apia of 106·8 in. The average monthly fall in inches is as follows:

Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
16·8	15·7	13·5	10·2	5·5	5·2	2·6	3·2	5·1	6·1	9·3	13·6

Since the above figures for temperature and rainfall being long-term averages do not give an accurate idea of typical variations in Samoan weather, a graph showing temperature and rainfall over five consecutive years is appended (Fig. 181). The wettest months are those associated with the variable northerly and westerly winds. But

the trade-wind season is also a rainy one; rain falls on an average of at least 11 days in each month at this time.

Data collected at Apia can be regarded as characteristic of anywhere on the north coasts of the islands. Rainfall slowly increases with altitude as the mountains of the interior, acting as a barrier to the wind, cause precipitation. Isohyets (lines of equal rainfall) show a series of concentric loops roughly conforming to the shape of each island; but

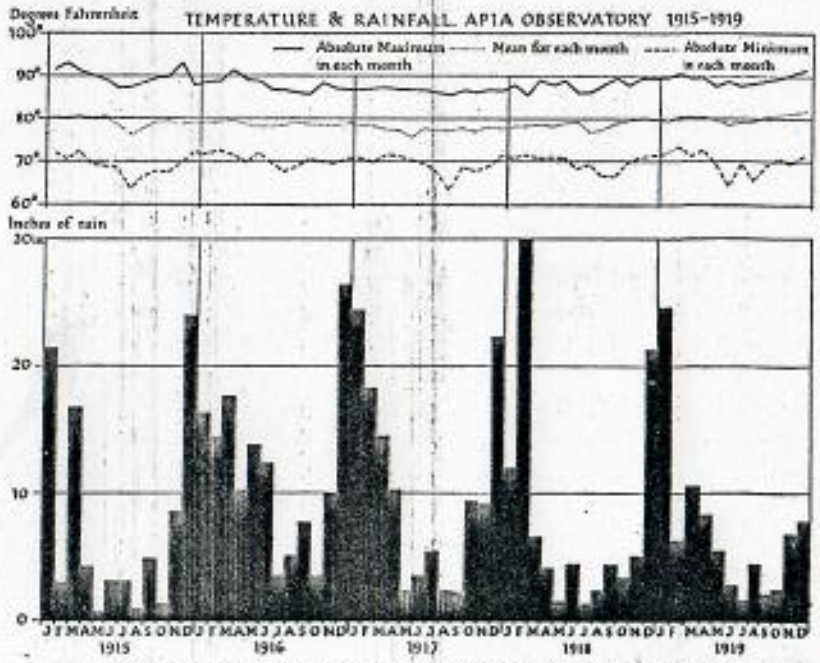

Fig. 181. Temperature and rainfall, Apia observatory, 1915–19

Conditions are similar to this along the whole north coast of Upolu. Based on data from G. Angenheister, *A Summary of Meteorological Observations of the Samoan Observatory* (1890–1920) (Wellington, 1924).

as a general rule the eastern sides of the islands are wetter than the west, as might be expected from the predominance of south-east trade winds. The mean increase in precipitation with altitude amounts roughly to 18% per 300 ft.

A fair approximation for the annual rainfall on the north coasts of Upolu and Savai'i is 118 in., and for the south coasts 157 in. In the highlands of Upolu the maximum annual precipitation is 196 in. and in Savai'i 275 in. Records from the Naval Station at Pango Pango on

the south of Tutuila show an average rainfall of 190 in., some 30 in. more than on the south of Upolu. This apparent discrepancy for a sea-level situation can be explained by the geographical position of the harbour. It is an L-shaped land-locked bay with steep surrounding mountains rising to 2,000 ft. This would naturally give it a rainfall more like that of an inland station at that altitude.

Relative Humidity. The mean annual relative humidity at Apia is 83%, with a very regular diurnal variation of about 14%. The greatest humidity, about 6% above the mean, occurs in the morning, and the lowest, about 8% below the mean, in the afternoon. The high humidity combined with the high temperature tends to make movement through the bush arduous.

Vegetation and Fauna

Except on recent lava flows where the rock has not yet disintegrated the inland soil is a red earth approaching laterite in character. It does not usually overlay the rocks to any great depth, and owing to the steepness of many slopes it is usually dry in spite of the heavy rainfall. Everywhere it is studded with blocks of decomposing basalt. The narrow belt of coral sand round the shore is covered by a rich mould formed from decomposed coral residue and humus.

Thick tropical vegetation covers all the islands except on recent lava flows. The shore is characterized by *Scaevola frutescens* scrub, the almost universal coconut, *Barringtonia asiatica* (a large tree reaching a height of 60 ft. or so), pandanus and many other trees. In certain swampy regions mangroves occur but not very extensively. Inland, even on very steep slopes, except on the more recent lava flows, there is a tall evergreen rain forest. Tree ferns are plentiful in some places (Plate 114). Small patches are cleared in the interior for native cultivation, but even in these clearings large trees are frequently left standing.

There is an extreme paucity of animal life. Animals include the Polynesian rat, and a fruit bat, as well as pigs and a certain number of European cattle which have escaped into the bush.

Only thirty-four species of birds have been observed and most of these inhabit the interior. There are many doves and small parrots. Game birds include the golden plover, wild duck and three species of pigeon. A particularly rare bird, unique to Samoa, is the tooth-billed pigeon (*Didunculus strigirostris*). There are two kinds of snakes,

several lizards and a gecko, all of which are harmless. Fresh-water shrimps inhabit some of the streams and there is a land crab.

Insects are very numerous. A species of mosquito (*Stegomyia pseudoscutellaris*) is a filarial carrier and is responsible for much elephantiasis. There are two kinds of centipede and a scorpion; each has a poisonous sting which is painful but not dangerous. An insect which has caused considerable damage to crops is the rhinoceros beetle, introduced accidentally from Ceylon with rubber plants in 1911.

HISTORY

The Samoa group was sighted by the Dutch navigator, Roggeveen, in the course of his expedition round the world in 1721–2, but he did not land. Some forty years later Bougainville visited Samoa, and, impressed by the number of canoes he saw engaged in fishing or coastwise traffic, named the group the Navigators' islands. La Pérouse landed on the island of Tutuila in 1787 but sailed away after a watering party had been attacked and killed by the local inhabitants. The first British ship to visit Samoa was H.M.S. *Pandora* in 1790. Various other scientific or exploring expeditions touched at the group and whaling ships were frequent visitors. But there was little interest shown in Samoa by European Powers at the time. Colonial expansion in the Pacific was in its infancy and the islands were remote.

There was no settled or stable government. Villages, which were more or less autonomous as far as their own affairs were concerned, bound themselves together into districts for mutual protection under the head of one influential family. Two families, the Tupua and the Malietoa, were predominant, and with the support of various districts fought and intrigued against each other more or less continuously to obtain the ceremonial headship of the group. There was no recognized system of succession, and though both families had intermarried to some extent no stable government had ever materialized.

The history of the islands until their partition and annexation is dominated by the rivalry of these two families on the one hand, and of the three western Powers—Germany, the United States and Great Britain—on the other.

Early Missionary Activity

The first effective European contact with Samoa was when John Williams of the London Missionary Society arrived at the islands in

1830. His arrival coincided with the decisive victory of Malietoa Vainupo over the Tupua family. The London Missionary Society were particularly favoured by the circumstances which had inaugurated a relatively stable government, while the love of ceremony characteristic of the Samoans made them particularly susceptible to the personality of Williams and the Rarotongan and Tahitian missionaries he brought with him. A printing press was set up in 1839, and numerous schools were established, while in 1844 the Malua Institute was founded, and became an important educational centre for the group, and for training Samoan teachers for work in other islands.

In addition to the London Missionary Society there was the Wesleyan mission from Tonga, teachers from which actually began work in the island of Savai'i about 1828 but were initially not very successful; a Roman Catholic mission also started work in 1845.

Early Relations with the Powers

In 1839 the group was visited by the United States Exploring Expedition under the command of Captain Wilkes. In addition to making a thorough survey of the islands and taking particular notice of the harbour of Pango Pango in the island of Tutuila, Wilkes drew up a series of commercial regulations and appointed John C. Williams, the son of the missionary, as acting American vice-consul. This appointment was not confirmed in Washington, but in 1844 the American government appointed a commercial agent, choosing John C. Williams for the post. The first British consul was not appointed till 1847, while the first German consul was appointed in 1861.

The early promise of peace ushered in with the accession of Vainupo, the head of the Malietoa family, in 1828, ended with a dispute over his successor in 1841 which broke out into open war in 1848 and lasted for seven years. Traders in Apia, like the missionaries, carried on as well as possible in the circumstances; some acquired claims to vast tracts of land by selling liquor and more particularly arms and ammunition to both protagonists. In 1855 the Malietoa party overcame the Tupua and a period of comparative peace ensued.

George Pritchard, the first British consul, recommended annexation on economic grounds and also with a view to saving the islanders from their own frequent civil wars and the lawless behaviour of the settlers

in Apia. He was joined in this recommendation by the missionaries who for reasons of their own were particularly apprehensive of French aggression. The Samoan chiefs, whose main contacts with disinterested white men had been with English missionaries, also petitioned for annexation or protection by Great Britain. In the face of these requests the British government held that while they were unwilling to annex the islands they would not be prepared to see any other Power in possession of greater benefits than they held themselves. Till the end of the century they maintained this attitude against the zealous expansionism of the local settlers, and the repeated suggestions from New Zealand, advocating annexation. The other interested Powers, the United States and Germany, took up the same attitude for many years against similar zealous acquisitiveness on the part of their local representatives.

The Growth of Commercial Interests

Regular trade had begun in the islands before 1830, with the visits of whalers for provisions. In later years their calls increased greatly in number and in regularity and provided commercial opportunities for Europeans settled on shore. At the same time, trade in coconut oil developed in Samoa, as in other parts of the Pacific. With these and other minor sources of income a number of traders—some of them members of local missionary families, others representatives of Papeete business houses—maintained themselves at Apia and Pango Pango. The real foundation of the prosperity of later years, however, was laid when the German firm of Johann Cesar Godeffroy und Sohn established an agency at Apia about 1857.

The Godeffroy Company. The Godeffroy company, when it came to Samoa, already possessed considerable experience of Pacific trade; and its local representative, August Unshelm, proved himself a man of enterprise and tact. Under his direction an extensive trade in coconut oil was soon built up there by his firm; and branches were established in Tonga and Fiji. On his death in 1864, he was succeeded by Theodor Weber, who had previously represented the firm in Valparaiso. Weber was a masterful man, perhaps even more energetic than Unshelm, and endowed with considerable tact. Though perhaps none too scrupulous, he certainly gained the respect of all with whom he dealt. Particularly important from the point of view of Samoa were the large tracts of land he acquired on behalf of his firm, and the introduction of indentured labour, to work on the

plantations. The German interests were at first purely commercial. Samoa was the clearing house for the firm's trade from the many stations scattered through the islands in the central Pacific. But the group of large plantations acquired by Weber in Samoa made the German economic interests greater than those of any other Power. It is uncertain when ideas of annexation first occurred to Weber, but he certainly mentioned such a step prior to 1872. German colonial policy, however, did not enter into an active phase till 1885.

The Webb Shipping Line and Meade's Treaty. American commercial interests in the group were not very considerable in comparison with those of Great Britain or Germany. But an attempt to establish a shipping line between New Zealand and San Francisco via Hawaii and Samoa, and the imperialistic attitude of American settlers in Hawaii, brought about a treaty of friendship between the local chiefs of Tutuila and the United States, and a period of American intervention in Samoan affairs.

In 1870, William H. Webb, an American shipowner, wished to establish a steamship line to link up with the recently completed transcontinental railway across the United States. It was felt that mails between New Zealand and London could be accelerated by a fortnight by going across the Pacific, the mainland of the United States and the Atlantic, instead of round the Cape of Good Hope. Webb obtained a subsidy from the New Zealand government and was endeavouring to obtain one from the United States government. He accordingly sent an agent, Captain Wakeman, to survey the harbour of Pango Pango. In 1872, Commander Meade of the U.S.S. *Narragansett* sailed from Hawaii to Samoa and negotiated a treaty with Maunga, a local chieftain on Tutuila. This treaty granted to the United States the exclusive right to establish a naval base and coaling station at Pango Pango. The treaty was never ratified, but it did tend to establish a prior claim to eastern Samoa.

The Growth of Political Interests

In New Zealand the plans for the Webb shipping line emphasized the strategic importance of the Samoan group, and the rapid commercial expansion of the Godeffroy company in the Pacific promoted a desire for annexation. On various occasions between 1870 and 1875 representations were made to London by Mr Julius Vogel, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, to induce the British government to annex

the islands. But at that time Great Britain was still unwilling to embark on further commitments in the Pacific.

Steinberger's Activities. There were thus three parties anxious for the annexation of Samoa by their respective governments, who were reluctant to take any action. Then Colonel Steinberger was sent to Samoa by the President of the United States as a special agent. The circumstances surrounding his appointment of Steinberger were complex. Samoans, possibly tiring of long periods of civil strife, or possibly fearing annexation by Great Britain or Germany, whose subjects had latterly shown themselves more grasping and more successful than Americans, petitioned the United States to annex the group. The traditional isolationist attitude based on the Monroe doctrine, which had prevented the ratification of the Meade treaty, tended to block annexation. On the other hand, naval opinion and that of Webb and his friends was in favour of some form of American control. In the end it was determined to send Steinberger, who was a friend of Webb, as a special agent. He was to pay his own expenses; he was not to commit the government to anything; and he was to report to the President on his return.

On his arrival he gained the confidence of the missionaries and the traders, and also of the Samoans, to whom he was particularly attractive on account of his advice to them not to alienate land. He drew up a nominal constitution which was adopted by the Samoans. It was naturally assumed that Steinberger's visit was a reply to the Samoan request for annexation; on his departure it was fully believed that the United States would annex the group, a belief which Steinberger did nothing to disabuse.

Steinberger evidently expected to return to Samoa, probably as the first American governor. He went to Hamburg where he negotiated with the Godeffroy company an agreement in which he undertook to guarantee land held by them. This is in striking contrast to his advice to the Samoans, and may indeed have been inspired by a desire to overcome the fears of the German company and possible opposition by the German government to the anticipated annexation. But the fact remains that he was to receive a commission of two dollars per ton of copra sold by the government of Samoa to the Godeffroy company.

The United States government was still unwilling to annex Samoa. Steinberger, however, obtained permission to return in 1873 in an American warship, but without any official or diplomatic status. He duly arrived in Samoa bringing with him a present of guns and

ammunition and soon became the power behind a native government, for the form of which he was largely responsible. For two years he was virtually the dictator of the islands, but he soon came into conflict with both English and American traders and with the London Missonary Society. The principal difficulty was over the ownership of land. Finally, in the beginning of 1876 Captain Stevens, commanding H.M.S. *Barracouta*, arrested him on the instructions of both British and American consuls and deported him to Fiji.

National Rivalry. After this incident King Malietoa Laupepa was deposed and a period of unrest followed; this finally broke out in civil war. Meanwhile, there was consular activity on the part of Great Britain, the United States and Germany. Great Britain had annexed Fiji in 1875, and the belief that Steinberger was preparing a filibustering expedition induced local British authorities to investigate the position in Samoa. In 1877 representatives of the Samoan chiefs were dispatched as envoys to Fiji and to the United States to seek protection. The Governor of Fiji replied that Britain was unwilling to establish a protectorate but might be prepared to negotiate with a view to ultimate annexation. The envoy to the United States was more successful. He concluded a treaty in 1878 whereby the use of Pango Pango was given to the United States (a point already covered by the unratified Meade treaty six years before), and the United States promised to act as intermediary between Samoa and any third party. A year later Samoa negotiated similar treaties with Great Britain and with Germany. An arrangement of particular importance which developed out of the visit of the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, who visited Samoa to negotiate the British treaty, was the establishment of Apia as a municipality, to be a neutral settlement in the event of faction wars in the future, with extra-territorial privileges for whites.

German Intervention in Local Politics

After considerable intrigue by the various Samoan factions and also by the European consuls, it was finally decided in 1881 that Malietoa Laupepa should be king, with Tamasese, a member of the Tupua family, as vice-king. An unsettled peace lasted three years, but in 1883 the German consul, Zembsch, a moderate and peaceful man, was succeeded by Stuebel, probably at the instigation of Weber. About this time German policy developed more definite colonial interests.

The Godeffroy company had gone bankrupt in 1879 and Bismarck had tried unsuccessfully to obtain a subsidy from the Reichstag. The company, now known as the Deutche Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft, had informal official backing, and henceforth the commercial and political aspirations of Germany in the Pacific coincided.

German intervention increased and frequent concessions were obtained from Malietoa Laupepa under the threat of force. A secret request for annexation sent to New Zealand, and refused, was discovered by Stuebel and Weber. In 1885 they persuaded Tamasese to revolt and supplied him with arms and ammunition. They evicted Laupepa from his capital Mulinu'u and later occupied Apia. Protests by America and Great Britain led to a conference in Washington in 1887. In this Great Britain, with other interests of greater moment at stake, supported Germany, but no agreement was reached and the conference adjourned.

Further encroachments by Germany were followed by an abortive attempt to form a Hawaiian-Samoan alliance. Germany then threatened war against Hawaii. American interests in Hawaii were already so great that such a war would have probably involved the United States. They therefore brought pressure on the Hawaiians, who withdrew their proposals. In the beginning of the same year a Bavarian, Captain Brandeis, had come to the islands. In August, when the mail steamer had left for Sydney and the islands were virtually isolated, the Germans declared war on Laupepa, who surrendered to avoid bloodshed and was deported. They then set up a government under Tamasese with Brandeis as his adviser and had virtually complete control of Samoa. Native unrest under the new regime increased, and in 1888 a rebellion broke out, led by Mataafa, a member of the Malietoa family. Two British vessels and one American arrived in the islands and the rebellion progressed with their veiled assistance, while Germany sent a warship to Apia. A combined operation by German marines and Tamasese's forces against Mataafa was unsuccessful and there were further concentrations of German and American ships in Apia harbour. Feeling in both Germany and America was running high. Both countries were talking of war when in March 1889 a violent storm struck Apia harbour. There were seven ships there at the time, three American, three German and one British. The only one not driven ashore was H.M.S. *Calliope*, a new ship with more powerful engines than the others. By dint of good seamanship, she was able to put to sea.

The Berlin Pact and Ultimate Partition

In June a conference of the Powers concerned was held in Berlin and national ardour, no doubt damped to some extent by the disaster in March, was sufficiently restrained for a compromise to be agreed upon. The terms were briefly that Samoa should be declared a neutral territory, Apia was to have a municipal government upon which the three consuls should have a seat, Laupepa was to be restored to the throne, a chief justice was to be appointed by the king of Sweden, and a land commission was to be set up to inquire into land claims, one of the most troublesome of the questions coming before the consuls.

The agreement was cumbersome and unsatisfactory from all points of view. The European residents continued to quarrel among themselves and Mataafa's party were not reconciled to Laupepa.

Mataafa rebelled in 1893, and on being overcome was deported to Jaluit in the Marshall islands. In 1898 Laupepa died, and Mataafa, who had been repatriated shortly before, came forward as a claimant to the throne. The rival candidate Malietoa Tanumafili was chosen, and Mataafa, assisted by the Germans, rebelled.

A commission of representatives of the three interested Powers investigated local conditions and recommended that the only means of providing stable government was to divide the islands. The United States obtained Tutuila, while Upolu and Savai'i were to be divided between Great Britain and Germany. These two Powers came to a separate agreement between themselves, however, in which Great Britain withdrew entirely from Samoa and received compensation in the form of islands in the Solomon group south-east of Bougainville and in the German surrender of rights in Tonga. Germany formally annexed western Samoa in 1899.

Samoan Life in the Late Nineteenth Century

Although any narrative of the history of Samoa at this period is thus, inevitably, taken up largely with the description of international rivalries and civil wars, these comprised but a small part of the activities of ordinary Samoans and of the Europeans settled amongst them. Fighting interrupted cultivation, cut across the work of the missions, and interfered with trade; the prospect of foreign intervention led the foreign residents to hope for the support of their governments in their disputes over land. But these factors never dominated the Samoan scene. The people continued to prepare copra

and to exchange it for cheap prints and hardware at the stores of the traders; attendance at the mission churches and schools did not greatly diminish; and the development of European plantations was pressed on.

What most impressed the visitor to Samoa in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was not the political gossip of Apia and Mulinu'u but the similarity of conditions there to those of other parts of the Pacific. The Samoan village communities, with their schools and unpretentious Protestant chapels, or elaborate Roman Catholic churches, were very similar to those found elsewhere. They seemed more 'civilized' than those of Fiji, less so than those of the Society islands or Hawaii. There also were agricultural, non-European people changing their way of life in response to the challenge of new ideas and new opportunities which European contact had brought them. Apia itself was another Levuka or a lesser Honolulu. It had a street of well-built houses along the shores of the bay; there were substantial warehouses, a shipbuilding yard, a cotton-ginning establishment, hotels and taverns, churches and schools, and the offices of the small local newspapers. European planters, traders from the outer islands, and the natives of the neighbouring villages all frequented the stores of the local merchants. In political matters the bulk of the people, both in Apia and outside it, were concerned with personal security and benefits rather than with the rivalries of the Powers or of the ruling native families.

Thus, when Germany and America assumed responsibility for the administration of western and of eastern Samoa, they found there typical South Sea communities. The problems which confronted them were the ordinary administrative ones which had been faced by the French in the Society islands and the British in Fiji.

Western Samoa under German Control

Dr Solf, the former president of the municipality of Apia, was made Governor of the new German territory. One immediate effect of German annexation was that certain English residents left Apia, fearing discrimination against them. But Solf proved himself a far-sighted, tactful and careful administrator. He visited Fiji to study British methods of colonial administration, and on his return to Apia set up a Governor's Council of six members; two of these were British, which shows that he had no intention of discrimination on national lines. His native policy was enlightened. He appointed

Mataafa as Ali'i Sili, a nominal head of the native government, and set up a hierarchy of native officials, backing them up with the full authority of his administration. In general he made the minimum number of changes necessary, leaving Samoan customs unaltered wherever he could. In particular, the *Ta'imua* and *Faipule*, an upper and a lower house of chiefs formed on a parliamentary model in 1873, were allowed to continue at Mulinu'u as an advisory body to the government, though without pay. In essence, however, the *Faipule* were closely associated with the *Tumua* and *Pule*, the two traditional groups of orator chiefs who represented the autonomous native local communities of Upolu and Savai'i respectively. The rivalries and intrigue inherent in this traditional structure still remained as a serious impediment to the effective working of the German rule. The period of Solf's administration, which lasted till 1910, was one of steady commercial expansion and of greater peace than had occurred in Samoa for many years. But it was marred by two disturbances which had their roots in the old political system and which led the Germans to eliminate this system from their administration.

In 1904 a part-Samoan with the assistance of the *Ta'imua* and *Faipule* tried to form a Samoan Co-operative Trading Society and proposed to levy a tax on all and sundry to finance the scheme. This was forbidden, but was persisted in, to the point of releasing from gaol *Faipule* who had been imprisoned by the government for carrying on with the scheme. After this defiant activity had been suppressed, the *Ta'imua* and *Faipule* were replaced by a council of deputies (*Fono* of *Faipule*) nominated by the Governor. In 1908 an anti-administration movement led by a chief named Lauati attempted to restore the old institution of Samoan kingship, with its associated *Tumua* and *Pule* organization. This was also suppressed but broke out again a year later and Lauati was deported to Jaluit. This movement, known as the *Mau a Pule* ('the Opinion of Savai'i'), may have been in part inspired by discontented white settlers. It had many of the characteristics of the later *Mau* movements which occurred in American Samoa and in Western Samoa under the mandatory government of New Zealand.

In 1914 a New Zealand expeditionary force occupied Samoa without meeting any resistance from the German authorities.

A military government took over the functions of the German administration. The leading German officials were removed for detention elsewhere. German laws and ordinances were confirmed and amended where necessary. This administration continued until the

mandatory government under the League of Nations was set up in 1920.

Eastern Samoa under American Administration

After the tripartite agreement of 1899 an American warship was dispatched to Tutuila to establish a naval base in Pango Pango harbour.

Letters were received from the chiefs of Tutuila and Manu'a acknowledging the 'sovereignty and protection of the United States'. It was not, however, until 1904 that the Tui Manu'a (Lord of Manu'a) formally ceded his territory to the United States. Although the cession was acknowledged by the President of the United States, the islands have never been formally annexed. The President merely authorized the Navy Department to administer the islands. Samoans in fact are not citizens of the United States; they are 'American-protected persons'.

The settlement of traders and commercial exploitation have been severely discouraged and, except for the Naval Station, the islands have not been developed.

The same tendencies which characterized the Samoans in other islands showed themselves in quarrels over the succession in 1909 to the native title of Tui Manu'a. The title was therefore abolished and the naval authorities took firm steps to deal with incipient disorders. After this incident the Samoans remained peaceful until after the war of 1914–18.

The slump in copra prices was conducive to a feeling of discontent in 1919. This took the form of an attack on the Governor who was accused of general maladministration and peculation. The various native chiefs formed a committee which had sufficient authority over the people to bring about a movement comparable to the civil disobedience campaigns which have broken out in India. A commission was appointed to investigate the charges. As a result of the findings of the commission an Auditing Board with native representatives was set up to supervise the finances of the administration. Regulations were enacted to control disloyalty, disorder and the circulation of false statements about official finance. Certain of the more troublesome agitators were deported or imprisoned. The chiefs were satisfied and peaceable conditions followed, punctuated by occasional requests for the release or return of the prisoners. In 1924 the prisoners were released and pardoned.

Discontent, based on a wish for a civilian instead of a naval administration, later broke out again. The leaders of the movement, the *Mau*, expressed their loyalty to the United States but asked for a change of government. In its general character this movement was very similar to the *Mau* of Western Samoa (p. 603). It was no doubt fostered in part by the agitation of some of the few American settlers and part-Samoans. With tact and firmness the movement was suppressed. In 1929 a commission was formed to prepare plans for a more constitutional government for the islands. The draft of these proposals was submitted to Congress but rejected, and eastern Samoa remains under naval administration.

Western Samoa under League of Nations Mandate

The mandate for Western Samoa was conferred on New Zealand in 1920. The New Zealand government was determined to carry out the obligations of the mandate conscientiously, ruling primarily in the interests of the native population. It was therefore probable that a conflict would arise between the administration and the local traders. Many of them were British subjects, they had been well treated by the German authorities, and they looked forward to greater economic opportunities and a larger share of self-government under a New Zealand administration. The local residents had prepared a memorandum setting forth suggestions for the administration of the territory. This was largely contrary to the policy of the New Zealand government and was for the most part ignored. Added to the natural disappointment of the European residents was a period of economic disorganization caused by the deportation of some two hundred German citizens and the seizure of their lands as reparations.

Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, ex-enemy estates, including all the land of the former Godeffroy company, were vested in the New Zealand government. This land, known as the Reparations Estates, was administered from New Zealand, and the revenue was devoted to Samoan expenses. The European population continued to criticize the administration for some years. They alleged that there was not enough representation of unofficial opinion; that the number of officials was far too great for the size of the territory and the revenue it could support (an old cry in German times); and that the officials knew little of Samoan conditions and were unwilling to take the advice of the local residents. These complaints were not surprising in view of the strongly contrasted policies of the administration and the residents.

Until about 1926 native opposition was quiescent, but in that year discontent broke out in a *Mau* or 'opinion' movement. In this the Samoans were supported by discontented white residents. From the point of view of the government this action of the residents was improper and relations between them became very strained.

The native discontent was probably inherent in the clash between the traditional Samoan outlook on life and politics, and western ideas. In a sense it was a revolt not so much against the New Zealand government as against the latter's native nominees. The administration, in contrast to the Germans, had attempted to rule through native officials, giving them considerable responsibility. In many cases they were not qualified for this burden, and their prestige was undermined by men of higher rank who had no government appointments, but who by Samoan tradition should have been in positions of authority. The general discontent thus aroused was fostered by the parallel discontent of the European residents and aggravated by particular administrative measures which were opposed to Samoan traditions. Examples were an ordinance providing for banishment from an offender's village and for the removal of his titles; an attempt to abolish on economic grounds the traditional custom of *malanga* (visiting trips round the islands); and the prohibition of distributing fine mats—all matters which vitally affected the Samoan social and political structure.

In its early phase the *Mau* expressed its loyalty to the government and refrained from violence, and there was some hope that the movement might subside. But when O. F. Nelson (a part-Samoan trader of great influence) and two of the European residents were exiled to New Zealand, they continued their campaign of opposition there, receiving considerable local support. The knowledge of this in Samoa undoubtedly fostered the native movement, which took the form of non-cooperation and refusal to pay taxes. A Royal Commission investigated affairs in Western Samoa and reported in favour of the government. It has, however, been criticized for taking too legalistic a view of its terms of reference. In 1929 a procession in Apia organized by the *Mau* to welcome one of the exiled European residents on his return was fired on by the police, and eleven Samoans and one European policeman were killed. Particularly unfortunate from the political point of view was the death of the high chief Tamasese in this affair.

As a result of this clash the *Mau* withdrew from Apia, and early in January 1930 H.M.S. *Dunedin* landed marines who were employed for some six weeks in an attempt to round up the leaders. But these proved very elusive in the wooded interior of the islands. In March the administration arranged a meeting with the leaders of the *Mau* in which these agreed to surrender some twenty of their members required to answer criminal charges, and to disperse to their villages.

From 1930 onwards affairs improved steadily though the *Mau* still remained in existence as an illegal organization. In 1937 following a goodwill visit from New Zealand the ban on the *Mau* was repealed. Nelson was allowed to return from New Zealand. Arrears of native taxes which could not be collected during the earlier period of the *Mau* were written off. The unpopular Samoan Offenders' Ordinance providing for banishment from villages was repealed. Native representation on the Legislative Council was increased to four and Tuimaleali'ifano, the leader of the *Mau*, was appointed to the position of *Fautua* or high advisor to the Administrator. Provision was made for the establishment of a finance committee of one European and three Samoans to act with the Administrator and two officials. The *Fono* of *Faipule* was also given authority to discuss financial affairs.

In the newly elected *Fono* of *Faipule* thirty-three members out of a total of thirty-nine belonged to the *Mau*, and it was estimated that about 80% of the population supported the *Mau*. In 1938 further restrictive legislation was repealed and it was hoped that the unrest was over. But it is significant of the disunity and competing interests in Samoan politics that a small Samoan anti-*Mau* movement had begun at Vaimaangu and Malie, the latter being a principal village of the Malietoa family who had been largely succeeded in positions of authority by the leaders of the *Mau*.

GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

Growth of Native Population

Prior to the regular visit and settlement of Europeans, the population of Samoa was apparently fairly constant. A high birthrate was offset by native diseases and faction wars. Wilkes estimated in 1839 that the population of western Samoa amounted to 46,600 and that of Tutuila and Manu'a to 10,000. As elsewhere in the Pacific the incidence of

European diseases and particularly of the use of firearms in war then led to a steady decline in the population. An estimate of 1881 placed the population of western and eastern Samoa at 28,000 and 17,000 respectively.

By the time of the partition in 1900 this tendency had been overcome and the population of western Samoa had risen to 32,815, according to the first German census. In eastern Samoa, however, the decline had continued; in that year the American naval census showed a return of 5,799 for the population. From then on, except for occasional setbacks caused by epidemics, the figures have risen in both areas. The outbreak of influenza in 1918 reduced the numbers of natives in Western Samoa from 37,113 to 31,422. Since then there has been a steady rise to the present (1940) figures of 57,122 in Western Samoa and of 12,962 in American Samoa. Since 1918 the increase in the population of Western Samoa has thus been 82%; for the corresponding period the increase in American Samoa has been about 61%. But the population reached its lowest level in American Samoa later than in Western Samoa, so that the rate of increase has been greater since 1900 in American Samoa.

A primary cause for the increase in the population is to be found in the extensive medical services in both territories (p. 638), which have in particular tended to lower the infant mortality rate. Vital statistics, often dependent on the returns of native village officials, are not entirely reliable; figures for 1940 show a high birth-rate among the native population of Western Samoa of 40·5 per thousand, compared with a death-rate of only 13 per thousand. In American Samoa similar rates appear to apply.

Density and Distribution of Population

The steadily increasing population will in time lead to serious overcrowding, unless technical advances in agriculture relieve the situation. Out of a total area for Western Samoa of about 1,100 sq. miles, roughly 581,370 acres are held as native land. (In addition, there were 40,000 acres held by Europeans and 10,300 held as Crown Lands.) This gives about 10 acres of native land per head of the population. In American Samoa, although very little land is held by Europeans, only about 4 acres of land are available per head of population.

Upolu, with its convenient harbour at Apia and fertile northern coastline, has always been the most densely populated island. Savai'i,

Hunting

There is very little hunting in Samoa. A few wild pigs are trapped, the mechanism being a noose operated by a bent-stick. Birds, which include parrakeets, rails, terns, doves and pigeons, are caught in snares by children and sometimes kept as pets, though the rails may be shot for sport with bows and arrows. Formerly pigeons were netted or trapped from a hide, the sport being one to which high chiefs were much addicted. Rats were trapped by a noose inside a bamboo tube, which was placed in recognized rat runs or tracks. This was a variant of the typical Polynesian rat trap.

Fishing

Fishing plays a very important part in the life of most Samoans. The main source of fish is the area between the shore and the edge of the reef, and these waters are fished daily. Many methods are employed. People grope about catching fish with their hands; artificial piles of rock and coral are made to attract fish into their crevices, where they are caught either by hand or in baskets; fish spears, traps and weirs are also used. A method employed to catch small octopus is to poke with a stick in cavities in the rock where they are likely to hide. Irritated by the stick they come out and are seized and bitten between the eyes. They are generally too small to be dangerous and women frequently catch them.

Larger octopus are caught with the aid of a lure. This is made from a conical piece of basalt to which are attached two pieces of a cowrie shell (*Cypraea tigris*) and a stick of coconut wood. The lure is trolled from a canoe in likely places in the lagoon. An octopus on seeing the lure will lazily stretch out a tentacle to seize it. When the fisherman notices this he draws the lure up. The octopus fearing the loss of the bait suddenly pounces on it with all its tentacles as it is being drawn out of the water. This is the moment for the fisherman to seize the octopus and kill it. A large octopus should not be lured to the surface in shallow water since it can be very dangerous there. By keeping two or more tentacles on the bottom it can pull a canoe under.

Fish caught outside the reef from canoes include sharks and bonito. Bonito are caught on an unbaited bone and turtle-shell spinner trolled from a canoe with a large fishing rod stepped in the stern. Shark are caught from canoes or more often *fautasi* (native long-boats) in a stout noose and stabbed with knives. The process is exciting and frequently dangerous. A rattle of half-coconut shells threaded on

a stick is used to attract the fish. A noose is held open behind the bait alongside the canoe. After the shark has passed his head through the noose to reach the bait it is drawn tight and held until the fish is killed. The noose, formerly made of coconut fibre braid and seized to make it stiff, has now been replaced by stout European rope with an eye-splice at the end. Manilla hemp or other soft ropes cannot be used because they are not rigid enough to keep the noose stiff and open in the water.

Canoes

In former times large double canoes somewhat similar to those of Tonga and Fiji, with a deckhouse amidships and a single large lateen sail, were in vogue. Various sizes of single outrigger canoe, either dug-out or plank-built and equipped with sail and balancing platform, were used for fishing. Two very interesting types of long-boat, the *tuamalua* and the *fautasi*, came into use in the middle of the last century but the former have disappeared completely to-day. They were built up of small planks or slabs fitted together and sewn with coconut fibre. Owing to the government veto on deep-sea voyages and the use of schooners and launches with kerosine engines, there is no further use for most of the larger native-built vessels. The smaller sizes of native canoes are still in use for fishing (Fig. 189, Plate 117).

The ordinary one-man dug-out canoe known as *paopao* is about 17 ft. long, without decking or thwarts, and with an outrigger float on the port side attached by stanchions to two outrigger booms, which stretch across the hull. The beam is about 14 in., the bow, like those of other Samoan canoes, is of clipper form with an angular forefoot. The stern is rounded and slopes to a point. These craft are only paddled. A larger version of this type is the *soatau*, which is only distinguished from the smaller canoe by its greater length, the presence of four outrigger booms and the occasional use of a sail of European manufacture.

Small plank-built canoes are used for bonito fishing (Plate 118). Broadly speaking they have the same general form as the *paopao*, but they have probably the most graceful lines of all Polynesian canoes. They are decked fore and aft, with a step near the stern to carry the bonito rod. The planks are of irregular shape but are finished most carefully. Each plank is hewn from a solid piece of timber with flanges on the inner side. The flanges of adjacent planks butt up against each other and are lashed with coconut fibre sinnet, which

does not appear on the outside of the hull. A piece of bark-cloth coated with gum is placed between the flanges for caulking.

Craftwork

Fine mats are still plaited of pandanus leaf or hibiscus fibre; bark-cloth is still beaten from the inner bark of the breadfruit tree, and kava bowls and other domestic utensils are still carved. Bark-cloth (known as *siapo* in Samoa in contrast to the more usual Polynesian word *tapa*) is made from the inner bark of the paper mulberry. This is soaked in water for a time and hammered out on a log. In quality it is rough and does not compare favourably with that from Fiji or the much finer cloth formerly made in Tahiti or Hawaii. It is ornamented by being placed over carved wooden blocks and rubbed with red earth. Thus the relief pattern of the blocks is imparted in red to the cloth. It may also be painted with crude freehand designs of a geometrical character. Occasionally in former times it was 'varnished' with breadfruit gum to make it waterproof.

(For bibliographical note see Chapter XIV.)

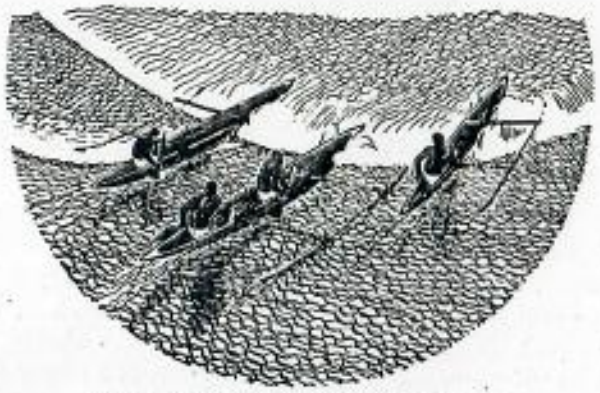

Fig. 189. Canoes going out over the reef

This illustrates in stylized form the forcing of light outrigger canoes through the surf. Drawn by Aletta Lewis.

Chapter XIV

THE SAMOA GROUP (*cont.*)

Administration: Social Services: Economics: Communications and Ports: Savai'i: Upolu: Tutuila: Manu'a Group: Rose Atoll: Bibliographical Note

ADMINISTRATION

Western Samoa is governed by New Zealand under mandate from the League of Nations, and American Samoa by the Navy Department in Washington. Trade and commercial exploitation in both territories play a subsidiary part. In American Samoa the primary purpose of the occupation has been to provide a fueling station for the United States Navy, but native well-being is, after naval requirements, the most important factor governing the form of the administration. In Western Samoa the terms of the mandate specifically require the islands to be governed in the interests of the native population. Past history and the general nature of Samoan customs and outlook have combined to make the problems of administration difficult. In both parts of Samoa native maladjustment has led to the formation of *Mau* or 'opinion' movements, which have at times found outlet in civil disobedience. In general, however, bloodshed has been avoided, and to-day conditions are quiet and the people reasonably contented in both regions. The administrative problem has been greater in Western Samoa owing to the presence of a considerable number of white settlers and traders. Many are the descendants of the protagonists from the troublous times towards the end of the nineteenth century when international rivalry led to a partition of Samoa between the United States and Germany. The Administrator of Western Samoa has, therefore, had before him the dual problem of satisfying the trading requirements and aspirations of the white settlers and at the same time developing the institutions of the native population, often in the face of strong conservatism on the part of the natives themselves.

Administration in Western Samoa

The mandatory Power took over and developed the well-established German governmental hierarchy in 1920. At the head of the government is the Administrator, appointed by and answerable to the New

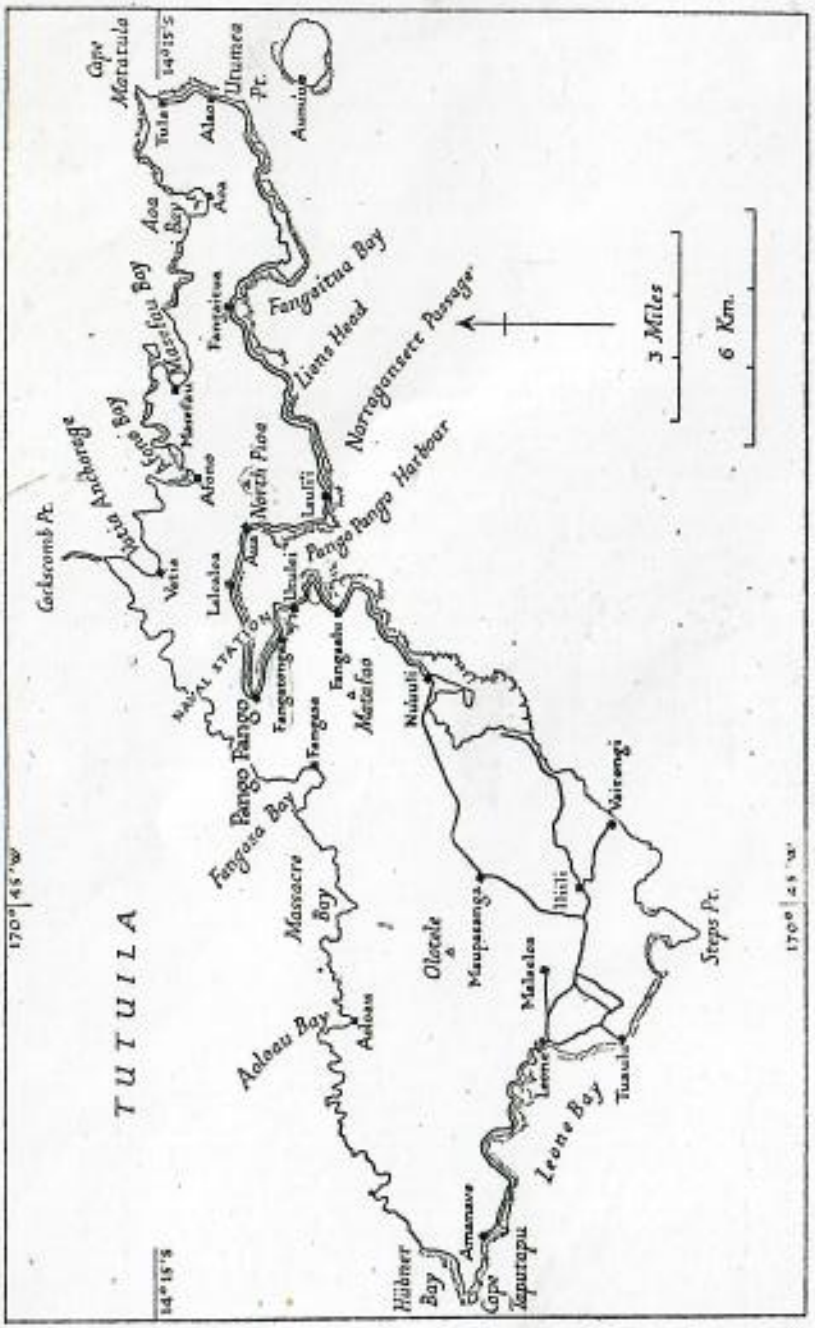

Fig. 204. Tutuila: roads and settlements

Based on G.S.G.S. map no. 4300.

channel to the shore, and Aoa bay, a little to the east of it, have anchorage in 17 fathoms.

On the south coast there is anchorage north-west of Aunu'u island in 35 fathoms. Fangaitua bay, exposed to south-east winds and fringed with coral reefs, has anchorage in 15 fathoms. Leone bay, which is safe in the trade wind season and when the wind is northerly, has anchorage in 16–20 fathoms; landing is available only at high water, through a passage in the reef, and rocks make it dangerous to boats when there is any swell.

Communications (Fig. 204)

Overseas communication is concentrated at Pango Pango (p. 657). A local steamer service runs between Pango Pango and Apia in Western Samoa. Native craft make coasting voyages.

Except for the one road skirting the south coast there are no roads capable of being used by vehicles. Tracks cross the main ridge through saddles formed by headward erosion of the streams, but some villages on the north coast have no land communication at all.

There is a large W/T station maintained at Pango Pango by the United States Navy.

Aunu'u

Aunu'u is a small volcanic islet one mile to the south of the eastern end of Tutuila. It is elliptical in shape, roughly 1,800 yd. long by 1,300 yd. wide, with a small volcanic cone 200 ft. high in the eastern point of the islet. The north-west area is flat and is used for the planting of coconut palms and pandanus. The village at the western end of the island is largely engaged in the manufacture of mats from pandanus leaves and such is the demand for them that coconut palms have been cut down to provide more space for pandanus. The coast is surrounded by a fringing reef.

MANU'A GROUP

(Fig. 205)

The Manu'a group, lying about 70 miles east of Tutuila, consists of the adjacent islands of Ofu and Olosenga, and of Ta'u. The total population in 1935 was about 2,300, and the people retain more of their primitive organization than do the inhabitants of any other parts of Samoa.

Ofu and Olosenga

Ofu and Olosenga are two volcanic islands roughly triangular in shape, and separated by a narrow strait 400 yd. wide. Both islands are surrounded by a fringing reef common to both, which dries out at low tide, and which obstructs the channel between them for anything except small boats. There are no harbours, but a fair anchorage with some protection can be found south of the islet of Nu'u, off the village of Ofu; the landing is difficult. There are villages at Ofu and Aloafao on the west coast of Ofu, and at Sili and Olosenga on the north-west and south-east coasts of Olosenga respectively.

Ofu is 2¾ miles long and about 1¾ miles wide, rising to a central ridge running east and west for a distance of about ¾ mile at a height

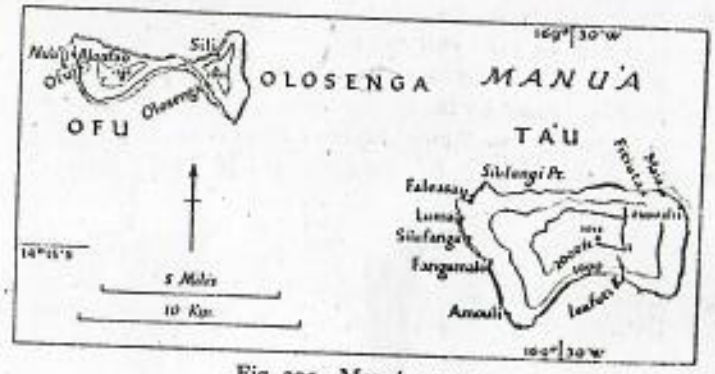

Fig. 205. Manu'a group
Based on G.S.G.S. map no. 4300.

of about 1,600 ft. The whole island is hilly and there is no level land except for a narrow strip on the west coast. The soil is a rich mould of decayed vegetation and decomposed lava. Vegetation fringing the beach consists principally of coconut palms, but there is a rich tropical forest on the ridge. There is a plentiful supply of water brought down by a pipe-line to the village of Ofu.

Olosenga, just east of Ofu, has a greatest north-south length of 2¼ miles and an east-west length of 1¼ miles. The island rises in pyramid form to a peak 2,095 ft. high, but there are two small level strips of ground on the north-west and south-west sides. Soil and vegetation are similar to those of Ofu. Water is led by a ½ in. pipe to a concrete cistern in the village of Olosenga, and there is ample quantity.

Ta'u

Ta'u lies about 7 miles east-south-east of Olosenga. It is roughly rectangular in shape, about 5½ miles long and 3½ miles wide. The highest point, 3,056 ft. above sea level, is in the middle of the island. From here the land slopes steeply and evenly to the sea. There are small stretches of level ground along the east and west coasts where villages are situated.

The soil is similar to that on the other islands of the group and the whole of the interior is covered by dense forest. Coconut palms are very abundant near the shore.

The island is surrounded by a fringing reef but there are many boat passages through it opposite the outflows of small streams. It is possible to anchor off the village of Luma and a landing can be made there. Landing on the east coast is dangerous and should only be effected when the south-east trade winds are not blowing.

The majority of the native villages are on the west side of the island, but three are on the north-east corner. They are at Fitiuta, Maia and Leusoali'i. A road runs between Maia and Leusoali'i and a short distance beyond each.

ROSE ATOLL

Lying about 80 miles south-eastwards of Ta'u, in lat. 14° 32′ s, long. 168° 11′ w, Rose atoll is the most easterly of the Samoa islands. It consists of a rhomboid ring of coral reef about 500 yd. wide, awash at low tide, enclosing a lagoon roughly 1¼ miles across with depths to about 8 fathoms. The entrance into the lagoon is a boat passage 9 ft. deep in its shallowest part and facing north-west. On the eastern side of the lagoon are two islets which appear to have changed their shape and size slightly from time to time. Sand island, which is devoid of vegetation and probably swept by storms, is at present roughly crescentic in form, about 200 yd. long by 50 yd. wide. Rose island, which rises to about 11 ft. above sea level, is roughly oval, measuring about 350 yd. by 200 yd.

The history of the atoll is comparatively uneventful. It was discovered by Freycinet in 1819 and named by him, though he did not land. Kotzebue and Dumont d'Urville passed within sight of it. The first recorded landing is that of Wilkes in 1839. The atoll was used occasionally by small trading vessels for fishing, and

the Godeffroy company tried to establish a fishing centre there, but the scheme proved unsuccessful and was abandoned. The various governors of American Samoa have arranged for annual visits to the atoll. In 1920 Dr Mayor, Director of the Department of Marine Biology of the Carnegie Institution, made a geological and botanical survey, and another survey was made in 1939.

The reef is a hard compact mass with blocks of limestone scattered about on it. Rose island itself consists of a layer of brown earth formed of decayed vegetable matter overlaying a mass of coral, shells, and lithothamnium which is reported to be rich in magnesium.

Covering a large part of the island is a dense grove of large smooth-barked *Pisonia* trees, with a few coconut palms planted by various visitors to the island. In addition to grass, the ground is covered with a low scrub of *Boerhaavia tetrandra*, a prostrate woody herb with several stems which reach a length of about a yard.

The only animal found is the Polynesian rat but a species of lizard is common. Sea birds are plentiful; they include sooty terns, boobies and bosun birds, which nest on Rose island. Frigate birds also visit the island but apparently do not nest. Small turtles are found in the lagoon.

There are no meteorological data from Rose atoll but some inferences can be drawn from the state of the *Pisonia* grove. There are unlikely to be hurricanes and there must be moderate rainfall. In 1939 there were no water supplies but it is reasonable to expect that small quantities could be obtained by catchment and stored in tanks.

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For maps see Appendix I.