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## The Natives of Rotuma

Author(s): J. Stanley Gardiner

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NATIVES of ROTUMA. By J. STANLEY GARDINER, B.A., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. (Communicated by Professor ALEXANDER MACALISTER, M.A., F.R.S.)

(Continued from p. 435.)

XII. CANOES AND DRUM.

[WITH PLATE XXVIII.]

Of canoes two kinds are now made: a big one, used for fish-driving, the *tafaga*, and a small single one, used inside the reef in the boat channel, the *tavane*.

The *tafaga* (Fig. 6, 1) vary from 25–35 feet in length, take from eight to twelve paddlers, and carry upwards of twenty people. A suitable tree is selected, cut down, and roughly shaped. It is then properly allowed to lie for a few months, after which it is dragged down to the *hanua noho* (village) which is going to build it. It is then hollowed out to the desired shape, the ends being left solid and the walls up to 2 inches thick. In the centre the sides would not be strong enough to bear the strain, and so are removed, fresh planks being fitted into their place. These are fixed by sinnet, holes for the lashings being bored through the planks; wedges are

then driven in between from the inside to make the whole watertight. The sinnet makes the holes watertight, but pieces of sponge from the reef are driven in to ensure it. There is a distinct bow and stern, the former sharp and pointed up, the latter blunter and curved downwards. The first 3 feet of the deck at each end is covered. The breadth along the whole centre is about the same:  $1\frac{1}{2}$ —2 feet. The side towards the outrigger, or *sama*, is slightly straighter (Fig. 3) than the other. The outrigger is about 5 feet or rather less away; it is not quite half as long as the whole canoe. It lies usually on the right, or starboard, side, and consists of a post of light wood

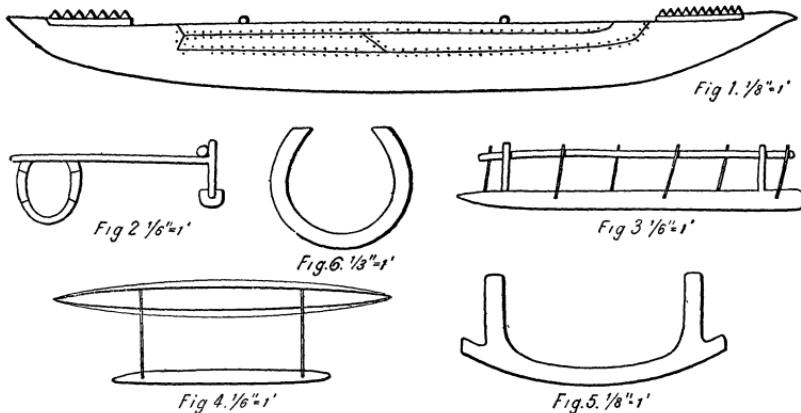


FIG. 6.—THE CANOE AND DRUM.

- Fig. 1.—Side view of the *tafaga*, showing planks let in at the side, also bow and stern.
- „ 2.—Section of the *tafaga* through one of the supporting beams of the *sama*, or outrigger.
- „ 3.—Side view of the *sama* to show method of fixing.
- „ 4.—Top view of the *tavane*. The thin lines at the sides show the bulge of the canoe.
- „ 5.—Longitudinal section through the *oie*, or drum.
- „ 6.—Transverse section of the *oie*.

(The scale should be multiplied by  $\frac{4}{5}$ .)

slightly pointed at one end. This is supported by two hard wood beams, driven into it, lashed across the canoe itself; the bend at right angles, which is necessary, is cut out, but can be, and was, frequently induced in the growth of the timber. Another beam runs just above the bend between these; to it rods of hard wood are lashed, previously driven into the post underneath (Fig. 2). A platform is generally made to take the paddles and carry the nets between the canoe and the outrigger; the paddle blade is of an oval form, 2 feet long by about 6 inches broad. The bailer is of the regular type, of one piece of wood

with handle in the centre, and shaped to fit the canoe. The launch of one of these used to be the occasion of a feast. *Kava* was placed for the gods, after one of whom it was named and then supposed to be under his special protection.

The *tavane* is only about 12 feet long and 8–10 inches deep; at the top it is usually about 6 inches broad, but bellied out considerably underneath. The outrigger is about 8 feet long and supported merely by two crooked sticks, lashed across the top of the canoe.

The *oie*, or drum, is always stationary, and usually of very large size; it has generally a special roof. Its general shape (Figs. 5, 6) is the ordinary, but it is much more bellied and cut out deeper at the ends than is customary in Fiji.

The double canoe is not known now, and only one is specifically remembered; it was termed *ahoie*. In legends it is always referred to as the *ahoie* or the *te bau rua*; the former term I do not believe to be derived from English. Canoe-sailing is a forgotten art, but the language possesses all the necessary terms for it. The sail is said to have been made of the fine mats. There is in the island one steer oar, belonging to a canoe of about 60 feet in length, judging from the relative length of the steer oar to the canoe in Fiji.

### XIII. STONE AND SHELL AXES.

Stone axes (Plate XXVIII, Figs. 1–3) were made of a very fine-grained basaltic rock common in the island, or of dense lava rubbed down to the proper size and form; they were termed *ia hofu*. They were mounted on an elbow stick, as is general in the South Pacific. In shape they are roughly rectangular, flattened above, below, and at the sides, with one end bevelled away. Proportionately to their size, they are remarkably thick, and the angle of their cutting edge is very blunt. Between Figs. 1 and 3 there is an almost perfect series of four axes in my collection, but two of them have their sides near the butt considerably rounded. There is one axe smaller than Fig. 2, but it appears to have been considerably knocked about and chipped. The cutting edge in Fig. 3 is much more acute than is general, while another is also slightly more acute, but has the lower surface flattened, while above it is somewhat rounded. A rough axe of lava has its sides rounded, and is proportionately considerably thinner than any of the above. The axe represented in Fig. 10 was dug up in the grave of the *mua* (p. 464); it is termed the *voi ronu*. It is a singularly well finished and polished specimen. It was used by no one except the *mua*, but I could get no information as to how it was mounted. There is

no sign of its ever having been mounted on the top of a stick or in a forked one, but if fixed in any other way there would be no object in having both ends sharpened.

The smaller axes are nearly all made from shells, the principal ones used being the clam (*Tridacna sp.?*) and a large spider shell (*Pterosceras bryonae*). They are as far as possible squared, but taper away from the bevelled end considerably. Between Figs. 4 and 5 are four intermediate forms; one is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, cutting end 1 inch broad, but the other only  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch. Fig. 6 is the smallest; it has been ground out of a very small *Tridacna*, and still shows the lines on the shell very well. A piece of shell, roughly squared and ground down somewhat at one end, is apparently a half-finished axe. There is also a stone axe smaller than any of these,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches long by  $\frac{3}{4}$  broad and  $\frac{1}{6}$  thick; it has the same general shape as the above, but possibly its use was different.

I have five shell and one stone implement, used for scraping the pandanus leaves for mats (p. 419). The shell ones are all of *Tridacna*, and are squared as far as possible, but taper slightly. There are two intermediate between Figs. 7 and 8, while the fifth tapers very slightly, and very closely resembles the stone form (Fig. 9).

#### XIV. THE SOU AND HIS OFFICERS.

The head chief of the island, or *fakpure*, was also one of the officers of a spiritual chief, who was termed the *sou*, but who really had little to do with the government of the island, and who lived wherever he was placed by the *fakpure* and the other chiefs. The position seems to have been directly comparable to that of the *how* of Tonga,<sup>1</sup> but, while the latter had considerable temporal power, the *sou* had none. There are indications, however, that the two functions, spiritual and temporal, were not always separate, in some of the privileges of the *sou*, and in his officers and their duty towards him. In the legend of

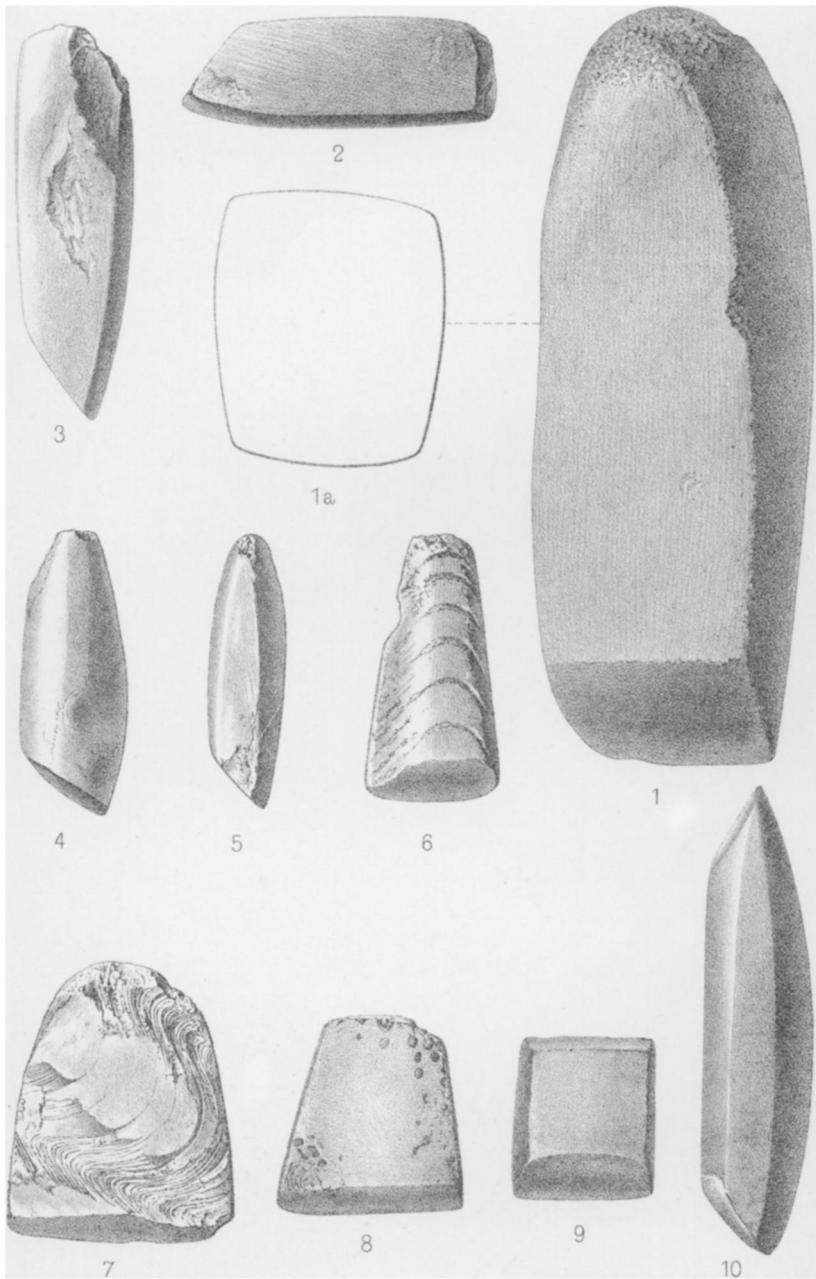
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#### *Explanation of Plate XXVIII.*

Fig. 1.—Largest stone axe, seen slightly from the side.

- “ 1A.—Transverse section of same, by  $\frac{3}{4}$ .
- “ 2.—Intermediate shaped stone axe to Fig. 3, by  $\frac{3}{4}$ .
- “ 3.—Narrowest stone axe with most acute cutting edge, by  $\frac{3}{4}$ .
- “ 4 and 5.—Side views of two shell axes, by  $\frac{3}{4}$ .
- “ 6.—Top view of thinnest shell axe, by  $\frac{3}{4}$ .
- “ 7, 8 and 9.—Implements for scraping clean the leaves for mats. Figs. 7 and 8 are of shell, and Fig. 9 of stone, by  $\frac{3}{4}$ .
- “ 10.—Side view of the *voironu*, a stone axe peculiar to the *mua*.

<sup>1</sup> See Mariner, *loc. cit.*



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Rahou (Sec. XXV, *a*), he is described as making a great chief in Rotuma, who is called *Souiftuga*, while in the legend about the coming of the *kava* (Sec. XXV, *g*) the office is held by a woman, the conqueror in a recent war. The woman's name, *Souhoni* (the woman *sou*), is at the present day a very big name and restricted to certain *hoag*; indeed, it is the only woman's name, about which I found any restriction as to use. In a list (App. I) of the last sixty *sou*, all are men, but in many legends the names are those given to women at the present day. Inquiry merely brought out that that was before the Tokalau, or Gilbert islanders, came to Rotuma, but no further explanation was ever forthcoming. Possibly the connection was in Fonmon, a Noatau *sou*, who is supposed to have got the best-looking girls from each district, and ordained that from his offspring with these the *sou* was to be chosen; the name is the same as that of the man who brought the Tokalau people on shore (p. 403). Before this all the *sou* are stated to have come from Noatau.

The appointment to the office was for a term of six months, each district taking it in turn to appoint. The old *sou* however could continue as long as he liked, or as long as he could manage to get together the great masses of food that he was required to provide. The Rotuman year likewise consisted of six months: *Noatauta*, *Houeata*, *Fosuoghousida*, *Kasepta*, *Afopugida*, and *Oipapta*. The list is approximately the same as given by the Wilkes Expedition (p. 402), but there is the month *Taftafi*, which corresponds to *Noatauta*. Probably the former name was the correct one, and the latter a modern one from the great feast held in that month in Noatau. *Kasepta* and *Afopugida* too in my list have changed places. *Oipapta* is stated to correspond to January and July, but my information reversed this order and made it correspond to June and December. The division into months was stated to me not to have been into moons, but to have been arbitrary, each consisting of a certain number of days, but not the same number in each month, while the sum total was the same as with us. Unless record was very carefully kept of days, I fail to see the method. Crops do not come regularly in such low latitudes, but vary much in accordance with the time of planting. The coming of certain fish on to the reef however is very regular and well known, as is the breeding of the different species of birds; there is also the fructification of the breadfruit in October. All the same, I doubt whether a month was not rather a moon, and the Rotuman year six moons; an English year would then be two Rotuman years and one month.

The *sou* had as attendants a number of officers whose duty it

was to protect him, at the risk of their own lives, even if he was fighting with their own districts ; they were drawn out of all the districts and supposed to be representative men of each. If the *sou* was killed in war, they were all killed too, if they did not die fighting. Their bodies, however, were not mutilated, and were always given back to their own districts to bury. Their names or titles were in order of precedence *mua* (chief priest), *hagnata*, *titopu*, *fakpure* (head chief), *fanhogā* (wife to *sou*), *fahoa*, *fagata*, *tonhida* (messenger), and *mafuida* (the presiding officer over all feasts).

The dress of the *sou* consisted of a fine mat, over which the *malhida* was worn. This dress was made of the leaves of the *saaga* (*Pandanus sp.?*), split up, and plaited together like sinnet at the top, and hanging down loose. They were stained for the most part red, but some might be left white. Black was sometimes introduced by means of the bark of the *si*, a species of banana, which on drying turns a dull black. Another dress, pertaining to some of the officers, was the *ölöli*; it appears to have been really a sort of apron, made of a fine mat, and hung down in front. It was almost completely covered with the red feathers of the *arumea* (*Myzomela chermesina*, Gray); its use was restricted to particular feasts. Round the neck might be a necklace of beads of whale's teeth, the *tifui lei*, and on each wrist was the *muleli*, described to me as a round piece of turtle bone. I dug up one when I opened the graves of the *mua*; it is certainly not bone, but resembles somewhat the horny and prismatic layers of the outer part of a pearl shell. It is about 2 inches in diameter, and has a large hole in the centre (Plate XXV, Fig. 7). On the breast was the pearl shell, *tiaf hapa*, but the really distinctive part was the *malhida*, which it was taboo for any one else to wear. The *muleli* was only worn by the *mua* as well as the *sou*, but the other ornaments were more generally used.

The duty of the *sou* was simply to see after the proper performance of the various feasts, all of which had some religious rites. He was however in no way under the priests of the different *atua* (p. 468), nor does he seem to have had any connection with them. It was his business to preside over the feasts, and, whatever might be desired, he had to pray for at the same time as he poured out the *kava* to the god. He was, when *sou*, under the protection of this god, and could not be harmed by spirits and ghosts. He lived where he was put, but at the new moon it was his own district which had to bring food. First-fruits from all the districts had to be presented to him, and it was the business of the *fakpure* to look after this and see that they were properly paid. If he desired a new

*fanhoga*, he simply had to give the *fakpure* the name of the girl he had chosen, and she remained with him till he gave up his office or sent her away.

Of the other officers, the *hagnata*, *titopu*, *fahoia*, and *fagata* formed with some of their people a special guard for the *sou*, always accompanying him; they usually belonged to four several districts. They were armed with spears, which in times of peace—i.e., if the *sou* was not engaged in a war—always had their ends covered with a strip of banana leaf, tied on. Two of these spears, or *jou*, obtained from Rotuma, are very remarkable; they were evidently spliced on to a handle, which was said to be of soft wood. The splice is 6–7 inches long, not cut in one, but really in two parts, in such a way that it could not possibly by any chance slip. Above this the spears have a length of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet carved, and on the end of one are fixed the spines of the stinging ray with sinnet; there are three perfect spines, and there is also the butt end of a fourth, the rest of which has broken off. These spines have along their edges recurved teeth, so that, when thrust into any one, they can only be extracted with difficulty and make a very jagged wound. If left in the wound, after being broken off, they gradually work their way through the body and come out elsewhere. Any one meeting the *sou* had to pay the proper marks of respect: to sit down at the side of the path, lower the hair, and cover the face. Failing to do so, they would have the spears thrust into them, the stinging rays broken off, and also the soft wood handle; the spear would then be grasped in the hand, and the offender thrust at with the spliced end.

The *sou* commences office in *Noatauta*, and at once the district in which he is placed holds a big fish-drive, and on the following day a feast; this feast and fish-drive is termed the *kako-sose* (the washing in the salt water), and was supposed to purify the *sou* for the biggest feast in the year, which almost at once followed, the *tofi*. The *tonhida* was sent round the island to tell the people, and at the same time seized all food, pigs, cloth, mats, etc., he saw on the road; he was usually accompanied by all the boys to assist him in seizing and carrying the things to the *sou*. On the day, the *sou* was stuffed out to as large a size as possible with mats and sticks, and dressed for the first time in the *malhida* and *muleli*; he sits on the right under an awning alone, with his officers in another opposite to him, and the people on one side. The *mafuida* calls out the name of the *sou*, addressing him on this occasion as *Faupa*, on which the *tonhida* causes the food which the *sou* has had prepared to be brought forward and piled up in the middle; it was supposed to be larger than any pile which should be prepared and

brought during that day. Next the near relatives of the *sou* are called, and they have to make a heap nearly as big. In succession come the *mua* and his people, and the different districts likewise; a few small heaps, too, used to be made for the dead *sou*, and were the perquisites of the priests. The *sou* and the *mua* exchange heaps, and the different districts likewise; there are no heaps for the other officers of the *sou*. The *kava* is prepared, and after being called and poured out to the different dead *sou*, is called to the living *sou* and his officers in the given order. The chewing, which is performed as usual by the women, is presided over by the *fanhoga*. After the feast the *fanhoga*, too, divides out the residue to the several officers and districts, which take it home with them. Separate presents of food and mats used to be brought to the *sou* at the same feast by all the districts.

Another feast nearly as big, the *sisiolda*, almost immediately used to follow in Noatau on the top of the hill of Seselo, where the *sou* are buried. The *kava* is poured on to the graves of the several *sou*, and the living *sou*, after receiving it, has to eat of all the different grasses on the hill. Two small feasts follow at Ranulda and Vaimossi, where two *sou*, killed in war, were buried, the latter by the Niuafou people. All the *sou* were buried, quite independently of their district, on this hill, but the flat top was divided roughly into separate graveyards for the several districts. The one belonging to Itomotu is characterised by its large flat basaltic stones; there is only one for Pepji and Juju, and that of Noatau is very large. Many of the stones are immense; one belonging to a Noatau *sou* is of beach sand rock, about 10 feet long by 5 broad and 5–6 inches thick, and another is represented by a small cannon obtained probably from some whaler. The bodies are recumbent and buried about 6 feet deep.

In Hoveata, there is a big feast in Oinafa, to which all go except the *fanhoga*; in Oipapta there are three big feasts in Juju, Malaha, and on Muasolo. At the first the *sou* is not present, but the *mua* takes his place, and to the third the *fagata* goes as the *sou*, dressed in the *malhida*. As soon as it is over he returns the *malhida* to the *sou*, and at the same time smears him plentifully with the turmeric, or *mena*, with which he is covered; he then retires by the back door, and on the following day his people have to get ready a big pile of food and bring it to the *sou*. The *mua* were all buried on Muasolo, a small hill near Lopta, in Oinafa; there were two holes for the purpose, in the one of which only the *mua* from Oinafa were placed. The position was a sitting one, with the *tiaf hapa*, or pearl-shell breastplate, round the neck, and between the legs

the *voironu* (Plate XXVIII, Fig. 10) was placed. The holes were simply covered over by a mat, but otherwise open ; over them was a native house. When a former *mua* died, he always had to be buried by the living *mua*. With him, but with no one else, was usually placed a piece of the bark of the breadfruit tree, so that he might have a crop in the next world. Fouma (Sec. XXV, *d*) is supposed to have told them where to bury the *mua*, and to have built the house there. For this the people had to cut posts and bring sinnet. Two men, however, from Savelei omitted to do so. The whole is finished except one end, for which two posts are wanted ; so Fouma drives one of these men into the hole and places the other as a crosspiece over him. A large hole is dug underneath, and the people are told to bury all the *mua* there, but never to fill up the hole.

At the feast the house was always rethatched, the old thatch being equally divided, to ensure the possessors a fruitful season. When this was completed, the *kava* was prepared, and a whole *tanoa* poured out to the dead *mua*. A great quantity of food is then placed in the house, as this feast differed from all others in that no food could be carried away from it. The *mua* alone can enter the house, and so has to carry all the food in. The old people, both men and women, while he is doing so, walk in procession round the house, while a prayer for a fruitful season is chanted, each fruit being mentioned by name.

<i>Te moiea naragosou, mua</i>	....	Be fruitful, mighty spirit, <i>mua</i> .
<i>E te moiea favorou, mua</i> ....	....	Be fruitful to the fava tree, <i>mua</i> .
<i>Te moiea se, öh, öh, öh</i> ....	....	Be fruitful to us, öh, öh, öh.
<i>Moiea ifi, ma moiea fava</i> ....	....	A fruitful <i>ifi</i> and a fruitful <i>fava</i> .
<i>Te moiea se, öh, öh, öh, etc., etc.</i> ....	....	Be fruitful to us, öh, öh, öh, etc., etc.
<i>Se le mua le ; sol, öh, öh, öh.</i>		
<i>Uktrua-öö.</i>		

The language is antique, and now nearly forgotten ; I could get no translation to the last two lines. The third and fourth lines are repeated with the names for all other fruits substituted for the *ifi* and *fava* ; *uktrua* is supposed to mean that it is finished. All carry during the ceremony a stick, the *poki* ; it is held over the head with both hands and moved rhythmically to and fro with the singing. The *naragosou* was explained to me as the head of *Limuri*, the abode of departed spirits, and also as the god of the winds, rain, and sun, but Marafu identified him as being the same as *Tagaloa Siria* (Sec. XV).

During *Noatauta*, *Houcata*, and *Oipapta*, on account of all these feasts, marriage used to be forbidden, except the parties had been formerly married ; the idea was that it would cause a great deal of work in preparing the feast. During the other three months, all planting and house-building had to be done.

The *sou* was left alone, but was not allowed to relax in any part of his state or to go anywhere by himself.

Peculiar, I believe, to the *sou* was a stool with four very thick legs, and carved out above so as to fit the body, when seated on it. Its height is about 10 inches at the sides by 7 in the middle, and breadth about 16 inches. It is carved out of a solid block of *hifo*, and has underneath, between two of the legs, a piece left with a hole in it, to hang it up by. The one, figured, is considerably more massive than two others which I saw, but one of these was evidently of no great age.

## XV. RELIGION.

Long before the advent of the missionaries to Rotuma, the religion of its people seems to have degenerated into the grossest superstition and a mere belief in *atua*, a generic name for all devils, spirits, and ghosts. It is also used for the soul, as we understand it. These *atua* were ever ready to punish and prey on any one who did not propitiate them with plentiful gifts of food and *kava*. Each *hoag* had its own *atua*, but several *hoag* might acknowledge a big *atua* over all, while they each had their own *atua*. At the same time, so long as they propitiated their own *atua*, no great harm could happen to them, unless a greater *atua* laid a curse on them, causing sickness, etc.; the *atua*, though, could only affect them personally, and had little or no power over their crops. This *atua* might be termed "*the god of the hoag*," but there was also an inferior class of *atua*, who might be called "*devil spirits*," whose sole delight it was to go about causing sickness and death. To them only an evil influence is ascribed, and they were said to have been called up by Olili, who lived near Maftau, to assist him to conquer the Ninafoou people, and then to have got too powerful, so that they could not themselves be driven away (p. 402). Their dwelling-places were in trees, stones, and rocks; certain *hifo* trees in Itoteu and Itomotu were favourite dwelling-places for them, but some were said to enter into men, such as a man with a big belly, a *matasiri*, or with a crooked finger or cross-eyes. The still inferior class of *atua*, but a class with little or no power of itself alone, would best be termed "*the ghosts of men*." They could be to some extent called up at will by the relations to assist them against their enemies and to cure them of sicknesses of a certain class, supposed to be due to the influence of soul on soul.

Over and above all these one finds a great deity, *Tagaroa Siria*. The term *siri* was applied to anything bigger than anything else, but for *siria* I had the meaning "acting wickedly" given to me by Father Chevreul. Among his

attributes are the giving of the fruits of the earth and the forecasting and directing of the lives of men. He was prayed to for food, to make the trees fruitful, for rain, or in any great enterprise in which all were taking a part. He could avert a hurricane or any other great calamity, but all his attributes are great; he does not concern himself with the doings of the *atua*. "At one time *Lagi* and *Otfiti*, heaven and earth, were joined together and touched one another. But a man of *Lagi*, *Lagatea*, lay down with a woman of *Otfiti*, *Papatea*, and as they were lying a child was born, who, rising on his knee, pushed the heaven and the earth apart, and only on the prayers of his parents, who did not want to lose sight of one another, desisted from rising to his full height." This child is called *Tagaroa* or *Tagaloa*.

*Tagaloa* had a son, *Toiragoni*, personified by a turtle, to whom, wherever he goes, all leaves come. To him in the sea the same attributes are ascribed as his father has on the land, but I could not find that he had any acts of worship.

*Tagaloa* was the god of the *sou* and the *mua*; to him and in his honour were probably all their feasts and dances. He was never called upon by name, but he was to them the indefinable something which directs and guards everything; he was never addressed directly, but usually by the term *sonoitu*, which seems to have been applied generally to all gods. The *mua's* feast and dance on the top of Muasolo was a prayer to him for fruitfulness to the crops and trees; it was sung only by the old people, a singular mark of great reverence. His dwelling was above, and he was accordingly supposed to see everything. He was prayed to for a plentiful harvest by the old people at midday in the full sunshine. If a boy was born, all would rush out of the house and, with firing of guns, call out, "*Sū-hō-hō!*" *Tagaloa* was supposed to hear, and accordingly direct the life of that boy, whether he was to become a warrior, a sailor, etc. He could thus be approached directly without the aid of priests.

The "hoag gods" were usually incarnated in the form of some animal, as the *tanifa* (the hammer-headed shark), *juli* (sand-piper), *olusi* (lizard), *mafrop* (gecko), etc. Should a man by any chance have happened to kill one of the particular animal which was his *atua*, he would have had to make a big feast, cut all his hair off and bury it, just in the same way as a man would be buried. Other animals, other than their own particular one, could be killed as they liked, as only their own *atua* in this class had power over them. To take the *tanifa*, the god of Maftau: for him there was a priest, termed an *apioiitu*, who officiated on all great occasions, and a priestess, called by the same name, whose business it was to cure sicknesses, and,

indeed, to see to all minor troubles. For the *apioitu* was a house of some sort, round which the people were forbidden to sing and dance. Should Maftau be in trouble or be going to war, a big feast would be held, and the best of everything would be placed in the sea for the *tanifa*: a root of *kava*, a pig, taro, yams, etc., and always a cocoanut leaf. Much, too, would be given to the *apioitu*, but always uncooked. Presently sounds would be heard from the house in which the *apioitu* was, and he would come out, smeared with paint, foaming at the mouth, quivering all over, and falling into the most horrible convulsions. He would perhaps seize a *kava tanoa* and drain its contents, tear a pig in pieces and eat it raw, or take great mouthfuls of uncooked yam, the taste of which is exceedingly fiery. Presently he would fall down in convulsions and speak; he did not speak for himself, but the *tanifa*, who was in him, spoke, nor did he remember at all afterwards what he said. For the time he was all-powerful, and, what he told the people, they had to do; but, when he recovered, he was simply one of themselves again. The priestess was, on the other hand, really more a doctress, called in by the present of a pig and a mat. She would get into a frenzy, and so drive the devil which was troubling the person away. At the same time she never failed to give them herbs and other remedies. These offices were held by families, and their mysteries, such as they were, passed on from parent to child. The god of Matusa was the *hoe*, a stinging ray, which is common on the reef flat. There is an old man there now, who comes of the family of its *apioitu*, and claims that these fish used to come round him on the reef and follow him about. Curiously enough, there are several old people who profess, and evidently believe, that they have seen them following him.

The “*devil spirits*” are productive of evil. Thus, if people go and ease themselves near certain *hifo* trees, they will be caught by an *atua*, called *Fotogfuru*, and either die or meet with some accident. In front of Vailoga, Noatau, if you see the devil spirit there, a reef eel, called *ia*, you will be sure to die. Here, opposite two rocks outside the reef, no lights may be shown at night, and all doors towards the sea in the houses must be shut. No one, passing along, may have a lighted torch, or he will be sure to hear the drums sounding and die. On some nights, too, there is a fishy smell, when the *atua* have been cutting up some dead man to eat. *Anhyshuf*, the cave of many bats,<sup>1</sup> is their especial abode, but off Solkopi they have a land, called *Falianogo*, under the sea, from which cocoanuts with only two eyes are occasionally washed up on the beach. It is taboo to touch or eat these, and any one doing so would swell

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* “Quart. Jour. Geo. Soc.”, liv, 1898, pp. 7-9.

up and die. A particular shark here is a devil, and has the same power as the *ia*.

When a man died, he was supposed to go to *Limari*, leaving the island at Liukoasta. This was supposed to be a land under the sea off Losa, full of cocoanuts, pigs, and all that man could wish for, and where all the ghosts of men dwell. Any things buried with the body would be taken by its ghost to *Limari*. On the grave food and *kava* were placed for a time, until the ghost should depart. Some ghosts were supposed to go to Houa, a small islet on the reef off Oinafa; they were, however, only supposed to stay there for a time, subsequently passing straight into the sea.

Should a man be sick, the most powerful way of curing him was for the parents of a child, which had recently died, to go to its grave and call out for its soul to come out, saying that the *kava* is all finished. After a time their cries will be heard, and they will pray the child's ghost to go and prevent any other soul from interfering with the sick man's soul, this being in former times thoroughly believed to be the cause of all bad sicknesses and death. A man could likewise call on his dead people, if he quarrelled with any one, to take that one away. So ingrained are they with this idea that Albert, one of the most intelligent men on the island, gave me this as the cause of its great decrease in population: "You see, the people were always quarrelling with one another about their land and food. They had only to wish that their father and mother would come and take their opponents away, and they would be sure soon to die. They" (the ghosts) "watched over the chiefs especially. If any one took their food, they would cause their bellies to swell up, and they would die. It" (the decrease) "is stopped now, as the *sou* and *atua* were all driven away in the war at Matusa" (p. 475).

In 1894 a big wave came and washed out a number of bones from a new graveyard at Matusa, close to the beach. A great meeting was then held in the district of both Wesleyans and Roman Catholics, and a deputation was sent by it to request the white magistrate to let them remove the graveyard. On his inquiring the reason, they stated that it was because the *atua* of the sea were always angry, when anything red was put up near the sea, and that some one had put up red palings, so that the *atua* had sent these waves to wash them away.

I have one charm from the island (Plate XXV, Fig. 6); it is merely the end of a whale's tooth, burned in the fire, with a hole bored through it, and was worn round the neck. Of auguries I cannot find that any were ever taken, but omens were carefully observed and regarded. They always consisted of something

connected with the person's *atua*. Dreams were much believed in, and charms were especially worn against their evil consequences.

## XVI. WARFARE.

In the island of Rotuma there was always, as has before been indicated, a great rivalry between Noatau and Faguta under their respective chiefs, Marafu and Riemkou. With Noatau usually went Oinafa and Malaha, while Faguta had Itoteu and Itomotu. This gave a considerable superiority in numbers to Faguta, but it was usually equalised by a division in Itoteu, the north side of which was always at variance with the south, both sides claiming the right to the chieftainship. Probably the original cause was due to the conquest of the island by the Niuafou people, who seem to have settled and intermarried mainly in the northern districts. There was never any difficulty in finding a reason, if a fight was desired, as any pretext could be seized on. The chief of one district might fail to pay the proper marks of respect to the *sou*, if he belonged to the other district, or, if tributary, might omit to send his tribute. If no cause came to hand readily, the chief of one district would steal a woman out of the other district, and then, without waiting for the other district to demand her return, would declare war himself. No violence was offered to the woman, nor indeed to any women during the war; the women simply followed their several districts, and ministered to their wounded.

There were no great advantages to be gained from the war by the winning side. The villages of the vanquished might be sacked, but they were seldom burnt; their plantations might be overrun, but there was little wilful destruction. All pigs were, of course, regarded as legitimate spoil. The vanquished would perhaps promise to pay to the conquerors so many baskets of provisions or so many mats and canoes, a promise which was always faithfully and speedily performed, even though they might accompany the last part of the payment with a fresh declaration of war. The victorious side obtained no territorial aggrandisement, as it was to the common interest of all to maintain the integrity of the land, and the victors might on some future occasion be themselves in the position of the vanquished. Nominally first-fruits were claimed by the victors from the chief of the vanquished, or perhaps the victors might depose the conquered chiefs, and put nominees of their own in their places. Small unruly chiefs of their own districts were often got rid of in this way. Such a course had, however, relatively little permanence, as the chiefs formed a kind of caste

of their own, entrance into which followed birth very jealously. There was no such thing as indiscriminate slaughter or debauchery of the women after a fight. A *faksoro* (p. 403) of a root of *kava* and a pig from the conquered was always respected for one night. Both sides remained where they were, as if an armistice had been concluded between them. Unless a fresh *faksoro*, with food sufficient for all, was presented on the following morning, hostilities would be resumed, but usually peace was arranged before this.

There was always a distinct declaration of war of some sort. It was not uncommon for the chief of the one side to send to the chief of the other a definite challenge for a particular day and place. If a canoe of one district passed in front of the chief's house in another district without lowering its sail, a *faksoro* for the insult would be demanded, and if not forthcoming, war would be declared at once. If war was not declared, it was tantamount to the submission of the insulted chief.

Warfare in Rotuma was the exact opposite to what it was in Fiji. The women were never molested; ambushes and surprises were unheard of. The two sides met usually on the more or less flat land by the beach, and a regular battle between them ensued. Previously the *atua* of both sides were propitiated by the different *hoag* separately. There were no common district rights. Tagaloa Siria was not invoked, according to Marafu, as such small matters did not concern him, and, as he was the god of both sides, it was quite unnecessary. On the night before the battle, great feasts and dances were held by both sides, and the latter were usually repeated by the two sides, when opposite one another in the field, before the battle commenced. All were clothed in a *kukaluga* or the *taktakoi*, and decorated with flowers; on the head was the war hat, a wooden or bamboo framework covered with tappa and ornamented with the long tail feathers of the boatswain bird. Round the neck of each, there was sure to be a charm, while the bodies of all were smeared with turmeric and the soot of the *lifo* nut. There usually were two or three lines of veterans, differently armed, while behind these followed the young men and boys, with stones or any weapons they might happen to have. In late wars the chief weapon was of course the gun, with which the first line was armed. A second line, armed with long, pointed sticks, termed *uok*, took the offensive when they came to close quarters; they again were speedily followed by the clubmen. In the old days the battle commenced usually with a shower of stones, and then a rush would be made by the first line, armed with the *uok*, the second line, armed with clubs,

following on their heels. The chief, with his *hoag*, was usually in the centre, and here there were three lines: the *uok* men and then a few men armed with a shark's-tooth weapon, the *oikoaga*, and lastly the clubmen, among whom was the chief. The young men and boys during the whole time kept up an incessant fire of stones over the heads of these lines, and acted on the flanks. Stones held in the hands were likewise weapons used in close quarters; they were termed *hofso*. The best of these were made out of one of the bivalve shells of the giant *Tridacna*, ground down to a more or less oval shape. A groove, too, in them was commonly worked for the thumb, so that a firmer grip might be obtained. Others were of lava or basalt, and were used indifferently for striking or throwing. The *oikoaga* was described to me as a weapon, about 6 feet long, with a long round handle, 1 inch thick, knobbed at the end. The other end was broadened out to about 5 inches, and set between slips of bamboo, tied on, were the re-curved teeth of a shark, probably one of the Carchariidae. The top of the handle was described to me as paddle-shaped. It was always a very rare weapon, and much prized. I have the end of one 27 inches long. The central stick has evidently been smoothed down with great care with a shark's-skin file, and holes have been bored completely through it for the sinnet, with which the teeth are tied on. Two or three holes are bored through the several teeth for the sinnet, which is exceptionally neatly made. The bamboo slips are underneath the sinnet; their object is evidently to keep the teeth in their place on the edge of the main stick. The idea of the weapon was to seize an enemy with it and draw him out of his line, while one of the warriors of the third line clubbed him to death. Another shark's-tooth weapon was the knife, *oi fo pilte*; I am not certain, though, whether it was really a Rotuman weapon or not. The one in my possession is about 28 inches long, and seems typical of the Tokalau, or Gilbert islands. The handle is in section nearly square and about 6 inches long; the teeth are not recurved, and are set in two grooves, cut in the edge of the sticks. The teeth are firmly bound on with sinnet through one hole in each tooth, while the holes through the stick are set well back. The groove for the teeth stops short about 1 inch from the end, which is somewhat pointed.

The club, or *oipeluga*, is of the general type shown in Mr. Edge Partington's illustrations; its length is from  $3\frac{1}{2}$ –4 feet. The transversely carved lines of the end are very characteristic. The transverse section here is that of a much-flattened rhombus, and these lines rise from the sides to the centre at regular intervals, and join with those of the opposite side on the same face

of the club. They are cut regularly from the bottom for 2–3 inches perhaps, and then one on one of the sides of the rhombus is left uncut; it will be cut in the other three sides of the rhombus. On the other side of the rhombus, on the same side of the club, it will be the next of these grooves that will be left uncut. On the other side of the club two neighbouring grooves to the above will be left. Then perhaps all will be cut for another interval of 2–3 inches, and four will be left uncut precisely as before. At the top of this part, they are not always the two next one another that are left uncut. This cutting I believe to be quite typical of Rotuma; the three in my own collection are all carved in this way, and so likewise are one in the British Museum and one, which I saw in Fiji. Two in my possession have carved handles; all the carving is in straight lines, but on one are some figures of sharks and lizards. One club in my possession was used by the great-grandfather or granduncle of Marafu in the war against Riemkou about 1800 (p. 473). The balance of all is excellent and well adapted to their use as two-handed swords. Used as an axe, like a Fijian club, they would not be nearly such efficient weapons. The spear, or *jou* (p. 463), was not used for anything save processions, but the *uok*, a pointed stake about 8–9 feet long, took its place; it was described to me as generally perfectly round, pointed at both ends, and used for both thrusting and striking.

The earliest war remembered is spoken of as the "great Malaha war." There were two brothers, Kunou and Maragsou, who lived with their sister Suogmasto in Malaha. In their turn on the occasion of a feast, the three prepare food, and carry it to the *sou*, who was at that time dwelling in Savelei. The brothers placed their food on the ground outside the *sou's* house, or *sou ura*, but the girl, being of a chief family, entered to place her food in the *kokona* (p. 422). She was then made to place it on the ground, and told to stop with the *sou*. The *sou* in fact wanted to make Suogmasto his *fanhoga*, as he had a perfect right to do. The right, however, was not generally insisted upon, and here the great insult came in in the fact that he had not sent his old *fanhoga* away first, nor sent his *tonhida*, or messenger, and other officers to summon Suogmasto and escort her to him. After the feast the brothers found out about the insult, and accordingly took Tua, the chief of Malaha, and made him the *sou*, establishing him in Matusa. But soon they took him away from there and brought him back to Malaha, leaving his cousin, a Malaha man, called Froumontou, to look after everything in Matusa. Riemkou, on Tua's return to Malaha, at once proceeded up the island to Matusa, and conferred the

office of *sou* on Froumontou, who had managed to much ingratiate himself with the people of Itoteu and Itomotu. He then took him along the south side of the island, and established him in Faguta. In consequence of Riemkou's action, Marafu stepped in, and as a result the sides in the war were Noatau, Oinafa, and Malaha *v.* Faguta, Itoteu, and Itomotu, or Marafu *v.* Riemkou. The fighting is said to have taken place all along the line, to have been continuous for several days, and the slaughter to have been enormous; nearly all the young men on both sides are said to have been killed, and many whole villages to have been completely depopulated. The brunt of the fighting really fell on Noatau and Faguta, but in Malaha alone over one hundred are said to have fallen. The date is given by Froumontou, who was the paternal great-grandfather of Albert. Albert is about sixty-six years old, and, if to this thirty years is added for the two generations between him and Froumontou, the date would be placed at the beginning of this century.

There was another war, in 1858, between Malaha and Itoteu; the indirect cause was Christianity, which Malaha had embraced, while Itoteu still remained firm to its old religion. In it Malaha was worsted, and lost about fifty killed. A ship present at the time assured the victory to Itoteu by lending them guns and other weapons and sending her crew to assist in the fray; they afterwards, too, took away a considerable number of men from Malaha as labourers.

After the "great Malaha war" was a long period of quiescence, due to the exhaustion of both sides and the changes, which naturally followed the coming of the white man. The enmity between Marafu and Riemkou still however continued, and was only waiting for an opportunity to give rise to open hostilities. At last about 1837 Marafu obtained a small cannon off one of the whalers, and an opportunity was soon found. The immediate cause seems to have been that the chief of Teukoi, in Itoteu, passed by the *sou* in Faguta in his canoe without lowering its sail. At the time he was on his way up to see Marafu, to beg a pig from him to take to a woman in Faguta, as a *faksoro* for some offence or other. Riemkou, as, when the *sou* was in his district, he was his protector, was furious at the insult, and arranged to intercept the canoe on its return to Teukoi, but this failed, as the canoe was taken home along the north side and round the west end of the island. Messages passed in consequence between Riemkou and Marafu, but the latter settled the matter by going up to Teukoi along the south side and passing the *sou* with his sail set, and without loosing his hair. Riemkou then sent to Marafu to challenge him to return along the south side of the island, and

received a reply from Marafu that that was what he intended to do. Meantime the Noatau people came through the bush to Teukoi, dragging the cannon with them. This cannon is said to have been the first firearm used by the natives in war. That night a big dance was held in Teukoi, and on the following morning Marafu moved up along the south side and met Riemkou in Faguta. At first the cannon struck terror into the people of Faguta, but they soon rallied, as after the first few shots it got clogged, and a fierce battle ensued. More than one hundred of the Noatau men were killed, and among these Marafu, but the war was quickly concluded, as Riemkou allowed the Noatau people to carry the body of Marafu away and bury it on the hill of Seselo, as he had formerly been *sou*; the cannon also was taken away and placed as a gravestone over Marafu. A great number of pigs and an immense quantity of vegetables and mats were paid as indemnity and for ransom. The loss on Riemkou's side is said to have been but slight.

The office of *sou* was abolished after a war known as the "Matusa war" in 1869 or 1870. While the rest of the island was for the most part Roman Catholic or Wesleyan, the south side of Itoteu and to some extent the north side also still clung to the old religion; the people of Matusa and Losa, and indeed of the whole of the west end of Itoteu, were Christian. Taurantoka was chief of Itoteu, and had a *sou* in Savelei; Morseu was the minor chief of Losa and Halafa, while Mafroa was acting for his father along the north side of Itoteu; none of these were Christians. It really commenced by Morseu keeping on continually taking pigs from Losa and Halafa, till these places got exasperated and refused to give him any more, threatening to shoot any one, they might find taking them. Their leader in this was Fakamanoa, a big name in Itoteu, and the father of its present chief. Induced however by a native Fijian missionary, they took as a *faksoro* to Morseu a pig and a root of *kava*. He accepted it, but on the next day seized a pig, and on the day after, trying to seize another, he was resisted, and a deputation sent to Taurantoka with a root of *kava*; Taurantoka, in reply, promised to take Losa and Halafa under his own charge. Meantime Mafroa and his father had been baptised into the Wesleyan body, and refused *ipso facto* to have anything to do with the *sou*. Taurantoka at once declared war; the white missionary stepped in and tried to stop it, but a fight was inevitable. It was then the south side of Itoteu, under Taurantoka and Morseu, against the rest of Itoteu, under Fakamanoa, Mafroa, and Albert. The latter was a man of considerable influence, owing to his connection with the missions, of a chief family, and living in Matusa. The battle

took place almost in Matusa, on the road along the south side of the island, at dawn, lasting till midday. Nearly all the fighting was on the relatively open beach flat ; it consisted of desultory firing from behind cocoanut trees. About sixty of Taurantoka's people were killed before he took to flight. As a result the office of *sou* was abolished, Taurantoka and Morseu baptised, and Albert, who had shown throughout very conspicuous bravery, made chief of Itoteu.

The last great war was in 1878, and was practically Wesleyans *v.* Roman Catholics. Really it was largely brought about by white men, working on the old enmity between Marafu and Riemkou. It arose through the intrigues of Albert, who wished at the council meetings of the chiefs to get his name called for *kava* before that of Tavo, the chief of Oinafa. Riemkou was supporting him, as he was jealous of Marafu, who was both chief of his district and *fakpure*, or head chief, of the island. Albert then in a meeting at Oinafa brought up his own matter and that of Marafu's two offices ; Marafu replied through his brother Hauseu, who was his spokesman, or *hoasog*, that, as far as the chieftainship of his district was concerned, it was no business of theirs, and that, as he was entitled to receive the *kava* first, it was his business to see that it was called to all in their proper order. Riemkou did not attend the next meeting of the council, and, as he refused to pay a fine, it was considered equivalent to a declaration of war. A white missionary then, called Moore, seems to have gone to Albert, and also into Malaha and Oinafa, practically preaching a war against the Roman Catholics. As a result, Riemkou brought a *faksoro* to Marafu, who accepted it ; and to settle the matter Riemkou let himself be baptised a Wesleyan. The Wesleyans, who had begun to gather, were dispersed, and Riemkou at once turned Roman Catholic again. Marafu, who at that time was called Hauseu, informed me that then there was no question of war, and that the affair was considered settled until this missionary came and practically began to preach a war of extermination against the Roman Catholics. Accordingly the Roman Catholics gathered in Faguta from the whole island, and prepared for resistance, digging out the interiors of their houses for rifle pits. The result was never for a moment doubtful. On the first day twenty-two men were killed, and the Roman Catholics driven on to a small isthmus, where they were blockaded for two months. At last Riemkou was killed, and all submitted. Throughout the whole war Marafu protected the Roman Catholic missionaries, their church and property, and steadily refused to allow any land to be taken from the conquered.

## XVII. CANNIBALISM.

It was not the custom to cook and eat the slain after a battle; indeed, it was held in the greatest abhorrence. There has been, however, an account of one such act transmitted down. It is said to have occurred in a period of very great famine after two successive hurricanes, when nearly all the pigs and food had been consumed.

Koufossi, the son of Riemkou, chief of Faguta, was the *sou*, while his wife was a girl called Hapta, who belonged to, and had three brothers living in Itomotu. By her he had a son, called Timora. During the famine the three brothers came down to see Hapta, and offered to take Timora to Itomotu, as there was more food there, and the famine was especially bad in Pepji.<sup>1</sup> Koufossi at once allowed them to take the boy, and told them to feed him with anything fresh they could procure, meaning human flesh. They then started for Itomotu, and, as they were passing Tarasua Point, they saw a bunch of bananas, which they proceeded to cut down to make food for the boy. After they had made a fire and oven to cook the bananas, the owner's wife came up and asked them who had given them leave to take the bunch. They then tried to put her off, but without avail; so one made a sign to the others to keep her attention occupied, while he came up behind and killed her with one blow on the head with a stick. They then roasted her, and, after feeding the child, finished the rest of her between them. Later on they killed the woman's husband, Taipuni, and his brother, eating them likewise. Finally the three brothers were stoned to death on the reef flat in front of Itomotu, and then eaten by the man and woman's relations, their bones being all placed in one hole.

Timora lived to manhood, but was unfortunate in everything that he undertook and never able to get a wife. He was finally killed, when quite an old man, by having his head crushed by a stone in battle.

## XVIII. MARRIAGE.

Until a girl was married, she was practically free to form what connections she desired, but she was not allowed to sleep in any other house than her parents'. It was considered no disgrace if she bore children, and it would not operate in any way to prevent her getting married. Indeed, a child acted

<sup>1</sup> There is no *papoi* land in Pepji, while there is a large swamp in Itomotu (see p. 420).

in the other way if she wanted to marry into another *hoag*, as it proved her fertility. As soon as she reached a suitable age, usually about 15 years, she was given a screen in her parents' house to herself. Here she might be visited nightly by the men, and all the courtship took place ; a door for their entrance was usually left unfastened. Fornication is said to have been exceptional. The parents were supposed to be ignorant of any visits to her. No violence was ever offered ; to escape she simply left the screen and entered that of her parents. Men were valuable to the *hoag*, and her duty was to attract a man, who would enter her *hoag*. The marriage was arranged by the parents, all overtures coming in most cases from those of the girl. Having fixed on a suitable man, they then visited his parents, taking with them a cooked pig and some taro as a present. In the case of big chiefs or owners of the family name, or if the man belonged to a very rich *hoag*, matters were usually arranged the other way, so that the girl would enter the man's *hoag* ; his parents then made the overtures. In all cases the consent of the *pure* of the several *hoag* had to be obtained ; marriage in the *hoag* was forbidden, and also that between first cousins. A grandchild of a man and wife might marry his or her *hoisasiga*, second cousin, if he or she was descended from the *seghoni*, the man's sister, or the *segvevene*, the woman's brother, but not, it was distinctly stated, if the descent was from the man's brother or the woman's sister, both of which relationships are expressed by the term *sosoghi*. The same terms I understand to have been used of first cousins to one another, in accordance with the relationships of their parents. The term *oifa* applies to the father or uncle, and *oihoni* to the mother or aunt.

The affair being settled, the relations and friends of each party meet, and make arrangements as to the date and what each shall bring to the feast. Every one who is in the least degree a relation or a friend is invited, and a portion allotted to them. Thus, at a small wedding hundreds will be present, while at a large one there may be more than half the island, and as every one has to bring something, the quantity of food, etc., is often very great. All is ready cooked, and consists of pigs, taro, yams, *dahrolo*, and roots of *kava*, while the women bring mats.

At a wedding between two *Noatau* people, and this by no means a large one, in front of the bride's parents' house was erected an awning of cocoanut leaves, while similar ones were placed some yards away at right angles to the right and left. In the right-hand one sat *Marafu*, the chief of the district, while under the opposite awning to him were the near male relations of the pair. In the centre of the awning between was

a pile of mats, and round these were sitting the women and girls, to the number of about 250. In their midst sat the *mapiug*, the woman who weaned the bride, and also her *sighoa*, or namesake. The former directed every ceremony of the feast, while the latter had under her charge all the arrangements and divided out the food after the feast. The bride and bridegroom presently arrived from the religious ceremony, and seated themselves on the pile of mats. At once a procession from the man's *hoag*, which had been sitting down a short distance away, came forward ; they brought an immense pig, carried between two poles by eight men, a bullock with four carriers, three pigs with the same, three pigs with two carriers, an immense root of *kava* with four carriers, and, lastly, came about twenty men and boys each with a couple of baskets of food or roots of *kava* on a stick on one shoulder. These were placed down in a heap on the right, and the bearers at once retired to join the men, who were sitting under the trees at some distance. A small heap had been previously placed in the centre ; this, and this alone, was cut up and distributed in the feast, which at once followed. The *mapiug* now ordered the feast to be served ; the *kava* was chewed, and, when it was ready, the first bowl was handed to her. She did not drink it at once, but suddenly rising, snipped a pair of scissors two or three times over the left temple of the girl. This is the sole survival of the *ufaga supu*, or "the clipping of the *supu*." Among the women one lock of hair, the *supu*, was always kept separate and never cut ; it fell from the left side of the head over the left breast. It was only cut, when the girl was married, or if she had a child. Now, no lock of hair is thus kept, and there is only the pretence of what was probably once the important part of the ceremony.<sup>1</sup> *Kava* was then brought to the bride and bridegroom, and the feast commenced, the bride and bridegroom eating off the same banana leaf. The feast at a marriage differs from all others : the men almost entirely serve it to the women, and man and wife eat off the same leaf. After the feast, more processions of food arrived, and were placed either with the man's pile, on the right, or the woman's, on the left. There were in all two bullocks, thirty-seven pigs, about one hundred and fifty baskets of taro, fifty baskets of yams, and fifty roots of *kava*. The *sighoa* now proceeded to direct the division of this, so that each should return home with a share ; the mats, too, were similarly divided, anything given by the woman's side being handed over to the man's side, and *vice versa*.

During the next six days the pair are fed about once every

<sup>1</sup> It was suggested to me by the late Mr. George Peat, of Rotuma, that this lock was a kind of guarantee of virginity.

hour, and continually watched. For the first three days, they remain in the woman's house, but on the fourth are decked out in big mats and flowers and brought in procession to the man's house. After the sixth day they go to whichever *hoag* they are going to live in; a usual arrangement at the present day is for them to live half the year in each. In the old days there was no procession to the man's house, if he was to live with the girl's *hoag*. Of course such a method now often leads to the separation of the pair, the wife going back to her old home. The husband then cooks some taro and a pig, which he takes to her, after which she is bound to let him remain with her, or go with him, for one night. Adultery of the man or woman was punishable by club law, but apparently only on the man in fault. Herbs to procure abortion are not unknown, but the more usual method used to be for the woman to go into the water and deliver herself there.

Most parents take great pride in and care of their children. In cases of illness, they would do more for another man's child than for their own parents, if old. When a child is born, the mother is at once washed and smeared over the breasts and abdomen with turmeric; the plaited top of an old *takakoi*, or man's dress, was generally used as a bandage around the abdomen, which was bound up very tight. The child is washed as soon as it is born in cold water and smeared with turmeric, especially over the head, to make the bones join properly; the head is indeed constantly smeared for the first year. There is no difficulty about parturition, and miscarriages are almost unknown. I have seen the mother bathe in the sea in the evening, when she had been only that morning confined. The operation was formerly performed by priestesses, but now by any old woman, very likely the woman's mother. The next few days the mother remains at home and is visited by all her relations and friends, each of whom has to bring a present, the only occasion when one is given and not returned. More than one child at a birth is rare. A few years ago a woman had triplets; such a thing was quite unheard of before. In reference to this case, Albert believed that there must have been three different fathers, one for each child. The *sighoa's* (or namesake's) house is to the child as the mother's house; often it used to lead to adoption. On the fifth day a feast is held for those present at the birth. The mother suckles the child for a year (two Rotuman years), during which her husband used to leave her at night. Then a great feast is held, most of the food and mats being given to the *sighoa*. The *mapiug* now takes the child to her own house for one Rotuman year, and weans it. At six years old *sere*, or circumcision, was

performed by one of the priests in the bush, the prepuce being simply split by a limpet shell, its full removal generally being performed later. The tattooing of the boy followed at the age of thirteen, and, when it was completed, he became a man; if a chief, however, as soon as it was commenced, he was systematically taken in hand by the women and taught fornication. As different parts of the tattooing were completed, there were feasts, accompanied by various religious ceremonies, in the course of which all the *atua* (pp. 466–8) who had anything to do with the boy's *hoag* were called upon; they were in no way accompanied by scenes of unnatural vice.

The remarks on Polynesia of Professor Letourneau<sup>1</sup> will not apply in any way to this island. The women do no field work, and could not be regarded in any way as among the chattels of a man. The language is not chaste according to our ideas, and there is a great deal of freedom in speaking of immoral vices. In this connection a man and his wife will speak freely to one another before their friends, and perhaps indulge in a little chaff. I am informed, though, by European traders well conversant with the language, that there are grades of language, and that certain coarse phrases would never be used to any decent woman, so that probably, in their way, they have much modesty, only we cannot appreciate it. Their dances in the old days would have been, I believe, scarcely immoral or indecent in our sense. Of a Tongan dance, recently introduced, Marafu told me that he had never seen a Rotuman one as bad. According to the old men, married people used to be exceedingly faithful to and jealous of one another; I have constantly been told, in referring to divorces, that "it was not so in the old days." I was given to understand that divorce could only be brought about then by the one, who desired the separation, buying off the other with great presents of food and mats.

## XIX. TENURE OF LAND.

Even in such a small island there was at all times a marked line of distinction between the coast and hill people. The latter lived in certain towns and villages along the inner slopes of the hills, and cultivated exclusively in the great central valley. As a rule, they possessed no land or rights outside of this valley, nor had they any claim on the shore waters, *i.e.*, the broad boat channel, 4–5 feet deep at low tide, between the reef and the shore. They were to some extent under the rule of the coast people, and were only allowed to come down to the coast at certain times. The outer reef,

<sup>1</sup> "The Evolution of Marriage," 1891.

however, was considered as common property by both peoples, but the right to cross the waters of the boat channel had to be paid for, generally in a basket of taro or yams every year, *i.e.*, six months. Between the two peoples as such no wars were waged, nor do the hill people seem to have taken much part in the different wars between the coast districts. The centre of the eastern division of the island was strictly divided up between the different districts, but its people really formed a division to themselves, many having planting rights over lands in several of the districts. Most of their descendants had really either little or no land in their possession properly, or have made exchanges so as to get it all close together. This has in the last thirty years been greatly facilitated by the priest (or *faha*) of the Roman Catholic Mission at Pepji, who systematically set to work to get all the different isolated pieces, left to his church, into one block. Two several families, however, from Hoite, a big town formerly situated almost at the junction of Noatau, Oinafa, and Pepji, have still planting rights in all these three districts. There was a little west of this, below Sol Satarua, another large town, Rahiga, and in one village on Sol Hof in 1861 there was a church. At the other end of the island, on Sol Mea, was Lugula, with about forty grown men in 1845, while at the same time Halafa, near it, had about the same number. The latter is now in the possession of one family, with nearly all its lands, with the chief name Titopu, which properly carries the chieftainship of all this part of Itoteu. This *hoag* now consists of about nine persons, who live principally at Maftau, but have houses at Halafa. These hill people have only left traces of themselves in their ruined villages here and there, and in numerous legends of individuals. The former were very compact, with massive and well-built *fuagri*, or house foundations; their graves, too, were on very high foundations, or at the top of some hill, or neighbouring elevation. All giants, strong men, etc., are represented in legends as coming from the hills, and the hill people generally are stated to have been in stature bigger than the coast people. Graves, dug up on Sol Hof and near the old sites of Rahiga and Lugula, were only 1–3 feet deep. The bones were too much broken and decayed to be brought home, but from their appearance might well have given rise to the latter statement. Above Rahiga they seem to have been buried in a sitting posture, but a diligent search gave no implements or weapons. I am inclined to believe that most of the inhabitants of this inland division to the east of the isthmus were really tenants of the coast people. There were undoubtedly a few *hoag* among them, but the number of family names among their

descendants is very small. Possibly they were the original inhabitants of the island, conquered by some subsequent migration and recruited from the overcrowded *hoag* of their conquerors. First-fruits were rigidly exacted by the chiefs of their districts, and the coast people seem to have had rights of planting on any of their land, not occupied, without any recognition of their ownership. They have always been looked upon as a dying-out people, and the number of their descendants is in no way proportional to their known population of fifty years ago.

No private property in land formerly existed; it was all vested in the *pure* for the time being of the *hoag*; the district generally had no rights over it. It usually consisted of four kinds: bush, swamp, coast, and proprietary water in the boat channel; common to the *hoag*, too, were wells and graveyards. Every member of the *hoag* knew its boundaries, which consisted of lines between certain trees or prominent rocks, posts, and even stone walls. In the bush land every *hoag* possessed property; it lay on the slopes of hills and in valleys between at some slight distance from the coast, from which it was separated by a stone wall, running round the whole island. On it taro, yams, bananas, plantains, and a few cocoanut trees were grown for food, while the paths into it and through it were planted with the Tahitian chestnut, the *fava* tree, and the sago palm. The Tahitian chestnut and *fava* trees were favourite boundary marks owing to their size and longevity. Swamp land is only possessed by Noatau, Oinafa, Matusa, and Itomotu. It is low-lying land, on extensive beach sand flats, which exist in these districts. The tide always keeps it wet, percolating through the sand, and in it is grown the *papoi*, or *broka*, against famine. The possession of a good-sized strip always caused and gave to the *hoag* a position of importance; its boundaries were stones at the sides. Coast land lay outside the surrounding wall, to which the *hoag* had a strip from and including the foreshore. On it as near as possible to the coast the house or houses of the *hoag* were placed, while the rest of the land was planted with cocoanuts for drinking purposes. *Hifo* trees are stated to have been planted formerly to show the boundaries, but they more often now consist of stones or cocoanut trees, the ownership of which is a constant source of dispute. Districts and even villages were sharply marked off by walls down to the beach. All had the right of turning out their pigs on this land, and each *hoag* had to keep in proper repair the parts of the wall adjacent to it. Each had, however, usually an enclosure on its own land for its own pigs, when young. The proprietary water ran from the foreshore to the

reef, a continuation of the strip on shore. At Noatau and Matusa, where it is very broad, it was to some extent cross-divided. It consists of a sand flat covered by 10–12 feet of water at high tide. On it fish of all sorts are caught by traps and various devices, and shell-fish are gathered. As these form no inconsiderable portion of the daily food, indeed the principal animal food, the value of this property was always very considerable. The reef—i.e., the part on the outside exposed at the low tide—was the common property of all. It was explained to me that fish, crabs, etc., cannot be cultivated there owing to the heavy breaking seas, but are sent up by the *atua*, or spirits.

The manager of this land for the *hoag*, its *pure*, is usually the possessor of the family name or, if he is too young, its oldest living member. His duty is to divide out the bush land year by year to the different households of the *hoag* for planting purposes, and to settle all disputes between its members. Further he has to take care that a proper number of cocoanuts are planted to take the place of the old trees, and to see that the walls are kept in proper repair. The swamp land is cultivated by the whole *hoag*, but if one part of the boat channel is especially fed by one member, she gets an especial right there. On occasions, when the whole *hoag* is interested, such as the repairing of the great wall of the island, the planting of the *papoi* land, or house-building, the *pure* has the power to call all its members out. His principal duty now is to see to the getting of the copra for taxes, deciding what each household has to make. The first-fruits of each cultivated patch were brought to him: a basket of taro or yams, or a bunch of bananas. For all marriage or other feasts of any members of the *hoag*, he was the head, and generally nothing could be done without consulting him. Over the land the chief of the district had no rights, except to order necessary repairs to fences or the keeping up of paths. In Faguta, however, he claimed first-fruits from all. Any land, not being planted, is willingly lent to another *hoag* on condition of two baskets of first-fruits of each patch being brought to the *pure*, but cocoanut trees on the land cannot be touched by the tenant, nor is he entitled to their usufruct. If a *hoag* owns land in one district, but lives in another, first-fruits are always paid to the chief of the district, in which its lands lie.

Any encroachment on the land was very vigorously represented; it was usually referred to the district chief to settle, and his decision loyally adhered to. Adoption into the *hoag*, with the consent of all its members, was frequent, the man so adopted losing all rights in his former *hoag*. Marriage, too, was

another method of recruiting the *hoag*, the husband very generally, though by no means universally, coming to live with his wife, and the children belonging to the mother. As most of the *hoag* have far more land than they can cultivate, children without fathers were, and are to some extent, especially welcomed. When a wife dies in the *hoag*, the husband if he does not belong to it, as the corpse leaves through one door of the house, is pushed out of the other, signifying that he now has no right in it. By the above means the *hoag* rarely became extinct, though the family name has frequently been dropped.

In recent years, very generally, on the *hoag* becoming small its land has been divided out severally among its members, thus creating private property in it. Since the introduction of missionaries, too, much land has been seized by the chiefs, who, as a rule, in each district were its missionaries, as fines for the fornications of individuals. A certain amount of cocoanut oil was then given by the chiefs to the Wesleyan Mission, apparently in payment for their support. The mission in the name of which it was done, though generally without the knowledge of the white teachers, was so powerful that the *hoag* had no redress. The mission and chiefs obtained this power as the result of many wars waged against the adherents of the old religion; the confiscation of all the lands of the vanquished was proposed by the mission, but resisted by all the chiefs. Much land left to and bought by the Roman Catholic Mission is similarly situated; the individuals had no right to dispose of it without the consent of the whole *hoag*. The children of a marriage now, under British rule, have rights in the land of both the parents, so that they belong to the two *hoag*; in time the whole island should become absolutely communal. Property, too, in wells and the reef waters is now comparatively little recognised.

Private property to some extent existed in domestic animals and manufactured articles. When a man was dying, he usually gave them to some relation or friend, who may have been taking care of him. If a man's sons and sons-in-law were living and planting with him, on his deathbed he might apportion out the planted land to each, but the land was none the less under the *hoag* and subject to the payment of the first-fruits to its *pure*. If he had planted more cocoanuts than required by the *hoag*, he had the entire usufruct of these trees during his lifetime, quite independently of the apportionment of the land below them for planting. If in old age a man was neglected by his descendants or *hoag*, and taken care of by a stranger, he often gave him for his lifetime the usufruct of these trees and the crop of any plantations, he may have before

his death cultivated ; it only extended to the single crop : subsequent planting was not allowed. Slaves as such did not properly exist ; Polynesian or Micronesian strangers, *fa helav*, were usually married into different *hoag*, or adopted with the consent of all the members of the *hoag*. A few Fijians and Melanesians have become *fa asoa*, or helping men, of different chiefs ; no women would have anything to do with them, and no *hoag* would adopt them. They remained on the island as long as they liked, and transferred their services as they liked ; they were treated as inferior members of the *hoag*, to which they gave their services. A few women of low caste have in recent years married Fijians, but there is only one case of a Fijian woman being married by a Rotuman. No trouble was taken about burying these *fa asoa* ; they were usually buried on some islet on the reef, but some Maoris, who were brought to the island in a whaler at the beginning of the century, were exposed on the top of the islet of Husia, off Noatau.

## XX. SPORTS, GAMES, AND TOYS.

In times of peace meetings used to be held between the different districts for cock-fighting, wrestling, canoe-sailing, etc. For the former the chiefs used to breed a small cock, somewhat similar to the Malayan fowl ; great care was taken in the feeding, and the spur was especially sharpened and oiled. Usually pigs were put up on both sides, and went to the conquerors.

In wrestling any fall to the ground counted. The chosen champions watched each other carefully from a distance, and then, perhaps, one would rush on the other and make a feint, only to turn aside when they seemed bound to come to close quarters. The great idea was to get one's opponent, from the nature of his or your rush, into an awkward position, so that he could be seized round one thigh, and could not avoid a fall.

Canoe-sailing was carried on, especially on the occasions of certain big feasts in connection with the *sou*. The canoes employed were the small ones, the *tavane*, with mat sails. In each canoe only one man sailed, and the different districts would contest for the prize with ten, twenty, or even more representatives. There were also commonly canoe-races for the women. The course was always inside the reef, and much fun was caused by the constant capsizing of the canoes.

The Fijian game *tiqa*, or *ulutoa*, used to be very popular ; it is now only played by the boys. Properly it seems to be a Fijian game, and was doubtless introduced from there. It is

played by throwing from the forefinger, covered with a piece of cloth, a reed about 4 feet long, armed with a pointed piece of hard and heavy wood, 3–6 inches long. It is thrown along the ground, bouncing over it, the winner being he who can throw it furthest.

The shooting of a large rail, the *kale* (*Porphyrio smaragdinus*, Temm.) was taboo to all, except the chiefs. For it, it is stated that small bows and arrows were used. A captive *kale* was tied up in the middle of some open space in the woods, and round it the chiefs hid themselves in the trees. To some extent the captive bird was trained, but in any case it would attract other birds of its own species by its cries. The possession of a well-trained bird always gave a chief a position of consequence among his fellows. The bows and arrows were, as far as I could find out, mere toys, and had no other use.

Hatana and Hoflewa, uninhabited islands off the west end, are regularly visited for the eggs and young birds of the *nogo* and *lagea*, two species of *Anous*. The adults were caught by means of large hand-nets, the birds being attracted by an imitation of their cry, a sort of cor-r-r-r, at which the natives are very proficient. The young birds become very tame, and readily return to their masters. Flying contests between different birds were not of unfrequent occurrence.

Of musical instruments the nose flute is now well known; it is of exactly of the same type as the nose flute of Fiji, and very possibly has been introduced from those islands. The few I saw were rough and made of very small joints of bamboo; I never came across any one in Rotuma who could get a tune from one. I saw also an instrument closely resembling Pan's pipes and a sort of Jew's-harp, made with a spring of bamboo. For none of them could I get any Rotuman name, so that I am compelled to regard all as foreign. The conch shell is much used in the bush for calling the people together, and also the chicken to their daily meal. The drum has already been referred to (pp. 458–9); it is used for summoning the village to church or to any meeting.

The children have a ball made square of cocoanut or pandanus leaves, and sometimes stuffed with grass. On windy days they may perhaps be seen with little windmills by the sea-shore. These are made of two crossed bits of cocoanut leaf on the end of the midrib of one of the leaflets. The kite also is not unknown. I saw one in Juju which was evidently of European design; another old one I saw in Losa was quite round and made out of an old mat, somewhat bellied, on a frame formed by the midrib of a cocoanut leaf. It had the remains of a tail, pieces of cocoanut leaf tied at equal intervals

on a string of sinnet. I could not ascertain how far these were of Rotuman origin.

On moonlight nights the beach is alive with the girls and boys, singing and playing all sorts of games. A favourite one of these is a sort of "prisoner's base"; a kind of base is marked off, and then one side hides, while the other side searches for them; they have, if possible, to get back within this base. In another two sides are formed, and join opposite one another hand in hand; they then, singing, advance and retreat from one another or dance sideways up and down in front of one another. Then, when the one side has managed to get the other all moving in the opposite direction, it suddenly turns, while the other side pursues it down the beach and tries to surround it. Another game ends up in a tug-of-war, each clasping the one in front round the waist, while the two strongest of the opposite sides have hold of each other's wrists. In another two rings are formed, the one inside the other; they face towards one another, and dance towards and away from one another or round in different directions in accordance with a song, which both will be singing. It ends up, too, in a general chase of the one line after the other down the beach, and perhaps even into the sea.

Another favourite amusement on the beach is to make a bank of sand, and out of this to scrape a number of holes in the sand. A piece of coral is then taken in the hand and, while these are filled up, hid in one. When they are tired with the rougher games above, the whole beach may be seen strewn with young people, five or six together, playing this game. The unsuccessful in guessing, in which hole the coral has been placed, will be set on by the others, and covered in sand. The most recently introduced game is known by the name of *bluff*; it is really a kind of "poker," and is now much played for boxes of matches. Women are not allowed to play, but look on and sell cocoanuts, oranges, etc., to the players for boxes of matches.

## XXI. SINGING AND DANCING.

The island is curiously deficient in native songs and dances; the people themselves speak of their songs and dances as *furoi*, or foreign, except the class which are known under the name of *tau toga*, the origin of which is quite unknown. The term *mak* is applied to the combined song and dance. The meaning of the term *tau toga* is obscure; *tau* seems to be applied to a meeting of several, rarely a considerable number, of people together, while *toga*, or *tooga*, is quite unknown. The words of the songs are in an old language, which is now practically forgotten, and cannot be translated even into modern Rotuman

by the natives themselves. Only a word here and there can be recognised, and from these no sense could be gleaned. Probably the meanings of many of the words have changed with the decadence of the old language.

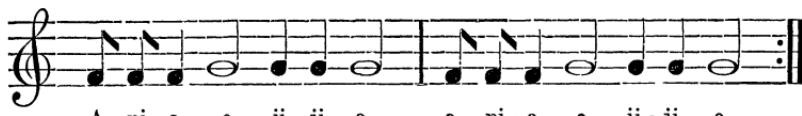
The *tau toga* may be sung either on the feet or sitting, the time being always given by beating on a folded-up mat with the hand. The song merely consists of one verse, which is repeated generally three times if standing in lines, the lines being changed thrice towards or at the end of the verse. The *mak* is usually commenced on the ground, when suddenly all rise and form quickly three rows, each having three girls on one side and three men on the other, and all facing in the same direction. At the end of the first singing of the verse, the first row becomes the third row, and the second the first, the singers crossing one another directly. The chief motions are made with the hands pointed in different directions, while the feet are firm, knees slightly bent and pointed outwards. At the end of the second repetition, the original third row is in front. With the sudden call of "Oh!" and three claps of the hands at the end of the third repetition, all sit down with their backs towards the front. The time is as a rule very slow; the lines often rhyme, and are in minor fifths. The *mak* always ends with a long "Oh!" three claps of the hands, and a low, deep, drawn-out "Eh!"

#### THE TAU TOGA.



Ravak e otomutu e mua pipi  
Ma sea masoan on oluum  
Lagi jau ma hoani se Rotuam  
Ko havei i ka solia ikoak.

#### THE CATERPILLAR.



A - ni - a    e    ji - ji    o    a - ni - a    e    ji - ji    e.

#### THE FUNAFUTI SONG.



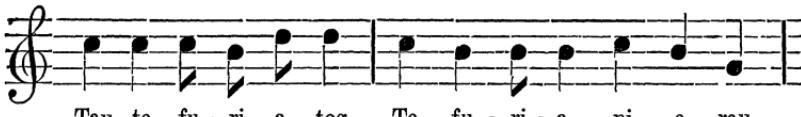
Tu - ku    ai    be                 si - ko - ni    me  
Au wa    so - ro                 Fu - na - fu - ti.

## TOKALAU MAK.



Tok(e)rau uog uog  
Tir(e) oun far(e)te  
Ko fan(o)  
Ou fan(ou)re re.

## UEAN SONG.



Tau te fu - ri - a tog Te fu - ri - a ni e rau



Mu - ri - a mau e fi - li Tau te e fi - li . . .

## SAMOAN SONG.



Te - ne te - ne . . . te - ne su - ku - ti - a



U - fi - a u - li - to - moi se tau - rag man - ai - a.

A particular song, probably of modern growth, may be called the caterpillar, as the motions are supposed to be representative of those of a caterpillar as it crawls up the stem of the *papoi*, straightening itself out, drawing its body up together, feeling for a fresh hold, etc. There are generally three rows, as before, and all move up the house or forward as they sing, nearly bent double.

Of *mak furou*, or foreign songs, there are several which vary a great deal in the movements of the hands, but as a rule are sung in much the same way as the *tau toga*, when sung standing; the changing of the rows is managed by the back row coming round the sides to the front, and not passing each

other in the middle. There are further movements of the feet from side to side, and also of the body. The songs are shorter, and do not necessarily rhyme ; they are repeated perhaps two or three times before the rows are changed. The time is given by striking a rolled-up mat, or by the clapping of the hands or the stamping of the feet. Altogether the *mak furou* are more lively than the *tau toga*, and there is in them far more scope for movement.

Among the favourite *mak furou* is the Funafuti song, supposed to have been introduced by a canoe from that island driven on shore here ; it is sung with much spirit and go. The Tokalau *mak*, given, is a typical *mak furou*. The next, " *Tau te furiā tog*," is a beach song ; it is very rarely sung in the houses, as there is far more dancing in it, movements up and down of the legs, clapping and pointing of the hands, and contortions of the body. The time, too, is much faster, and gets quicker at every repetition. I think that it is not improbably an introduction from Uea or Wallis Island, as it very greatly resembles several of their songs. The last song, " *Tene, tene*," is a Samoan song ; it is quite the pleasantest and least harsh of all. The first line is repeated twice, and the whole or a part of the second. It is usually sung in two lines with hands joined facing one another ; as they sing these lines dance in opposite directions up and down in front of one another.

To Dr. E. A. Muller, of Sydney, who has heard these songs on several occasions, I am indebted for the music. He has also given me the following note :—" All their songs move between one octave and are sung in unison, except when both men and women are singing together. Then the men sing in a lower pitch, about a minor fifth lower, but do not follow the melody closely, so that they rather keep up an accompanying noise in a lower note. Generally the change in rhythm is very little in the different songs, mostly an andante movement, while some songs, more indicating a humorous theme, are in allegro style. The melody consists generally of three or four different notes, the first one three or four times repeated, followed by a note a third higher and going back to the first, again three notes followed by a higher note or a lower one, finished always with an unharmonious flat note."

## XXII. MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

The Rotuman of the present day is singularly ignorant of even the most elementary medicine and surgery. As before pointed out (p. 468), the priests were the doctors ; it was a mystery handed down from father to son with the office.

When Christianity began to be taught, and white men settled on the island, the mystery was guarded still more carefully, and most of the art has unfortunately now been lost. At the present day medicines are dispensed by the Roman Catholic priests and the Commissioner, but Fijians resident on the island are very generally called in, if the patient does not recover instantaneously.

The great Rotuman cure for every pain or ache in the body is massage of a very severe nature, either with cocoanut oil or the oil of the *hifo* nut (*Calophyllum inophyllum*); usually a small quantity of the second is applied, and then the part rubbed vigorously with cocoanut oil. Cold water too for many ailments is much believed in. Recourse in fevers used to be had almost at once to cold water bandages, a piece of the native cloth often being left in the water to act as a sort of wick, to keep the whole damp and cool. The natives have no vessel in which water can be boiled, except the shell of the cocoanut, and hot water, too, is never used. It was only by threats that I could get any native to allow me to use hot water for washing any wound or sore, and hot poultices were invariably taken off immediately I left the house. Native poultices are made of the leaves of the taro and hibiscus crushed up; I was also informed by Marafu that they used to be made of dried arrowroot and the dried seed of the Tahitian chestnut, and that a certain amount of turmeric was always mixed with these. The great cure, though, for all wounds and sores is to roast them for several hours in front of a slow fire; I found the skin of one man with acute sciatica absolutely shrivelled up and burnt along the left side from this, massage having been tried first and failed. The practice of cutting the body where any pain is felt, which is common in Fiji, I never found any traces of.

The most prevalent disease in Rotuma is undoubtedly yaws, or framboesia, known generally under the Fijian name of *coko*, though I also heard the Polynesian name, *tona*, applied. It is said by the older men to have been an introduced disease in comparatively recent years. Certainly the older people of both sexes do not seem to have so many or such large scars from it as the younger generations, and on some no traces of it are to be seen. The fact, that the disease is due to inoculation, is well known to the natives, whom I have known encourage their children, when they have reached the age of about two years, to play with other children, who have the disease, in order that they may get it. Commonly the child gets exceedingly feverish, and then suddenly a number of pustular sores break out, particularly on the face, hands, and round the waist. The child may be in danger for some days after this, but usually

the fever quickly dies down ; the sores increase in size, and probably cover the whole of the mouth and nose, reaching a maximum in about a couple of months. They then gradually commence to dry up, and if the cure does not take place too rapidly, no further danger need be apprehended, except in combination with extraneous circumstances such as teething, etc. If the sores, when they first break out, are healed too quickly, as by European antiseptic treatment, they tend to break out again in a much more virulent form, and death often supervenes, or else permanent disfigurements of the face, particularly the nose, or even blindness or lameness. The natives say that it is a growth, which has to come out, and that, if it is not allowed to do so properly, it will continue to grow in the bones and deeper tissues. If the child passes to manhood and then contracts the disease, it is generally fatal, or else leaves the man so shattered in health, that he falls a victim to the first epidemic. The child is carefully guarded for the first year and a half against the disease, and then the sooner it comes, the better the parents are pleased. No remedies are applied by the natives, but great care is taken to keep the child cool and damp, when feverish, and its bowels open ; a purgative draught used to be made from the fruit of the papaw and certain leaves, but now large quantities of castor oil are sold by the stores. A person, who has once had this disease, enjoys afterwards complete immunity from it ; I have seen a mother feed from her mouth a child, whose lips were all swollen with it, without any injurious consequences to herself.

Terrible ulcerations of the skin of the body and limbs, particularly the leg, are not uncommon among adults, especially women, but they seem to be easily cured before the age of from forty to fifty years ; they are probably of a granulomatous nature, and are mainly due to the neglect of sores caused by dirt, poisoning from coral, etc. Such sores always at first fester, but, if carefully kept clean and open, heal in a month or two. They are very much neglected by the older people, particularly the women, are often left uncovered and encouraged to heal over quickly, only to break out later perhaps all over the limb, a putrid mass of flesh full of maggots ; the mischief has probably now extended to the bone, the foot doubles up, the limb shrivels, and all hope of cure may be abandoned. Similar ulcerations also occur among women, not uncommonly about the age of forty-five, in the breasts ; it is in no way of a cancerous nature, as no disease of that kind is known. For all these sores, washing daily with a strong solution of corrosive sublimate has a wonderful effect, especially if accompanied by doses of potassium iodide. I cannot resist the

idea that really these ulcerations and yaws are of a syphilitic nature and give immunity from this disease, which is absolutely unknown on the island ; other diseases of a venereal nature too are very rare, owing to the extreme cleanliness of the women.

There is a consensus of opinion among the natives that coughs, colds, pleurisy, and pneumonia have been introduced to the island in this century. This is scarcely likely, but from trustworthy testimony I think there has been a great intensification of them in recent years, due to changes in the mode of life. Undoubtedly, though, phthisis has been introduced in quite recent years ; it is a disease of the nature and duration of which the people are absolutely ignorant. I saw myself on the island six cases of it, all in a more or less advanced stage ; three were women who had borne children, a fourth was a woman about twenty-two years of age, and the other two were boys of from seventeen to nineteen. Both of the latter cases were in Malaha, where the disease is especially prevalent, owing undoubtedly to the cold damp land breezes at night, its villages being protected to a large extent from the trade winds ; I found also in Malaha two undoubted cases of goitre, a disease which I do not remember to have seen in any other district.

Tokalau ringworm (*Tinea desquamosa* ?) was very prevalent formerly in the island, but, owing to European methods of treatment, has now become uncommon. In early stages it is readily destroyed by iodine, but chrysophanic acid is quicker, better, and more effectual in the later stages. Besides this, the skin often shows more or less ramifying patches of a lighter tint, but without any desquamation. In some cases these yield to the same treatment, and are, I think, due to a different *Tinea* or some other parasite ; in other cases they are perhaps the after-effects of the regular Tokalau ringworm. The only native method of treatment is massage with oil, especially after bathing in the salt water.

Fevers of a malarial nature are not uncommon on the island, but they are much confused with the fevers which always accompany elephantiasis ; they are especially prevalent on the leeward side. They are certainly distinct from the fevers of elephantiasis, though this disease usually quickly supervenes and is considered as the result of them. I saw two cases of such fevers, the patient in one case having had them for about two years, and in the other case for longer than he could remember, but in neither case were there any visible signs of elephantiasis. I saw two cases, too, among children of what seemed to me to be mild typhoid fevers ; the two houses were within a stone's-throw of one another.

Elephantiasis is certainly the worst disease that the adult

Rotuman has to contend with; it affects the Europeans in the island equally as much as the natives. It attacks the men in particular, at least 70 per cent. over the age of forty years having it in a more or less virulent form; of women over the same age I should think not more than 20 per cent. are affected. Among the men it takes the form in particular of elephantiasis scroti. Of twenty-eight men, fifteen had it in the scrotum alone, nine in the scrotum and legs, three in the scrotum, legs, and arms, and one in the arms only. I never saw any cases among men where the legs were affected without the scrotum also being enlarged. The scrotum does not, as a rule, grow to a very large size until the man gets old, probably owing to the fact that it is usually kept bound up by cloths. When it becomes too large, recourse is had to lancing with a shark's-tooth lancet. In the old days, too, the same instrument was, according to Marafu, used to remove the scrotum, the operation being performed in front of a huge fire and taking about two days. The legs and arms, too, used to be cut right down the surface, the cicatrices being supposed to prevent them from swelling further. Among the women the disease is not nearly so prevalent, but it seemed to me that usually both arms and legs were affected. I saw one case of the form, known as pudendi. From the way it was spoken of, I do not think it is of exceedingly rare occurrence on the island. The second attack of the fever usually comes about six months after the first; then the attacks increase until perhaps they occur for a short period fortnightly, after which they gradually decrease in frequency. There is a distinct increase in size of the organs affected after each attack. Inquiries as to the origin in individual cases gave me such replies as "A night's fishing on the reef," "Sleeping in the bush," etc.; most could give no cause or only supernatural ones.

Periodical epidemics of bad eyes pass over the island; the cornea gets clouded, and sight is considerably impaired. A few drops of sulphate of zinc twice a day in the eyes usually effect a speedy cure; the native remedy is the raw juice of a certain tree with large palmate leaves. Cases of blindness from this disease are now quite common owing to neglect.

Serious diseases other than the above, except such as are of an epidemic nature, are almost unknown. Dysentery passed through the island in 1882, but does not seem to have made a permanent lodgment; constant requests, on the other hand, are made for opening medicine, and doses of four ounces of castor oil are often necessary to give relief. Among the women the menstrual period is often accompanied by headaches, nausea, and amenorrhœa, or stoppage of the menses. In many cases,

though, I believe, these are due to native medicines, possibly preventative, administered by the old women.

The lancets are made with the pointed or serrated teeth of the shark, as desired, tied firmly on a slightly flattened piece of wood, about the size of a pencil, the tooth never being bored. The point of the tooth is pressed on the gathering it is desired to open, and then hit sharply by a piece of stick to drive it in. Broader teeth, with serrated edges, were used similarly mounted for operations in which cutting was required.

It may be interesting to note that I examined the blood of eight males, in six of whom I found the *Filaria sanguinis hominis*; the other two were boys, aged about sixteen and nineteen.

### XXIII. DECREASE OF THE NATIVE POPULATION.

The population of Rotuma has undoubtedly been steadily decreasing during this century. It was estimated by the Rev. James Calvert<sup>1</sup> that in 1864 "there would not be more than 3,000 of any generation for whom the Scriptures would be available." In another place he states that there "dwells a population variously computed at from 3,000–5,000."<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Father Trouillet, of the Société de Marie, informed me that he should estimate the population in 1868 as certainly under 3,000, while Mr. Jacobsen, a trader, estimated the numbers in 1878 at 2,700. Native evidence shows that at the west end about 1870 Halafa had a population of fifty fighting men, while now it has only five; Lugula, on Sol Mea, had then forty to fifty men, but now does not exist; Fatoitoa and Hajaojao, near Halafa, were at least equally big; the former being deserted only twelve years ago; Maftau, Itomotu, and Savaia about seventy men each, while now they have not more than one hundred between them; the island of Uea a total population of about ninety, now thirty. On the other hand, at the west end Matusa has now a considerably larger population.

At the east end in the bush were three big towns: Hoite, Rahiga, and another on Sol Hof, the remains of which I have seen. I think, perhaps, they had about forty houses between them, and allowing eight per house, by no means an overestimate, the population would be about three hundred and twenty. Besides these, there were many smaller towns in the bush here. On the coast, the *hoag* called Rotuma has now one

<sup>1</sup> "Missionary Labours among the Cannibals," 1870, p. 586.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 552.

house, while formerly it had about ten. There are, too, plentiful remains of former occupation in house-sites and burial grounds between the centres of population in Noatau and Oinafa; through Juju also there are even more plentiful remains of houses and population. But, on the other hand, at the east end of the island certain centres, usually round churches, at least in Oinafa and Noatau, have certainly increased in numbers, though not to any extent proportional to the decrease of others.

Examining the remains of planting, it appears as if the whole island, wherever practicable, was at one time tilled. The land, where there is a good and deep soil, is, and was, no doubt tilled regularly from year to year, while the rocky country was planted more or less in rotation with yams and *kava*. Even on the steepest slopes, there are signs of clearing, the summits alone being left crowned by the *hifo*. The bottoms of the craters of many hills used to be planted too; in the crater of Sol Satarua, the *lulu* as it is termed, there are still bananas growing, but planted so long ago that the fact that it had a *lulu* at all was almost forgotten.

Taking all the facts into consideration and making all due allowance for exaggeration in native evidence, from a consideration of the facts on the spot, I estimate that the population in 1850 cannot have been short of 4,000, and that at the beginning of the century there were nearly 1,000 more. The census in 1881 showed a population of 1,126 males, 1,326 females, total 2,452, which in 1891 had decreased to 1,056 males, 1,163 females, total 2,219. In this last period of ten years there were four epidemics, viz., dysentery in 1882, whooping-cough in 1884, dengue in 1885, and influenza. The latter was very severe at first; the last epidemic of it was in 1896 and very mild, though the deaths of about eight individuals, mostly old people, must be ascribed at least indirectly to it. If these epidemics had not occurred, the decrease, I feel sure, for the decade would have been very small indeed.

Inquiries from the natives as to the decrease put in the first place the emigration of natives from the island to the pearl fisheries of Torres Straits, to Fiji and elsewhere, as sailors. In the old days it was not uncommon for a hundred or more young men to leave the island in the course of a year, and of these certainly not more than one-third ever returned. In the years, too, of epidemics or hurricanes, still more would leave, though even after the latter there was always sufficient food for the support of all. To this cause and epidemics I ascribe mainly the decrease in the native population. Many epidemics are remembered, though few details are known. When Marafu

was a boy, measles ran through the whole island, and he believes carried off about one person in every house. To epidemics, brought by the first Roman Catholic missionaries (p. 401), he ascribes their non-success and subsequent almost expulsion. Marafu, too, remembers to have heard of an epidemic which followed "the great Malaha war" (pp. 473-4), and was still more fatal. Now, owing to the great cleanliness of the people, good sanitary arrangements, and better food, epidemics are far less feared and less fatal.

Another cause was said to be the increased and increasing immorality of the people with the increased use of preventative medicines, which weaken the mother and future children. As good food as could be devised for the children seems always to have been known, and in recent years the use of tinned milks, so strongly urged by the present Commissioner, has undoubtedly still further diminished the mortality, so that I should not think at present that it is much greater than among the poorer classes of our larger manufacturing towns. The stamping out of yaws, too, I can scarcely think, would be beneficial, as I believe that if allowed to run its proper course, it gives the child immunity from other and more serious troubles in later life.

Before the greater prosperity of the people generally, together with better living, dating to some extent from the annexation to Fiji in 1880, I think that some slight decrease might be traced to inbreeding, which, I think, may affect the number of the children and the stamina of an isolated people, who have lived for a long period under precisely the same conditions. The customs of the island were opposed to the marriage of nearly-related people, and new blood was occasionally introduced by drifting canoes, so that I do not believe that this could be put down in the old days as a cause of decrease, considering that keen struggles constantly took place between districts, and undoubtedly between man and man. When a new land was colonised by the Polynesian, the inbreeding must have been very great, and yet, in Captain Cook's time, most of the islands in the South Pacific seem to have had large and flourishing populations; the new mode of life and the struggle for existence undoubtedly gave, even under these unfavourable conditions, a new vitality to the race. So I think that now the ready adaptability of the Rotuman to the changed conditions, brought about by the coming of the white man, is undoubtedly preventing the complete annihilation of his race, and is giving it an increased lease of life for many years. The variety of the stocks in the stores, the great quantity of tinned meats and milk, of biscuits and rice, of clothes and dress fabrics sold, show

this adaptability, and are steps in the right direction. Stone houses have now almost entirely taken the place of the old native house, but I doubt whether this is a healthy step. The present Commissioner has done his best to encourage the people to trade, and though his measures are looked upon by many of the older natives with the greatest suspicion, they have during his term of office in the last five years shown a marked effect in a considerable increase of the population, taking the place of the old decrease, while at the same time there have been more natives leaving the island than returning to it.

Undoubtedly the most debilitating disease, that the native has to contend with, is elephantiasis, which has shown no signs of abatement. There is scarcely an adult native on the island, I believe, who has not got *Filaria sanguinis* in his blood; in the few I examined, if I took the blood sufficiently late at night, I never had any difficulty in finding the animal. If the disease is due to this, it might be greatly minimised by the covering over of the wells, so as not to allow the mosquitoes to breed in them. At present all teem with the larvæ. The more immediate cause of the disease coming on seems to be a chill or something of that sort, and these are readily caught by the men from the custom of wearing thick coarse clothes in the day-time, but very thin loin cloths at night; they like, too, to sit about on the beach, after play at nights, so as to get cool. The women, on the contrary, always wear thin loin cloths, and at night commonly a sort of blouse as well, and for this reason do not show the disease nearly so frequently.

The drinking of *kava*, now interdicted by the Wesleyan Mission, was, I believe, most beneficial; the effect is that of a mild tonic. It was not drunk at any time extensively by the very young men, but supplied a tonic at that period of life at which it was most needed. Elephantiasis comes on especially about forty, when a man has passed his prime, and I think that this interdiction has tended, and is tending, to increase the disease, and should be abolished.

It is interesting to note that the few white men who have married Rotumans have, as a rule, had very considerable families; Marafu and others counted up one night nine cases with thirty-nine children known to have lived beyond the age of childhood. Many of these half-castes are now married to native men or women, and generally have by them large families; the next generation becomes merged with the Rotuman, but still shows increased fertility. This factor in the increase of the race is now a small one, but it is steadily growing in importance, and will, perhaps, in time have a considerable effect.

## XXIV. LANGUAGE.

The Rotuman language is not an isolated tongue, but a member of a wide-spread family of languages, extending throughout Polynesia. To the ear it sounds, perhaps, considerably different, owing to a peculiarity, in the fact that the Rotumans have a great tendency to transpose the last letter, a vowel, with which all their words should end, to the middle of the word. Mr. Hale in the Wilkes Expedition Report remarks<sup>1</sup>: "A general law seems to be that when a word stands by itself, not followed by another on which it depends, it must terminate in a vowel; and this appears to be the original and proper form of most of the words; but when combined, in any way whatsoever, with other words an alteration takes place by which the concluding syllable is transposed or contracted, as that the consonant shall be the final letter." Thus in ordinary conversation the name Rotuma is often turned into Rotuam; *hoga* is always *hoag*; the word *oipeluga*, a club, I have heard pronounced as *oipeluug* and *oiapelug*. In the text, I have as far as possible kept the words as pronounced, but in the short vocabulary (App. II) I have tried to spell the words in accordance with their original pronunciation. Another remarkable thing is the great facility with which the Rotumans will coin a word for anything new; peculiarities of the animal or thing will be taken, and from these a name made, somewhat in the German fashion. Thus the scorpion is known at one end of the island as the *mamasse*, the animal which eats at the tail, and at the other end as the *monpuoga*, the animal which eats the *puoga*, a small worm in the bananas.

For the purposes of comparison, I compared a rough vocabulary, which I first made, of about two hundred and fifty words with the words of the same meaning in Fijian and Samoan. Of these I found that twenty-nine words were related to both Fijian and Samoan, and evidently were derived from the same roots, ten to Fijian alone and thirty-three to Samoan only. The Samoan I obtained from the Rev. George Pratt's dictionary, but the Fijian by natives, who, knowing several dialects, especially searched for words related to the Rotuman. With the Gilbert islands there were supposed in Fiji to be considerable resemblances; I could make no general comparison, but the few words, which were the same, were all of general distribution through the whole Pacific, or else comparatively recently introduced, names of weapons, instruments, etc. Compared with Malay, by means of Dr. Bikker's vocabulary, there is scarcely a trace of resemblance to be found.

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 469 *et seq.*

It must be noted, though, that formerly in Rotuma there was a language spoken, considerably different from the present one; in it are most of their songs, and a few phrases from it are still used, but their meaning has been lost. In addition, there was a peculiar language, or rather set of phrases, used to and in speaking of the *sou* and other chiefs. These have been lost owing to the coming of the missions and the abolition of the *sou*. It was suggested by several of the old men that the change of language was due to the coming of the Niuafou people to the island. In the vocabulary the words, given in the Wilkes Report, are inserted for comparison in brackets where different; they may possibly throw some light on this old language, as many are quite different from the terms I found in use.

While Samoan has fourteen letters in its alphabet—*a, e, f, g, i, l, m, n, o, p, s, t, u, v*—it is necessary to give the Rotuman four more, *k* and *r* being found as well as *t* and *l*, and the *h* being often sounded very distinctly, while in such a word as *sosoghi*, sister or brother, it is scarcely aspirated at all, and such a word as *haharagi*, young, in the method adopted by the Rev. George Pratt for Samoan, would certainly be spelt *'a'aragi*. In set speeches all words commencing with an *h* have it very distinctly aspirated. The letter *j* must also be added to indicate a sound resembling *ch*, *ts*, and the English *j* about equally. It occurs in the names of many places on the island, but is otherwise very uncommon; examples are *Juju*, *Atja*, etc., also *nuju*, the mouth. Vowels are pronounced as in the continental method. I know of no meaning dependent on the quantity, but it is a mark of respect, when speaking to a chief, to lengthen all or the chief vowels of each of the substantives, thus laying great stress on them. *G* is always nasal, and pronounced *ng*. All the other letters are pronounced as in English.

The same vowel is not generally repeated in a word without a break between, unless the word is a compounded one, as *solgaasta*, the north wind; *saaraara*, a centipede; *huneele*, the beach. In these cases each vowel is distinctly pronounced. The diphthongs are *ai*, as in *tekaikai*, a shell; *au*, as in *rau*, tobacco; *oi*, as in *hoina*, a wife; *ou*, as in *filou*, the head. Other vowels occurring together are pronounced each separately; thus *haephaep*, the hand, is *ha-ep-ha-ep*, *apioiitu*, a priest, *a-pi-oi-i-tu*. I am not really certain that any of the diphthongs are properly so, as in speaking slowly many are broken up into their component vowels. For emphasis almost any word may be repeated, but the repetition often changes the meaning; thus the terms *manu* and *huf* are applied broadly to many

small flying animals, but *manumanu* is a bird, and *hufhuf* a bat.

The accent properly, in the Polynesian group of languages, is placed on the penultimate syllable, and this rule holds for Rotuma, except that when a chief is being spoken to it is often thrown on the first syllable. The transposal of the last vowel, too, often throws it on the last syllable. It is in no case thrown on the vowel, thus transposed.

In Rotuman there is no article definite or indefinite. The Wilkes Report gives *ta*, one, definite and indefinite, used for that, as opposed to *ti*, this, both being used as postfixes.

The names of natural objects, such as trees and animals, are mostly simple and indigenous to the island, or to Polynesia; to these must be added such simple manufactured articles, as the people may be supposed to have known, before they migrated to Rotuma. Compounded nouns usually indicate that the article, animal, or tree has been but recently introduced; exception however must be taken to articles of food or manufactured articles which have been brought by natives of other islands with their own names. The verbs and the nouns, or perhaps adjectives, for similar meanings are the same.

Number does not properly exist. For the plural numerals, or words such as imply a number, are used. *Taucoko* (pronounced *tauthoko*), a Fijian word, is now applied to people, while *atakoa* is applied especially to animals. *Tene*, many, is used generally for inanimate objects, such as stones, trees, etc. The Wilkes Expedition Report gives also *maoi*, many.

Gender is formed by the affix of *fa*, man or male, and *honi*, woman or female, usually shortened to *hon* or *hen*. In most cases among the larger animals, the male and female have separate names.

Case is indicated by prepositions. The genitive may be indicated by one of the possessive pronouns. *K*, or *ka*, is used as a prefix, and applies especially to movements, such as entering and leaving a house; it is particularly employed where an adjective is used. *Se* implies the act of moving forward to a place, and *e* the act of movement from a place.

The adjectives as a rule follow the noun. The numerals do not go above *kiu*, 10,000; they are almost for the smaller numbers identical with those of Samoa and Fiji. The pronouns are given fully in the appendix; compared to the rest of the language, their formation is very complete.

The tenses of the verbs are formed much in the same way as in many other Polynesian dialects. Past tenses are very generally formed by the addition of an adjective, used as an adverb, thus:—

<i>Lao</i>	....	....	....	To go.
<i>Gou lao</i>	....	....	....	I go.
<i>Gou la lao</i>	....	....	....	I will go.
<i>Gou lao vahia</i> ....	....	....	....	I went.

The passive voice is usually formed by changing to the active. The Wilkes Expedition Report says, "The directive particles *mai* and *atu* are found in Rotuman under the forms *m'* and *ato* (or *at'*), suffixed to the verb. Thus *lao* or *la*, which signifies to go or move, becomes *laato*, to go away, *leum*, to come."

The affirmative adverbs are *o*, *ou*, and *e*, and negative *igikei*. *Igikei* is also used for not, but *kat* is a more polite term. "The negatives are *kat* (or *kal*) and *ra*, the first of which usually precedes the verb, and the second follows."<sup>1</sup>

## XXV. LEGENDS.

I have considered it best to give these legends as near as possible in the same words as they were related to me; by changing the words much of the force, with which they were related, would be lost. At the end of each I have added such notes, as seemed to me to be necessary.

(a) *Legend of Rahou* (1).—Under Gofu, the king of Samoa, there was once a great chief, called Rahou, who only had one daughter. She married and bore a female child, called Maheva. Gofu about the same time likewise had a daughter, and, as Rahou was Gofu's head chief, the two children were brought up together. They were constant companions, and used to be always on the beach playing, their favourite amusement being fishing for *penu* (2). One day each caught one, but Maheva's was the finest. On the king's daughter demanding it, she refuses to give it up, and in return is taunted about one of her feet, which is deformed. Maheva begins to cry, and runs to Rahou, who inquires what is the matter. She tells him, and he is wild with anger. On the next day two girls come called Hauliparua, and Rahou tells them about the whole affair. In return they order him to make a basket that night, and promise to tell him on the following morning, what he is to do. He is told to fill it with sand, and then to embark in his canoe. He does so, calls together all his *hoag*, and all get on board, carefully carrying the basket of sand. Two *arumea* (3) appear next in front of the canoe. "You will battle away on the sea as long as the *arumea* go over your head. As soon as they have gone far enough, they will sing to you, and you will drop the basket overboard." They then travel on for many days, with the birds

<sup>1</sup> Wilkes Expedition Report.

in front. But at last the *arumea* sing, and Rahou throws the basket over the side. Rotuma then comes up with the canoe on top of it. Malaha first appeared, and then the rest, all covered with bushes and cocoanut trees.

One day Rahou thinks he will take a walk round the island, and place a taboo on the different cocoanut trees he may find ; he does so, using green cocoanut leaves. On the same morning comes a man, Tokaniua, whom Honitemous (4) gets hold of ; she tells him to follow Rahou and place a dry cocoanut leaf under each of Rahou's green leaves as a taboo. He follows Rahou accordingly right round the island, and back to Malaha, where Rahou has his abode. They meet, and Rahou asks Tokaniua where he comes from. He replies that he is on his own land, and appeals to his taboos on the cocoanut trees. They are going to fight, when Honitemous calls Tokaniua, and advises him what to do. Tokaniua then proposes that they shall set each other different tasks, the one failing to do the other's to leave the island. Rahou runs and gets a leaf of the *apaea* (5), which he dips in the water and then on the sand, telling Tokaniua to count the grains sticking to it. This he does correctly, and tells Rahou in return to count the waves breaking in on the shore. Rahou counts and counts, but at last gets wild with anger, and calls his people together ; they go to Ulhifou (6), where Rahou pulls up the tree Filmotu, which he carries with him to Mafiri. Here he drives in the tree, and begins to tear the island to pieces, the earth he throws out forming Hatana and Hoflewa. Honitemous, seeing this, runs up, and, kissing his feet, begs him to spare the island. He pulls up the stick, and slings it away, making another small hole, Hifourua, where it alights. (7) Rahou then takes all his people, and retires to Hatana ; on his way he turns three of the men into stone—Moiokiura, Papanouroa, and Likliktoa—as they had succumbed to the inducements of the Honitemous.

In Hatana Rahou lives quietly for some time, making two kings there. Once, visiting Rotuma, he makes Souiftuga the king. While Rahou is still living in Hatana, a boar pig comes down to Malaha. The people there kill it, and eat the whole except the head, which they send to Rahou (8), who, in a rage at this mark of disrespect, slings it away, forming Hof Haveanlolo.

Next Souiftuga dies, and word is sent to Rahou, asking him where he is to be buried. He calls the sisters Hauliparua to his aid again, and they summon the *arumea*, and direct them to show the people the place.

The two birds go up over hill after hill, but still go on over the highest, finally stopping at Seselo (9), since when all the *sou* have been buried there.

Rahou finally lived to an old age in Hatana, where he put two stones, Famof and Timanuka, into which he turned two chiefs. To Rotuma he gave its constitution and laws, finally dying and being buried in Hatana, where his grave, club, and *kava tanoa* are still to be seen (10).

- (1) This legend is known to nearly every one on the island. I have received it on five different occasions and endeavoured to strike a mean of the different accounts. There are many other legends attached to Rahou; one makes Gofu come over from Samoa and bring him back there, relating his great achievements after his return.
- (2) A favourite amusement with the children. The animal (*Remipes sp.?*) lives in the sand between tide-marks, and resembles in appearance a large white wood-louse, with rather long legs. It is caught by tying the abdomen of a hermit crab to a bit of cocoanut fibre at the end of a stick. This is then allowed to wash in and out with the waves on the sandy beach. The animal, attracted by the smell, seizes it, and is quickly thrown over the shoulder on to the land above.
- (3) A small bird about the size of a wren, black with red breast, a species of *Myzomela*.
- (4) See the legend of Tokaniua. In narrating these legends no connection between them is ever indicated. Honitemous is, I think, a general name for all female wood and mountain spirits. This one is said to have come to the island, hidden in Rahou's canoe. The taboo is usually placed on cocoanut trees by tying round their base one or two half cocoanut leaves, which are supposed to represent the arms of the owner clasping the tree.
- (5) A kind of arum with exceedingly large leaves, growing in the bush.
- (6) A place, called Ulhifou, is still known in Malaha. Mafiri is a small hill at the west end of the island. On its summit is a hole 80 feet deep, caused by the subsidence of the lava, which at one time must have welled out of the top; near its base is another smaller hole, called the Hifourua.
- (7) Father Trouillet, of the Société de Marie, who has resided on Rotuma for twenty-eight years, states that Rahou was pulling the island down, so that it might not be seen a long distance away by future navigators in these seas; and that he took up his abode on Hatana so that he might watch for any canoes which might

come and attack the island. One native stated that Uea was formed by a handful of sand, which Rahou found in the bottom of his canoe after he had thrown the basket overboard. Hof Haveanlolo is a shoal just awash between Hatana and Uea.

- (8) It is proper to send all strange animals, which may be killed or caught, to the chief. At a feast the chief's portion is the head of the pig. Certain rocks which stick prominently up are said to be the teeth of this boar, which fell out on the way to Hatana.
- (9) A small hill in Noatau at the extreme east end of the island.
- (10) There are three graves on Hatana supposed to be those of Rahou and his two kings. The former grave (Fig. 7) has merely a circle of stones over it, with a hollowed stone in the centre, while the latter have slabs of rock. The first bowl of *kava*, made by any party visiting the island, is always poured out on Rahou's grave. The club is exactly similar to the war club described (pp. 472–3); it is said to have been twice removed, but on both occasions the boat or canoe, in getting out of the passage through the reef, capsized. Great care is also taken that any one who desires to ease himself should do it between tide-marks, and not in the bush.

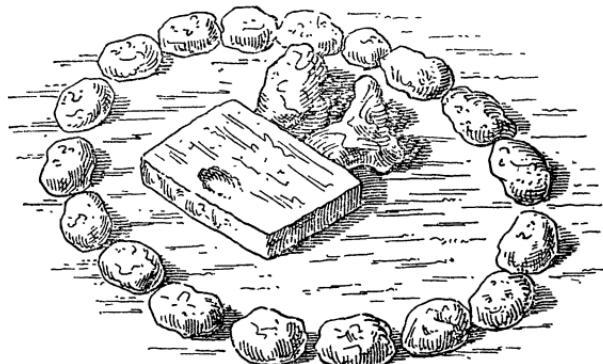


FIG. 7.—RAHOU'S GRAVE.

(The flat stone in the centre shows the depression, into which the *kava* is poured.)

(b) *Legend of Tokaniua* (1).—One day, "when there were no people in Rotuma," two women—Sientafitukrou and Sienjaralol—went to make *mena* (turmeric) at the well Tutuila. After they had rubbed up the *mena*, they mix four cocoanut shells

full with water, and burying them, leave them for the night. On the following day from these four shells is born a female child, called Sientakvou. The women then proceed to fill five more cocoanut shells with *mena*, and from these on the next morning is born a male child, called Tui Savarara. Sientakvou lived in Hotaharua, while Tui Savarara dwelt in Soukoaki. One day these two went to have a talk with one another, and stopped together, with the result that Sientakvou conceived. When they saw this, they were ashamed, since they were brother and sister, and so agreed to go and live in the bush. On their way to the bush Sientakvou told Tui Savarara not to look behind, for that, if he did so, the child would be born on the road. When they reached a spot called Kerekere, Tui Savarara looked round, and the child dropped out. Sientakvou then leaves the child to Tui Savarara, and goes into the bush, where she becomes a wild woman, under the name of Honitemous.

Tui Savarara wants to kill the child, but is afraid of the devil living in Sol Satarua, whom he sees looking at him. Meantime the child, who is called Tokaitoateniua, lay on a big stone, which ever since has had its menstrual periods, blood oozing up just in the same way as with a woman (2). Tui Savarara then lies down on the same stone and takes his *kukaluya* off. He puts the boy under his legs, and as far as possible makes himself appear like a woman. The devil sees, and thinks that he is a woman; he gets on top, and at once Tui Savarara opens his legs, and shows the child, which he says is the spirit's. The devil refuses to have the child, and Tui Savarara goes along towards Oinafa, carrying the child and thinking how he may best get rid of it. He decides to throw it away, and hurls it first from Kerekere to Sol Saka, and then from Sol Saka to Iflala. When Tui Savarara came up the third time, the boy, who was now called Tokaniua, tried to wrestle with him at a place called Hofpopo, but was again thrown, this time landing at Soukoaki, where Tui Savarara lived; in the fourth cast he is hurled to Niuafoou (3).

In Niuafoou the boy grows into a great fighting chief, but, when he gets old, returns to Rotuma to obtain a fighting man to help him. One day he is casting his net standing on a stone, Hofmea (4), when it opens under him and bears a child, called Pilhofu, who is all stone except his one eye and one of his big toes. Tokaniua then departs to Niuafoou with Pilhofu, whose invulnerability he proves with blows of his spear. He strikes him again and again, but at last, unluckily striking him in the eye, destroys it. Pilhofu then returned in disgust to Rotuma, whither he was shortly followed by Tokaniua (5).

- (1) This legend is well known to all. The account given is compounded from an account, given me in English, by Susanna of Oinafa and an account furnished by four old men in conjunction.
- (2) All the places mentioned in this legend lie in Oinafa. A large rough block of lava is pointed out at Kerekere, on the top of a ridge near Satarua, as the one with the periods, which several of the old people claim to have seen.
- (3) This is the most northerly island of the Tongan group, and is about 470 miles from Rotuma.
- (4) A small rock of volcanic stone 4–5 feet long on the reef opposite Savelei, in Itoteu.
- (5) Pilhofu lies a stone in Soukata, in Oinafa; in shape is oval, about 9 feet long by 6 feet wide, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet high. It is of lava, and looks like a solid bubble on the top of the lava stream. A medium depression is pointed out as the mouth, while immediately above it another represents the median cyclopean eye; close by is the old *fuag ri* of Tokaniua, a house foundation about 13 feet high.

(c) *Legend of Pilhofu and his son Tokaniua* (1).—Pilhofu had one son, whose name was Tokaniua, and whom he left in Niuafoou when he first returned to Rotuma. After a time, Tokaniua, who had become a great warrior, came over to Rotuma to search for his father, from whom he wanted help; he journeyed in a large double canoe, and landed at Soukama, in front of which lies the canoe to the present day with the curse on it that, if any one break it, a big wave will come and sweep over all the land.

Landing, Tokaniua first meets a girl called Leanfuda, whom he asks if she has seen his father. She refers him to Rosso ti Too (2), who tells him that he must ask Fetutoumal, a man living at Tarasua. He accordingly goes to Tarasua, and, in reply to his inquiries, is told that his father is in Upsese, a stone in front of Teukoi Point, combing his hair; further he is directed that, if he desires to see his father, he must quietly roll this stone back. But, when near Upsese, Tokaniua has to walk across the sand, and making a noise, is heard by Pilhofu, who at once takes to flight. Tokaniua pursues, but Pilhofu dives through a rock, and Tokaniua in following has great difficulty in stretching himself out sufficiently to squeeze through. But Pilhofu has turned himself into a stone, with the exception of one of his big toes, which Tokaniua seizes, and a conversation results.

PILHOFU. "Who is that?"

TOKANIUA. "It is I. Turn round, as I want to talk to you."

P. "Why do you pursue me?"

T. "I have done something you must help me in. We have been playing at throwing spears at bananas in Niuafoou. I have hit nine, and must hit the tenth to win. You must help me."

(At the same time a waterspout (3) comes, and drops both in Niuafoou.)

P. "Take me to where you have got to throw, and bury me there. Your opponents will throw first, but, as I am a stone, their spears will not stick in me or hurt me. When you throw, though, look at my left eye, which I will open, and there your spear will stick."

They throw, and Tokaniua's spear alone sticks. Tokaniua runs up, and seeing a drop of blood oozing out, throws a handful of sand on the eye, while all the people cry out, "*Moriere, moriere*" (4). At the same moment a strong whirlwind (5) came, and blew the sand into every one's eyes. It takes them, too, with some Niuafoou people, and throws them on Houa Island, off Oinafa. Here there is a small hole always filled with rain-water, and Pilhofu tells Fissioitu to go and fill his mouth with the water and blow it into his eye. Fissioitu goes to the pool, but finds that the whole surface has been covered with blood by the sisters Hauliparua. He sucks this off though first, and filling his mouth with water, cures Pilhofu's eye with it.

Tokaniua then went to Teukoi, where on his death he turned into the *atua* of that village, who was called Fretuanak (6).

- (1) This legend was related to me by Wafta, the chief of Juju, at a meeting of the chiefs. Manava, the chief of Itomotu, indicated shortly the last legend with this, relating them of father, son, and grandson. There is a patch of stones on the reef in front of Soukama, in Juju, which are said to be the remains of Tokaniua's canoe.
- (2) This is the title of the minor chief of Too.
- (3) The word here used is *ahuhia*. Small waterspouts are frequently to be seen off the breaking reef.
- (4) The term "*Moriere*" is much the same as "Well done." It is a term of applause, and is in common use at feasts, if an especially fine pig or a large quantity of food is brought by any one *hoag*.
- (5) The term here is *mumuniha*. It has a very similar meaning to *ahuhia*.

(6) It is interesting to note that, while the first legend of Tokaniua is well known by all at Oinafa, it is nearly unknown in Juju. With the second the cases are reversed. The name Tokaniua still persists in Oinafa, and is always called first for *kava* in the island.

(d) *The formation of the isthmus, or Soktontonu* (1).—Once there walked through the sea to Rotuma from Tonga a great, mighty, and exceeding tall man, called Serimana; with him, floating on the spathe of the cocoanut flower, came his daughter Sulumata (2), a girl of great beauty and spirit. For a long time they remained in Rotuma, and Sulumata married its great warrior Fouma (3), who built a big *fuag ri* on Sol Sororoa, and took her to live there, while Serimana dwelt in Savaia.

After a long time, there came a whole fleet of canoes from Tonga looking for Serimana, with whom they took up their abode in Savaia. One evening the Tongans playing on the sand ran after some *juli* (4), and caught one, at which Serimana was frightened, thinking that they were getting too strong for him; accordingly he sends off for Fouma, who catches several very quickly. Next evening one of the Tongans threw up a canoe over Serimana's house, and caught it the other side as it fell. Fouma does the same, and Serimana is satisfied. On the next evening the Tongans put a big stone fence out from Savaia along by the beach with their left hands, and Fouma is conquered (5). The Tongans then talk of having a big fight with Fouma, and Serimana, who hears of it, urges them to try. Fouma meantime goes and makes an alliance with Onunfanua, another strong man and a left-handed one as well, who dwells in Solelli (6). Onunfanua tells Fouma that, if he will send to him, he will come on the fifth day after the fight has begun, but Fouma says that he will fight alone until the tenth day. Returning, Fouma jumps over the strait, and hastens to Sol Sororoa.

A long time passes, as the Tongans are afraid, but one day, when Fouma is returning from fishing off Halafa, he sees smoke on Sol Sororoa, and his house on fire. He rushes up and finds all waiting for him with clubs and spears. They make a rush at him as he mounts the hill, but he fends them off with his net and gets above them. They take to flight, but Fouma, slinging his net (7) over them, catches fifty, all of whom he smothers in the net. Going into his house, Fouma finds more than half his club burnt, but, in spite of this, rushes down to Maftau and fights the Tongans there for five days.

Meantime Onunfanua has been informed of the battle, and on the fifth day starts. On his way he hears two old men,

Sokanava and Mofmoa, saying that it is a good thing to kill Fouma; he quietly puts his club over their heads, and they, noticing a cloud on the sun, look up. Onunfanua asks them about what they are talking, but they try to put him off; he tells them that he has heard all, but forgives them on their agreeing to fill up the strait during the night, so that he may cross on the following day. They do so in the given time, and, on taking leave, tell him that Fouma is nearly done, and that he will be beaten unless he cuts a *hifo* tree down with one stroke of his left hand. Coming up, Onunfanua fights for some time with the Tongans, but, getting pressed himself, thinks of the counsel he has received. Warding his enemies off with his right hand, with one blow of his left he cuts right through the tree. The splinters kill more than half the Tongans, so that the remainder fly to their canoes, and with all haste set sail.

Fouma, knowing that Serimana really put the Tongans on to him, tells his wife that he will kill her father. She goes down to Serimana and cries aloud, but being afraid of Fouma, will not tell him what is the matter. On the following day Fouma came down, and with one blow of his club cleft Serimana and his house in twain. (8).

(1) This legend was related to me by Albert and Marafu separately. In the chart of Rotuma a well-defined isthmus is seen, dividing the island into a small western portion and a much larger eastern part. The breadth here is not 100 yards, and the whole is simply formed of beach sand. To the west the basalt of the hill of Kugoi shows undermining from wave action at some past time, showing that this isthmus did not always exist. There are, too, in the reefs on the west and south sides of the island here passages and deep holes, which, I think, indicate a former channel. There is a tradition of the isthmus, being built up about one hundred and twenty years ago by Tue, the chief of Itomotu, with large stone blocks and sand. About sixty years ago, too, it is remembered by some that the isthmus was again filled up by the women and children with baskets of sand. Albert informed me also that, when digging for the foundation of the church, a number of large blocks of lava were found. The derivation of the term Soktontonu is doubtless from *soko*, to join, and *tonu*, water.

(2) From *sulu*, the spathe of the cocoanut flower, and *mata* wet.

- (3) Any tree, which grows up strong and straight, is called *foumatou*. The house site of Fouma is still pointed out on Sol Sororoa, in Itomotu. Savaia is that part of the shore flat, just east of Maftau.
- (4) *Juli*, or sandpipers, are very common on the beach at low tide.
- (5) There is now a stone wall at Savaia to keep off the inroads of the sea on the beach. It has been repaired three times in the last seventy years, but is now again nearly in ruins.
- (6) A place on Sol Hof, in the Lopta division of Oinafa. It is curious how all strong men come from, and are supposed to live inland.
- (7) The word used is *kiri*, a name applied to a casting net, a large one of which is 12 fathoms long by about 1 broad.
- (8) There are many other legends of Fouma, and a few of Onunfanua, but most of these are mere tales, invented as they go on by the old men when sitting at a *fefeag*, or story-telling, in the evening.

(e) *The origin of the “Moa”* (1).—To Noava was walking one day from Pepji to Matusa, when he was met by Karagfono (2), who was a spirit in the likeness of a man, born of a chief and the spirit of his dead *koiluga* (sweetheart), made of a drop of blood, without bones.

Walking together for some time, they reach Soukama, where To Noava asks his companion to come into his house and have some *kava* (3). The women prepare everything, but only put a table in front of To Noava, seeing which Karagfono got up, and went out, returning after a few minutes with a dry cocoanut, on which he proceeded to sit (4). On perceiving from this that his guest was a chief, To Noava told the women to get a table for him.

After the *kava* and food are finished, Karagfono invites To Noava in his turn to visit him, and takes him right along through Matusa to Luokoasta (5), where To Noava inquires as to their destination.

KARAGFONO. “I am going to take you to Limari.”

TO NOAVA. “I am a living man, and how can you take me there alive?”

KARAGFONO. “I have power from the gods to take you. When I jump into the water, you have only to catch hold of the back of my *kukaluga*. Don’t leave go till I tell you, or you will be drowned.”

Karagfono then dives off with To Noava, and in a short time they reach Limari, where To Noava is much surprised to find dry land, with all sorts of fruits and food. But soon the other spirits smell out that Karagfono has a mortal with him, and inquire why he has brought a living man there. On this Karagfono takes To Noava and hides him on the beams of his house on a *fatafata* (6), but after a day and a half of this To Noava gets tired, and asks to be taken back to the earth. Karagfono agrees, and says, "I should like to make you a present before you go, as you were very kind to me on the earth. I am giving you a *moa fa* and a *moa honi* (7), called Sukivou. When these breed, you can have the young ones, but you must return the old birds to me."

T. "How can I possibly get back to bring them?"

K. "When the day comes to bring them, you will know it without being told, and you will find me waiting at the same place as we dived off."

Talking thus, Karagfono dismisses To Noava, who is carried out of the sea by Sukivou and landed at Luokoasta (8), whence he had dived down with Karagfono. Sukivou had ten chickens, from which all the fowls of Rotuma are descended.

- (1) The fowl. I am indebted to Marafu and Wafta for this legend.
- (2) Also called Sunioitu, but this is a general name for several kinds of *atua*.
- (3) This is the same as asking a person to come in and have a meal. The *kava* is drunk first, and always followed by food.
- (4) Indicates that Karagfono is a chief, and should have a table as well as To Noava.
- (5) A point off Losa, literally *asta*, sun, and *luoko*, to dip.
- (6) A bed of bamboos or sticks in the beams of the house, still common.
- (7) *Fa* and *honi*, male and female, common affixes for gender.
- (8) As they arise from the water, To Noava and Sukivou sing this song:—

"Moasite Karagfono,  
Te moturere, ma Fakasifo ;  
Itivikio, viki vikia, otaro lao.  
Sukivou hogo oojao ;  
Itivikio, viki vikia, otaro lao."

Most of this is in a language now lost, but the following is as far as possible a literal translation:—

“Karagfono knows not where we go,  
 To the island above, and Fakasifo,  
 Crowing, crowing, as we pass along,  
 Sukivou waking up the sleepers,  
 Crowing, crowing, as we pass along.”

*Moturere* I have derived from *otmotu*, an island, and *rere*, above; it may however be the name of a place. *Ojao* is a word only used as applying to the biggest chiefs.

(f) *The turtle of Sol Onau* (1).—On the top of Sol Onau is a flat platform of rock about 25 fathoms above the sea, and overhanging it somewhat; near it was formerly a large playhouse. One day two girls came out of the house on to this platform, which has since been called Lepiteala, to ease themselves.

When one was doing so over the cliff, several canoes came suddenly into sight from round the point, a big *vouroa* (2) fishing. The people in the canoes see, and call out. The girl rises hurriedly in shame, but slips on the rock, and catching hold of the other to save herself, both fall into the sea below.

They are then changed into two turtle, the one white and the other red, and are called Eao. They still live in the deep crevices of the coral under the rock, and can be called up at any time by singing the following song (3):—

“Eao manuse, ka Lepiteala  
 Ai, ma vehia ka foro ole tufe,  
 Havei, ma foiaik ia ka fai paufu,  
 He ta jauaki, ma moiea. Pētē.”

There first appears usually in one big crevice the *sasnini*, swimming along, and later come the turtle, usually one at a time. They continue swimming about on the top of the water for a long time, unless any one calls out, “*Fieu* (4) *vouroa*,” when they immediately disappear.

(1) Sol Onau, the island off Juju. There is a legend, similar as to details, about two sharks off the island of Makila, in the Solomon group. Captain W. W. Wilson, harbourmaster of Levuka, informs me that there is also a turtle at Batiri, Koro, Fiji, called Tui Nai Kasi Kasi, and that he has twice seen it called up.

I took up Mou, the chief of Pepji, and five girls to sing the incantation. Going on in front, I examined the place, and saw a green turtle. When the girls were singing the incantation the second time, the *sasnini*, a long, narrow, lanceolate fish, which always precedes the turtle in these seas, came slowly along,

but we saw nothing further. All the girls and Mou state that they have repeatedly seen the turtle, which is not unlikely, as the spot is a regular feeding-place for them.

- (2) The name of the *sieu*-fishing, when many are partaking in it (p. 428).
- (3) The meaning, as far as I have been able to get this song interpreted, is as follows:—"Come up, Eao, to Lepiteala, and finish the story for us, having been in the hot sun and tired in the season for the screw-pine, when it is in flower and fruitful. *Pête*."

The language is very antiquated. Lepiteala is from *ala*, to die; *ka foro*, to tell; *tufe*, people; *fau paufu*, the season of the *paufu*, a species of pandanus.

Each line runs in twelves. The time is similar to the *Tau Toga* (p. 489), but runs in a somewhat higher key.

- (4) *Fieu*, the act of defæcation.

(g) *The coming of the "Kava"* (1).—In Faguta there lived a Tongan, a very strong and brave warrior, called Kaikaiponi. His wife was of a Rotuman chief's family, and had three brothers, Muriak, Afiak, and Koufinua, who lived in Pepji. War was declared against them by Tukmasui (2), the chief of Malaha, but they utterly defeated him, owing to the great valour of Kaikaiponi and his experience in war. As a reward, the brothers desired to make him the *sou*, and, in fact, to re-create the office for him, because from the time of Souiftuga, appointed by Rahou, there had not been any fresh *sou* appointed, this being long before the Niuafoou people came to the island. To this, however, there was much opposition, so that they compromised the affair by making his wife the *sou-honi*.

When the *souhoni* was the ruler, *kava* first came to Rotuma floating down from Samoa, from a place called Hihifo. As it passed Noatau, it dropped two stones, the Hofrua, just outside the reef. Round these rocks any crabs (3), prawns, or fish, that may be caught, are poisonous owing to the *kava* which has got into them. The root then drifted on past Oinafa to Fatu (4), where it touched the shore and left a tree, the *oinipeji*, which is of very hard wood, and grows nowhere else on the island. It then, finally, came on shore at the extreme west end of Lopta, from which place it proceeded for a walk along the road to Juju. But the *kava*, before reaching there, branched off and went round Sol Atja to a piece of land called Niuful (5), where it found a convenient hole, in which it planted itself and for a long time flourished.

But one day some dirt fell from a rat (6) in the roof of Kaikaiponi's house on him, and he, recognising the smell, tells all the people of the great drink, and a great search is started. At last they found the root, half burnt by Waromago, who was cleansing the land in Niuful. A great feast is held, and the root is cut into pieces and distributed all over the island, so that all may taste. Among others, one piece is sent to Fissoiitu, who is living at the back of Sol Satarua; but he does not understand its use, and throws it away. It takes root, and grows well, and from this piece all the *kava* in the island has sprung.

By the *souhoni* after this, Kaikaiponi had one child, a son, who one day went to play in the bush, and found two girls, Opopu and Rara, who had come down from *Lagi* (7), and were amusing themselves on a swing. Although much annoyed at being seen on the earth, they put the boy, at his request, in the swing, but he fell out and broke his wrist. In pain at the accident, he calls out for some one to fill the cocoanut shells with water for him, and the girls, alarmed at his cries, promise to do so. They depart, but as soon as they are out of his sight proceed to ascend to *Lagi* again. The people, who are hurrying up on account of the cries, see them, but they are too high for them to do them any harm. The people watch them ascending, and see them, after making a hole in the sky, pass through, and at the same time a great shower of rain came down at the spot itself, which is called Vakoi, and not only filled the cocoanut shells, but cured the boy as well.

Shortly after this Kaikaiponi and the *souhoni* departed in a large double canoe for Tonga, and never returned, while Muriak became the *sou*, and when he died his brother Afiak (8).

(1) This legend was related to me by Wafta, the chief of Juju, at a council meeting in Malaha; he was assisted by Marafu and the chief of Malaha. I afterwards heard that there are several songs sung by the *kava*, but unfortunately too late to get them transcribed. In Fiji the *kava*, or, as it is there called, *yagona*, is said to have come from Tonga, but I could find no legend about it. On the Ra coast of Viti Levu the following story of its discovery in Tonga was told me:—

“A man was planting his yams one day, when he cut down a *kava* bush which was in the way. Presently he observed a rat, which began to gnaw the root, and fell down, apparently dead. He then, after watching it for some time, went to pick it up, but, to his surprise, it got up and began to run away. Accordingly he concluded that the root must be some

- good, and so chewed it, and made *kava*. He found it very pleasant, and so it spread."
- (2) Muriak and Tukmasui are names still to be found on Rotuma. Kaiponi, I am informed, is by no means an uncommon name in Tonga.
- (3) There actually are poisonous fish and crabs off these rocks; one crab, the *fumapoitu*, is very dangerous. The fish and crabs, too, of Luokoasta, off Losa, are also dangerous. It is a common idea in Rotuma that the earth round the roots of the *kava* is poisonous.
- (4) A place in the middle of Lopta. A large-leaved tree something like the *hifo* was pointed out to me as the *oinipeji*; I certainly cannot recollect having seen it elsewhere.
- (5) This piece of land is still known by the same name. A deep hole is pointed out, where the *kava* first rooted itself, and from which it was removed.
- (6) The Rotuman rat is *Mus exulans* (Peile).
- (7) The sky, or heaven, the abode of good deities. If the girls could have been caught, their offspring would have been invincible, and would always have food ready at hand without doing any work. Among all Pacific Island people there is a general belief that the sky opens to allow the rain to fall. Certain andesite crystals, found on the top of the lava in Rotuma, are called *momonife*, literally chips off a thunder-cloud.
- (8) I think this legend points to a hereditary *sou*, who was not only the *sou*, but a king temporal as well.

(h) *Rikolagi, or the house to heaven* (1).—When the people were building Rikolagi, a house to reach the sky (2), a man, Souragpol, started from Atmofu with a stone for its foundation from Tooi, his wife, Henlipehea, nearly falling to pieces (3) at the time. He passes Teukoi point, and comes to Fahafa (4), where he meets a man, who asks him what he is carrying the stone for, and laughs at him so much that he throws it down, and there it lies to the present day. This man then proceeds to call out the people of Teukoi, and, with Souragpol and his people, they go to Noatau to fight, refusing any more to build Rikolagi. They are beaten, and take to flight, with Noatau in pursuit. Souragpol reaches Teukoi, but being hard pressed, takes up a stone to hide under, and himself turns into a stone, telling the people to call his child Fuoga.

One day, when Fuoga was nearly a man, the Teukoi people were carrying food to the *sou* in Noatau, but they left behind them Fuoga, who was asleep. Fuoga however awoke, and

being hungry, makes after them, and catches them up between Pepji and Noatau. He has no food for the *sou*, and so pulls up a tree, off which he tears the branches, putting the stem over his shoulder. He forces the Teukoi people to give him all their food, which he eats; he then compels them to accompany him to Noatau. Here, reaching the *sou*'s house, Fuoga brings on a fight, and kills the *sou* and all his strong men. He then proceeds to Rikolagi, where he has a great fight with the strong man (5) of the island, who is putting the ridge on the house; at last he wins, killing his enemy with one blow of his club and destroying the house with a second blow. He then takes the name of Fouma, and makes a Soukama man the *sou*.

- (1) This legend was related to me by Friday and Marafu. They say that the Fouma, referred to in it, has no connection with the Fouma mentioned in the legend of the Soktontonu.
- (2) In Noatau is a mound of earth, 12–13 feet above the general level and 40–50 yards in diameter, which is pointed out as the foundation of Rikolagi. There is a *fuag ri*, house foundation, called Atmofu close to Matusa.
- (3) This phrase is a literal translation of the Rotuman, and implies that the woman may at any moment bear a child.
- (4) Close to Teukoi. The stone lies on the road, and weighs about half a ton.
- (5) A large stone in Noatau, cracked in three places, is pointed out as this man.

#### APPENDIX I. LIST OF THE LAST SIXTY "SOU."

1. Lapetemasui.	15. Kaurafonua.	32. Tokaniua.	49. Vavaoti.
2. Tuitupu.	16. Rimakou.	33. Titafaga.	50. Uata.
3. Laparere.	17. Koufossi.	34. Iravu.	51. Patupolivara-
4. Muamea on ava ka noho e Sohoa.	18. Taio.	35. Ravaka.	hina.
5. Muatoirere.	19. Fonumonu.	36. Tuaojao.	52. Furisifana.
6. Ifuri.	20. Varomua.	37. Gaogaofaga.	53. Tuiolororava.
7. Ifituga.	21. Tui.	38. Fatafesi.	54. Marafu.
8. Fesartu.	22. Marafu.	39. Fuatanafau.	55. Pogisemari.
9. Niuta.	23. Mirava.	40. Vuana.	56. Tiarukea.
10. Sourotuma.	24. Tokoara.	41. Fatafesi.	57. Sukamasa.
11. Tafaki.	25. Asekana.	42. Tomanava.	58. Moi.
12. Muamea.	26. Moniseu.	43. Solovalu.	59. Manava.
13. Tukmasui.	27. Sakumane.	44. Rimakou.	60. Matagitai.
14. Souhoni Vakai.	28. Tausia.	45. Tirasoko.	
	29. Satapuaki.	46. Otorevai.	
	30. Puka.	47. Ragafuata.	
	31. Ranaka.	48. Kaurasi.	

This list is copied from one in the possession of the present Commissioner of Rotuma.

## APPENDIX II. LANGUAGE.

Having been advised that a specimen of the language would be of considerable interest, I now give a list of upwards of three hundred words. Of numerals and pronouns I am also giving the Fijian and Samoan equivalents, and of such words out of my general list as seem to me to bear any relationship to Fijian, Samoan, or both languages. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Leefe, the Commissioner of Rotuma, an excellent Fijian scholar, for any merit the list may have. The Rotuman was written down by me first from the interpreter; the Fijian being then carefully added, the Fijian list was handed over to Gideoni, an ordained Wesleyan minister, a native of Rotuma, and by him translated into Rotuman, under Mr. Leefe's supervision. The Samoan list I compiled later from the Rev. George Pratt's dictionary, and by the aid of two Samoans in Fiji. I divided the list into words bearing a relationship to one another, in all eleven sections; the numbers in front of the words compared with Samoan and Fijian refer to these. The words chosen refer for the most part to objects of everyday use; others were to assist me in my inquiries about different points, as relationship, superstitions, etc.; and still others were merely for the purpose of comparison. When the list was being compiled, it was never intended for publication in such an incomplete form.

*Numerals.*

English.	Rotuman.	Wilkes Exp. Rpt.	Samoan.	Fijian.
1	ta, esea..	..	ta, esea ..	dua.
2	rua ..	..	rua ..	rua.
3	folu ..	..	tholu ..	tolu.
4	hake ..	..	hake ..	va.
5	lima ..	..	lima ..	lima.
6	ono ..	..	ono ..	ono.
7	hifu ..	..	hithu ..	vitu.
8	valu ..	..	valu ..	walu.
9	siva ..	..	siva ..	civa.
10	sagahula ..	..	saghul ..	tini, sagavalu.
100	tarau ..	..	tarou ..	drau.
1,000	efe ..	..	hefit', kimanmana	udolu.
10,000	kiu ..	..	afe ..	oba.
100,000	kuimanamana ..	..	kiut' ..	vetelei.
1,000,000	rourauvarevare	..	manomo ..	petele.

*Pronouns.*

English.	Rotuman.	Wilkes Exp. Rpt.	Samoan.	Fijian.
I ..	gou ..	go, gou ..	'ou ..	koiau.
Thou ..	ae ..	ai, ei ..	'oe ..	koiko.
He ..	ia ..	hati? ..	'o ia ..	koya.
We two ..	itara, amira ..	amia ..	i tawa ..	kedaru, keirau.
You two ..	aura ..	aua ..	'oulua ..	kemudrau, koikodrau.
They two ..	iria ..	eria ..	i taua ..	koirau.
We ..	omisi ..	amis ..	i tatou ..	keimami.
You ..	ausa ..	au, aus ..	'outou ..	kemudou.
They ..	irisa ..	eris ..	i latou ..	ko ira.
My ..	ontou ..	otou ..	lou, lota ..	noqu.
Thy ..	onou ..	o, ou ..	lou, lo'oe ..	nomu.
His ..	onou ..	ou ..	lona, lana ..	nona.
Our (of two)	otara ..	otonusa ..	lo and la maua ..	nodarua.
Your (of two)	onomura ..	oua, omua ..	lo and la taua ..	nomudrau.
Their (of two)	oria ..	oria ..	lo and la oulu ..	nodrau.
Our ..	onaso ..	onus? ..	lo and la matou (tatou)	noda.
Your..	onomusu ..	ous, omus ..	lo and la outou ..	nomudou.
Their..	onaro ..	oris ..	lo and la latou ..	nodra.

English.	Rotuman.	Wilkes Exp. Rpt.	Samoan.	Fijian.
2 Moon ..	hula ..	hula ..	mauli ..	vula.
Cloud ..	aoga ..	aoag ..	ao ..	ou.
Rain ..	usa ..	..	ua ..	uea.
Wind ..	lagi ..	..	ta'ai ..	cagi.
Night ..	pogi ..	..	po ..	bogi.
3 Land ..	hanua ..	hanua ..	fanua ..	vanua.
Island ..	otmotu ..	..	motu ..	yanuyanu.
Coast ..	ufaga ..	..	matafaga ..	baravi.
Bay ..	fagpopotu ..	..	faga ..	toba.
Reef ..	sau ..	..	a'au ..	cakau.
Wave ..	peau ..	..	piau ..	biau.
4 Eye ..	mafa ..	matho ..	mata ..	mata.
Nose ..	isu ..	isu ..	isu ..	ueu.
Ear ..	faliga ..	thaliga ..	taliga ..	daliga.
Mouth ..	nuja ..	nutsu ..	gutu ..	gusu.
Tongue ..	alele ..	alele ..	alelo ..	yame.
Chest ..	fatfata ..	fatfata ..	fatfata ..	sere.
Mammae ..	susu ..	sus ..	susu ..	sucuna.
Back ..	fomafua ..	thomathua ..	tua ..	daku.
Thigh ..	saga ..	..	ogavae ..	soga.
5 Branch ..	ra ..	..	la ..	tabana.
Leaf ..	rau ..	rāu, noho ..	lau ..	drau.
Bark ..	uli ..	oihapa ..	pa'u ..	kuli.
Green ..	yarava ..	foo ..	lau'ava ..	karakawa.

English.	Rotuman.	Wilkes Exp. Rpt.	Samoan.	Fijian.
6 Fowl ..	moa ..	moa ..	moa ..	toa.
Yam ..	uki ..	..	ufi ..	uvi.
Orange ..	mori ..	..	moli ..	moli.
Cocoanut ..	niu ..	niu ..	niu ..	niu.
Breadfruit ..	ulu ..	ulu ..	'ulu ..	uto.
Chestnut ..	ifi ..	..	ifi ..	ivi.
Papaw ..	esu ..	..	esi ..	ualeti.
Kava ..	kava ..	..	kava ..	yaqona.
Chew, to ..	mama ..	..	lamulamu ..	mama.
Kava-bowl ..	tanoa ..	tanoa ..	tanoa ..	tanoa.
7 Bird ..	manumamanu ..	manmanu ..	manu ..	manumamanu.
Fish ..	ia ..	ia ..	ia ..	ika.
Owl ..	ruru ..	..	lulu ..	lulu.
Butterfly ..	pepe ..	..	pepe ..	bebe.
Fly ..	laga ..	..	lelei ..	laga.
Lobster ..	ula ..	..	ula ..	urou.
Mosquito ..	ramu ..	ramu ..	ramu ..	namu.
Coral ..	laje ..	..	lapa ..	lase.
8 Bailer ..	tata ..	..	tata ..	nimima.
Bail, to ..	anu ..	..	asu ..	nima.
Sail ..	lae ..	..	la ..	laca.
9 Knife ..	sere ..	sere ..	pene ..	sele.
Beam ..	utupoto ..	..	utupoto ..	soko.
Needle ..	sui ..	..	sui ..	cula.
Spear ..	jao ..	tsao ..	tao ..	motu.
11 Lock of hair of virginity.	sope ..	..	taupe ..	taube.
Sleep ..	mose ..	mose ..	moe ..	moce.
Well ..	vai ..	..	vai'eli ..	mataniwai.
Path ..	sala ..	..	ala ..	sala.
Dance ..	maka ..	mak ..	sa'a ..	meki.
God ..	atua ..	atua ..	atua ..	kalou.
Spirit ..	outa ..	lao ..	aitu ..	kalou.
Beg, to ..	farate ..	..	fa'atoga ..	kerekere.
Yes ..	o, u ..	ka ..	ioe, i, 'oe ..	io.
No ..	igikei ..	inke, indi ..	e leai ..	segai.

*Relationship. (1.)*

English.	Rotuman.	English.	Rotuman.
Man .. .. ..	famori (fa).	Sister to a man ..	segtoni.
Woman .. .. ..	honi.	Sister to a woman ..	sosoghi.
Baby, female .. .. ..	le riri.	Husband .. .. ..	vavane.
Baby, male .. .. ..	le meamea.	Wife .. .. ..	hoina.
Child .. .. ..	le.	Marry, to .. .. ..	inose.
Boy .. .. ..	fa haharagi.	Son .. .. ..	le fa.
Girl .. .. ..	honi haharagi.	Grandparent on father's side.	makiga.
Father or uncle .. .. ..	oifa.	Grandparent on mother's side.	temamafua.
Mother or aunt .. .. ..	oihoni.	Cousin, distant ..	poisasiga.
Brother to a man .. .. ..	sosoghi.		
Brother to a woman .. .. ..	segvevane.		

*Meteorological. (2.)*

English.	Rotuman.	English.	Rotuman.
Sun .. ..	asta.	Wind .. ..	toga.
Star .. ..	hefu.	Wind, N. .. ..	solgaasta.
Storm .. ..	lagi maha.	Wind, S. .. ..	suruta.
Hurricane .. ..	lagi hoi.	Wind, E. .. ..	palgaasta.
Hot .. ..	sunu.	Wind, W. .. ..	maurea.
Cold .. ..	matiti.	Lightning .. ..	uere (oga).
Air .. ..	ottiti.	Thunder .. ..	fui.
Rainbow .. ..	asisikae.	Sunrise .. ..	asta-pala.
Light .. ..	tafa.	Sunset .. ..	asta-solo.
Sky .. ..	lagi.	Waterspout .. ..	ahuhia.
Day .. ..	terani (asa).	Whirlwind .. ..	mumuniha.

*Sea and Land. (3.)*

English.	Rotuman.	English.	Rotuman.
Earth (soil) .. ..	pera (thanthan).	Water .. ..	tonu.
Rock .. ..	hofu.	Sea-water .. ..	sasi.
Stone .. ..	hofu meamea.	Fresh water .. ..	mami.
Mountain .. ..	solo (thuagsolo).	Tide .. ..	volu.
Beach .. ..	huneele.	Ebb, to .. ..	fenu.
Cape .. ..	isu.	Flow, to.. ..	usae.
Reef (a shoal) .. ..	mafū.	Swamp .. ..	rana.
Current .. ..	au.	Land .. ..	faufana.
Passage (in reef)	sava.	Swim, to .. ..	rapi.
Sea .. ..	lui.	Dive, to .. ..	iopu.

*The Human Body. (4.)*

English.	Rotuman.	English.	Rotuman.
Head .. ..	filou.	Leg .. ..	la.
Hair .. ..	leva.	Foot .. ..	aftea.
Forehead.. ..	motara.	Shoulder .. ..	uma (nam).
Tooth .. ..	ala.	Wrist .. ..	kokonisiu.
Neck .. ..	kia.	Finger .. ..	kapae.
Hand .. ..	haepheap.	Nail .. ..	menu.
Arm .. ..	siu.	Thumb .. ..	kahae mafua.
Abdomen.. ..	efe.	Knee .. ..	fu.

*Botanical. (5.)*

English.	Rotuman.	English.	Rotuman.
Forest .. ..	togvao.	Grass .. ..	moasu (pa).
Tree .. ..	oi.	Dry .. ..	mamasa.
Root .. ..	vaa.	Screw-pine .. ..	hata.
Stem .. ..	huni.	Ironwood ( <i>Casuarina</i> )	toa.
Flower .. ..	hasa ne oi (hue).	Bamboo .. ..	vau.
Seed .. ..	hula (leum).		

*Food. (6.)*

English.	Rotuman.	English.	Rotuman.
Pig .. ..	puaka.	Garden .. ..	veko.
Food .. ..	telaa.	Banana .. ..	pari.
Hen .. ..	ufa.	Plantain .. ..	faksara.
Turtle .. ..	hoi.	Tarrow .. ..	aana (a'aro).
Eat, to .. ..	ate.	Sago palm .. ..	oat.
Hungry .. ..	paate (masmas).	Sugar-cane .. ..	fou.
Drink, to.. ..	imo.	Kava-cup .. ..	ipu.
Thirsty .. ..	paimo.	Kava-strainer .. ..	nihou.
Dish .. ..	umeifi.	Cocoonut scraper .. ..	foa.
Arrowroot .. ..	mara.	Breakfast .. ..	amahao.
Egg .. ..	kalafi (kalodi).	Dinner .. ..	omoe.
Kitchen .. ..	kohea.	Feast .. ..	katoaga.
Fire .. ..	rahi.	Tobacco .. ..	rau.
Fire friction .. ..	sia.	Pudding .. ..	feki.
Oven .. ..	nujkoua.		

*Zoological. (7.)*

English.	Rotuman.	English.	Rotuman.
Shell .. ..	tetaikai.	Rat .. ..	pija.
Bat .. ..	huhuf.	Snake .. ..	alete.
Pigeon .. ..	ifa.	Shark .. ..	tanifa (ioro).
Worm .. ..	keremutu.	Crab, sea .. ..	kaka.
Scorpion .. ..	mamassee, monpuoga.	Crab, land .. ..	fupa.
Spider .. ..	maatavao.	Crab, cocoanut .. ..	aruru.
Centipede .. ..	saaraara.		

*The Canoe. (8.)*

English.	Rotuman.	English.	Rotuman.
Canoe, double ..	ahoie, te bau rua.	Paddle .. ..	hosi.
Canoe, single, big ..	tafaga (vaka).	Mast .. ..	pou.
Canoe, single, small ..	tavane.	Outrigger .. ..	sama.
Boat .. ..	taurani.	Steering paddle .. ..	usuli.

*Implements. (9.)*

English.	Rotuman.	English.	Rotuman.
Axe .. ..	ia.	Woman's dress ..	uhā.
Club .. ..	oipeluga (aihi).	Whale's tooth ..	lei ala ne tolo.
Lamp .. ..	pulolo.	Eyeshade ..	isou.
Digging stick ..	isoa.	Broom .. ..	touferi.
Basket .. ..	aga.	Torch .. ..	sulu.
Mat .. ..	epa (apei).	Arrow .. ..	hofakbol.
Sinnet .. ..	unu.	Hat .. ..	foperu.
Cord .. ..	alolo.	Net .. ..	vou.
Pillow .. ..	kuruga.	Pearl shell .. ..	tiaf hapa.
Oil (for body) ..	takai lolo.	Necklace .. ..	tifui.
Fish-hook ..	avai.	Sword .. ..	oifopilte.
Fan .. ..	siva.	Drum .. ..	oie.
Man's dress ..	taktakoi.	Fighting stick .. ..	oku.

*Salutations. (10.)*

English.	Rotuman.	English.	Rotuman.
On leaving ..	fuu.	Good-day ..	noaia.
Having left ..	lao.	Good-night ..	mose.
Good-morning ..	mamafa.		

*Miscellaneous. (11.)*

English.	Rotuman.	English.	Rotuman.
Heaven .. ..	limari (oroit').	Priest .. ..	apioiitū.
Chieftain .. ..	gagaja.	Play, to .. ..	manea.
House .. ..	ri.	War .. ..	pelu.
Village .. ..	hanua noho (estu).	Taboo .. ..	fonou, ha.
Tribe .. ..	hoga, hoaga.	Good .. ..	lailai.
Sing, to .. ..	maka.	Bad .. ..	raksa.
Grave .. ..	tamura.	Love, to .. ..	hanisi (varvar).
Bury, to .. ..	famua.	Serve, to .. ..	asoia.
Go, to .. ..	lao.	Foreign .. ..	furcu.
Circumcision .. ..	kali.	White .. ..	fiiso.