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Conquest of the islands by the soldiers of Peru.

The expedition most renowned because of its size and its results is known by the name of the War of Kaitu and Uakeia. The adding up of the generations (10 to 12) makes it date from 250 years ago. It left Peru, a little island in the south, which had become overpopulated. Kaitu was the ~~strong leader~~ ^{strong leader}: a lively enterprising fellow who was bound to impress by his commanding bearing and vigour. Uakeia represented secret forces: he was the planner and diviner. With his 32 round pebbles or his palm fronds, he knew all that ~~he~~ ^{need} ~~be done~~ ^{be done} should do. And who would have dared to go against his ~~opinions~~ ^{counsels}?

They large canoes were launched: 37, if one can believe the book of the King of Apemama which gives their names. Until recent years one could admire at Apemama a relic of this Armada, the Kororimoa (first to land), the admiral's canoe, ridden by Kaitu. ~~Without~~ Doubtless it had been reinforced many times in more than 200 years; but its form and character had remained with its name while ~~one~~ they replaced ~~but~~ ^{each} one timber after another, as ~~each~~ rotted. She ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~was~~ ^{was} 20 metres long and 2 metres 10 high. The ~~(balancer)~~ ^{outrigger} which still exists, is 13 metres; the cross-pieces which

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bound it to the canoe. were 8 metres. This was not ^{the} only ~~one~~ canoe there.

~~A large number of~~ Counting at least 20 men to a canoe, there was an army of more than 600 fighters, a little weighted no doubt by the women who were following, for the names of several are noted.

The expedition made its way towards Onotoa without landing there. The first landing was ~~made~~ ^{to} the south of Tapitevea. The natives escaped, alerting the villages to the north, which assembled their soldiers to withstand the invaders. Where will ~~the~~ the battle be fought? Kaitu asked his soothsayer who consulted his oracles. They were clear. The meeting would take place at ^{Tapuaerea} ~~Tapitevea~~, on that land left ^{uncovered at low tide} ~~which the low water reveals~~ between 2 islands.

For a whole day and a night, the army from Peru worked at a plan. At the opening of the passage were built 30 stone men, 12 feet high. Armed with forked sticks they resembled so closely the Gilbertese soldiers that the people of Tapitevea allowed them to remain there. In the morning, seeing these giants in the middle of the army in battle formation, they took them for the chiefs of Peru. They turned ^{on their heels} ~~their backs~~. The canoes ^{were} ~~needed~~ ^{inadequate for flight} ~~to flee~~. They had to resort to ^{some chance rafts} ~~the rafts of chance~~. Many were drowned.

Two villages of the north, Temenoku and Tekapuipui were spared, by the intervention of Kourapi, one of the chiefs of Peru, because his grand-

father and uncles lived there. ~~A~~^{An} native of Peru, Tapora, appeared. He was able to preserve his land and the place from where he caught his crebs.

Encouraged by this success which did not cost them much, the conquerors continued on their northward route.

Queen Tapiria of South Noaonti gave them a good welcome; her villages were spared; the rest of the island was conquered without a ~~shot~~ blow being struck.

One can imagine the disorder, the fugitives fleeing from island to island, and spreading panic in the north. Apemama, Kuria, Ananuka, Maiana, Tarawa, Makakei, Apaiang were also occupied by the people of Peru, who did not lose a man.

Wars of Butaritari.

There remained the 2 islands to the north. But the expedition ^{took a rest} ~~halted~~ at Marakei. It was well that they did, for the people of Butaritari and Makin did not intend to be taken. During the march of Kaiter and Vakeia, they had brought together their troops who were encamped between Ukingang and Onopi (south Butaritari.) It seems that at this time the islands were well populated. They ~~expected~~^{waited} daily to see the enemy fleet approach, ready to attack it. Time passed, it did not come. Mangkia, a young chief, lost patience. He demanded to be taken to ~~the~~ meeting ~~place~~ of the southern people. He chose a company of men - the biggest and strongest, and set off with them. To surprise the enemy, the

cancer, their masts lowered, rowed south. They covered thus the 80 miles from Butaitari to Marekei. There, they found no Peruvians. Their fleet had left for Tarawa. It was at Taraitai where they were busying themselves. Manghia returned there with his ~~the~~ men. He went to the manaba and questioned Kaitu, "Speak truly. Have you come to fight at Butaitari? if so, we will fight you here, immediately."

This swaggering and the sight of a company of well organized strong men succeeded in impressing the Peruvians. "We do not intend going to your place," they said. "If that is true, give me a pledge of your word. I want the island of Aremama."

This Manghia was no ordinary man. He was sprung of ~~olive~~ lively and adventurous stock. His grandfather was that Rairameana who had come from Samoa on the Kapuroro and had landed at Tapiteua where he had shown, with a great pomp, his courage and some idea of justice. He had built a village which he called 'Matang'. He had ~~been a woman~~ married and had a ~~daughter~~ son, Teimauri. This ~~one~~ ~~one~~ married Nei Rakentai, a widow who must have been of ^{a prominent} good family as she was able to ^{produce} ~~produce~~ boys, ~~with~~.

She had three who were born at Tarawa, where she had come to live with her husband. The eldest, Rairameana conquered Butaitari and Makin where his mother and brother came to join him. He put Natanga, the younger one at the head of Butaitari. He himself lived at Makin with his mother and youngest brother, Manghia. Much later he quarrelled with Natanga.

He wanted to attack him. His mother succeeded in restraining him. But as he was born to action he left for the conquest of Millé, one of the Marshall Is. There, history loses trace of him, and it is Mangka who rises to glory in stopping the Peruvian invasion.

These conquerors of the islands were not the men to lose the advantage of their successes.

Having left a very densely populated island, and now having before them large uninhabited areas, they scarcely considered returning home. They divided the land and the workers; for most of those who had not fled became slaves.

It is impossible to count the loss of human life which resulted from this invasion. In the suddenness of the disaster, the canoes, overloaded, their loads badly stowed, or without sail, went down, broke up, or else the passengers, without food, died of starvation before being taken by the sea. In most of the Gilbertese wars, the same story has been repeated ~~often~~: few deaths in battle, some victims of massacre, and many captives. The scanty Gilbertese woods offer little refuge to the conquered; only the sea and its deceptive spaces remain for their freedom.

This conquest brought closer together the language and the people. In the centre islands does anyone remain who cannot trace his line back to some soldier from Peru? The genealogies are very well preserved ^{back} to the time at to which we refer. Beyond that they are confused and are not long in becoming lost in mythology.

Bularitari and Makin had avoided the invasion

only to fall into very bloody internal wars. The old Melanesian people, small, ~~stuffy~~ frizzled, swarthy, seemed to have been exterminated there by the half Samoan descendants of Rairauana. In the village of Kuma, ~~the~~ had been spared only 2 sorcerers, in order to preserve the knowledge of that magic which made ~~the~~ god soldiers ~~of~~ with the cutting of their hair [?]

Teavaki, the final conqueror achieved by his tenacity and courage the glory of a hero. They bore him from the battle field bristling with arrows.

Having hardly recovered from these ^{horrid} wounds, he ~~started~~ ^{left} another war ~~for the country~~. He returned a little closer in the same district and ~~left~~ ^{began} again. Was it not he who, at Makin, broke up the canoes which had brought him with his company to deprive his soldiers of any means ~~of~~ withdrawal. Having destroyed his adversaries he distributed the land to the members of his family and friends. He ~~ended like~~ ^{died the same death as} Achilles. Working on an embankment in front of his house, he stepped on a pointed shell which broke off in his foot. The wound became infected and caused his death.

Many of the episodes of these quarrels are vile. They do not lack cowards, traitors and murderers.

The Wars of Tarawa

Father Guichard has tried to unravel the series of wars of Tarawa after the conquest by Kaitu. It is not an easy task, but he who is interested in the story of ~~the~~ ^{man's} passions can find his study in an island as on a continent. In both, men would push their

strife beyond death. Generations carry on their quarrels. Among Polynesians, pride and hatred can live ~~longer than~~ ^{just as long as} among the Corsicans. A certain vindictive patriotism ~~is not~~ ^{belongs} ~~the lot~~ ^{not} only of to the supposedly civilised.

After Keiku's return ~~to the~~ south, his soldiers scattered for the occupation of the islands were very exposed where they were not as numerous nor as able to assert their superiority. This was the case at Tarawa. The conquered, led by the Nanatapu, rose against the invaders. They ~~later~~ were enslaved or killed.

There remained only 2 members of the family of the Teapike, who were had fled to a rock, in a rough sea.

A chief of Puariki took pity on them. He sent them water and food; then invited them to come to ~~the~~ ^{his} village. The refugees joined with the people of Puariki, fought the Nanatapu and divided up the 2 villages. Much later on a fishing trip round the island they took the Nanatapu from behind, and killed the people of 3 villages. The Teapike divided up their lands; the Puariki not wishing to take part in the despoiling. The original inhabitants of Tarawa must have been pacifists; they always allowed themselves to be taken. Like the octopus which has lost a tentacle, they sought only to enjoy their curtailed life. But Tatinaki, a ~~opposing~~ ^{hostile} ~~adverse~~ planner, proposed a night attack. To avoid the mosquitoes, the natives slept in their houses on stilts, built as far as possible ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the lagoon. A poor position to defend. The ~~assaults~~ ^{attacked} were killed or became ~~the~~ ^a prey of the sharks in trying to ~~fly by swimming~~ swim away. This time

all the conquerors took part in the division of the deserted lands.

Years passed. The Teapike increased. When they felt strong enough, see ~~that~~ ^{them they} ~~turning~~ against their allies of Pariki whom they fought. ~~It~~ It remained to them only to fight among themselves; ~~what had~~ ^{which} occurred in a 7th war where the youngest branch of the Teapike carried the day.

Other internal squabbles or sorties against their neighbours ~~did~~ ^{were} not lacking. The cruiser which established the English protectorate arrived just in time to prevent a new massacre. That is to say the islanders of older times not only ~~had~~ ^{enjoyed} idyllic days, on an enchanted island. There, as elsewhere, ~~after the~~ ^{the transition} ~~life~~ ^{it} was always ~~the~~ ~~life~~. ~~which~~ ~~was~~ the most threatened.

after the upheaval the internal stability always ^{was.} ~~found~~ itself most insecure.

The Massacre of Tabiteuea

Pinoka of Apemama.

p113] It is impossible to follow in detail the history of each island. ^{However} ~~in the meantime~~ one cannot fail to sketch the most unusual and interesting character of the Gilberts: King Pinoka of Apemama. R. L. Stevenson describes him in his book "In the South Seas".

In 1889 the great writer saw him closely,
since he was his host at Apemama. Some old men
remember him and show the site of his cottage, built
in 2 days in the forest, 200 yards ~~west~~^{east} of the royal
palace. Stevenson, ~~and~~ his wife, brother-in-law and
a Chinese cook sought solitude and a little
health in the sunny Pacific islands. He watched
the Islanders with very lively keenness and sympathy.
He has spoken very justly of them because he was
able to understand them by his fondness for them.
He stayed 4 months in the Gilberts, 2 at Butaritari
and 2 at Apemama. Before him only 3 Whites
had been able to ~~put~~^{set} foot on the central island.
Piroka distrusted the men of that race. His
experience had led him to divide them into 3
categories: those who ~~cheat~~^{cheat you a little} ~~too little~~, more
who ~~cheat~~^{cheat you} a lot, and those who ~~cheat~~^{cheat} too much.
He took a long time to consider Stevenson, before
allowing him to settle on the land. He vowed to
him later that he had seen ~~by~~ⁱⁿ his face and eyes
that he had to do with a good and loyal man.
Stevenson's portrait of Piroka is of a wise man,
of nearly 50 years seen 2 years before his death.

This intelligent and tenacious man came
from ~~of~~ a remarkable family. Tetapo, his
great-great-grandfather was a giant. He had saved
Apemama from an invasion from Tarawa. His
family had gone higher: Paitoko, Piroka's

p114] father subdued under him Kuria, Ananuka and Abemama. He was a rather patriarchal and kindly chief. He was sensible and ruled without oppression. Pinoka, from his early years, took the upper hand, and his father would allow all his whims. He was quickly well known for his debauchery and cruelty. When the people of Kuria refused to pay him their tribute of young girls, he waged war on them.

On both sides had been promised the help of a boat's captain who would bring arms and ammunition.

That of Pinoka arrived first. At Kuria there were several guns, a little gunpowder but no bullets.

There, Taona had strongly resisted the war, contrary to the inclination of the young men who had at last found a wife

"Here he is", he said when the boat appeared
"Give him all you have. Remain firm. No flight. I shall destroy all the canoes"

With an axe blow he made a board jump all over the place like a skittle. By the passage for Rota, a craft approached. Standing on the shore, Temu the sorcerer cast all his worst spells over it, when a shot was fired from lower down. Hit in the eye, Temu fell, quite dead. It was 'Captain Greg' trying a new gun. The sorcerer was the only victim of the bullets. The people of Kuria, unable to reply to the firing, took flight. But one after another their poorly stopped canoes sank beneath the

waves. Those who followed them to the north of the island returned horrified. They had met shoals of very excited sharks who cruised around in their wake, where their fins protruded & their large mouths snipped the reddened water. Kuni ~~was~~ ^{has} not yet ~~freed~~ recovered from ~~this~~ such a loss of life. The first sailors reckoned it had 3000 inhabitants. Let us ~~take out~~ ^{say} one thousand.

Although the population increases it has not yet reached 300. And it is the same at her sister Ananuka.

It was about 1840, in the reign of Paitke when the first ships anchored near the island of Pike, to fill their casks with coconut oil. Each traded in its fashion, even much later when copra replaced oil. Pinoka obtained a complete monopoly. He built stores, ~~he~~ began trading on a large scale, and was able alone to deal with the captains.

Stevenson has described the scene. The sailing ship would drop anchor in the lagoon opposite the royal palace. Soon a ~~canoe~~ ^{ship's boat} would be seen approaching.

It carried a ladder which would be firmly attached to the ~~netting~~ ^{rigging}. Pinoka, a man of dignity and prowess, would not risk his personage on the rope ladders of these primitive times. Once he had almost broken his back because of the unreliability of this rotten material. The captain had an excuse: his ladder was rarely used by a man of such Majesty and bulk as had King Pinoka. This man was not the very largest, but he overflowed on every side: a true Polynesian King, ~~paying~~ ^{doing the} greatest ~~tribute~~ ^{credit} to the people who fed him. These good

captains had often tried hard to persuade the king that a little physical exercise, walking for example, would do him good. It was not etiquette. His Majesty would travel only in a boat or a royal chair carried by four lackeys.

Thus when the ladder was fixed and the ~~canoe~~^{boat} had left, there would be seen 4 carriers and a well filled armchair approaching over the uncovered beach. Then, pushed, dragged, heaved, the trading king would set foot on board, and it always seemed that on that side, the boat listed.

The captains took care to display their greatest courtesy. They cleaned up their vessels, and prepared the men for their large client.

Those who treated him lightly the first time ~~needed~~^{did} not need to return, or else they did not know their men. To escape their tricks, the trading king grew bold enough to buy a schooner, & to deposit money in New Zealand banks. There he was not merely greatly cheated but further fleeced ^{from the start} by his intermediaries. He never saw his money again and when his boat was lost, it a thief had taken the money intended for his insurances. He accepted this loss philosophically and made himself agreeable to the passing merchants.

^{In} ~~from~~ the times of Piraka there was at Apareng a certain Karakana who ^{was} scarcely on good terms with the king of his island, Kaida. He had to flee to Hawaii. He learnt there how to handle a gun and he became an excellent shot. He greatly desired to show off his skill. When he

returned to the Gilberts, he went to Nonouti and, ~~on the way~~ ^{casually}, he suggested to Pinoka that an expedition be sent against Apaiang. So, he ~~also~~ plotted at Nonouti; he was important there and gained supporters in the south and got the north behind him. To get rid of this character, his enemies, who dreaded his gun, were able to flatter Pinoka and persuade him that he was the only man ~~of stature~~ who could match Karakana.

The King of Apemama prepared for battle. A captain landed him at Nonouti with 80 soldiers. Karakana was waiting to attack him in the middle of the island, but the boat landed at the southern end and when Karakana arrived there, all out of breath, the first company had already disembarked. Our people ~~and~~ ^{were} not taking the matter ~~so far as~~ ^{seriously enough} ~~tragedy~~: they were smoking pipes in Temotu's maneaba when Karakana appeared. ~~As soon as~~ ^{Immediately} our soldiers jumped to the foot of the ~~first~~ ^{nearest} cocoa tree ~~arrived at~~. The ~~fighter~~ ^{shoot} of Apaiang had only a few armed attendants. His wife, behind him, passed him cartridges. He hardly missed a shot. All ~~who~~ ^{that} ~~precluded~~ from the tree were touched. Puerana was shot in the chest, Tauruki, Kaintangare, Fepata wounded in the stomach remained on the ground. Korina's wife, who was passing cartridges to her husband, had one thigh cut off and the other injured. 4 other soldiers were shot in the arm while trying to draw aim. The day ended ill for the warriors of Apemama. Pinoka had not landed. His people kept him back, it was said. It was a

good gun, but also, what a large target! At last, Vapony had an idea. He left the foot of his cocoa tree, began to climb up the sloping bank, look

Karakana from the side and broke his back. Then our soldiers of Apemama threw themselves at the wounded man and ~~broke his neck~~ cut off his head.

Pinoka, having not started was in a very bad mood. He directed it at the men of Nonouti who came by canoe to meet him. He began to shoot at them. They all dived under, but whenever a head appeared for air, the gun fired at the target. Meanwhile his people, more humane than he, did not do too much damage in the villages. This all occurred in 1882.

The boat returned to Apemama full of slaves of both sexes. But at some distance from there, an English gunboat appeared. Pinoka had to give up all his guns which were had fallen under Kuria; all the prisoners of war who ~~were to have~~ ^{wished it} ~~been~~ repatriated ~~by him~~. Great humiliation for the king of Apemama who nevertheless retained his

power and rose up, much later, ^{by} from a 7 shot gun much renowned in his king dom. ^{He would} ~~It shot for~~ ^{nothing he snapped, ~~one knew~~ that his Majesty was} ^{it would be better} not satisfied and that ~~he refused~~ to carry on quietly. ^{Sometimes} the shot cracked under the nose of a ~~midair~~ ~~rebel~~ the offender.

If such a lesson taught him nothing, it was used by others. It wasn't that he was cruel like

p116] a shark always ready to snap its jaws; ~~he~~ ^{he} would take it suddenly, in the heat of passion: a savage with an inadequate conscience who never tried to master his instincts. He felt the least humiliation as a dagger thrust and reacted promptly "I have the ~~ability~~ ^{power}"; he said to Stevenson, giving himself airs. A power which brooked no interference: that must be known. Also, his subjects had ~~become~~ been so ~~flatter~~ crushed by him that they could scarcely raise themselves up.

One evening a 12 year old boy had ~~been~~ frightened on the road ~~by~~ the big boy Pinoka, thinking he was having fun with a companion. He had not been recognised, but was scratched. The next day all the children were examined. The young culprit had slipped away to fish. Although he had well smeared his face, he was noticed on his return. The villagers drowned him like a little dog and burnt his body, to pay court to the king's heir.

Pinoka had ordered the construction of a ^{pier} ~~wharf~~ on Pike Island. ~~Who~~ ^{Who} was missing? - Taumon - The king toured the village. Taumon, who was lying in his hut, rose and put forward his finest mate: a bullet lay beneath it.

His greatest cares were in his role as husband. How was he to rule so many women in a palace without walls or partitions. He found an original solution. He installed ^{kinsmen} ~~parents~~ and friends in all the huts around ^{them} ~~that~~. They had to keep up a ring of fires all night and ~~that~~ ^{stones} ~~stones~~ ^{at each other} ~~themselves~~ ^{on} the ground, every now & then, to keep awake. The old women on guard were ^{the} most zealous

30 Patterson St. Mrs. L. E.

A person which breaks no influence; that must be known. Also, his subject has been so ~~often~~ ~~checked~~ ~~by~~ ~~him~~ ~~that~~ ~~they~~ ~~could~~ ~~scarcely~~ ~~ever~~ ~~remember~~ ~~up~~.

On evening of 12th Jan also day had been frightened on the case ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~young~~ ~~girl~~, thinking he was taking fun with a companion. The next day been recognized, but was overlooked. The young culprit had all the children, now examined. The young culprit had slipped away to fight. Although he had well earned his fate, he was treated on his return. The village examined him like a little dog and burnt his body, to pay out to the king's tax.

Pinok has ordered the construction of a ~~road~~ ~~on~~ ~~Pika~~ ~~Island~~. Pika was missing? - Tamara - The King turned the village. Tamara, who was flying in his hut, rose and put forward his first matter: a bullet lay beneath it.

The greatest error was in his ~~reconstruction~~ ~~how~~ ~~much~~ ~~to~~ ~~make~~ ~~so~~ ~~many~~ ~~women~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~labor~~ ~~intensive~~ ~~work~~ ~~or~~ ~~habitation~~. The focus on original station. The ~~intended~~ ~~purpose~~ ~~was~~ ~~to~~ ~~keep~~ ~~up~~ ~~a~~ ~~high~~ ~~level~~ ~~of~~ ~~life~~ ~~and~~ ~~to~~ ~~keep~~ ~~the~~ ~~old~~ ~~women~~ ~~or~~ ~~young~~ ~~women~~ ~~and~~ ~~children~~.

And yet the devil found a gap because one day his capulent Majesty, jealous and sallow (?) was seen pursuing one of his women in the village of Tapiang. The escape would have been saved a hundred times if ~~an~~ ^a dull courtesan had not kept her under her husband's revolver. She who had excited the royal desire was shot. Another, guilty of the same crime, was beaten, rolled in the dirt & left, feet and wrists bound, to the mercy of the flies in the blazing sun.

Captain Ridd was there to ~~that~~ ^{request} ~~Pinoka~~ ^{Pinoka} force Pinoka to free the young man whom he ~~had~~ brought from San Francisco (1). The villagers of the 3 islands were in turn ordered to feed the court. Thus, the king was extremely hospitable. His family, servants, strangers and guests had no cause to complain of him. They were ~~fed~~ ^{fed} ~~nothing~~, bedded down and clothed decently.

Stevenson saw foreigners without a cent shipped off there by captains, returning home later fattened, equipped and sent back ^{at the expense of} ~~to~~ ^{on} the king of Abemama.

Protestantism had entered his kingdom 7 years before, when in about 1880, Pinoka declared himself for the new religion, without changing his habits too much. The whole island had to follow him. The king became a preacher, taking the throne and preaching in the church beside the minister. He even set off to convert Maiana. This fervour lasted only a short time. The island became restless

(1) Two heroic ^{examples} ~~acts~~ of paternal love. Kenoumie, before being shot for having carried off Nei Kanepu, his father Teriaki came before Pinoka and offered to die in place of the guilty one. This substitution was agreed to and the father died for his son. At Tapiteead, a man threw himself on an adversary's sword in order to procure, by his death, land for his son. The murderer has to make amends by land grant.

with dancing and making fornication. Two heads
of the church were one too many. Also in the island,
the influence of the minister increased. Perhaps he
introduced there wealth which the Trading King could
not control. In brief, the atmosphere changed. By
royal decree the island had to return to dancing, and
was forced to ~~abandon~~ ^{abandon religion}. A few knights returned their
strength, they preferred to be exiled.

In May 1891 when Father Bontempo came
for the first time, he was well received. He was because
and led by the king of Anomano. Pirriano's
large man who was first at his disposal. for the first
man, on the 21st May, ^{with it} Trinity Sunday. All were
given permission to help ~~for~~. Timon, the king's
brother was there, with his son and his Pan, and
all his family. Pirriano made his exclamation "9 and
too wished. He spent the day on a boat. But he
promised the missionary freedom of religion, and all the
land necessary for installing himself in his town.

When Father Bontempo returned from Balamitan
at the end of the year he found the island in mourning.
Pirriano had died on 10th November, aged 67 years.
lamentations still continued in the village. The bump
which the men had made on their arms had not yet
healed. They must have looked very savage, there
old women, with their long hair, bearded, gaped
and shouting their mournful chants, weeping for their
tyrant. Because Father comes had kept such a vivid
memory of it that Anomano still frightens him.

after 50 years
Have! Blackened the picture of Pirriano?

The people of the island have not retained such an

unforgotten memory of him. Deep down they are

prone of him. They find him intriguing and great.

Compared with their king, those of the other islands

seem quite petty. He had a nerve, cannons, guns,

an empire of 3 islands. He ruled his subjects roughly

but he was good to his friends, and the kingdom of

Hemana was respected by men and abriter.

Nevertheless his story must be told ^{to those}

because he also converted everything to

their profit. They were mainly responsible for the

wealth, immortality and depopulation of the

islands. The bringing up of lands by a few families

upset the social framework, ~~creating~~ creating a class of

serfs with all the physical and moral defects

of slavery.

The coming ⁱⁿ advanced, disorganized or kindred

by lack of wives. Depopulation follows. Prince has

no child. Many women of his generation and that

the following were sterile, and it came. Now the

population is slowly growing, mainly through

serfs, the men and women ^{with} but managed as

kindred by social classes. Serfs, the men and

noted for, in this respect, there are groups on

an island. Most of these barriers are ^{outlooked}

those ^{with} from marriage have remained.

A few men women ~~not work~~ ^{no} for a son in law who had ^{no}

~~the women~~ King Hemana. His is ~~the~~ social situation Hemana

to the 3 islands of Pinoka and to Buitan. The

later kings of the islands have benefited from the

English Protectorate which has maintained the order

which it found there. These new ~~kings~~
kings have been uncertain, at the mercy of a small
revolution. The tradition of the islands is ^{for} equality.
Most of the chiefs who have wanted to seize power
have failed. Others, reaching power by cunning or
force have not succeeded in staying very long. ~~Presently~~
A family of ~~chiefs~~ council of chiefs rules the
islands. Laws were severe against murder, theft, rape,
incest, adultery. The executive power is defective.
Occasionally a ~~rebel~~ rebel stands firm, supported
by his clan, and there follows war or punishment.
Most of these disputes do not go very far. Other times
the matter, started over a trifle becomes ^{very} heated.

The big wars have been attended by
destruction & followed by famine. Before waging war
they would use up the provisions of their people, so
that they would not fall into the hands of the enemy.
In enemy territory, they burnt villages, destroyed
coconut trees, ransacked taro plantations. But we
have seen ^{that} ~~these~~ great drains ^{have} ~~took place~~
^{also caused} ~~happen~~ ^{by} ~~because~~ of sharks or the cannibals of
the western lands where the last canoes ran aground
it is difficult to say whether famine claimed more
victims. Droughts severe enough to kill trees
are infrequent. According to old men's tales coconut
trees were formerly rare. They would ~~apply~~ busy
themselves, after a severe drought, at planting, when the
coconut, the staple of the islands, would be
greatly missed. Anyway the great plantations are
more recent. They date from the time when oil

then cepra, began to be sold.

The people of the small islands have not yet known a golden age, only truces between two massacres. Only one scourge do they seem to have been spared: that of great diseases. Their isolation, sun and wind have been worth more than troops of health experts. Between 1820 and 1870, whalers and other scum of the sea have only too much filled Oceania with their filthy diseases. But the Gilberts have been reasonably free of them. They are far from the major routes, difficult to (pinpoint), and but poorly accessible, without fruit or water, thus not very inviting for callers. Now that germs move round in cars and planes, our islands are still least endangered.

Cannibalism

Were the Gilbertese cannibals? Stories of the Samoan times speak clearly of man hunts. But three hundred year old memories indicate that cannibalism was an exception. There is a universal abhorrence of this ~~the~~ custom.

It is said that at Makin, Mangkia, that half Samoan, was fed on young girls. On the same island, one Robuki, of the royal family, looks after the snare for human game. A tract of land close to his hut was called "Decaying place of human flesh". Manrara, a chief, had been ashamed of such a relation. He had brought him to his house, on the pretext of having a thorn removed, and kicked the cannibal into a disguised pit where he was impaled.

Another human flesh-eater was executed at Ukiungang by the same Manrara with whom he

had a quarrel over a piece of land.

An old man of Butaritari ~~used~~ used to ~~speak~~ say he remembered eating human flesh as a child at Tarawa. The victims were provided by an ~~open~~ ambush. On a southern island, was pointed out a man who murdered for the same reason. He was an escapee from a cannibal land where he had picked up this disgusting taste.

We have already quoted the case of
Tewatu - te - 1 - Matang.

Now ^{whether} it is said that at Nikunan, Koka used to eat his children - and the mother had great difficulty in saving one of them; - For the old Tai of Abemama used to show a suspicious eagerness to have the dead buried near her home; or here and there, one can quote other examples of cannibalism particularly in times of scarcity, one can only conclude that the Gilbertese have long since given up cannibalism, if indeed their far ancestors ever did practise it. One feels that in this race there is something humane, intelligent, sensible and polite which dates from far back.

Ten Tinti of Tarawa was returning from a trip to Tabiteuea. His canoe was rowed by 6 men and 7 women. Dame Ruruopo directed the navigation; Tataua, who had been in Tabiteuea a long time wished to accompany him. He wished to ~~return~~ ^{see again} to his country, Tarawa. 17 people, including 2 women came ~~on board~~ ^{with him in} the canoes which he borrowed. Three guides fought for the honour of leading them: that was too many. Below Nonouti the west wind overtook the travellers, and for a week they drifted without reaching land. On the seventh day, the sailors sighted a haze, indicating an island; it was Nanomanga, one of the northern Ellice Is. They continued southward, and arrived at Nui. The Gilbertese hunted the natives, and settled in their place. They say 12 generations have passed since this event. They still speak Gilbertese at Nui, but the people have Samoan blood in their veins. This is how:

Three generations later, a Samoan canoe, out shark fishing was caught in adverse winds and was carried to Nui. Peau, one of the 5 fishers married there and had a daughter, Morea. She too had 2 daughters, one of whom, Nei Kowi married Tarai of Waitupu. She was pregnant when a great famine struck Nui. Hoping to save her life

easily elsewhere, the couple went to Nanomanga. There they ~~were~~ met by further misfortune: the king, of the island, Tem Puaki, ~~had divided the~~ ^{seized} ~~land~~ of Nei Kowi. Tarai had sadly to flee, and he went to die at Arorae.

But in ^{saying} farewells to his wife, he had said to her: "If a son is born to you, be sure to ^{take} his tongue (?) and call him Rongomarie. Above all do not forget to tell him of the misfortunes of his father."

Rongomarie became great and quickly killed off the inhabitants of Nanomanga. He ^{only} kept for himself one woman, and he spared only one man, Tekawa. Paonga, his grandson, returned to Nui. He found the land occupied by the people of Tatana and Ten Tinti and he married his son Rauran to a Gilbertese, Nei Kongie. There have been 7 generations since then.

On establishing their protectorate, the English found that the Gilbertese had too much

They saw them sitting off on the slightest pretext, the main reasons being games, dancing and feasting. The native customs entitle the foreigner to hospitality which is used and abused, shamelessly for months and years. His hosts heartily wish to send him to the devil, but politeness and good breeding enforce friendly manners and a

cheerful countenance - The island invaded by these idlers goes from bad to worse. The young people think only of enjoying themselves; the others of _____ and _____

The taro fields are plundered; the small portions of food are seized and squandered. Fishing stops. They are as intoxicated as one can be, on some toddy(?). Squabbles ensue and worse disorders. From the time of King Pinoka, more boatloads of these ~~happy~~ pleasure seekers have been lost between Kumā and Hemama: boats and passengers: all have been ~~perished~~.

In our time, all travelling in canoes has been forbidden except in the 3 straightest crossings. Many lives have been spared, and more disorders avoided. Moreover, the boats there offer their services to those who pay: this is an effective ~~check~~ ^{check on} ~~dampens~~ the enthusiasm of excessive movement of people.

The Revenge of a Woman.

About 1780, the people of Tarawa made an attack on Abemama, where they were defeated. To be completely free of them, the people of Abemama felt it necessary to carry the fight to Tarawa (70 miles). ⁽³⁾ Their main people led this attack: a general, a soothsayer, and a guide. This last was a woman, Paintapu, who guided the fleet.

At first all went well. Instead of being greeted with spear thrusts, the warriors of Abemama were ~~bombarded~~ ^{overwhelmed} with taros, fresh coconuts and ~~fruit~~ uncooked fish. Celebrations and dances were organised; ornaments, mats and all sorts of presents were brought. In the distribution, Paintapu, instead of ~~people~~ being regarded as a chief, was, being only a woman, completely forgotten.

Did she turn on tears? Did she pass from complaints to recriminations? The chiefs, fed and filled, took no thought of her. The injustice was not amended.

On their return, the east wind was contrary. They had to tack about. Land disappeared; night came on; the rowers relied on the leading canoe. Paintapu immediately regained all her importance. But on this day, the leader was not stirring. Lying on her mat inside the canoe, Paintapu was feigning sleep. All day they had sailed moved in the one direction, without altering sail. It was odd. Each time they tried to ask the woman she replied, without lifting her head, "Continue on". She was sulking, no doubt of that. She was annoyed; they knew why.

Perhaps she would betray them? Finally it became so obvious that toward nightfall, the men, exasperated, seized the woman, with her mat, and threw her into the sea. All the canoes passed by, until the tail end. The sailors, in the dusk, noticed something floating; it was a mat. Coming closer, they saw a body figure swimming. They fished it out and recognized Paintapu. They thought she had fallen into the water by mistake; no one had seen her. Here she is, rescued. Thank goodness.

Now it was safe to slow down a little. The other canoes had disappeared. That didn't matter! They would find them in the morning. There! That was the moment to change ~~the~~ course. The sail was changed to the other end of the canoe. Paintapu consulted the stars, gave ^{her} orders and lay down again, this time facing the sky. ~~The~~ ^{The} night passed tacking about, without encountering the other canoes. In the morning they did not see them again either. Several days ^{were} passed alone and in worry. At last an island appeared: it was Abemama. No other canoe had returned. Although they awaited their return, they never saw them again.

How did Paintapu feel, on that night of amid the lamentations of mothers and widows, mourning because she had only too well

succeeded in her revenge ?

And what of other tragedies of similar nature! A joyous departure for Cythere or Eldorado, and then this ~~departure~~ ^{ending}: the ~~mouth~~ jaws of a shark or the stomach of cannibals at Santa Cruz or the Solomons! The memory of the victims has died out.

The Gilbertese do not like to think on their disasters. The successful odysseys have survived better. Each ~~the~~ Ulysses has not found his Homer, but if he leaves some Telemachus, perhaps he will ~~to~~ hand down a little of his story with the survival of his blood line

"About 1901, at Nikunan, on a spot named Paia called himself a healer of all ills, thanks to his ^{Spirit} ~~Anti~~ Roeka. Everyone ran after Paia who would walk Roeka ~~ac~~ through the villages. The Spirit allowed this. He did not deign to appeal in crowds. He announced himself by whistles which Paia alone could clearly understand. A curious thing was that he had warned his hearers that he did not wish to meet the Rev. Father. ~~The~~ ~~was~~ The Father strongly opposed Roeka. What of the Protestant ministers? - no. ~~He~~ [?] did not fear them, ~~He~~ [?] was in with them.

One day I learnt that a meeting with Roeka was to take place at Rungata, not far from my place. A little before 8 o'clock, I went and hid myself behind a coconut tree. "Silence!" cried Paia, it is his time; he will come; make no noise. "Time passed, Roeka did not come. The crowd became impatient. "I'm going off", cried an old woman. "You and your Roeka, you are both liars." She noticed me behind the tree and revealed me to the crowd.

There were murmurs of "The father is here, it is he who is ~~is~~ hindering everything." I had to go away.

The following Sunday afternoon, little

Tekena came to find me. "Father, come quickly, my ~~father~~^{mother} Papane has been sleeping since this morning, and no one can wake her."

After Evening Prayer, with Br. C. and Sister B., I went to Papane. "Where is the invalid?"

"There is no invalid here". ^{There} ~~is~~ was a public agreement to prevent me going near Papane. But a young girl broke the agreement and showed me the house. Papane, in a long gown, was lying on her mat, apparently dead. Although I called to ~~her~~^{her}, she did not move. I took her wrist: her pulse was normal. I asked the Sister for a flask of spirits; I poured several drops into her mouth, no reaction. Holywater and exorcism had no effect. I was about to leave Paia annoyed and was not satisfied. "My wife is not ill. She is sleeping and no one except me can wake her. Tomorrow at sunrise, Papane will be up... not before."

"Paia you are playing a tricky game with your Roeka. Take care. Your devil ^{could} ~~may~~ play the villainous tricks on you. Why does your Roeka fear me?"

I was rising to leave when I heard a reedy whistle which went right through the hut.

"It is Roeka" said Paia. "You have provoked him. Here he is. He does not fear any longer." — "Roeka! Where is he?" "You heard him whistling."

"Yes I heard someone whistle. Is that Roeka?"

I began searching. In the hut there was only Papana, motionless. No one around; nor on the roof.

"It is useless to search" said Paia. "Come into the hut and talk with Roeka."

I opened fire "Roeka?"

"What?"

"Where do you come from?"

"From Mexico!" "You lie". "No". "You

come from a place where there is fire; you suffered there." "No, I do not suffer."

"In the name of our Lord J.C., Son of God and of his Mother Mary, speak the truth: You come from hell."

A resounding assent was the answer.

"Roeka?" "What?" "Is it true that you told the people the other day that the Protestant and Catholic religions are one and the same?"

"Yes, they are the same". "You lie". "No!"

"In the name of ... speak the truth."

"Yes, they are different. ..."

"Why is Papana sleeping so ~~so~~ soundly that no one can wake her?" "I have taken her soul". "Where to?" "Eastwards, to dance with it." "You lie" - no reply. It was the end.

I heard on the path the sound of a footstep. No more.

"Father, he has gone," said Paia

Some time later, as the missionary was preparing for bed, he felt 2 large hands trying to strangle him; and he heard, very distinctly a voice saying in French "This time you are here." In vain he tried to cry out. A quick ~~mental~~ wordless cry to Our Lord and our Lady, of the Sacred Heart, and the big hands let go; breath returned. Father C., immediately questioned, had seen nor heard anything in the house.

The next day after mass, Father asked for news of Papane. "Father," said a woman who had been at the meeting the night before, "Papane woke up a little after you left. When Paia grumbled, she told him: "The Father came; he prayed for me; he sprinkled me with holy water, and I could not stay asleep." Then Paia asked Roeka who had called the Father. "It was your daughter Tekina. . . Paia let us go away, & leave this place, the father has made me suffer too much."

So the whole family, went off to ~~live~~ live south of the village. The epilogue to this story is that a little time later, the Father, while away, received a letter from the Brother. Paia had returned from the woods with a load of coconuts & was stretched out on his mat. Convulsions wracked him; he foamed at the mouth; he was in

the throes of death. As the Bro. arrived, he had seen him throw back his head and breathe his last.

Roeka had killed him, the natives said. The night before, Paia had had a violent quarrel with his Spirit. They were expecting the boat which recruited workers for the phosphate company at Ocean Island. Each day Roeka would announce the arrival of the boat for the next day. The people, frustrated, began mocking Paia, who was taken off by his spirit.

The statement of Roeka, saying that he came from Mexico intrigued the Father. He learnt that Roeka was also the name of an ancestor of Paia who had been lost at sea with the ~~Montserrat~~ which went down with all hands off the coast of Mexico. This ship had come to the Gilberts recruiting labour for central America.

Here is (a story of) the beneficent intervention of a Spirit which took place at Marakei.

A zealous Catholic related this story to the missionary. She and her husband, heathens, were visited by a Spirit which helped them. One evening, the wife was particularly anxious about her husband's absence. He had gone out fishing with others, in the morning. A violent storm had overtaken them. In order to return they would have wind & waves against them. It was dark & they had not returned. Suddenly she heard a familiar whistle.

'Why are you so sad?' asked the Spirit.

She told him of her worry. 'Do you want me to look for your husband?' ~~Why~~ 'Would she?' 'He will soon be here. Half an hour later, the husband arrived, loaded down with fishes. He ~~said~~ said that he did not know how it happened.

He was struggling in the waves, far from the island, when he had felt his canoe lifted out of the water, and carried, against the wind, as far as the land. His companions were still fighting a raging sea, and it was not known when they would return. Then his wife told him of the Spirit's visit. A curious thing; this spirit advised them to be good, not get drunk, not to fight, lest he desert ^{quit} them.

Before the missionaries arrived, it was very difficult for the natives to suspect devilish tricks in these extraordinary events. The Church alone possesses those reactionaries who ~~at~~ reveal the demon, i.e., that power which our Lord has given His Apostles to chase out Satan with exorcisms, prayers or holy things. This power is one of the signs which is proof of the Apostle's mission. It is not astonishing that God sometimes gives missionaries the opportunity to ~~make use of~~ ^{poor} to open the heathen's eyes. The missionaries do not go there to ~~open~~ ^{take control} ~~welcoming~~ ^{ans.} ~~ans.~~

It is not a credulous race. They would rather stay here. Charity obliges them to act. On other occasions they have only to play the part of witnesses.

TRANSLATION FROM "HAWAII, OSTMIKRONESIEN, SAMOA" by Augustin Krämer.

CHAPTER SIX.

The inhabitants of the Gilbert Islands.

It cannot be my intention to insert here a complete picture of the Gilbertans. For this I would need the works by Wilkes in the fifth volume of the United States Exploring Expedition, Finsch's "Ethnologische Erfahrungen und Belegstücke aus der Südsee" (third part Mikronesien), Parkinson's dissertation in the second Volume of the International Archive for Ethnography, an English Mission's essay in the first volume of the Journal of the Polynesian Society and a French one by Hartzler "Les Iles blanches des mers du sud", as well as numerous smaller ones, the critical appreciation of which would take up an entire volume by itself. That does not say, however, that the Gilbert Islands are well known ethnographically. Notes and indications everywhere, but no full scientific treatment. What I give below are mainly only my own observations, which are rather incomplete owing to the roaming life and for want of a good interpreter. Several things have already been reported on in the previous chapter, particularly the geography of the still so poorly surveyed atolls, of which - on account of their uniform appearance - I give only very few illustrations. What pictures, not only of the Gilbert, but also the Marshall Islands have just been published in excellent size and quality by Alexander Agassiz in his book "The coral reefs of the tropical Pacific", all photo-gravure, almost quarter-size! Who could compete with such American munificence! Thus, I am able to sum up my studies

here briefly. The Gilbertans are in themselves a homogenous race, even if the islands south of the equator show more polynesian traces than those situated north thereof, which on the other hand show closer connections with the Marshall Islands, and especially with the Carolines. This is expressed also, to a lesser degree of course, in the language. Thus, for example the word "mata" for eye still exists in the south, whereas in the north the Ralik-Ratak "medja" is used. "Aomata", man, is also called "amedj" in the north after the Marshall "armidi" etc. The Samoan "vaCa" ship, is called "te va" in the south, pronounced "toa" in the north, and there are a number of other words to be found, which show greater or lesser differences. I don't want to dwell on the language for long, though. The two dictionaries, which, as I mentioned above, were given to me by Mr. Kapelle on Butaritari and Mr. Schlüter on Makin, as well as my numerous own collections of words, and a Gilbert-English dictionary by a French pater (published 1898 in Nantes), provide me with fine material to enable me to publish a reasonably good grammar and collection of words of the Gilbert language. What mainly distinguishes the language from the Ralik-Ratak, of which more details are to be found in Chapter 8, is the abundance of vowels as in the polynesian languages, and that most words end with a vowel. Take the word "te ruoeia", dance, an excellent example, as it has all five vowels next to one another. Further, most nouns are preceded by an article "te", and although the regular change in the Marshall language from t to dj exists here, too, it is rare. The island names Nonudj, Pedju (on Tarava) point to this. Also the formation of the numerals is polynesian, whilst the

possessive pronouns "my, your, his" are formed and added as in the Marshall language, as can be seen in the eighth Chapter. Enough of this.

As for the native name of the Gilbert archipelago, there is no definite one. The Marshallans call the Gilbert islands "Pitt", and the North-Gilbertans say "Temeiek" ("meiaki" means "South" on the southern islands). But there is a name in part. Just as the Marshall islands are divided into the eastern Ratak- and the western Ralik, thus the equator separates the southern Ni¹ Peru-group from the northern Ni Makin. As was to be seen at Tapituea, the island Peru in the south once had the predominance, and similarly it seems to have been with Makin in the north. Were one to call the Gilbert islands by a native name, one would have to call them "Makin-Peru".

Nothing certain is known about the origin of the Gilbert islanders, since the statements about their descent from Banaba or from the Carolines by earlier authors have not been proved sufficiently to be considered as documentary. One can assume as being certain that the already populated islands were visited from the south, from Samoa and Tahiti. Thus a legend of Nareau's journey from Samoa to Tarava and back had been reported in the Journal of the Polynesian Society (Vol.4, 1895) by Newell; but particularly the southern islands know many stories of such visits. I was told that it was from Makin that King Nakowudj (mentioned at Tapituea) originally had brought the northern islands into subjection. Then, after the capture of Peru,

¹ - I have also heard Di instead of Ni, but the latter genitive article seems more correct to me.

which ranks as first place of settlement of the southern islands, he brought the latter into subjection. But even before that, large double-boats with houses on them had come from Damoa (Samoa) and Butuna (Futuna). A king by name of Baduk had been one of the leaders and had taken the land away from the Gilbertans, with whom it was not possible to reach an agreement. Also boats are supposed to have gone back again to Butuna. One can, therefore, assume with certainty that communication with Samoa and even Fiji, which was in contact with the former, took place and this explains certain negritic blood-mixtures, quite apart from the northern and western. The alien immigrants, incidentally, seem to have been the losers. Numerous legends say that the strange men were all killed off by the Gilbertans and that only the women were kept, just as the Israelites treated the Midianite women. This is also a simple explanation of the micronesian mixture (namely Malayan woman and Negritic man). In fact, the anthropological conditions (ratio of components) are in absolute accordance with this weaving of legends.

The southern islands are more polynesian, whilst the northern Makin, as stressed above, clearly shows up the Marshall-type. The numerous pictures of natives suffice to show the common sleek hair in the whole of Micronesia and the foreign features - let me point again to Apamama.

With regard to the saga of the origin of the Gilbertans, let me add that those assuming origin in their own country are not lacking. Particularly Tarava, which in the language means "above", in contrast to the underworld "mone", prides itself that there had stood on it, in the oldest times, a tree by name of "Kaiegig" (others say it had been

a "te ibi", "ifi" in Samoan - *Inocarpus edulis*), out of which the first humans had sprouted. At the time of origin they had hairs all over their bodies and with this they flew about. A few people also originated in heaven. These first inhabitants mixed with people, who had come to them in boats, and thus today's race had been formed. As on Samoa, the natives know nothing anymore of their first wanderings.

I should like to say something about the political and social set-up, which is more like that of the Marshall islands than the Samoan. There are a few powerful great-chieftains, particularly on the northern islands, who have absolute, personal power; the southern islands are more inclined to democracy. There is everywhere, though, a nobility (aomata), which owns most of the land, a middle class called "te vau" and slaves "te kanua". It stands that an Aomata is not allowed to marry the daughter of a commoner, still less a girl of the slave-class. Yes, he is not even allowed to have any extra-marital relations with the latter if she is his subject, whereas the slave-girl of another nobleman is not forbidden to him. Yet a middle-class girl is under all circumstances worthy of being presented with the highest love of a nobleman - even if not of being married -, and fathers ^{are out} endeavour to offer their daughters to high-ups for remuneration.

That is where the word "nikirauroro" for a "rau"-girl comes from, which means the same as prostitute. If a "rau"-girl gives herself without any reward to her family, however, this is looked upon as shameful and vulgar. An aristocratic girl, on the other hand, is not permitted under any circumstances to associate with a commoner, unless she is prepared to lose her ownership of land. This is closely

connected with the "mother-rights" discussed in the eighth chapter under the Marshall islands. That a husband has the right to be master of all the sisters of his wife, has already been mentioned above. With such public social standards it is surprising that scenes of jealousy take up so much room in the life of the Gilbertans and that the word for jealousy "koko" passes their lips daily.

This is because the person bound by a love- or marital relationship is obliged to remain faithful. "If, however, for example, one of the two wedded partners wants to commit a moral lapse one day, this is by no means terrible, as long as permission has been sought beforehand." The married woman, therefore, is highly respected as such, and if she walks along the street outside a village, the men will step aside to let her pass unseen. Men, by the way, are often very devoted to their wives and hen-pecked husbands (erawan diringabuna) are by no means a rarity. Shortly before my arrival in Kioue a man had hanged himself because his wife had treated him badly. Altogether blows are an order of the day, they are readily given and accepted, which is why the British Government, when taking possession in May 1982, first of all prohibited the thrashing of women. It ~~then~~^{had} even happened that a cruel husband would punish his unfaithful wife by holding her feet into a blazing fire until they were charred. Earlier, the King of Butaritari used to have his women sewn into mats during his absence, as has already been reported by another source. Thus, cruelties were the order of the day, vide the frequent references above to the dreadful disfigurements caused by the shark dagger (ubudu). On the other hand, it often happens

that devoted wives, if for some reason they are unable to have intercourse, bring women friends and relations to their husbands just to satisfy them. It is also the rule that a woman moves into the house of relatives during her pregnancy to wait there for the confinement, while her husband lives with another woman. It can be seen, therefore, that only secret unfaithfulness is despised.

When a woman approaches her confinement (they then frequently wear a body-belt, *apaianua*, of pandanus leaves), she starts looking for foster-parents for the expected child, for adoption - here as elsewhere in Oceania - is predominant. In the house of the foster father, the *djibum*, the child is then born. The birth takes place in a crouching position. An old woman supports the mother from behind, whilst another in front awaits the arrival of the child with a pad of coconut fibre, in order to press this pad with her foot - as soon as the foetus and the nearly always immediately following afterbirth have arrived - against the bleeding opening, where the bundle is later fastened with strips of pandanus leaves. The labour pains are assisted mainly by hand pressure (*takabille*) to the calls "aia, aia, aia" and the birth follows by jerks. The mother bites off the umbilical cord and knots it on the newly-born child. Then the new citizen is given a young, sweet coconut (*te buni*) to drink and gets washed. The mother takes her bath in the sea. Should the birth have taken place in her own home, the mother will certainly soon move into the house of the foster-father with the new-born, who will give it a name. Often the husband, too, follows; but the Samoan proverb: "Don't step over the nursing mother" applies here, too, for at least two months, whereas intercourse before the confinement is not

forbidden. On the whole it is the custom that a couple does not produce more than three children. If another one is on the way, then it is usually, as everywhere, aborted by massaging the womb, whereas one does not like to kill newly-born infants. They do not seem to be so much afraid of overpopulating the islands; vanity and worry about nutrition appear to be the more probable motives. Wilkes has given us interesting notes on the wedding customs.

Less well known is the custom of eating excrement. On Butaritari, for instance, the words "kanam dibudea" - "I eat your faeces" - signified deepest humiliation and often induced exemption from capital punishment. Those who are familiar with the history of the Aztecs will know that this custom is also in practise elsewhere. Kanam kim Nikomonoe has already been mentioned under Butaritari. Let me add about this lovely virgin, whose weight at the age of eight already exceeded a hundredweight (fifty kilograms), that, when she had her first period, all the women of the island cut off their long hair to stem the flow of royal blood. As for youths, I might mention that circumcision was not usual on the whole; it was principally carried out on those who travelled to Tahiti or Samoa, which points to the polynesian custom. The simple splitting of the foreskin was called "e min", whilst the Fijian circumcision was called Kortobib.

But enough of these peculiar customs. Let us briefly consider how these islanders dress and adorn themselves. That they don't do either to excess really must please anyone who possesses the least bit of artistic feeling. One need only look at the pictures of Maraki, Tapituea and Apamama again and again to realise how very much more

beautiful, more becoming to these people, is the natural dress rather than the disfigurement of European gew-gaw. How much better does the grass-skirt go with the brown skin, which shines in the warm-golden tone of burnt sienna, although here more often than on Samoa it is mixed with darker tones. One would wish, though, sometimes that the grass-skirt would reach below the knees of the female sex, for - as the same pictures show - knock-knees are very common. The condylus internus of the thigh usually protrudes club-like at the knee, and when one sees a woman walking from behind, this easily appears ugly. The fact that this shape of leg is physiological and that, on account of the broader pelvis, it belongs more to the female than the male sex, I have already illustrated in the second volume of my monograph of the Samoan islands. For even the quarrelsome will have to admit that these islanders do not all suffer from rickets. The rickets which attack these people come more from the Mrs. Hobbart-gown, which is forced upon them by English missionaries. The reason for the frequent occurrence of knock-knees among the Gilbert women lies mainly in the fact that theirs one can see, others' one cannot. Luckily, their faulty posture is counter-balanced by a beautiful upper part of the body, even if it cannot compete with that of the Samoan women. But above all this, there flows the rich abundance of brown-black hair - the most beautiful ornament - swooping down from the parting like flood-water. On the whole, hair is worn shorter on the southern islands than on the northern, but it always flows abundantly round face and neck. Men like to wear little moustaches and beards, yes even _____, and women do not shave under the arms. To tidy their hair they do not use combs

like the Melanesians, if one disregards the natural comb of the hand, but only a pointed little rod (te gangen). To clean it, they also do not use chalk like the Polynesians and that may be the cause of the more frequent occurrence of lice than on, say, Samoa. I was told that they like to eat these here and there are young men who go in for proper breeding (of lice) to please their loved one. This does not mean to say, though, that the Gilbertans are unclean. One finds everywhere at the settlements deep holes in the coral-ground, in which rain- and brackish water collect, and in which the natives bathe several times daily. The fact that due to the shortage of water and number of bathers the content of the small hole is often of a green-brown colour, is another matter. On Apamama I noticed that the women nevertheless got their bodies nice and clean, except that this was probably mainly due to the fact that after immersion they scraped off the water with coconutleaflets, rather as we take the sweat off a horse after the race. On this occasion I had the opportunity to admire their modesty. There is not only a special fence round the holes, into which one ducks oneself (strangely called mandukeduk), but the women don't even take off their grass-skirt while bathing, unless they have a reserve one at hand. The men - as everywhere - are less concerned. My dear Edobada on Butaritari, where there was great shortage of water, always bathed by pouring water over her back and breasts with a coconut shell. Anyone who knows that one can have a beautiful shower in the tropics with four pints of water, won't judge the good girl disdainfully on that account. On the contrary, one must praise the inhabitants of the coral-islands that despite such very sad water conditions they afford themselves such luxury so often. At the same time one must take into consideration that

rubbing the body with coconut oil (te ba) furthers cleanliness.

The women never have a lot of jewellery. What they most like to wear - as also do the men - in daily life is a necklace of human hair. Whether thick or thin, it always consists of a greater or lesser number of plaited strands of hair, each one about the thickness of string, loosely put together like strands of yarn. This neck-ornament is called "te buna" - or also by the men of Tapituea "te mai". Quite often, too, a piece of red shell, or tooth, or a circle of leaves are attached (table 13) and the name changes accordingly. They are also worn as bracelets on the wrist or round the body "te muoda" (picture 41), which reminds me again of the body-rings characteristic of Apamama, made from coconutslices, either bare or covered with pandanus-leaves (picture 46), which - like the te muoda-hairbands - are worn as a finish of the top of the grass-skirt. These hairbands are a particular peculiarity of the Gilbert islands and the material for them is supplied by dear relatives, beloved women or men. Besides Apamama-bodyrings, called benugon, there are on the other islands also (several layers of) body-necklaces. The slices for these are only discs about 7 mm. wide and there are about 50 to 60 black ones (coconut) to 2 white ones (chalk). They are called te katau and are similar to those called te umon at Tapituea. When you think that these body-rings, which have to be pulled down over the top of the body, have a circumference of only about 75 cm., you can guess the gracefulness of the Gilbert women.

Now the grass-skirt, called te rid, on some islands also te riri, is essentially the (true) dress of the women. Actually I have seen it worn by men, too, on Maraki, and sometimes also elsewhere, but then the single strands were

coarser, vide pictures 35 and 36. One must not imagine the grass-skirt being tied around the flanks, as is the case with a woman's skirt in European dress. The cord runs from the sacrum over the hips in the natural indentation between the upper edge of the iliac bone and the trochanter, the curve of the upper thigh, to the front into the region of the pubic bone. How beautifully tightly does the garment fit here and how much slimmer, how much more graceful does it make the figure! See for yourself the truth of these words. I can urgently recommend such dress to our ladies who like to take J.P. Müller's airbaths (nudists) and to the men in the "Weisse Hirsch" (suburb of Dresden, spa) instead of their dreadful bathing-trousers. For one should always pay attention to beauty as well as exercise. That is why I want to describe here briefly how such a grass-skirt is made. You take strong cord double and string on to this the threads as shown in figure 24. The Gilbertans use cord of coconut-string (dogora). The threads are prepared by folding and chewing the leaflets of the coconut-palms, having removed the veins. Then each leaf is slit with needles or pointed pinna-shells (le buerre) until thin, grass-like threads are obtained. I don't want to be misunderstood, for I wouldn't dream of expecting the ladies and gentlemen to deleaf and chew their indoor palms; a cord and simple threads of yarn would surely serve the same purpose!

Necklaces of blossoms of the te-uli tree, called toori in the north, those sweet-smelling white flowers of the *Fragraea Betteriana*, are made similarly to the grass-skirts, only with three warpthreads. For these, too, coco-leaves are used, which are bent double so that the matt inner layer can be pulled away from the outer shiny one. One often sees the

women sit in their huts, one end of the necklace on the big toe, the other in the mouth, deftly wrapping the short pieces of leaf into the spun threads and fastening a blossom between the two. These blossom-necklaces are called te dokdok.

But other flowers are not despised, either; even the yellow te goura-blossoms (see Maraki) and the insignificant white ones of the saltwaterbush te mau are made use of.

Yet women don't as a rule pierce their ears to wear jewellery. This they leave to the men, as on the Marshall islands, although the Gilbertans did not let themselves be tempted by those monstrous enlargements of their neighbours as described below. The holes do not usually much exceed the diameter of a finger, so that a pandanus-leaf-roll (te gaobere) can be worn in it. Into the frayed front end of the roll they like to put a flower (e.g. a pandanus-blossom, te kabuerre). (Picture 45). But there is one piece of jewellery, which both sexes wear from time to time, not only at feasts like the Samoans, and that is a band of coco-leaves, pandanus, etc. round the shank above the foot, called te ganene. To this they attribute the magic power of bringing about mutual love, even if it might take months and years. Apart from this they plait crosses, bands and other figures with coco-blossoms and wear them as love- or sickness-charm. They call these te gigona, or as cord dogora dabuki or te kaina. Who doesn't think at the same time of Kainakaki, the Elysium, the wonderland of souls.

Young, half grown-up girls also like to wear instead of the grass-skirt, a similar garment made of young, slanting pandanus-leaves, see picture 41. It is called gamaguroguro and if a small cap is worn with it -

te baraidoa - they afford a particularly pretty sight. The shape of these caps is that of a folded serviette, open on two sides next to one another, and put on in such a way that one point comes down over the ears, the other points upwards; they are made of a fine pandanus-weave.

The men, too, wear hats of pandanus-leaves sometimes, helmet-shaped, three-cornered, called te tarao, whereas "hat" is usually called te bara. In Butaritari I got one something like a top-hat with a brim, made of tortoise-shell (don). When I pointed to the hat and asked "digara arana" (what is that called?), the proud wearer took it off laconically and replied: barandon, whereupon instinctively I stammered "Krämer", in memory of ~~the~~ well-known name. There will still be mention later of the fighting helmets of the men - baranan. Let me just add here ~~still~~ that the men wear nicely shaped wigs at exhibitions, called te daona. When seen from below, the frame, made of cocoleaf-veins, with its concentric rings and radial beams, looks just like a spider-web.

The chief garment of the men is the mat, te giedagamai, as compared to te gienigiro, the sleeping-mat. It catches one's eye that the word gie is the same as the Samoan ie, for example ie toga, the fine mat. These mats of the Gilbertans consist of young light-coloured and older brown pandanus-leaves, which form simple, geometrical ornaments, called man en te gie.

As on the Ralik-Ratak islands, these plaited patterns are not without significance here, either, and I have drawn a few of the more common ones in figure 25, together with descriptions. Your attention is particularly drawn to the one in picture 53, which is a copy of the dancing-stick.

The pictures of Apamama clearly show how the mats are worn. They are made by the women, who also show great dexterity in the manufacture of beautiful little baskets (te awen, picture 54) with numerous inner side-pockets, lid and two handles. These little baskets are among the prettiest and most useful things that exist in this line and serve as receptacles for sewing, jewellery, food, etc.

The men like to wear as jewellery, particularly on festive occasions, necklaces and body-chains made of coneshell-bases, which as decoration is peculiar to the Gilbert islands. This mollusc with its venomous sting, as the Latin name *conus millepunctatus* implies, dwells in a cone-shell and has a number of small black spots on a white background. The natives call them te ganaburo or gunabono and break loose the round bases so as to grind them into the shape of a coin. These discs, usually with a hole in the middle (see picture 54) are the well-known te nikabono of the Gilbert Islanders. In a larger form of about 7 cm. diameter they are usually worn singly, occasionally also strung on to a band, round the neck, just as they are to the west on the Carolines, in Melanesia and south, even as far as into Tonga, not to speak of the "guanschen" on the Canaries. In smaller form, about the size of a 5- or 10-Pfennig piece, however, they are only to be found on the Gilbert islands, strung on to a string, each half covering the next, like a skewer full of medallions. Often they are worn only in small rows round the neck, but I was also given a string on Maiana by Mr. Corrie, which consists of 140 discs and is worn round one shoulder, like a sash, at dances. It is called te djuaunigabon-gabong (picture 54). Of no less

importance are the same type of neck- and body belts made of teeth (uin), both human (uin amedj) and those of dolphins (uin diriko), whilst whales' teeth (uin dokua) are only worn singly, like the large conshell-bases, on a necklace. The top of picture 50 shows such types, whilst below on the same picture you can see the necklace, which was mentioned under Apaiang, made of the incisors of the relation of Tekea. But below this necklace there is a body-belt of molars, which are extracted with great pleasure from slain enemies.

The fact that the Gilbertans, especially those of the southern islands, are very pugnacious, has already been mentioned several times. Particularly under Tapituea the shark-tooth weapons, the strange shapes of which are shown in picture 55, found mention, as well as the armour, woven of coconut-strings^{fibre}. There are none of this quality to be found anywhere else in the world. Whereas the northern islands always were peaceful, the Peru group has always loved war. Daggers did exist, but were not as popular as the big, long spears, and not only those mounted with shark-teeth, but also smooth palm-wood-spears, which usually had parrying spikes in the middle, as can be seen in picture 37.

And besides war the great liking for dancing and games. Here the sparsely clothed body could show off its beauty to greater advantage. Most of all it was the tattooing, which couldn't be shown off as well in the dress of a warrior as in peaceful contest.

Next to the highest god Tabuariki, who appeared to them personified in thunder (te ba) and lightning (tidj), they particularly worshipped the god of tattooing, Neikalikibai. The work of mixing the paint, as

everywhere, lay in the hands of special tattoists, which were called tedje deidua in the north and tedje deidei in the south (djedje is "write" in the Marshall language). There is a legend that in olden times the grazing of the skin was done by long, sharpened fingernails. Now there are small hooks (neirau), little sticks the thickness of a pencil, one end of which is inlaid with a row of steel-needles, similar to the modern Fijian instruments. On Tapituea I saw the girls working on one another with these, as is shown in picture 56. They applied the pigment, stirred with coconut-shell charcoal, te ando, straight on to the skin and punctured the skin with the needle-points by hammering the stick constantly through the solution into the skin. That is how they achieve the deep blackening of the scars, which protrude 2-3mm. above the skin. On Tapituea, as on the rest of the islands, the adolescent youth still followed only the custom of adorning the inside of their lower arms in the manner illustrated in figures 26 and 27¹ m - u, as well as the back of their hands. The former tattooing, which one now only sees on older people, is best shown a-c men and f women. Parkinson and Finsch, as well as Wilkes even earlier, have given drawings of the ornaments without being exact; a-f clearly show a middle-rib with pinnules, which, as the Gilbertans explained to me, too, were coco-palm leaves. But since the centipede on Samoa as well as on the Carolines (called te roata on the Gilbert islands) portrays in similarly stylised forms of tattooed patterns the symbol of pain, this lost significance of the animal could also be an explanation. Although I tried hard, I could not find any particular marks or any order as I could on the Ralik-Ratak islands. The variety of

patterns is best seen in the illustrations, where I should like to draw your attention to the two strokes on the inside of the arms of the women of Makin, who like to show off their ornamented outspread arms when dancing, rather like the Marshall-women. Strange indeed is the presence of fish in the face of a man on Apamama as in the West Carolines. Altogether the square designs on the shanks of the women stress the relationship with Ponape and Yap and the Mortlok Islands, as one can see in the beautiful works by Joest on "Tattooing". As Finsch has already emphasised, tattooing has never been very widespread among the natives, and at the most a third to a fifth subjected themselves to this torture, although an authority on Wilkes assures us that only those who are tattooed could participate in the Gilbertian Elysium, the Kainakaki, whilst those who are not/caught by the giantess Baine.

For the sake of integrity let me add that decorative scars (te baeduru) such as in Polynesia, are to be found only as rows of dots, burnt in with an intensely heated coconut stalk, but never in the tattooing, of which I found definite indication on the Ralik-Ratak Islands.

The houses of the natives are simple, pitched roofs, covered on the sides and gable-ends with pandanus-leaves, which are strung on poles (figure 28). These roof-sides are very similar to the Marshallans. The structure of the house and the names of the timbers can also be seen in figure 28. It is evident from the pictures how very close to the ground the edge of the roof lies. When one has bent down and crept in, though, one stands in a nice room, whether it is one of the large meeting-halls

or in an ordinary dwelling. I rarely saw ~~many~~ multiple stories (te buia), which used to exist inside the houses, one above the other, often with only a couple of yards in between, for the storage of food and belongings, and also used for sleeping. Under Butaritari I have described such a house, just as I have already given a description of the large meeting-houses under Tapituea. The latter are called te uma ni aba "the house of the island", pronounced maniap for short, and they do not exist everywhere by any means. I saw them on the southern islands, whilst on the northern islands only the sites, where they had stood once upon a time, were still recognisable. They do not seem to be built anew. I should also mention the houses built on piles, of which I saw quite a number on Apamama as well as on Butaritari, since the natives love to sleep a trifle elevated (figure 22). On account of mosquitoes these pile-houses are also erected in the lagoon, where the wind can blow freely about them. Picture 48 shows one like that in the distance. The houses do not stand alone as on Ralik-Ratak, but are united in proper villages, round the meeting-house. According to Wilkes they were enclosed by a sort of palisade on belligerent Tapituea. These, however, have long since disappeared. There are no ornaments on the dwellings anywhere, and those on the meeting-houses are very modest, a few white ovula-shells, a few purlins, decorated with geometrical figures (picture 40); that is all. The inventory of the dwellings is also extremely simple and really only consists of mats, since even head-stools (bjugubjugu) are rarely seen. As everywhere in Oceania, all joins of the wood (usually pandanus-tree, te kaina) are effected merely with coco-string (dogora), the making of which is the task of the women. They twist the single with their palm on the thigh.

Cooking, too, is the women's job, in fact the old women's, as the young ones, at least recently, refuse to do this work. There are small cook-houses, a little way off (te uma ni kaneie), in which there are shallow throughs, called te tum (the same as umu in Samoan). Into these one throws dried coconut shells and scraped out pandanus-beans, which are lit so as to heat a few pieces of coarse coral. To prepare the fire they take soft wood of the te uli-tree and rub it quickly with a pointed little stick of tingea-ironwood. When this hard stick, called te dao, is moved very quickly to and fro under hard pressure, the layer underneath gets hot and the ^{splinters} saw-dust that comes off begins to glow. Instantly the spark is caught, blown at and a ball of coconut-fibre is lit. In the cooking-pit the little fire is stimulated with fans (te iriba). The pit is lined with dry coconut-shells coconut-fibre, the heated stones are spread out, and if, for example, one wants to cook pandanus-beans (te dou), which receive further mention in Chapter 8, one pours a few baskets full of them on to the stones.

Thus a proper oven is made, which is covered with mats. After a short time the women lift the mats and pour in cup after cup of water. When the beans have been lying in the steam for an hour, they are soft and are now scraped on the scraper (te duairoa, picture 57) to extract the juice te duai. When partaken of fresh, this juice is called tangauri; but usually one pours it on to Morinda-leaves or coco-mats and lets it dry in the sun until it turns into flat cakes, which are very similar to brown felt. If, however, the whole, cooked beans are pounded with a pestle (te gu or te buiuk) and this mush is then dried into cake-shape in the sun, these cakes are called kalababa, whereas the same mixture in the shape of a ball is called kurukuru and looks and smells like honey-gingerbread. On

the Ralik-Ratak islands they make from these pandanus-cakes the large preserved rolls, Chamisso's mogan (see 8th Chapter). Here, too, similar preservation takes place, only the addition of sweet molasses is supposed to increase the keeping quality. This preserve is called kububu (Wilkes calls it kabul and says that two rolls of it are the price of a house) and diluted with water it is a favourite drink.

The molasses, te kemaimai, are a speciality of the Gilbert islanders, who exchange them on the northern islands for the mogan of the Ralik-Rataks. It is won from fresh palm juice, the toddy of the English, the te karewe of the Gilbertans (te karuru in the south), by steaming it over gentle heat in coconut-shells (te ib). The karewe, however, is obtained by tying coco-string round a young twig of blossom just before it bursts, then cutting off the tip of the shoot and hanging a coconut-shell underneath, into the thin hole of which the sap drips along a little stick.

When the dangerous beetles (mentioned under Maraki) are abundant, the arrangement is carefully encased in sheaths made of coconut leaves, so that nothing untoward can happen. In the morning and evening the juice is collected. Everywhere in the village on withered little trees one finds the filled shells, always ready for immediate drinking, as refreshing as nourishing. After only a few hours it begins to ferment and after half a day it is already so acid and alcoholic, that it has quite an intoxicating effect. As a result of Wilkes' statement that the palm wine, which he calls karaka, can only be enjoyed when sweet, it has generally been assumed that the Gilbertans only got to know the taste of the sour juice through the white people. This is impossible; I am convinced that there have been perpetual and occasional drunkards on the Gilbert-islands in ancient days and also today, despite the

fact that the Government has prohibited heavy drinking. At feasts they liked to drink - rather like the polynesian kawa - the aforesaid kabubu-dilution, for which purpose there existed special wooden bowls (te keinemoi) with ladles (te bigogo). The other uses of the coconut for the preparation of dishes are the same as on the Ralik-Ratak Islands.

Taro, te papai, its manuring and method of cultivation, has already been dealt with under Maraki and Apamama. The roots, weighing a hundred-weight, although they must not be more than 12 months old, have already been emphasised, too. When cooked, they are mainly used by the old women of Butaritari to fatten up their children. They first chew them, then push the balls into the children's mouths, just as the Samoans treat their manutagi-doves. The effect of this is demonstrated by the Royal family on Butaritari. In powder-form, too, taro seems to serve as a preserve in rolls (kabuibui).

The breadfruit-tree, te mai, occurred chiefly on the northern islands (see plate 9 of the village on Maraki). Evidently there is sour dough (te gabu) here just as with the Ralik-Rataks (piru). The fruit is baked on hot stones in the skin and squashed between mats.

Banana, te douru, are supposed to have existed in olden times, but they were not used for food.

From the different kinds of fruit an even greater variety of dishes is made, of which I will list only a few as examples.

Te manam, called tagara on Makin according to Wilkes, consists of cooked taro, which is kneaded together with coconut "dust" and eaten fresh, sometimes also mixed with a little molasses. I call "dust" the remains of the grated and pressed coconut-meat (see Chapter 8), called te bin. These

remains or "dust" is called toada by the Gilbertans and they use it thus in contrast to most other Oceanians, who throw it as waste to the chicken and pigs. Figure 29 shows two old people preparing manam. The old man on the right kneads the taro, while the woman spreads the "dust" before her, ready for work.

Te gaba is a mixture of fresh pandanus juice (te duai) and pressed coconut juice and is eaten at once; it is not unlike a custard.

Te bodara is made from raw, scraped taro, mixed with molasses, palm juice and the kernel of very young coconuts (te moimedj). It is all cooked together and makes a sweet, brown pudding. A slightly improved version of the same dish is called te bigi.

Titong on Nonuti and te eberanigai on Maiana is the name of a dish made of pandanus-fruitcake (kalababa), coconut scrapings and molasses, which tastes sweet and very pleasant and is something like a plum pudding without raisins.

These few examples go to show what gourmets these islanders are and how well they know how to prepare delicious smelling dishes with their limited materials.

Yet they look upon chicken-meat with almost complete disdain and pigs evidently used not to exist despite their communication with Samoa - even though the handy shackle in picture 57 points to changes. Cannibalism, too, can only be said to be of secondary importance. Occasionally, as everywhere in Polynesia, a prisoner of war or one part of the hated enemy was actually eaten, but organised cannibalism did not take place. They, therefore, did not cook anything with salt-water, for they got enough salt through eating fruit in abundance. Cooking was done in coconut-shells and

in Tridaknashells (te aubunga).

While they regard the animals that live on the land with disdain, they love all the more the animals that live in the sea. Catching flying fish was already mentioned under Maraki, whilst the stone-wicker-traps and fish-ponds were discussed under Apamama. There is only one special instrument that must still receive mention and that is the eel-catcher, which also belongs to Nauru. It is illustrated on the right side of picture 57. The fisherman takes it to the leese side of the reef and dives down to those spots, where through the holes on the reef-edge he has seen eels (te rabono) or conger eels. Quickly he lays a juicy bait in front of the hole and the loop of the eel-catcher around its edge, and as soon as the eel lifts up its head, he tightens the noose and comes up with the animal. The fisherman can stay under water many minutes and on Nauru I was shown old people who had gone deaf as a result of staying under water so long. Sharks, te babba, too, are caught with a strong noose made of coco-bast (te bau). These are held alongside the moving boat and bait entices the shark to go in head first, a method of catching which demands a great deal of courage and energy. They also love whales, no matter how fat they may be. Not long before my stay on Butaritari a huge sperm-whale was washed ashore (on to the reef) on the north of the atoll, and although it was already very much decomposed, the natives rushed out in their boats from all directions to cut out the thick sides of fat, into which they bit with gusto. As I said, I particularly remember the day of my departure from Butaritari, for all the long village was steeped in aroma and fumes. There had been a large catch of dolphins and now the carefully distributed - and much picked over - pieces were being roasted everywhere over open fires. It is a strange feature of these vegetarian peoples that every now and again

they long for concentrated fat, as if to grease their systems thoroughly for a change.

With the Samoans it is the fattened pig, which they call popo (the same word as for the thick coconut-kernel) and which can't be huge and fat enough to be dished up as the show-piece at their feasts. Fried cubes of fat are among the rarest delicacies, and if they but knew crackling - I don't wish to say more, or one might be sick.

There are four kinds of vessel, which were used, and some of which are still used, for fishing and for lagoon and sea trips:

- 1.) Te ebeeb, the small fishing-float. It consists of two groups of planks connected by a deck. The deck, however, does not lie right on the planks, but is raised on posts, which have the same purpose as the fork-sticks of which I will speak shortly under sailing-boats. The fishing float is indeed also just like an outrigger-boat, except that in place of the body of the boat there is a float, in fact two floats in all. This vessel, on account of its slight depth, is used mainly for fishing in shallow water.
- 2.) Toa, pronounced more like te va in the south, is a small outrigger-boat, only meant for rowing, rather like the Samoan paopao.
- 3.) Toaririk, the sailing-boat, is at present the one most often in use. On account of its excellent sailing properties it is one of the best speed-boats of Oceania and surpasses even the boats of the Ralik-Rataks. Picture 58 shows a boat of Maraki, alongside the "Neptun". Further details are shown in Figure 30. The long outrigger is a striking feature. Its three poles are placed close to one another and slightly converging towards the float, with which the three poles (giaro) are connected by fork-rests (te dodo). The latter are fastened on to the float (te rama) by tying string around the

whole thickness of the float in a rather rough way (figure 30b), rather as on Samoa. On the leeward side of the body of the boat at each side there is a protruding piece of wood (te dabio), in which to insert the oar (te boe) for steering. The arrangement of planks and the size of this boat is shown in figure 30c. The timber of the breadfruit-tree, hewn with Tridakna axes (te|tanai) is used.

As on the Marshall islands here, too, the planks are fitted so exactly one on top of the other, that the natives see no point in caulking. Only the holes (te buid), through which the planks are tied together, are stuffed with thickened breadfruit-tree resin. The drilling of the holes is done with the "Trill-drill" (te gaba, picture 57) and the smoothing of the timber with a file made from ray-skin (te ikunroa) shown in the same picture. There is nothing special I can say about the rigging. The mast (te aniang) rests on a special little board (te dagadaga, figure 30) and the sail (te ie) is made as everywhere of woven pandanus-leaves. Let me add that the boats have special forked timbers (te aiai) and the anchor (te adjinro), too, is very simple and practical; a stone-slab with a piece of wood, pointed at both ends, affixed to it vertically and tied on to the edge. (Figure 30f). Finally, there used also to be

4.) large sea-boats, called bauru, none of which I saw. They were evidently only larger toaririk's with raised deck and platform, but not "double-boats", which were specifically said to come from Samoa and Tutuna. Owing to the shortage of large timber, the body of the boat was constructed from numerous small planks, roughly in the manner shown in figure 30d.

The extraordinary toy boats (te maggi) have already been mentioned above under Apamama. Also several ball-games, the rocking-game etc., have

been mentioned above under Nonuti. I did not see any kites. I haven't yet referred to the capture of the frigate-bird, though, which is in particular peculiar to the Gilbertans and those inhabitants of Nauru who descended from them. In the villages and on the beach one often sees these large birds (te idei), their long beaks sharply curved in front, tied up, on T-shaped perches, rather as parrots are on show in our zoological gardens (Picture 59). As with the ^{trap} hut used for crow-killing (ambush shed), the wild birds are enticed by means of tame animals. The hunters sit nearby in their hiding-place, and as soon as a stranger swoops down, it is riddled with shot. These missiles consist of stones of hard coral-chalk, the size of walnuts, or are cut out of tridakna-shell, and fastened to a long piece of string. First of all this missile is swung round in short circles and hurled across the frigate-bird, so that the string hits its outspread wings and it gets entangled in it. Once the clumsy bird is on the ground, it can't take off again without wind and is, therefore, easily captured. I did not see this game in practice any longer. Only in Makin did I see the natives at the "feather-game" (te edau), where they throw a feather-bow (te kabane, figure 31) on a long pole into the air (shackled) instead of the frigate-bird and try to hit it with stones on a string.

There is good reason why one now sees so little of the beautiful games on the Gilbert islands, for the Government of the white people has completely forbidden them, whilst dancing, as mentioned, is only still permitted on three days. It may be of interest to know what else has been forbidden them: first and foremost travelling. Not more than 6 natives at a time were allowed to travel on the "Neptun" from one island to another or to Butaritari. Furthermore, they have been forbidden to walk in the village-street after 9 p.m., and, if they do, only with a lantern, so that they can be seen. They are not

allowed to let palm wine ferment, but to drink it sweet only. And what is chiefly encouraged is the cutting of copra, as each island has to deliver up to the Government a certain amount each year as tax, whilst the excess is paid over to Fiji as the so-called "Queen's Taxes". As the seven lean years had just come to their end during my stay, some islands were so much in debt that they were left only with the minimum food requirements. In such circumstances it is obvious that the vigorous life of the natives soon dies out and the complete disappearance of customs cannot be far off.

CHAPTER SIX.

The inhabitants of the Gilbert Islands.

It cannot be my intention to insert here a complete picture of the Gilbertans. For this I would need the works by Wilkes in the fifth volume of the United States Exploring Expedition, Finsch's "Ethnologische Erfahrungen und Belegstücke aus der Südsee" (third part Mikronesien), Parkinson's dissertation in the second Volume of the International Archive for Ethnography, an English Mission's essay in the first volume of the Journal of the Polynesian Society and a French one by Hartzler "Les Iles blanches des mers du sud", as well as numerous smaller ones, the critical appreciation of which would take up an entire volume by itself. That does not say, however, that the Gilbert Islands are well known ethnographically. Notes and indications everywhere, but no full scientific treatment. What I give below are mainly only my own observations, which are rather incomplete owing to the roaming life and for want of a good interpreter. Several things have already been reported on in the previous chapter, particularly the geography of the still so poorly surveyed atolls, of which - on account of their uniform appearance - I give only very few illustrations. What pictures, not only of the Gilbert, but also the Marshall Islands have just been published in excellent size and quality by Alexander Agassiz in his book "The coral reefs of the tropical Pacific", all photo-gravure, almost quarter-size! Who could compete with such American munificence! Thus, I am able to sum up my studies

here briefly. The Gilbertans are in themselves a homogenous race, even if the islands south of the equator show more polynesian traces than those situated north thereof, which on the other hand show closer connections with the Marshall Islands, and especially with the Carolines. This is expressed also, to a lesser degree of course, in the language. Thus, for example the word "mata" for eye still exists in the south, whereas in the north the Ralik-Ratak "medja" is used. "Aomata", man, is also called "amedj" in the north after the Marshall "armidi" etc. The Samoan "vaCa" ship, is called "te va" in the south, pronounced "toa" in the north, and there are a number of other words to be found, which show greater or lesser differences. I don't want to dwell on the language for long, though. The two dictionaries, which, as I mentioned above, were given to me by Mr. Kapelle on Butaritari and Mr. Schlüter on Makin, as well as my numerous own collections of words, and a Gilbert-English dictionary by a French pater (published 1898 in Nantes), provide me with fine material to enable me to publish a reasonably good grammar and collection of words of the Gilbert language. What mainly distinguishes the language from the Ralik-Ratak, of which more details are to be found in Chapter 8, is the abundance of vowels as in the polynesian languages, and that most words end with a vowel. Take the word "te ruceia", dance, an excellent example, as it has all five vowels next to one another. Further, most nouns are preceded by an article "te", and although the regular change in the Marshall language from t to dj exists here, too, it is rare. The island names Nonudj, Pedju (on Tarava) point to this. Also the formation of the numerals is polynesian, whilst the

possessive pronouns "my, your, his" are formed and added as in the Marshall language, as can be seen in the eighth Chapter. Enough of this.

As for the native name of the Gilbert archipelago, there is no definite one. The Marshallans call the Gilbert islands "Pitt", and the North-Gilbertans say "Temeiek" ("meiaki" means "South" on the southern islands). But there is a name in part. Just as the Marshall islands are divided into the eastern Ratak- and the western Ralik, thus the equator separates the southern Ni¹ Peru-group from the northern Ni Makin. As was to be seen at Tapituea, the island Peru in the south once had the predominance, and similarly it seems to have been with Makin in the north. Were one to call the Gilbert islands by a native name, one would have to call them "Makin-Peru".

Nothing certain is known about the origin of the Gilbert islanders, since the statements about their descent from Banaba or from the Carolines by earlier authors have not been proved sufficiently to be considered as documentary. One can assume as being certain that the already populated islands were visited from the south, from Samoa and Tahiti. Thus a legend of Nareau's journey from Samoa to Tarava and back had been reported in the Journal of the Polynesian Society (Vol.4, 1895) by Newell; but particularly the southern islands know many stories of such visits. I was told that it was from Makin that King Nakowudj (mentioned at Tapituea) originally had brought the northern islands into subjection. Then, after the capture of Peru,

¹ - I have also heard Di instead of Ni, but the latter genitive article seems more correct to me.

which ranks as first place of settlement of the southern islands, he brought the latter into subjection. But even before that, large double-boats with houses on them had come from Damoa (Samoa) and Butuna (Futuna). A king by name of Baduk had been one of the leaders and had taken the land away from the Gilbertans, with whom it was not possible to reach an agreement. Also boats are supposed to have gone back again to Butuna. One can, therefore, assume with certainty that communication with Samoa and even Fiji, which was in contact with the former, took place and this explains certain negritic blood-mixtures, quite apart from the northern and western. The alien immigrants, incidentally, seem to have been the losers. Numerous legends say that the strange men were all killed off by the Gilbertans and that only the women were kept, just as the Israelites treated the Midianite women. This is also a simple explanation of the micronesian mixture (namely Malayan woman and Negritic man). In fact, the anthropological conditions (ratio of components) are in absolute accordance with this weaving of legends.

The southern islands are more polynesian, whilst the northern Makin, as stressed above, clearly shows up the Marshall-type. The numerous pictures of natives suffice to show the common sleek hair in the whole of Micronesia and the foreign features - let me point again to Apamama.

With regard to the saga of the origin of the Gilbertans, let me add that those assuming origin in their own country are not lacking. Particularly Tarava, which in the language means "above", in contrast to the underworld "mone", prides itself that there had stood on it, in the oldest times, a tree by name of "Kaiegig" (others say it had been

a "te ibi", "ifi" in Samoan - *Inocarpus edulis*), out of which the first humans had sprouted. At the time of origin they had hairs all over their bodies and with this they flew about. A few people also originated in heaven. These first inhabitants mixed with people, who had come to them in boats, and thus today's race had been formed. As on Samoa, the natives know nothing anymore of their first wanderings.

I should like to say something about the political and social set-up, which is more like that of the Marshall islands than the Samoan. There are a few powerful great-chieftains, particularly on the northern islands, who have absolute, personal power; the southern islands are more inclined to democracy. There is everywhere, though, a nobility (aomata), which owns most of the land, a middle class called "te vau" and slaves "te kanua". It stands that an Aomata is not allowed to marry the daughter of a commoner, still less a girl of the slave-class. Yes, he is not even allowed to have any extra-marital relations with the latter if she is his subject, whereas the slave-girl of another nobleman is not forbidden to him. Yet a middle-class girl is under all circumstances worthy of being presented with the highest love of a nobleman - even if not of being married -, and fathers endeavour to offer their daughters ^{are out} to high-ups for remuneration.

That is where the word "nikirauroro" for a "rau"-girl comes from, which means the same as prostitute. If a "rau"-girl gives herself without any reward to her family, however, this is looked upon as shameful and vulgar. An aristocratic girl, on the other hand, is not permitted under any circumstances to associate with a commoner, unless she is prepared to lose her ownership of land. This is closely

connected with the "mother-rights" discussed in the eighth chapter under the Marshall islands. That a husband has the right to be master of all the sisters of his wife, has already been mentioned above. With such public social standards it is surprising that scenes of jealousy take up so much room in the life of the Gilbertans and that the word for jealousy "koko" passes their lips daily.

This is because the person bound by a love- or marital relationship is obliged to remain faithful. "If, however, for example, one of the two wedded partners wants to commit a moral lapse one day, this is by no means terrible, as long as permission has been sought beforehand." The married woman, therefore, is highly respected as such, and if she walks along the street outside a village, the men will step aside to let her pass unseen. Men, by the way, are often very devoted to their wives and hen-pecked husbands (erawan diringabuna) are by no means a rarity. Shortly before my arrival in Kioue a man had hanged himself because his wife had treated him badly. Altogether blows are an order of the day, they are readily given and accepted, which is why the British Government, when taking possession in May 1962, first of all prohibited the thrashing of women. It ~~is~~^{had} even happened that a cruel husband would punish his unfaithful wife by holding her feet into a blazing fire until they were charred. Earlier, the King of Butaritari used to have his women sewn into mats during his absence, as has already been reported by another source. Thus, cruelties were the order of the day, vide the frequent references above to the dreadful disfigurements caused by the shark dagger (ubudu). On the other hand, it often happens

that devoted wives, if for some reason they are unable to have intercourse, bring women friends and relations to their husbands just to satisfy them. It is also the rule that a woman moves into the house of relatives during her pregnancy to wait there for the confinement, while her husband lives with another woman. It can be seen, therefore, that only secret unfaithfulness is despised.

When a woman approaches her confinement (they then frequently wear a body-belt, *apaiama*, of pandanus leaves), she starts looking for foster-parents for the expected child, for adoption - here as elsewhere in Oceania - is predominant. In the house of the foster father, the *djibum*, the child is then born. The birth takes place in a crouching position. An old woman supports the mother from behind, whilst another in front awaits the arrival of the child with a pad of coconut fibre, in order to press this pad with her foot - as soon as the foetus and the nearly always immediately following afterbirth have arrived - against the bleeding opening, where the bundle is later fastened with strips of pandanus leaves. The labour pains are assisted mainly by hand pressure (*takabile*) to the calls "aia, aia, aia" and the birth follows by jerks. The mother bites off the umbilical cord and knots it on the newly-born child. Then the new citizen is given a young, sweet coconut (*te buni*) to drink and gets washed. The mother takes her bath in the sea. Should the birth have taken place in her own home, the mother will certainly soon move into the house of the foster-father with the new-born, who will give it a name. Often the husband, too, follows; but the Samoan proverb: "Don't step over the nursing mother" applies here, too, for at least two months, whereas intercourse before the confinement is not

forbidden. On the whole it is the custom that a couple does not produce more than three children. If another one is on the way, then it is usually, as everywhere, aborted by massaging the womb, whereas one does not like to kill newly-born infants. They do not seem to be so much afraid of overpopulating the islands; vanity and worry about nutrition appear to be the more probable motives. Wilkes has given us interesting notes on the wedding customs.

Less well known is the custom of eating excrement. On Butaritari, for instance, the words "kanam dibudea" - "I eat your faeces" - signified deepest humiliation and often induced exemption from capital punishment. Those who are familiar with the history of the Aztecs will know that this custom is also in practise elsewhere. Kanam kim Nikomonee has already been mentioned under Butaritari. Let me add about this lovely virgin, whose weight at the age of eight already exceeded a hundredweight (fifty kilograms), that, when she had her first period, all the women of the island cut off their long hair to stem the flow of royal blood. As for youths, I might mention that circumcision was not usual on the whole; it was principally carried out on those who travelled to Tahiti or Samoa, which points to the polynesian custom. The simple splitting of the foreskin was called "e min", whilst the Fijian circumcision was called Kortobib.

But enough of these peculiar customs. Let us briefly consider how these islanders dress and adorn themselves. That they don't do either to excess really must please anyone who possesses the least bit of artistic feeling. One need only look at the pictures of Maraki, Tapitusa and Apanama again and again to realise how very much more

beautiful, more becoming to these people, is the natural dress rather than the disfigurement of European gew-gaw. How much better does the grass-skirt go with the brown skin, which shines in the warm-golden tone of burnt sienna, although here more often than on Samoa it is mixed with darker tones. One would wish, though, sometimes that the grass-skirt would reach below the knees of the female sex, for - as the same pictures show - knock-knees are very common. The condylus internus of the thigh usually protrudes club-like at the knee, and when one sees a woman walking from behind, this easily appears ugly. The fact that this shape of leg is physiological and that, on account of the broader pelvis, it belongs more to the female than the male sex, I have already illustrated in the second volume of my monograph of the Samoan islands. For even the quarrelsome will have to admit that these islanders do not all suffer from rickets. The rickets which attack these people come more from the Mrs. Hobbart-gown, which is forced upon them by English missionaries. The reason for the frequent occurrence of knock-knees among the Gilbert women lies mainly in the fact that theirs one can see, others' one cannot. Luckily, their faulty posture is counter-balanced by a beautiful upper part of the body, even if it cannot compete with that of the Samoan women. But above all this, there flows the rich abundance of brown-black hair - the most beautiful ornament - swooping down from the parting like flood-water. On the whole, hair is worn shorter on the southern islands than on the northern, but it always flows abundantly round face and neck. Men like to wear little moustaches and beards, yes even , and women do not shave under the arms. To tidy their hair they do not use combs

like the Melanesians, if one disregards the natural comb of the hand, but only a pointed little rod (te gangen). To clean it, they also do not use chalk like the Polynesians and that may be the cause of the more frequent occurrence of lice than on, say, Samoa. I was told that they like to eat these here and there are young men who go in for proper breeding (of lice) to please their loved one. This does not mean to say, though, that the Gilbertans are unclean. One finds everywhere at the settlements deep holes in the coral-ground, in which rain- and brackish water collect, and in which the natives bathe several times daily. The fact that due to the shortage of water and number of bathers the content of the small hole is often of a green-brown colour, is another matter. On Apamama I noticed that the women nevertheless got their bodies nice and clean, except that this was probably mainly due to the fact that after immersion they scraped off the water with coconutleaflets, rather as we take the sweat off a horse after the race. On this occasion I had the opportunity to admire their modesty. There is not only a special fence round the holes, into which one ducks oneself (strangely called mandukeduk), but the women don't even take off their grass-skirt while bathing, unless they have a reserve one at hand. The men - as everywhere - are less concerned. My dear Edobada on Butaritari, where there was great shortage of water, always bathed by pouring water over her back and breasts with a coconut shell. Anyone who knows that one can have a beautiful shower in the tropics with four pints of water, won't judge the good girl disdainfully on that account. On the contrary, one must praise the inhabitants of the coral-islands that despite such very sad water conditions they afford themselves such luxury so often. At the same time one must take into consideration that

rubbing the body with coconut oil (te ba) furthers cleanliness.

The women never have a lot of jewellery. What they most like to wear - as also do the men - in daily life is a necklace of human hair. Whether thick or thin, it always consists of a greater or lesser number of plaited strands of hair, each one about the thickness of string, loosely put together like strands of yarn. This neck-ornament is called "te buna" - or also by the men of Tapituea "te mai". Quite often, too, a piece of red shell, or tooth, or a circle of leaves are attached (table 13) and the name changes accordingly. They are also worn as bracelets on the wrist or round the body "te muoda" (picture 41), which reminds me again of the body-rings characteristic of Apamama, made from coconutslices, either bare or covered with pandanus-leaves (picture 46), which - like the te muoda-hairbands - are worn as a finish of the top of the grass-skirt. These hair-bands are a particular peculiarity of the Gilbert islands and the material for them is supplied by dear relatives, beloved women or men. Besides Apamama-bodyrings, called benugon, there are on the other islands also (several layers of) body-necklaces. The slices for these are only discs about 7 mm. wide and there are about 50 to 60 black ones (coconut) to 2 white ones (chalk). They are called te katau and are similar to those called te umon at Tapituea. When you think that these body-rings, which have to be pulled down over the top of the body, have a circumference of only about 75 cm., you can guess the gracefulness of the Gilbert women.

Now the grass-skirt, called te rid, on some islands also te riri, is essentially the (true) dress of the women. Actually I have seen it worn by men, too, on Maraki, and sometimes also elsewhere, but then the single strands were

coarser, vide pictures 35 and 36. One must not imagine the grass-skirt being tied around the flanks, as is the case with a woman's skirt in European dress. The cord runs from the sacrum over the hips in the natural indentation between the upper edge of the iliac bone and the trochanter, the curve of the upper thigh, to the front into the region of the pubic bone. How beautifully tightly does the garment fit here and how much slimmer, how much more graceful does it make the figure! See for yourself the truth of these words. I can urgently recommend such dress to our ladies who like to take J.P. Müller's airbaths (nudists) and to the men in the "Weisse Hirsch" (suburb of Dresden, spa) instead of their dreadful bathing-trousers. For one should always pay attention to beauty as well as exercise. That is why I want to describe here briefly how such a grass-skirt is made. You take strong cord double and string on to this the threads as shown in figure 24. The Gilbertans use cord of coconut-string (dogora). The threads are prepared by folding and chewing the leaflets of the coconut-palms, having removed the veins. Then each leaf is slit with needles or pointed pinna-shells (le buerre) until thin, grass-like threads are obtained. I don't want to be misunderstood, for I wouldn't dream of expecting the ladies and gentlemen to delaf and chew their indoor palms; a cord and simple threads of yarn would surely serve the same purpose!

Necklaces of blossoms of the te-uli tree, called toori in the north, those sweet-smelling white flowers of the *Fragraea Betteariana*, are made similarly to the grass-skirts, only with three warpthreads. For these, too, coco-leaves are used, which are bent double so that the matt inner layer can be pulled away from the outer shiny one. One often sees the

women sit in their huts, one end of the necklace on the big toe, the other in the mouth, deftly wrapping the short pieces of leaf into the spun threads and fastening a blossom between the two. These blossom-necklaces are called te dokdok.

But other flowers are not despised, either; even the yellow te goura-blossoms (see Maraki) and the insignificant white ones of the saltwaterbush te mau are made use of.

Yet women don't as a rule pierce their ears to wear jewellery. This they leave to the men, as on the Marshall islands, although the Gilbertans did not let themselves be tempted by those monstrous enlargements of their neighbours as described below. The holes do not usually much exceed the diameter of a finger, so that a pandanus-leaf-roll (te gaobere) can be worn in it. Into the frayed front end of the roll they like to put a flower (e.g. a pandanus-blossom, te kabuerre). (Picture 45). But there is one piece of jewellery, which both sexes wear from time to time, not only at feasts like the Samoans, and that is a band of coco-leaves, pandanus, etc. round the shank above the foot, called te ganene. To this they attribute the magic power of bringing about mutual love, even if it might take months and years. Apart from this they plait crosses, bands and other figures with coco-blossoms and wear them as love- or sickness-charm. They call these te gigona, or as cord dogora dabuki or te kaina. Who doesn't think at the same time of Kainakaki, the Elysium, the wonderland of souls.

Young, half grown-up girls also like to wear instead of the grass-skirt, a similar garment made of young, slanting pandanus-leaves, see picture 41. It is called gamaguroguro and if a small cap is worn with it -

te baraidoa - they afford a particularly pretty sight. The shape of these caps is that of a folded serviette, open on two sides next to one another, and put on in such a way that one point comes down over the ears, the other points upwards; they are made of a fine pandanus-weave.

The men, too, wear hats of pandanus-leaves sometimes, helmet-shaped, three-cornered, called te tarao, whereas "hat" is usually called te bara. In Butaritari I got one something like a top-hat with a brim, made of tortoise-shell (don). When I pointed to the hat and asked "digara arana" (what is that called?), the proud wearer took it off laconically and replied: barandon, whereupon instinctively I stammered "Krämer", in memory of the well-known name. There will still be mention later of the fighting helmets of the men - baranan. Let me just add here still that the men wear nicely shaped wigs at exhibitions, called te daona. When seen from below, the frame, made of cocoleaf-veins, with its concentric rings and radial beams, looks just like a spider-web.

The chief garment of the men is the mat, te giedagamai, as compared to te gienigiro, the sleeping-mat. It catches one's eye that the word gie is the same as the Samoan ie, for example ie toga, the fine mat. These mats of the Gilbertans consist of young light-coloured and older brown pandanus-leaves, which form simple, geometrical ornaments, called man en te gie.

As on the Ralik-Ratak islands, these plaited patterns are not without significance here, either, and I have drawn a few of the more common ones in figure 25, together with descriptions. Your attention is particularly drawn to the one in picture 53, which is a copy of the dancing-stick.

The pictures of Apamama clearly show how the mats are worn. They are made by the women, who also show great dexterity in the manufacture of beautiful little baskets (te awen, picture 54) with numerous inner side-pockets, lid and two handles. These little baskets are among the prettiest and most useful things that exist in this line and serve as receptacles for sewing, jewellery, food, etc.

The men like to wear as jewellery, particularly on festive occasions, necklaces and body-chains made of coneshell-bases, which as decoration is peculiar to the Gilbert islands. This mollusc with its venomous sting, as the Latin name *conus millepuctatus* implies, dwells in a cone-shell and has a number of small black spots on a white background. The natives call them te ganaburo or gunabono and break loose the round bases so as to grind them into the shape of a coin. These discs, usually with a hole in the middle (see picture 54) are the well-known te nikabono of the Gilbert Islanders. In a larger form of about 7 cm. diameter they are usually worn singly, occasionally also strung on to a band, round the neck, just as they are to the west on the Carolines, in Melanesia and south, even as far as into Tonga, not to speak of the "guanschen" on the Canaries. In smaller form, about the size of a 5- or 10-Pfennig piece, however, they are only to be found on the Gilbert islands, strung on to a string, each half covering the next, like a skewer full of medallions. Often they are worn only in small rows round the neck, but I was also given a string on Maiana by Mr. Corrie, which consists of 140 discs and is worn round one shoulder, like a sash, at dances. It is called te djuanigabon-gabong (picture 54). Of no less

importance are the same type of neck- and body belts made of teeth (uin), both human (uin amedj) and those of dolphins (uin diriko), whilst whales' teeth (uin dokua) are only worn singly, like the large conshell-bases, on a necklace. The top of picture 50 shows such types, whilst below on the same picture you can see the necklace, which was mentioned under Apaiang, made of the incisors of the relation of Tekea. But below this necklace there is a body-belt of molars, which are extracted with great pleasure from slain enemies.

The fact that the Gilbertans, especially those of the southern islands, are very pugnacious, has already been mentioned several times. Particularly under Tapituea the shark-tooth weapons, the strange shapes of which are shown in picture 55, found mention, as well as the armour, woven of coconut-strings. There are none of this quality to be found anywhere else in the world. Whereas the northern islands always were peaceful, the Peru group has always loved war. Daggers did exist, but were not as popular as the big, long spears, and not only those mounted with shark-teeth, but also smooth palm-wood-spears, which usually had parrying spikes in the middle, as can be seen in picture 37.

And besides war the great liking for dancing and games. Here the sparsely clothed body could show off its beauty to greater advantage. Most of all it was the tattooing, which couldn't be shown off as well in the dress of a warrior as in peaceful contest.

Next to the highest god Tabuariki, who appeared to them personified in thunder (te ba) and lightning (tidj), they particularly worshipped the god of tattooing, Neikalikibai. The work of mixing the paint, as

everywhere, lay in the hands of special tattooists, which were called tedje deidua in the north and tedje deidei in the south (djedje is "write" in the Marshall language). There is a legend that in olden times the grazing of the skin was done by long, sharpened fingernails. Now there are small hooks (neirau), little sticks the thickness of a pencil, one end of which is inlaid with a row of steel-needles, similar to the modern Fijian instruments. On Tapitua I saw the girls working on one another with these, as is shown in picture 56. They applied the pigment, stirred with coconut-shell charcoal, te ando, straight on to the skin and punctured the skin with the needle-points by hammering the stick constantly through the solution into the skin. That is how they achieve the deep blackening of the scars, which protrude 2-3mm. above the skin. On Tapitua, as on the rest of the islands, the adolescent youth still followed only the custom of adorning the inside of their lower arms in the manner illustrated in figures 26 and 27¹ m - u, as well as the back of their hands. The former tattooing, which one now only sees on older people, is best shown a-c men and f women. Parkinson and Finsch, as well as Wilkes even earlier, have given drawings of the ornaments without being exact; a-f clearly show a middle-rib with pinnales, which, as the Gilbertans explained to me, too, were coco-palm leaves. But since the centipede on Samoa as well as on the Carolines (called te roata on the Gilbert islands) portrays in similarly stylised forms of tattooed patterns the symbol of pain, this lost significance of the animal could also be an explanation. Although I tried hard, I could not find any particular marks or any order as I could on the Ralik-Ratak islands. The variety of

patterns is best seen in the illustrations, where I should like to draw your attention to the two strokes on the inside of the arms of the women of Makin, who like to show off their ornamented outspread arms when dancing, rather like the Marshall-women. Strange indeed is the presence of fish in the face of a man on Apamama as in the West Carolines. Altogether the square designs on the shanks of the women stress the relationship with Ponape and Yap and the Mortlok Islands, as one can see in the beautiful works by Joest on "Tattooing". As Finsch has already emphasised, tattooing has never been very widespread among the natives, and at the most a third to a fifth subjected themselves to this torture, although an authority on Wilkes assures us that only those who are tattooed could participate in the Gilbertian Elysium, the Kainakaki, whilst those who are not/^{are} caught by the giantess Baine.

For the sake of integrity let me add that decorative scars (te baeduru) such as in Polynesia, are to be found only as rows of dots, burnt in with an intensely heated coconut stalk, but never in the tattooing, of which I found definite indication on the Ralik-Batak Islands.

The houses of the natives are simple, pitched roofs, covered on the sides and gable-ends with pandanus-leaves, which are strung on poles (figure 28). These roof-sides are very similar to the Marshallan. The structure of the house and the names of the timbers can also be seen in figure 28. It is evident from the pictures how very close to the ground the edge of the roof lies. When one has bent down and crept in, though, one stands in a nice room, whether it is one of the large meeting-halls

or in an ordinary dwelling. I rarely saw ~~many~~ multiple stories (te buia), which used to exist inside the houses, one above the other, often with only a couple of yards in between, for the storage of food and belongings, and also used for sleeping. Under Butaritari I have described such a house, just as I have already given a description of the large meeting-houses under Tapituea. The latter are called te uma ni aba "the house of the island", pronounced maniap for short, and they do not exist everywhere by any means. I saw them on the southern islands, whilst on the northern islands only the sites, where they had stood once upon a time, were still recognisable. They do not seem to be built anew. I should also mention the houses built on piles, of which I saw quite a number on Apamama as well as on Butaritari, since the natives love to sleep a trifle elevated (figure 22). On account of mosquitoes these pile-houses are also erected in the lagoon, where the wind can blow freely about them. Picture 48 shows one like that in the distance. The houses do not stand alone as on Ralik-Batak, but are united in proper villages, round the meeting-house. According to Wilkes they were enclosed by a sort of palisade on belligerent Tapituea. These, however, have long since disappeared. There are no ornaments on the dwellings anywhere, and those on the meeting-houses are very modest, a few white ovula-shells, a few purlins, decorated with geometrical figures (picture 40); that is all. The inventory of the dwellings is also extremely simple and really only consists of mats, since even head-stools (bjugubjugu) are rarely seen. As everywhere in Oceania, all joins of the wood (usually pandanus-tree, te kaina) are effected merely with coco-string (dogora), the making of which is the task of the women. They twist the single with their palm on the thigh.

Cooking, too, is the women's job, in fact the old women's, as the young ones, at least recently, refuse to do this work. There are small cook-houses, a little way off (te uma ni kaneie), in which there are shallow throughs, called te tun (the same as umu in Samoan). Into these one throws dried coconut shells and scraped out pandanus-beans, which are lit so as to heat a few pieces of coarse coral. To prepare the fire they take soft wood of the te uli-tree and rub it quickly with a pointed little stick of tingea-ironwood. When this hard stick, called te dao, is moved very quickly to and fro under hard pressure, the layer underneath gets hot and the saw-dust that comes off begins to glow. Instantly the spark is caught, blown at and a ball of coconut-fibre is lit. In the cooking-pit the little fire is stimulated with fans (te iriba). The pit is lined with dry coconut-shells and coconut-fibre, the heated stones are spread out, and if, for example, one wants to cook pandanus-beans (te dou), which receive further mention in Chapter 8, one pours a few baskets full of them on to the stones.

Thus a proper oven is made, which is covered with mats. After a short time the women lift the mats and pour in cup after cup of water. When the beans have been lying in the steam for an hour, they are soft and are now scraped on the scraper (te duaieoa, picture 57) to extract the juice te dual. When partaken of fresh, this juice is called tangauri; but usually one pours it on to Morinda-leaves or coco-mats and lets it dry in the sun until it turns into flat cakes, which are very similar to brown felt. If, however, the whole, cooked beans are pounded with a pestle (te gu or te buiuk) and this mush is then dried into cake-shape in the sun, these cakes are called kalababa, whereas the same mixture in the shape of a ball is called kurukuru and looks and smells like honey-gingerbread. On

the Ralik-Ratak islands they make from these pandanus-cakes the large preserved rolls, Chamisso's mogan (see 8th Chapter). Here, too, similar preservation takes place, only the addition of sweet molasses is supposed to increase the keeping quality. This preserve is called kububu (Wilkes calls it kabul and says that two rolls of it are the price of a house) and diluted with water it is a favourite drink.

The molasses, te kemaimai, are a speciality of the Gilbert islanders, who exchange them on the northern islands for the mogan of the Ralik-Ratak. It is won from fresh palm juice, the toddy of the English, the te karewe of the Gilbertans (te karuru in the south), by steaming it over gentle heat in coconut-shells (te ib). The karewe, however, is obtained by tying coco-string round a young twig of blossom just before it bursts, then cutting off the tip of the shoot and hanging a coconut-shell underneath, into the thin hole of which the sap drips along a little stick.

When the dangerous beetles (mentioned under Maraki) are abundant, the arrangement is carefully encased in sheaths made of coconut leaves, so that nothing untoward can happen. In the morning and evening the juice is collected. Everywhere in the village on withered little trees one finds the filled shells, always ready for immediate drinking, as refreshing as nourishing. After only a few hours it begins to ferment and after half a day it is already so acid and alcoholic, that it has quite an intoxicating effect. As a result of Wilkes' statement that the palm wine, which he calls karaka, can only be enjoyed when sweet, it has generally been assumed that the Gilbertans only got to know the taste of the sour juice through the white people. This is impossible; I am convinced that there have been perpetual and occasional drunkards on the Gilbert-islands in ancient days and also today, despite the

fact that the Government has prohibited heavy drinking. At feasts they liked to drink - rather like the polynesian kawa - the aforesaid kabubu-dilution, for which purpose there existed special wooden bowls (te keinemoi) with ladles (te bigogo). The other uses of the coconut for the preparation of dishes are the same as on the Ralik-Ratak Islands.

Taro, te papai, its manuring and method of cultivation, has already been dealt with under Maraki and Apamama. The roots, weighing a hundred-weight, although they must not be more than 12 months old, have already been emphasised, too. When cooked, they are mainly used by the old women of Butaritari to fatten up their children. They first chew them, then push the balls into the children's mouths, just as the Samoans treat their manutagi-doves. The effect of this is demonstrated by the Royal family on Butaritari. In powder-form, too, taro seems to serve as a preserve in rolls (kabuibui).

The breadfruit-tree, te mai, occurred chiefly on the northern islands (see plate 9 of the village on Maraki). Evidently there is sour dough (te gabu) here just as with the Ralik-Rataks (piru). The fruit is baked on hot stones in the skin and squashed between mats.

Bananas, te douru, are supposed to have existed in olden times, but they were not used for food.

From the different kinds of fruit an even greater variety of dishes is made, of which I will list only a few as examples.

Te manam, called tagara on Makin according to Wilkes, consists of cooked taro, which is kneaded together with coconut "dust" and eaten fresh, sometimes also mixed with a little molasses. I call "dust" the remains of the grated and pressed coconut-meat (see Chapter 8), called te bin. These

remains or "dust" is called toada by the Gilbertans and they use it thus in contrast to most other Oceanians, who throw it as waste to the chicken and pigs. Figure 29 shows two old people preparing manam. The old man on the right kneads the taro, while the woman spreads the "dust" before her, ready for work.

Te gaba is a mixture of fresh pandanus juice (te duai) and pressed coconut juice and is eaten at once; it is not unlike a custard.

Te bodara is made from raw, scraped taro, mixed with molasses, palm juice and the kernel of very young coconuts (te moimedj). It is all cooked together and makes a sweet, brown pudding. A slightly improved version of the same dish is called te bigi.

Titong on Nonuti and te eberanigai on Maiana is the name of a dish made of pandanus-fruitcake (kalababa), coconut scrapings and molasses, which tastes sweet and very pleasant and is something like a plum pudding without raisins.

These few examples go to show what gourmets these islanders are and how well they know how to prepare delicious smelling dishes with their limited materials.

Yet they look upon chicken-meat with almost complete disdain and pigs evidently used not to exist despite their communication with Samoa - even though the handy shackle in picture 57 points to changes. Cannibalism, too, can only be said to be of secondary importance. Occasionally, as everywhere in Polynesia, a prisoner of war or one part of the hated enemy was actually eaten, but organised cannibalism did not take place. They, therefore, did not cook anything with salt-water, for they got enough salt through eating fruit in abundance. Cooking was done in coconut-shells and

in Tridaknashells (te aubunga).

While they regard the animals that live on the land with disdain, they love all the more the animals that live in the sea. Catching flying fish was already mentioned under Maraki, whilst the stone-wicker-traps and fish-ponds were discussed under Apamama. There is only one special instrument that must still receive mention and that is the eel-catcher, which also belongs to Nauru. It is illustrated on the right side of picture 57. The fisherman takes it to the leese of the reef and dives down to those spots, where through the holes on the reef-edge he has seen eels (te rabono) or conger eels. Quickly he lays a juicy bait in front of the hole and the loop of the eel-catcher around its edge, and as soon as the eel lifts up its head, he tightens the noose and comes up with the animal. The fisherman can stay under water many minutes and on Nauru I was shown old people who had gone deaf as a result of staying under water so long. Sharks, te babba, too, are caught with a strong noose made of coco-bast (te bau). These are held alongside the moving boat and bait entices the shark to go in head first, a method of catching which demands a great deal of courage and energy. They also love whales, no matter how fat they may be. Not long before my stay on Butaritari a huge sperm-whale was washed ashore (on to the reef) on the north of the atoll, and although it was already very much decomposed, the natives rushed out in their boats from all directions to cut out the thick sides of fat, into which they bit with gusto. As I said, I particularly remember the day of my departure from Butaritari, for all the long village was steeped in aroma and fumes. There had been a large catch of dolphins and now the carefully distributed - and much picked over - pieces were being roasted everywhere over open fires. It is a strange feature of these vegetarian peoples that every now and again

they long for concentrated fat, as if to grease their systems thoroughly for a change.

With the Samoans it is the fatted pig, which they call popo (the same word as for the thick coconut-kernel) and which can't be huge and fat enough to be dished up as the show-piece at their feasts. Fried cubes of fat are among the rarest delicacies, and if they but knew crackling - I don't wish to say more, or one might be sick.

There are four kinds of vessel, which were used, and some of which are still used, for fishing and for lagoon and sea trips:

- 1.) Te ebeeb, the small fishing-float. It consists of two groups of planks connected by a deck. The deck, however, does not lie right on the planks, but is raised on posts, which have the same purpose as the fork-sticks of which I will speak shortly under sailing-boats. The fishing float is indeed also just like an outrigger-boat, except that in place of the body of the boat there is a float, in fact two floats in all. This vessel, on account of its slight depth, is used mainly for fishing in shallow water.
- 2.) Toa, pronounced more like te va in the south, is a small outrigger-boat, only meant for rowing, rather like the Samoan paopao.
- 3.) Toaririk, the sailing-boat, is at present the one most often in use. On account of its excellent sailing properties it is one of the best speed-boats of Oceania and surpasses even the boats of the Ralik-Rataks. Picture 58 shows a boat of Maraki, alongside the "Neptun". Further details are shown in Figure 30. The long outrigger is a striking feature. Its three poles are placed close to one another and slightly converging towards the float, with which the three poles (giaro) are connected by fork-rests (te dodo). The latter are fastened on to the float (te rama) by tying string around the

whole thickness of the float in a rather rough way (figure 30b), rather as on Samoa. On the leeward side of the body of the boat at each side there is a protruding piece of wood (te dabilo), in which to insert the oar (te boe) for steering. The arrangement of planks and the size of this boat is shown in figure 30c. The timber of the breadfruit-tree, hewn with Tridakna axes (tetanai) is used.

As on the Marshall islands here, too, the planks are fitted so exactly one on top of the other, that the natives see no point in caulking. Only the holes (te buid), through which the planks are tied together, are stuffed with thickened breadfruit-tree resin. The drilling of the holes is done with the "Trill-drill" (te gaba, picture 57) and the smoothing of the timber with a file made from ray-skin (te ikunroa) shown in the same picture. There is nothing special I can say about the rigging. The mast (te aniang) rests on a special little board (te dagadaga, figure 30) and the sail (te ie) is made as everywhere of woven pandanus-leaves. Let me add that the boats have special forked timbers (te aiai) and the anchor (te adjinro), too, is very simple and practical; a stone-slab with a piece of wood, pointed at both ends, affixed to it vertically and tied on to the edge. (Figure 30f). Finally, there used also to be

4.) large sea-boats, called bauru, none of which I saw. They were evidently only larger toaririk's with raised deck and platform, but not "double-boats", which were specifically said to come from Samoa and Tutuna. Owing to the shortage of large timber, the body of the boat was constructed from numerous small planks, roughly in the manner shown in figure 30d.

The extraordinary toy boats (te maggi) have already been mentioned above under Apamama. Also several ball-games, the rocking-game etc., have

been mentioned above under Nonuti. I did not see any kites. I haven't yet referred to the capture of the frigate-bird, though, which is in particular peculiar to the Gilbertans and those inhabitants of Nauru who descended from them. In the villages and on the beach one often sees these large birds (te idei), their long beaks sharply curved in front, tied up, on T-shaped perches, rather as parrots are on show in our zoological gardens (Picture 59). As with the ^{trap} hut used for crow-killing (ambush shed), the wild birds are enticed by means of tame animals. The hunters sit nearby in their hiding-place, and as soon as a stranger swoops down, it is riddled with shot. These missiles consist of stones of hard coral-chalk, the size of walnuts, or are cut out of tridakna-shell, and fastened to a long piece of string. First of all this missile is swung round in short circles and hurled across the frigate-bird, so that the string hits its outspread wings and it gets entangled in it. Once the clumsy bird is on the ground, it can't take off again without wind and is, therefore, easily captured. I did not see this game in practice any longer. Only in Makin did I see the natives at the "feather-game" (te edau), where they throw a feather-bow (te kabane, figure 31) on a long pole into the air (shackled) instead of the frigate-bird and try to hit it with stones on a string.

There is good reason why one now sees so little of the beautiful games on the Gilbert islands, for the Government of the white people has completely forbidden them, whilst dancing, as mentioned, is only still permitted on three days. It may be of interest to know what else has been forbidden them: first and foremost travelling. Not more than 6 natives at a time were allowed to travel on the "Neptun" from one island to another or to Butaritari. Furthermore, they have been forbidden to walk in the village-street after 9 p.m., and, if they do, only with a lantern, so that they can be seen. They are not

allowed to let palm wine ferment, but to drink it sweet only. And what is chiefly encouraged is the cutting of copra, as each island has to deliver up to the Government a certain amount each year as tax, whilst the excess is paid over to Fiji as the so-called "Queen's Taxes". As the seven lean years had just come to their end during my stay, some islands were so much in debt that they were left only with the minimum food requirements. In such circumstances it is obvious that the vigorous life of the natives soon dies out and the complete disappearance of customs cannot be far off.