

MR. WALLACE ON THE CONSERVATION OF NATIVE RACES.

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“THE Reproach of Civilization and the Opprobrium of Christianity”—such has more than once been the taunt, but too well deserved, cast against the treatment of aboriginal races by the governments and colonists of the nations of modern Europe. That, as a general rule, the indigenous races of every part of the earth have pined and withered at the touch of civilization, and have very soon utterly perished, we know too well. Indeed, so uniform has been the result of colonization, that many have begun to accept it as a sort of law of nature, and to assume that the decay and extinction of every aboriginal race before the presence of the white man is a necessity, mournful perhaps, but not the less inevitable.

This theory may, at first sight, appear to be borne out by the fact that a similar result attends the introduction of European species of the lower forms of life, whether animal or vegetable, into peculiar and circumscribed areas. It would seem that localized forms of life are ill-fitted to maintain the struggle for existence when they come in contact with more cosmopolitan types. This has been especially the case with insular species. Thus the ebony tree of St. Helena, a wood peculiar to the island, and never found elsewhere, which clothed its mountain sides scarcely a century ago, is now so utterly extirpated, that the only subsisting proof of its former existence is the dried specimen of the plant in the herbarium at Kew, and a few

dead and decayed stumps in the island itself. In like manner, the gigantic *Balimus auris-vulpina*, the peculiar land-shell of St. Helena, has utterly perished, and is now only known by the dead specimens discovered among the débris at the foot of rocks. Even in the island of St. Croix, in the West Indies, about a dozen species of land-shells peculiar to the island have become extinct through the conflagrations of the forests.

Still more is the same result noticeable in the case of the higher forms of animal life. We are all familiar with the story of the Dodo, the huge wingless, or rather short-winged, and defenceless ground-pigeon, which was found in such numbers on the first discovery of Mauritius, but which by the end of the seventeenth century had become utterly extinct, and was long only known by the celebrated head and foot in the Ashmolean Museum, until very recently vast numbers of its bones have been exhumed from a peat-moss, proving its former abundance. At the risk of being tedious, it may be well to review, though very briefly, other instances of extirpation of aboriginal animals in recent times, with a view to aid us in solving the problem whether their extermination follows a natural law, and if so, whether that law applies equally to peculiar races of man and to specialized forms of animal life. If we find the same rule hold good in all or in most cases; if we find that the mere contact of these specialized forms of life in circumscribed areas with more generalized types inevitably and necessarily, and by *non-preventible* causes, must result, through the struggle for existence, in the total disappearance of the former; and if we find that the same fate, through like causes, has always operated in the extinction of the specialized or inferior races of man;—then *cadit quæstio*, and it is in vain to struggle against destiny, or to endeavour to stem the operation of a natural law.

But if we find that in each case different agencies have been at work; if we can show that, even in the case of the lower animals, perhaps similar, but certainly not identical, causes have operated for their extinction, and that in each case it was in the power of *man*, by self-control, by forethought, by paternal legislation, if we may so call it, to have arrested their destruction;—then we may have some data on which to urge a similar course of action in respect to his brother-man. And if we can show that this view is only even partially true; that while there are some forms of life whose continued existence is absolutely incompatible with the contact of civilized man, and which cannot, by the conditions of their natures, be conserved side by side with an advancing civilization; while there are others which have been destroyed not through their own incompatibility for coexistence with introduced species, but by

wanton neglect, by short-sighted greed, and mistaken legislation; if man has carelessly or ignorantly been disturbing the balance of nature, which it would have been for his own benefit to have maintained;—then we may be led to inquire whether a similar law may not hold good with respect to the human species; whether much may not rest in the hands of the colonists and the legislator; whether, even if some races have sunk so low in barbarism as to be beneath the reach of help, and unable to be moulded by a high civilization existing alongside of them, there be not others which, by growth and judicious training, by tender governmental watchfulness, by a paternal system, in short, might not find the white man a true foster-nurse, and be trained through the childhood of a civilizing growth up to the full manhood of the self-dependent and intellectual maturity.

The dodo is by no means the only species of bird peculiar to Mauritius which has become extinct since its French and Dutch settlement. Old writers describe a great red bird, incapable of flight, of which also drawings remain, and some bones of which have recently been exhumed along with the dodo's (*Aphanapteryx bræckii*)—a bird, in some respects, recalling the great water-hen, or *Notornis*, of New Zealand. There were also other birds which have still more recently become extinct in that island, as the beautiful red and grey pigeon (*Alectrænas nitidissima*) and a parrot. But these certainly had full powers of flight. Then each of the other Mascarene Islands, Bourbon, Rodriguez, and Seychelles, had their peculiar species, all of which are now utterly lost. Of the great white dodo of Bourbon we have not yet even a bone, only a very carefully-executed contemporary oil-painting. The pigeon of that island is also lost, and we read of various other birds, vaguely described as approaching, some water-hens, and some pigeons, of which not a trace, living or dead, remains on the upper earth. So, too, in Rodriguez. But here, owing to the interesting narrative of one of its first settlers, Leguat, a French Protestant exile, we have comparatively full accounts of the strange and helpless birds on which the lonely exiles fed for some time, and which seem to have swarmed in marvellous abundance. The story of the Huguenot has been corroborated by the discovery of a vast number of bones of these unique creatures, on search being recently made under the auspices of Professor Newton and other English naturalists.

Everywhere it is these island forms which have succumbed before the inroads of civilization. Thus the Philip Island parrot (*Nestor productus*) now lives only in one solitary cage-bird at Sydney, New South Wales, which has long survived his kind—a literal example of "the last man." So the strange toothbilled pigeon (*Didunculus strigirostris*) of the Navigators' Islands has within the last few years

become extinct, unless possibly a few pairs linger on in the interior of Samoa.

Less recent, but not less historical, is the extinction of brevipennate birds in the islands of New Britain, Ceram, Banda, and Salwattie; while the rapid disappearance of one species after another in New Zealand, not only from the first settlement of the Malayan Maories, but ever since the colonization of the islands in the present generation, is a fact familiar, not only to naturalists, but to all. The larger species, the great moas or *Dinornis*, were the first to yield; then the *Notornis*, or giant water-hen, seems to have followed; and the various species of *Apteryx* or kiwi, the parrot owl, *Strigops habroptilus*, and other strange forms unknown elsewhere, are waning fast.

It will be seen at once that the conditions of existence are very different on an island and in vast continental tracts, and that these giants of their kind, helpless and unarmed, were totally unfitted to cope with enemies, while in desert plains, in pampas, and unfrequented wilds they might have long survived. It is now no longer a matter of doubt that many species of animals have within a very recent period become extinct through the agency of man; but in nearly all the cases the history of which is sufficiently well known to us, the extinction has been caused less by his direct than by his indirect agency. And this has an important bearing on the question of the extinction of localized human races. There are, however, two notable exceptions, which have their exact parallel in the extinct human races. These are the great auk and the northern manatee of Behring's Straits. The great auk, helpless on land, was extirpated principally through its reckless destruction on the islands off Newfoundland by the fishermen. Similarly the Arctic whalers slaughtered off the defenceless manatee. Yet in the first case, that of the great auk, the submersion of its last remaining breeding-place off Iceland by volcanic convulsion unquestionably was not without its influence.

But in almost all the other cases there is no good ground for believing that they were pursued to the death of the race by man himself. It is far more likely that they succumbed to other forces, set in motion, indeed, by him, but without a thought of thereby accomplishing their destruction. The ebony tree of St. Helena was exterminated by the incautious turning loose of herds of goats to browse at their will on the mountain sides. The brevipennate birds of the Mascarene Islands might have survived for many years the direct attacks of the French and Dutch colonists. They would doubtless have become more shy, and retired to the most secluded parts of the islands they inhabited. They might even have acquired

greater wariness, and been enabled in some manner to baffle pursuit. The dread of man is an acquired habit rather than an instinct. Thus Captain Smith, in his history of Virginia, quaintly tells us that on his landing on the then uninhabited Bermudas, "the cahow (or shearwater) will light upon you, that with your hands you may chuse the fat and leave the leane, and so tame and fearless, you must thrust them off their egges with your hand." Yet now there are few more wary birds than the descendants of these simpletons.

But the dodo, the solitaire, and the ground-pigeon had not to contend with man alone. He had allies fighting against them. In our own country we see that man has not, after many hundred years of incessant warfare, succeeded in extirpating by direct action many species of birds. He has, indeed, exterminated many quadrupeds, but chiefly those noxious to him, as the bear, the wolf, and the wild boar. The beaver, once the ornament of the rivers of Yorkshire and Wales, has undoubtedly been recklessly stamped out. But birds of prey still exist, in spite of the war of extermination carried on against them. Where their destruction has been most nearly accomplished, it is because man has fought with other weapons, more fatal, because apparently more peaceful. It is to the plough and the draining spade, with the changes that have followed their use over large areas, rather than to the gun or the gin, that they have succumbed. The crane and the wild goose have been banished from the English fens, with the harriers, and more other species than we can here enumerate, by the simple act of bringing under cultivation, by means of improved drainage, the extensive tract of the "Bedford Level." The bustard has yielded to the driver of the scuffle-plough and the maker of plantations. These have gone from us without an idea that any such effects would follow the causes employed; nay, they have gone from us, some of them, in spite of legal protection, and therefore against the will of man.

So, in our own days, the cats turned loose from passing vessels in the islands of the Pacific have preyed on the defenceless ground-birds, unprepared by hereditary caution for the attacks of the fell and novel foe, and the toothbilled pigeon of Samoa may be numbered among the things that were. Captain Smith, three hundred years ago, attributes the extirpation of many species in Bermuda to the same cause—the rapid multiplication of cats. But in almost every island, notably in Mauritius, Bourbon, Rodriguez, and New Zealand, a feller enemy than the cat has been introduced—viz., the hog. It has been an universal practice to liberate pigs in countries newly discovered by Europeans, and, at almost every place where these omnivorous animals have been set free, they have speedily increased and multiplied, replenished the land, and in most instances have subdued it.

We may classify the extinct animals into those which have perished by the direct and intentional agency of man, because their coexistence was incompatible with the presence or civilization, such as the larger and fiercer carnivora; those which might have coexisted and been to his benefit, but which he has carelessly and wantonly, though perhaps ignorantly, exterminated; and those which have gradually succumbed to the indirect agencies which man has introduced, not because those agencies were necessarily fatal to the existence of the species, but because it was not by habit and hereditary instinct sufficiently educated to take the necessary precautions for self-preservation.

It appears that a very similar classification may be made both of aboriginal races of men and of the causes which lead to their extermination. Omitting lesser distinctions, the chief families of man with which colonization brings us into contact are the Negro, the American Indian, the Malayan, including the Polynesian, and the Australian. The Indian races, civilized and under organized governments, do not, of course, come into the account. As to the others, we need say but little of the Negro, since the European seldom meets him on equal terms—*i.e.*, in a country where climates and conditions are equally adapted for settlement by both races. The Negro does not thrive in a temperate region; the white man cannot labour successfully as an agriculturist in a tropical one. The relation of these two has consequently been always that of master and servant, of governor and governed; and while this relation has continued, it has been the interest of the white, for his own benefit, to preserve and foster the servile and inferior race, whose coexistence was indeed a necessity for himself. How long the Negro may maintain himself when freed from these servile conditions, especially in the frontier climates, where outdoor labour can be pursued by the European, is indeed a serious question, as we see in the Southern States of the American Union, where the freedman population is decreasing so rapidly as to alarm all political economists. There is much, however, in the precipitate emancipation and sudden licence granted to a servile and ignorant race to account for this, and the circumstances of these States may fairly be looked on as exceptional. Nor is the Negro there an aboriginal race. We may, therefore, leave him out of the account.

Of the other three, the Red Indian has unquestionably been treated by settlers (and, alas! to this present year by American soldiers) as a wild animal, the coexistence of which with civilized man was impossible—as creatures to be stamped out, squaws and children alike, after the fashion in which wolves and tigers have been hunted to the death. The wretched aboriginal Australian is like some of his native

animals, being wantonly and carelessly, though perhaps ignorantly, exterminated; while the third class of extinctive agencies which we have adduced in the case of the lower creation seems, in a greater or less degree, to threaten many of the Malayan and Polynesian races.

No horrors in history can surpass the records of the treatment of the red man in America; and these atrocities are not merely those perpetrated by lawless and reckless adventurers in the first collisions between a wild race and early European settlers—they have been enacted in cold blood by governmental authorities within the present year. Strangely as were the cruelties of the Pilgrim Fathers against the native races of New England in contrast with their character and professions, they are exceeded by the recent butcheries of Colonel Baker of scores of unoffending women and children in Wyoming, and these not yet marked by any official reprobation. The touching tale of Pocahontas affords us some insight into the nobleness of the Red Indian character before it had become stereotyped in brutality by the reckless cruelties of near three centuries. Sir Charles Dilke, in his smartly-written book on "Greater Britain," observes that "there is less of hypocrisy among the Americans than among ourselves in the treatment of inferior races." If this means that there is an unblushing avowal of the determination "to improve the red man off the face of the earth," we fear it is too true. But was it, or is it, impossible for the two races to coexist, at least, till the weaker is absorbed—not exterminated? Perhaps the true reply may vary according to circumstances; but we think it must be admitted that the impossibility of coexistence, if there be such, is caused not by the qualities of the race, but by its locality. No doubt a tribe devoted exclusively to the chase, and obstinately refusing to settle even partially to agricultural pursuits, presents a problem very difficult of solution for the colonist. But it is the local conditions rather than the ineradicable instincts of the race which have produced this. The native Indian of Newfoundland, and those of the west coast north of Vancouver's Island, belonged confessedly to the same stock as their hunting brethren of the centre of the continent. Yet the former has been pitilessly and most wantonly exterminated, and the hideous catastrophe was only consummated in the time of a living generation, while they are admitted to have been docile, unwarlike, and comparatively inoffensive. They stood to the settler rather in the position of the dodo than of the wild beast. Treated by the rude fishermen of Newfoundland as beyond the pale of law, exposed to the wanton caprice of the most reckless and ignorant of our race, they were first driven in from their best fishing-grounds, and finally compelled to betake themselves to the dismal swamps of the interior. There is not a more piteous tale in history than that which records

how, shot down whenever they ventured to approach the settlements, they withdrew further and further into the interior, till, not fifty years ago, during the continuance of an exceptionally hard winter, it was rumoured that all had perished of starvation; and at length, two miserable objects, gaunt with famine, presented themselves one morning before a settler's door, by signs imploring food. The man returned to his house for his gun, shot one of the starving wretches dead, and the other, with a wild shriek, rushed back into the swamp. With that one, never more seen, closes the story of the aborigines of Newfoundland.

That the native of Newfoundland might have been elevated and conserved we may fairly presume from the present position the Red Indians of the western coast north of Vancouver's Island. They are essentially of the same type, and fishers rather than hunters. When visited by Vancouver, they were ignorant of the use of metals, and employed flint implements similar to those of the stone age, of which a large collection has been brought home by Mr. Lord. Happily for them, just before the advent of the gold-diggers to the Fraser River, the Church Missionary Society was induced to attempt a mission, though on a very small scale, among them. The docility with which these fishermen have accepted civilization as well as Christianity is without parallel in missionary annals. Through the persevering efforts of a single unaided man, Mr. Duncan, in twelve years a large community has been gathered together in a coast settlement, Metlah-katlah, and instructed not only in Christianity, but in all the arts and habits of civilized life. Trade, handicrafts, agriculture have all been successfully pursued. Over one hundred and fifty gardens stud the outskirts of the settlement. Vessels are owned and manned by Indians, which trade regularly to Vancouver. One hundred and thirty children are at school, and the congregations number from three hundred to five hundred. Testimony has been repeatedly borne to the marvellous success of this mission by independent observers and travellers, as, for instance, by a Roman Catholic writer, who sums up a glowing picture of the settlement and the avocations of its inhabitants with the remark:—

“Everything was neat and scrupulously clean. The inmates were as well supplied with the requisites to make life comfortable as any of our labouring class here. Cooking-stoves and clocks were common to every dwelling, and in a few instances pictures adorned the walls of the more luxuriously inclined. . . . As a whole, Mr. Duncan's people are industrious and sober, they are courteous and hospitable to strangers, and, if properly protected by their Government against the poison-vendors of this island (Vancouver), will in time become a numerous and wealthy people.”

Surely here the problem has been solved as far as regards a portion of that Red Indian race which has in Newfoundland, under similar conditions of climate and colonization, but without the fostering care

bestowed in Columbia, perished utterly. While, however, it will probably be admitted that a race of fishers may be trained to habits of self-control and civilization under Christian influences, it may be urged that the same race, when devoted to hunting, cannot coexist with settlers, and, moreover, that the Indian population of the Hudson's Bay Territory ought not to be adduced as an example, inasmuch as the climate rendered agricultural settlement impossible, and that their old manner of life has remained unchanged. It has scarcely been without modification, as agriculture to some slight extent has been introduced, and the population, we have every reason to believe, is larger than when, two hundred years ago, the Fur Company obtained their charter. Here, too, amalgamation has been largely at work, and the half-breeds in many districts outnumber the pure Indians.

The same absorption of the aboriginal with the intruding race has taken place to no small extent in some parts of Canada, as on the northern shores of Lakes Erie and Huron, and with a result there much more satisfactory than is seen in the Eurasian of India. Probably the time is not far distant when the only remains of the Canadian Indian will be in the mixed race, which may continue for generations to preserve some of the characteristics of the red man. The reappearance at uncertain intervals of those ancestral peculiarities, which Mr. Darwin has observed in the case of animals, is equally true of the human family. Thus, it is known that, soon after the early settlement of Bermuda by Sir W. Raleigh, a few Indians were imported into Somerset Island from Virginia. Of their descendants no trace is found in local history; but among the so-called mulattoes of that parish, it is very common to find, instead of the woolly head, the stiff, straight, coarse hair which tells unmistakably of Indian admixture. On the whole, may we not predicate of the American Indian races, from north to south,* that, when exterminated, they have perished like the defenceless brevipennate birds of insular faunas, not because of the impossibility of conservation, but from the short-sighted or ignorant misgovernment of the invading race? It was thus that the docile Caribs and the soft Peruvians have left scarce a trace of their whilom multitudes, save in geographical nomenclature.

When from these we turn to the lowest types of degenerate humanity, as the Australian and Tasmanian, we seem to light upon a human example of the Darwinian axiom, that when types of life have been so long segregated as to have diverged very far in their characteristics, amalgamation becomes physically impossible; and if

* On the aboriginal races of South America, and their capacity for civilization, some interesting disquisitions are to be found in Brett's "Indians of Guiana."

the two attempt to occupy the same area, and perform the same functions in the economy of nature, the weaker must perish in the struggle for existence.

Of the negrite races of New Guinea and the neighbouring islands, we may, perhaps, presume that so deep-seated is their barbarism, combining the lowest characteristics of the Negro and the most savage of the Malay, that it is scarcely possible for them to survive under any system of paternal government by an intruding race. Their fate may be that of the wild animals of prey, exterminated without parley by advancing colonization. But the native Australian need not be so summarily dismissed from the plains of the Southern Continent. Docile, if degraded, with senses acute, though with intellect scarcely developed, his fate has been to meet with no fostering care from a parental rule, but to be left to the rude hands of the most daring and the most astute of European pioneers, impetuous in the pursuit of immediate gain, and without either the patience or the necessity for nurturing and developing his feeble powers for their own profit. Hence, his lot has been very different from that of the Negro, whose labour was of the first importance to his master, while the Australian's incapacity for combination left him a target for the adventurer, who never required in the struggle the help of the central government, but was able to carry on the war of extermination unchecked and undeterred by fear of consequences.

Very different in every characteristic is the other great branch of the human family with which European colonization has been brought into contact and collision—the *Malayan*. Mr. Wallace's volumes on the Malay Archipelago, although professedly on the natural history of those vast regions, with the orang-utan on the cover, and the bird of paradise on the title-page, yet are full of studies of man as well as of nature. The reading of Mr. Wallace's work, with these studies of man and nature, has suggested the parallelism of the preceding pages, while he vividly sets before us the position and national life of the Malayan, when independent, when under Dutch government, or under Spanish subjugation. From the history of the Eastern Archipelago there is much to learn which bears on the two problems which appear, alas! so near a negative solution—the preservation of the soft Polynesian and the conservation of the hardy New Zealander. Of course we do not mean to generalize so far as to count all these, with the Dyaks and others, as strictly or at all Malays; but, without attempting ethnological exactness, to presume that the policy which is good, or the reverse, for one of these races may reasonably be anticipated to bear the same fruits when attempted with others of their neighbours.

The questions which suggest themselves are these. Are the races

of the Malay lands and the Eastern Archipelago prosperous and increasing when left to themselves? Have they shown themselves susceptible of the influences of Christianity and civilization when in a state of comparative political independence? Have they uniformly degenerated and diminished in population under Western sway? If not, do we find that under some governments they flourish, and under others decay; and is this contrast in their fate fairly to be attributed to the differing methods of government? May we anticipate that the continuance and progress of the race is compatible with European commerce and civilization? To all these questions we may find answers more or less satisfactory in the volumes before us. And the deliberately-formed opinions of Mr. Wallace ought to carry much weight, as those of no mere passing stranger, but of one who spent eight years in the country, not as a European resident or trader, but living among the natives, associating with them night and day, in the pursuit of natural history; and who carried that keen power of observation and analysis which has placed him in the front rank of philosophic naturalists into all his inquiries upon men and manners.

That virtue is no monopoly of a civilized community Mr. Wallace shows in his account of the Dyaks of the hill tribes, a race which has not yet succumbed to the rule of either Dutch or Portuguese:—

“The moral character of the Dyaks is undoubtedly high—a statement which will seem strange to those who have heard of them only as head-hunters and pirates. The hill Dyaks, however, have never been pirates, since they never go near the sea; and the custom of head-hunting originated in the petty wars of village with village and tribe with tribe, which no more implies a bad moral character than did the custom of the slave-trade one hundred years ago imply want of general morality in all who participated in it. Against this one stain in their character (which in the case of the Sarawak Dyaks no longer exists) we have to set many good points. They are truthful and honest to a remarkable degree. From this cause it is very often impossible to get from them any definite information, or even an opinion. They say, ‘If I were to tell you what I don’t know I might tell a lie;’ and whenever they voluntarily relate any matter of fact you may be sure they are speaking the truth. In a Dyak village the fruit-trees have each their owner; and it has often happened to me, on asking an inhabitant to gather me some fruit, to be answered, ‘I can’t do that, the owner of the tree is not here,’ never seeming to contemplate the possibility of acting otherwise. Neither will they take the smallest thing belonging to an European. . . . Crimes of violence (other than head-hunting) are almost unknown. . . . In several other matters of morality they rank above most uncivilized, and even above many civilized, nations. They are temperate in food and drink, and the gross sensuality of the Chinese and Malays is unknown amongst them. They have the usual fault of all people in a half-savage state—apathy and dilatoriness.” (Vol. i. pp. 139, 140.)

Who can doubt that such a people are capable of receiving the blessings of Christianity and civilization? Mr. Wallace more than once bears testimony to the results of missions in the East, both Jesuit and

Protestant. Of the former among the Chinese emigrants, after speaking of half a million Christians in Tonquin and Cochin China, he says:—

“No wonder they make converts, for it must be a great blessing to the poor people among whom they labour to have a man among them to whom they can go in any trouble or distress, who will comfort and advise them, who visits them in sickness, who relieves them in want, and whom they see living from day to day in danger of persecution and death entirely for their sakes. My friend at Bukit-trina was truly a father to his flock. He preached to them every Sunday, and had evenings for discussion and conversation on religion during the week. He had a school to teach their children. His house was open to them day and night.” (Vol. i. p. 35.)

He would give to them in need, to the half of his last store of rice, and when in want himself was readily helped by the richer of his flock. All consequently trusted and loved him, convinced that he had no ulterior objects beyond their good.

To turn to another race, that of Celebes, only fifty years ago the most degraded of the Archipelago, we have a pleasant picture of the work of Protestant missions. At Rurukan, under a native school-master, school was held every morning for three hours, and twice a week in the evening, catechising and preaching, besides the Sunday services. These would have been held tedious almost by the old Puritans, as the sermons were three hours long:—

“The children were all taught in Malay, and I often heard them repeating the multiplication-table to twenty times twenty very glibly. They always wound up with singing, and it was very pleasing to hear many of our old psalm tunes in these remote mountains sung with Malay words. Singing is one of the real blessings which missionaries introduce among savage nations, whose native chants are almost always monotonous and melancholy. . . . The missionaries have much to be proud of in this country (Celebes). They have assisted the Government in changing a savage into a civilized community in a wonderfully short space of time. Forty years ago the country was a wilderness, the people naked savages, garnishing their rude houses with human heads. Now it is a garden, worthy of its sweet native name of ‘Minahassa.’” (Vol. i. pp. 396, 7.)

One fact brought into strong light by Mr. Wallace carries much weight; viz., the increase of the native population under Dutch rule. The same result has followed the system of government maintained by the late Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak. No testimony can be stronger than that here borne to his beneficent rule, in strange contrast with the fierce denunciations with which some years ago he was assailed by certain home politicians. He had to solve that most difficult of political problems, the government of two distinct and antagonistic races, one of which, the Mohammedan Malays, looked upon the others, the Dyaks, as savages and slaves, only to be robbed and plundered. Yet, while effectually protecting them, he succeeded in securing the good-will and affection of both, and has

come to be revered, not only since his death, but before, as something more than human. Yet he ruled sternly, and made his laws to be respected. The author assures us that by the verdict of all who came in contact with him "he was a great, wise, and good ruler."

But if Rajah Brooke has been the target for unsparing denunciation, much more has the Dutch system of government, whether in Celebes or Java. A tale has recently had some popularity, both on the Continent and in England, "Max Havelaar," supposed to be a crushing exposure of the iniquities of Dutch rule in Java. Mr. Wallace unhesitatingly condemns the whole as utterly contrary to fact, and observes that, as the names are all fictitious, and neither dates, figures, nor details are given, it is impossible to verify or answer a single statement. One rebutting fact cannot, however, be gainsaid; viz., that at the census of 1826 the native population was 5,500,000, in 1850 it was over 9,500,000, and in 1865 it had reached 14,168,416—a rate which would double the population in about twenty-six years, nearly double the rate of increase in Great Britain. Again, the population of Java has reached an average of 368 persons to the square mile, being double that of fertile Bengal, and one-third more than that of Great Britain.

Nor is this increase a feature in the general history of this race. Under other circumstances the Malayans have retrograded, and the rate of increase is remarkably slow. Thus of the Dyaks we are told, that although none of the causes usually held to be the checks to population among savage nations—starvation, disease, war, infanticide, immorality—exist to any degree among them, yet, in the absence of these causes, there are plain indications of stationary or but slowly increasing numbers. On the other hand, all the conditions favourable to the rapid increase of population exist, in abundance of food, a healthy climate, and early marriages. Old bachelors and old maids are alike unknown. Mr. Wallace explains the phenomenon by the fact that, though there are no qualified claimants for woman's rights, the women do more than woman's work—they do the work of the other sex. Toiling in the fields all day from her childhood, and carrying home heavy burdens of firewood and food at night, grinding the rice for her family after her out-door task is done, the Dyak woman's life is but labour and sorrow from youth to age. From two to four is consequently the ordinary number of children she rears, while among ourselves the average number is from four to five. The marvel is that with the toils imposed on a Bornean wife she can rear her progeny at all, and we should rather wonder at the successful efforts of nature to prevent the extermination of the race.

Here such a system as that introduced by the Dutch, or in fact contact with higher races, so long as the natives can be kept un-

contaminated by civilized vices, would at once secure a rapid increase of population, if Java and Celebes may be adduced as examples. The teaching and the practice of the superior race will make the Dyak ashamed of his idle life while his weaker partner labours like a beast of burden. A paternal government will compel the work of the man in lieu of that of the woman. With multiplied wants, higher ambitions, and tastes refined, household duties will detain the woman in her home, while an improved system of agriculture will become necessary to supply the means of existence, and a more complicated social state will supplant the rude and tranquil repose in which the Dyak now finds his enjoyment. But, asks Mr. Wallace:—

“Will not evil passions be aroused by the spirit of competition, and crimes and vices, now unknown or dormant, be called into active existence? These are problems that time alone can solve; but it is to be hoped that education and a high-class European example [we would add, ‘above all, Christian training’] may obviate much of the evil that arises in analogous cases, and that we may be able at length to point to one instance of an uncivilized people who have not become demoralized and finally exterminated by contact with European civilization.” (Vol. i. p. 144.)

But what is the Dutch system which alone seems capable of conserving and multiplying the native population in the face of European colonization, and which Mr. Wallace so stoutly champions, opposed though it be to every dogma of modern political economy? It may be summed up in one word—A PATERNAL DESPOTISM. Both in Java and Celebes the government has acted for the people without taking them into counsel or consulting their wishes; it has legislated as for children in the nursery—honestly and kindly, as we verily believe. We may best explain the system in Mr. Wallace’s own words:—

“The mode of government adopted in Java is to retain the whole series of native rulers from the village chief up to princes, who, under the name of regents, are the heads of districts about the size of a small English county. With each regent is placed a Dutch resident, or assistant-resident, who is considered to be his ‘elder brother,’ and whose orders take the form of ‘recommendations,’ which are, however, implicitly obeyed. Along with each assistant-resident is a comptroller, a kind of inspector of all the lower native rulers, who periodically visits every village in the district, examines the proceedings of the native courts, hears complaints against the head-men or other native chiefs, and superintends the Government plantations. This brings us to the ‘culture system,’ which is the source of all the wealth the Dutch derive from Java, and is the subject of much abuse in this country because it is the reverse of ‘free trade.’ To understand its uses and beneficial effects, it is necessary first to sketch the common results of free European trade with uncivilized peoples.

“Natives of tropical climates have few wants, and, when these are supplied, are disinclined to work for superfluities without some strong incitement. With such a people the introduction of any new or systematic cultivation is almost impossible, except by the despotic order of chiefs

whom they have been accustomed to obey as children obey their parents. The free competition, however, of European traders introduces two powerful inducements to exertion. Spirits or opium is a temptation too strong for most savages to resist, and to obtain these he will sell whatever he has, and will work to get more. Another temptation he cannot resist is goods on credit. The trader offers him gay cloths, linens, gongs, guns, and gunpowder, to be paid for by some crop perhaps not yet planted, or some products yet in the forest. He has not sufficient forethought to take only a moderate quantity, and not enough energy to work early and late in order to get out of debt, and the consequence is that he accumulates debt upon debt, and often remains for years or for life a debtor, and almost a slave. This is a state of things which occurs very largely in every part of the world in which men of a superior race freely trade with men of a lower race. It extends trade, no doubt, for a time, but it demoralizes the nation, checks the civilization, and does not lead to any permanent increase in the wealth of the country, so that the European government of such a country must be carried on at a loss.

“The system introduced by the Dutch was to induce the people, through their chiefs, to give a portion of their time to the cultivation of coffee, sugar, and other valuable products. A fixed rate of wages—low, indeed, but equal to that of all places where European competition has not artificially raised it—was paid to the labourers engaged in clearing the ground and forming the plantations under Government superintendence. The produce is sold to the Government at a low fixed price. Out of the net profits a percentage goes to the chiefs, and the remainder is divided among the workmen. The surplus in good years is something considerable. On the whole, the people are well-fed and decently clothed, and have acquired habits of steady industry and the art of scientific cultivation, which must be of service to them in the future. It must be remembered that the Government expended capital for years before any return was obtained; and if they now derive a large revenue, it is in a way which is far less burdensome, and far more beneficial to the people, than any tax which could be levied.” (Vol. i. pp. 149—151.)

Against all the theoretical arguments of political economy, Mr. Wallace urges that the system should be tested by its results, and that when a country increases rapidly in population and wealth, the people cannot be very greatly oppressed or very badly governed.

But, it may be replied, the system might work well with a people like the Javanese, already semi-civilized and docile, yet would it help to conserve a barbarous and thoroughly savage race, when exposed to contact with Europeans? Mr. Wallace shows that exactly the same system has been applied by the Dutch to the barbarians of Celebes, and with even yet more triumphant success. Within the memory of living men, the inhabitants of the different villages of Celebes were distinct tribes, under their several chiefs, in a state of chronic warfare, and speaking dialects unintelligible to each other; their houses were built on lofty posts for defence; they were head-hunters and cannibals; human sacrifices were universal; slaves or captives were regularly slaughtered, and the chief decoration of their houses were human skulls; their only clothing was strips of bark, and their religion was fetish or demon worship.

In 1822 the Dutch introduced the coffee-plant and the Javanese system. They took the native chiefs into their pay and control, opened out roads, divided the country into districts, established schools, and introduced missionaries. Less than fifty years have completely transformed the island; it has been Christianized and civilized. Mr. Wallace's summary of the result of fifty years' colonization of Celebes, and his defence of the system, is too important to bear compression:—

“The people are now the most industrious, peaceable, and civilized in the whole archipelago. They are the best clothed, the best housed, the best fed, and the best educated; and they have made some progress towards a higher social state. I believe there is no example elsewhere of such striking results being produced in so short a time—results which are entirely due to the system of government now adopted by the Dutch in their Eastern possessions. The system is one which may be called a ‘paternal despotism.’ Now we Englishmen do not like despotism, we hate the name and the thing, and would rather see people ignorant, lazy, and vicious than use any but moral force to make them wise, industrious, and good. And we are right when dealing with men of our own race and of similar ideas and equal capacities with ourselves. Example and precept, the force of public opinion, and the slow but sure spread of education, will do everything in time, without engendering any of those bitter feelings, or producing any of that servility, hypocrisy, and dependence, which are the sure results of despotic government. But what should we think of a man who should advocate these principles of perfect freedom in a family or a school? We should say he was applying a good general principle to a case in which the conditions rendered it inapplicable—the case in which the governed are in an admitted state of mental inferiority to those who govern them, and are unable to decide what is best for their permanent welfare. Children must be subjected to some degree of authority and guidance, and if properly managed they will cheerfully submit to it, because they know their own inferiority, and believe their elders are acting solely for their good. They learn many things the use of which they cannot comprehend, and which they would never learn without some moral and social if not physical pressure. Habits of order, of industry, of cleanliness, of respect, and obedience, are inculcated by similar means. Children would never grow up into well-behaved and well-educated men, if the same absolute freedom of action that is allowed to men were allowed to them. Under the best aspect of education children are subjected to a mild despotism for the good of themselves and of society; and their confidence in the wisdom and goodness of those who ordain and apply this despotism neutralizes the bad passions and degrading feelings which, under less favourable conditions, are its general results.

“Now there is not merely an analogy, there is in many respects an identity of relation, between master and pupil, or parent and child, on the one hand, and an uncivilized race and its rulers on the other. We know, or think we know, that the education and industry and the common usages of civilized man are superior to those of savage life; and as he becomes acquainted with them the savage himself admits this. He admires the superior acquirements of the civilized man, and it is with pride that he will adopt such usages as do not interfere too much with his sloth, his passions, or his prejudices. But as the wilful child or the idle schoolboy, who was never taught obedience, and never made to do anything which of his own

free will he was not inclined to do, would in most cases obtain neither education nor manners; so it is much more unlikely that the savage, with all the confirmed habits of manhood and the traditional prejudices of race, should ever do more than copy a few of the least beneficial customs of civilization, without some stronger stimulus than precept, very imperfectly backed by example.

“If we are satisfied that we are right in assuming the government over a savage race and occupying their country, and if we further consider it our duty to do what we can to improve our rude subjects and raise them up towards our own level, we must not be too much afraid of the cry of ‘despotism’ and ‘slavery;’ but must use the authority we possess to induce them to do work they may not altogether like, but which we know to be an indispensable step in their moral and physical advancement. The Dutch have shown much good policy in the means by which they have done this. They have in most cases upheld and strengthened the authority of the native chiefs, to whom the people have been accustomed to render a voluntary obedience; and, by acting on the intelligence and self-interest of these chiefs, they have brought about changes in the manners and customs of the people which would have excited ill-feeling and perhaps revolt had they been directly enforced by foreigners.

“... No doubt the system here sketched seems open to serious objection. It is to a certain extent despotic, and interferes with free labour, free trade, and free communication. The coffee has all to be sold to the Government at less than half the price the local merchant would give for it, and he consequently cries out loudly against ‘monopoly’ and ‘oppression.’

He forgets, however, that the coffee plantations were established by the Government at great outlay of capital and skill, that it gives free education to the people, and that the monopoly is in lieu of taxation. He forgets that the product he wants to purchase and make a profit by is the creation of the Government, without whom the people would still be savages. He knows very well that free trade would, as its first result, lead to the importation of whole cargoes of arrack, which would be carried over the country and exchanged for coffee, that drunkenness and poverty would soon spread over the land, that the public coffee plantations would not be kept up, that the quality and quantity of the coffee would soon deteriorate, that traders and merchants would get rich, but that the people would relapse into poverty and barbarism. That such is invariably the result of free trade with any savage tribes who possess a valuable product, native or cultivated, is well known to those who have visited such people; but we might even anticipate from general principles that evil results would follow. If there is one thing rather than another to which the grand law of continuity or development will apply, it is human progress. There are certain stages through which society must pass in its onward march from barbarism to civilization. Now one of these stages has always been some form or other of despotism, such as feudalism or servitude, or a despotic paternal government; and we have every reason to believe that it is not possible for humanity to leap over this transition epoch, and pass at once from pure savagery to free civilization. The Dutch system attempts to supply this missing link, and to bring the people on by gradual steps to that higher civilization, which we (the English) try to force upon them at once. *Our system has always failed. We demoralize and we extirpate, but we never really civilize.* The Dutch . . . takes nature as a guide, and is, therefore, more deserving of success and more likely to succeed than ours.” (Vol. i. pp. 397—402.)

In the island of Timor, under similar natural conditions, but, unhappily, under Portuguese rule, our author adduces a striking

contrast to the prosperity of Celebes—a decaying, wretched, barbarous, poverty-stricken race; and he proves conclusively that it is to the Dutch system, and to that alone, that the prosperity of Java and Celebes is due.

Even the spice monopoly, which has been more unsparingly denounced than any other part of the Dutch system, Mr. Wallace shows to have been planned with wise policy, in the interests of the natives themselves, concentrating the traffic in those spots only over which the Government have full control. The destruction of the trees elsewhere has actually improved the condition of the people; it has preserved them from demoralizing influences, and largely extended the fisheries, and the growth of rice, sago, and other valuable products. (See Vol. II. ch. xxi.)

Towards the end of the second volume (ch. xl.) Mr. Wallace indulges in some reflections, the self-evident truth of which is deeply humiliating to our higher civilization, and well worthy the attention of philanthropists and social reformers. There are points in which the very stage of civilization of South American savages and Oriental tribes reaches more nearly the ideal of social perfection than we have attained. There is less incentive to great crimes, and there is truer equality. Our moral advances have not been *pari passu* with our intellectual. Our material advancement, and our mastery over the forces of nature, have rapidly increased our population and accumulated our wealth. But the mental and moral status of the population has not developed in the same ratio, and the gulf between wealth and poverty has widened to gigantic dimensions. The wealth, knowledge, and culture of the few do not of *themselves* advance us towards the perfect social state. Our civilization at home and our colonization abroad have failed from the same cause—mainly from our neglect to train and develop more thoroughly the sympathetic feelings and moral faculties of our nature, and to allow them a larger share of influence in our social organization. Until they do, our colonial system must remain the opprobrium of Christianity, and the reproach of civilization. Is it too late even now to set about the construction of the ark which shall conserve the dwindling remnants of those aboriginal races, who have, unhappily for themselves, fallen under our rule? Just as that rule may be towards men who can meet on equal terms, may we not, now that we universally admit its practical failure, inquire whether there is nothing to learn from Batavia? whether it were not better to admit the practical inequality of races, and to do violence to our cherished dogmas of “free trade” and “liberty,” than *θέσω διαφυλάττοντες* to exterminate the seed of a future army of labour, as we have extirpated the animals over whose crumbling relics the naturalist heaves a sigh?

H. B. TRISTRAM.