

NOTES *on the* POLYNESIAN RACE.

By C. STANILAND WAKE, M.A.I.

IN a valuable work recently published\* some remarks are made with reference to the Polynesian race, which, although not inconsistent with the statements of recognised authorities, appear to me to be erroneous and, owing to their importance, to require correction. The writer of the work in question, after affirming that the whole of the Polynesian Islands are inhabited by one race, which differs very little in the several islands, gives a general description of its physical characters, and of the native arts and manufactures. Among other things it is stated that the *Mahoris*, the name there given to the brown Polynesians, "have little beard generally, though sometimes it grows pretty freely," and it is asserted that they have no bow and arrows (p. 494). These two general statements are, if true, very important, seeing that they tend to support the opinion that the Polynesian and Papuan peoples belong to quite distinct races. The bearded Manganians of the Hervey Archipelago are distinguished from the Mahoris, so called, as the extreme eastern outliers of the Melanesian or Papuan race (p. 567), and elsewhere the lighter coloured natives of Eastern New Guinea are said to possess many features "which are characteristically Polynesian," among them being "absence of the bow and arrow" (p. 456). Mr. Wallace, the editor of the work from which these statements are taken, wrote, not long ago, in the

\* "Stanford's "Compendium of Geography and Travel," ("Australasia.") Edited and extended by Alfred R. Wallace, F.R.G.S. 1879.

"Contemporary Review,"\* that the Papuans of New Guinea contrast strongly with the Malays and Polynesians, being tolerably well bearded, and differ from them in having the bow and arrow, as an indigenous weapon, stating indeed that "the use of the bow and arrow by the Papuans is an important ethnological feature, distinguishing them from all the peoples by whom they are immediately surrounded, and connecting them, as do their physiological peculiarities, with an ancient wide-spread negroid type." I propose therefore to show, *first*, that the Polynesian Islanders must be described rather as a bearded than a non-bearded race, and, *secondly*, that, as a rule, they are well acquainted with the use of the bow and arrow.

As to the first point, it must be admitted that the idea of the Polynesian Islanders being an almost beardless race is not a rare one. Mr. Hale, of the United States' Exploring Expedition, in his admirable work on ethnography and philology, affirms that with them the beard is scanty and does not usually make its appearance till middle age (p. 9). Again, a recent German writer, Herr Peschel, speaks of the Polynesian and Asiatic Malays as one race, and as having "almost complete absence of beard and hair on the body" as a common character.† On the other hand, however, Prof. Lawrence long since made the remark that "although the South Sea Islanders come under the dark-coloured division of the human race, they are not at all deficient in beard." He adds that "the descriptions and figures of Cook concur in assigning to them in many cases a copious growth."‡ The general truth of Lawrence's conclusion can be established by reference to the testimony of various travellers as to the inhabitants of the several island groups of the Pacific. Thus Dr. Pickering makes the observation that the beard is not unusual among the Polynesians, although it is not strong until late in life.§ This traveller remarks, indeed, that in the Low Archipelago the Eastern and Western Paumotuans remove the beard, but he adds that it is universally worn by the natives of Disappointment Island and Penrhyn Island.|| This would seem to be true also of the Gambier Islanders, who are said by Capt. Beechy to wear moustaches and beards, but no whiskers. One man had a beard which reached to the pit of his stomach¶ The natives of Easter Island who, like the Penrhyn Islanders, are supposed by Mr. Gill to have been derived from the Hervey

\* February, 1879.

† "The Races of Man." (English edition) p. 347.

‡ "Lectures," p. 206.

§ "Races of Man!" (Bohn) p. 44.

|| *Ibid.* p. 48 *seq.*

¶ See "Prichard's "Physical Researches," vol. v, p. 142.

Islands,\* cut the beard short for cleanliness.† The Hervey Islanders themselves would appear to be well bearded,‡ although this is ascribed by Mr. Wallace to the presence of a Melanesian element.§ That people were derived from the Samoan group, from which the Society Islanders are said to have migrated at a still earlier date. Now, Mr. Forster long since noted that at Tahiti the chiefs and others often had strong beards,|| a statement which is confirmed by Capt. Cook, who says that the beard is there grown long.¶ A later observer, the Rev. William Ellis, in speaking of the Tahitians and the natives of the neighbouring islands, remarks that "sometimes the men plucked the beard out by the roots, shaved it off with a shark's tooth, or removed it with the edges of two shells, acting like the blades of a pair of scissors, but cutting against each other; whilst others allowed the beard to grow, sometimes twisting and braiding it together." He states, however, that these fashions have all disappeared, and that the beard is generally at least shaved once a week, and by the chiefs more frequently.\*\* If we approach nearer to the Samoan group, from which all the Eastern Pacific Islanders have sprung, we find that the natives of the Niue or Savage Island are able to grow the beard to a great length.†† It is true that, according to a correspondent of Dr. J. Barnard Davis, the inhabitants of the Ellice group of islands—who claim to have sprung from Samoa—"have, as a rule, a dozen straggling hairs for a beard.‡‡ It appears, however, from the same authority that on one island, Nunemaya, "the men have splendid beards," and Admiral Wilkes states expressly that the inhabitants of Fanafute, the largest island of the Ellice group, are well provided with beards, resembling in that respect the Fijians. He adds that the people generally are similar in appearance to the Hawaiians, although speaking a dialect resembling the Samoan.§§ The scanty beard of some of the Ellice Islanders may perhaps be due to the fact that an Asiatic element has been introduced from the Kingsmill Islands. Admiral Wilkes mentions that a loathsome skin disease to which the former are subject is equally prevalent in the latter,||| and Mr. Gill states that the natives of the Nui Island, in the Ellice

\* "Life in the Southern Isles," p. 26.

† G. Forster's "Voyage Round the World," vol. i, p. 558.

‡ "Cook's Third Voyage," vol. i, p. 178.

§ See "Australasia," p. 507.

|| *Op. cit.* vol. ii, p. 111.

¶ "Second Voyage Round the World" vol. ii, n. 147.

\*\* "Polynesian Researches," 2nd edition, i, 79, 183.

†† Wood's "Natural History of Man," vol. ii, p. 395.

‡‡ "Anthropological Review," vol. viii, p. 191.

§§ "United States' Exploring Expedition," vol. v, p. 38 *seq.*

||| *Ibid.* v, p. 46.

Archipelago, trace their origin to the Kingsmill group, which he supposes to have been peopled from Japan.\* The last named writer affirms that the Maoris of New Zealand are in part descended from the Hervey Islanders, whom they call elder brothers,† and Capt. Cook and his companions speak of the black frizzled beards which they saw among the New Zealanders.‡ The Rev. Mr. Taylor says that the Maori rivals the European in the luxuriance of his beard,§ and Mr. J. G. Wood remarks that the Maoris have naturally a full beard, but that they remove every vestige of hair on the face in order to show the tattoo markings on it.|| This statement agrees with Dr. J. R. Forster's observation that, in both New Zealand and the Marquesas, those who are much punctured on their faces have very little or no beard at all.¶ Captain Cook states, however, that the Marquesans, who are said to be the finest of the South Sea Islanders, have generally long beards,\*\* and he describes the treatment of these appendages in much the same terms as are used by Mr. Ellis in relation to the beards of the Tahitians. A recent writer mentions the fact that long white human beards are highly prized by the Marquesans as decorations, and are cultivated for the purpose of being thus used.†† Pritchard makes the observation as to the natives of the Sandwich Islands, that they may almost be considered as the same nation as the Marquesans,‡‡ and they would certainly seem to agree in the possession of the beard. Capt. King remarks that the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands "differ from those of the Friendly Isles, in suffering, almost universally, their beards to grow."§§

We should be quite justified in assuming from the foregoing facts that the Polynesian Islanders are a bearded race, but strangely enough we find that the natives of the Navigator or Samoan Islands, from which most of the other islands of the East Pacific appear to have been peopled, are usually described as being but scantily bearded. Dr. Darwin, indeed, explains the beardless character of the inhabitants of the Tongan and Samoan Archipelagoes as compared with the neighbouring Fijians on the ground of their belonging to different races.|||| He does not, however, refer to any authority on that point, and the important

\* *Op. cit.* p. 25.

† *Op. cit.* p. 29.

‡ Forster, *op. cit.* i, 171.

§ "New Zealand and its Inhabitants," 2nd edition, p. 56.

|| *Op. cit.* ii, 106.

¶ "Observations made during a Voyage Round the World," p. 271.

\*\* "Second Voyage," vol. ii, p. 309.

†† Wood, *op. cit.* ii, 386.

‡‡ "Natural History," p. 336.

§§ "Voyage to the Pacific," iii, 134.

|||| "Descent of Man," ii, 322.

position occupied by those peoples in relation to the other members of the same race renders it necessary for us to examine into the truth of his opinion. Mr. William D. Pritchard says of the Tongan and Samoan that "he is almost beardless and abhors a hairy chin."\* This, is however, by way of antithesis to the remark made in relation to the Fijian, that his beard is equally profuse as his hair and "is his greatest pride,"† so that the statement must not be taken as literally true. On the other hand, not only does Mr. G. Forster remark that the Tongans cut the beard short for the sake of cleanliness,‡ but Dr. Pickering says distinctly with reference to the Tongans that although they are usually smooth chinned in their native country, many of them in Fiji had "managed to foster considerable beards in imitation of the fashion of the new country."§

Mr. Hale was struck with the fact that the natives of Vaitupu, or the Depeyster Islands, had all a greater luxuriance of beard than had been seen elsewhere, except at the Feejee Islands. He says further "it is difficult to understand why these natives should be so well furnished with beard beyond what we have seen in any other tribe of the Polynesian race. Even the natives of Fakaafo, to whom they appear to be most nearly allied, are as ill furnished in this respect as the Samoans."¶ We have seen however that the Tongans, like the Depeyster Islanders, can cultivate the beard when they try, and we can hardly doubt that the Samoans, to whom the Tongans are closely allied, could do so also if they wished. In the Samoan grammar of the Rev. George Pratt, a curious note bearing on that subject has been added by the Rev. S. J. Whitmee. After referring to certain exceptions to the rule in the Polynesian dialects, that words when implying a passive or intransitive relation take *o*, but when implying an active and transitive one *a*, he says: "the beard puzzles me most. Why should it take *a*? The beard is not in favour with the Malayo-Polynesians. They are accustomed to pull out the hair on their faces. Can it be because a man would be thus (in a measure) actively concerned in possessing or not possessing a beard, that *a* is used with it?"¶ Mr. Whitmee thinks not, but his language would seem to imply that the Polynesian Islanders, and among them the Samoans, are not naturally beardless. It is true that Mr. Hale endeavours to show that the darker complexion and more abundant beard of

\* "Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London," i, 196.

+ *Ibid.* p. 195.

‡ *Op. cit.* i, p. 600.

§ *Op. cit.* p. 84.

¶ *Op. cit.* p. 161.

¶ "Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language," 2nd edition, *note* page 6.

the natives of Vaitupu are due to the presence of Melanesian blood.\* But this supposition is based on very insufficient grounds, which, if allowed, would require the same intermixture of races to be asserted also of the Hawaiians, whom the natives of Vaitupu appear most closely to resemble.† Assuming even that some of the Polynesian peoples betray the existence of a Papuan element, it by no means follows that the beard has been derived from it, whatever may be said of other characters.

I think we shall be quite justified, in the face of the facts I have cited, in inferring that the beard has been derived by the Polynesian peoples from the same source as their general physical organisation, and that they are not naturally deficient in hair on the face. This conclusion, that the Polynesians must be regarded as a bearded race, is confirmed by the presence among the Micronesians of bearded men who resemble in other respects the former race. Thus although the natives of the Kingsmill Islands, who are described by Wilkes as being totally different from the more southern natives, had but scanty beards, yet the inhabitants of Makin, or Pitt Island, one of the group, resemble the Polynesians rather than their more immediate neighbours, and have more beard.‡ According to native tradition, the islands would seem to have been peopled partly from the Caroline group and partly from Samoa, so that the Polynesian features are easily accounted for. Possibly, moreover, the brown Polynesian race may have existed in Micronesia before the advent of the Malay element, as a thick beard is by no means unknown among the inhabitants of Pelew§ and the Caroline Islands.|| Finally, Mr. Wallace refers to the existence in the northern peninsula of Gilolo, the isle of Ceram, and in Bouru, of a tall bearded race, resembling Polynesians.¶ This is quite consistent with the view he formerly entertained, that the brown Polynesian race "can best be classified as a modification of the Papuan type,"\*\* the Papuan being noted for his abundance of beard growth, although this view has since been considerably modified.†† Probably the truer opinion is that both Polynesians and Papuans belong to the pre-Malayan race of the Indian Archipelago, who are referred to by Mr. Keane as a taller and more muscular race than the others, with less prominent cheek bones, a lighter shade of brown, with a ruddy tinge on the cheeks, beard more

\* "Ethnology and Philology," pp. 163, 168.

† *Ibid.* p. 161.

‡ See Wilkes *op. cit.* v, 83; Wood, *op. cit.* ii, 377.

§ Captain Wilson's "Pelew Islands," 2nd edition, p. 27.

|| Lütke: Prichard's "Physical Researches," v. 183.

¶ "Malayan Archipelago," ii, 449, 454.

\*\* *Ibid.* ii, 455.

†† See "Australasia," p. 261.

developed, and a hair of finer texture and more inclined to a brown colour.\* The Papuans would thus be Asiatic Negroes with a Polynesian admixture, or Polynesians with a negroid element, which becomes less and less apparent the farther we advance eastwards from New Guinea among the Pacific islanders.

I will now proceed to the question of the bow and arrow, and as to this I would refer first to the statement of Mr. J. G. Wood that "the weapons of the Outanatas [of New Guinea] are spears, clubs, and the usual bow and arrows which form the staple of Polynesian arms."† It may be thought, however, that this writer here confounds the Polynesians and Papuans, and certainly when we try to find in Mr. Wood's work instances of the use of the bow and arrow by distinctly Polynesian peoples, we are disappointed. We have, however, in the Rev. W. W. Gill, a personal observer, and he says expressly that bows and arrows were used in the Eastern Polynesian Islands, although for sport, not for war;‡ a fact which probably accounts for the statements of other writers that those islanders do not use the bow and arrow. The testimony of Mr. Hale agrees with that of Mr. Gill as to this implement being used for amusement, although he makes the erroneous statement that it is not included by the natives of any of the islands of Polynesia among their warlike weapons.§ The real facts of the case are well stated by the late Rev. W. Ellis, who says: "the bow and arrow were never used by the Society Islanders excepting in their amusements; hence, perhaps, their arrows, though pointed, were not barbed, and they did not shoot at a mark . . . . In the Sandwich Islands they are used also as an amusement, especially in shooting rats, but are not included in their accoutrements for battle: while in the Friendly Islands the bow was not only employed on occasions of festivity but also used in war." Mr. Ellis suggests, however, that this may have arisen from their proximity to the Fiji Islands, where it is a general weapon, and he adds that at the time he wrote, the bow and arrow had been altogether laid aside in consequence of its connection with their former idolatry.|| We have here evidence that the bow and arrow was used for certain purposes by peoples so far apart as the Society Islanders, which here includes the Tahitians, the Sandwich Islanders and the Friendly Islanders. In addition we know from La Perouse,¶

\* *Ibid.* p. 622.

† *Op. cit.* ii, 225.

‡ *Op. cit.* p. 26.

§ "United States' Exploring Expedition, Ethnology and Philology," pp. 42, 45.

|| "Polynesian Researches," vol. i, p. 220.

¶ "Voyage Round the World" (English edition), vol. iii, p. 120.

as well as from the later United States explorers, that\* the natives of the Samoan group possessed that weapon, and by other evidence that it is used by the inhabitants of Savage Island,† and among those of the Ellice Islands as a child's plaything.‡ We have already had occasion to refer to the testimony of the Rev. W. W. Gill, and doubtless he speaks with particular reference to the natives of the Hervey Islands, when he says that the bow and arrow was known to the natives of Eastern Polynesia. The early navigators saw no trace of this weapon among the Maoris of New Zealand, but that it has not always been unknown to them is evident from the fact that one dialect at least of their language, the *Waikato*,§ has words for both the bow (*kopere*) and the arrow (*pere*).

It may be asked why should so warlike a people as the New Zealanders give up the use of the bow and arrow, and almost forget the existence of such a form of weapon. The reason must be sought in the fact referred to by Mr. Gill, that it is used by the Eastern Polynesians for sport only, because "their persons were so well defended with folds of cloth that such arrows as they could get would not have pierced the skin."|| Thus in the Sandwich Islands, "bows and arrows were," says Mr. Jarvis, "rarely used, being so poorly fabricated as to be of little utility."¶ They were, therefore, valued by the Society Islanders and Sandwich Islanders only as instruments of amusement. The inefficiency of a weapon for warlike purposes would, on the introduction of a more effective instrument, soon lead to its abandonment, as we see with the New Zealanders in the case of the spear, which they have long since abandoned for other weapons more suited to the nature of their conflicts.\*\* The use for warfare of the bow and arrow in the Friendly Islands may, as Mr. Ellis supposes, be due to intercourse with the Fijians, but that the weapon itself has not been derived by the brown from the black race, may, I think, notwithstanding Mr. Wallace's opinion to the contrary, be safely affirmed. Mr. Ellis refers to the use of that weapon by the Sandwich Islanders in the sport of rat shooting, and it is remarkable that this amusement was a great favourite also in the Friendly Islands. According to Mariner, rat shooting was a regular game with established rules, among

\* "Wilkes, "United States' Exploring Expedition," vol. ii, p. 151.

† Wood, *op. cit.* ii, 395.

‡ See Peschel. "The Races of Man," p. 183.

§ For reference to this tribe see "Te Ika a Mani," by the Rev. Richard Taylor (2nd edition), p. 315. The name for bow among some of the Brazilian tribes, as given by Neuhoff, *gura para*, is not unlike the *kopers* of the Waikato.

|| *Op. cit.* p. 28.

¶ "History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands," p. 56.

\*\* See Wood *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 155.

the Tongans, and it was reserved especially for chiefs and privileged classes.\* The bow and arrow was used also by the Tongans in their amusement of *fanna kalai*, or fowl shooting, a sport which was practised solely by the king and very great chiefs, the expense of keeping the trained birds required in it being so great.† In the Society Islands *te-a*, or archery, was not only held in the highest esteem, but it was apparently a sacred game, and it could be practised only at certain places and with special ceremonies.‡ I think we have in the sacred or special character ascribed to the use of the bow and arrow by these Polynesian peoples, a proof that they cannot have derived it from a foreign race. Moreover, although there was a general resemblance between those weapons as made by the Tongans and the Fijians, the bow being formed in each case of the mangrove wood or roots, and the arrows of reeds or light wood with harder pieces of wood inserted. Yet such a resemblance is no proof that the weapon was derived by one people from the other. This may have been the case with the Tongan war arrow, however, the name for which *gnahóv* appears, indeed, to be the same as that of the Fijian arrow, *Ngasau*.

The Fijian word for bow is *ndakai*, while "to shoot" is *vana*, a word which curiously enough is applied under various forms by the brown race of the Pacific to the bow. In the Friendly Islands we have *fana*, in the Hervey Islands *ana*, and in the Sandwich Islands *pana*, all meaning "bow"; and also, like the Fijian word, "to shoot." It cannot be said, however, that the Polynesians have derived their words from a Fijian source, seeing that the Malay and allied peoples of the Indian Archipelago have the same word for "bow" as the Sandwich Islanders. Thus, in Sumatra, Madúra, and Bali, we have *panah*, while in other islands, as Java, this word is used for "arrow." It would seem, from Mr. Wallace's vocabularies, to be found also among the inhabitants of the Celebes, Bouru, and Ceram. No doubt the natives of Mysol, who are said to be true Papuans, employ a form of the same word, which with them becomes *aan* or *fean*, but they could easily have received it from the Malay fishermen or sea gipsies, the Bajau referred to by Mr Wallace, who use the word *panah*.§ The fact of the same term being found among the Malayan and the Polynesian peoples for "bow" appears to be quite inconsistent with the derivation of it by them from the Fijians. The use by certain Papuan peoples of the Malay word for "bow" has, indeed, been referred to by

\* "Tonga Islands," vol. i, p. 267, *seq.*

† *Ibid.* i, p. 235.

‡ "Ellis," *op. cit.* i, 217, *seq.*

§ "Malayan Archipelago," vol. ii, p. 457.

Mr. E. B. Tylor and Major-General Fox, but the statement made by the latter that, with but slight variation, this word is employed over the whole of the Papuan and Polynesian region where the bow is known,\* is not exactly correct. Many Papuan tribes have, like the Fijians, a different word for that weapon. It is probable that the Polynesian Islanders carried both the weapon and the name for it together from their original home in the Indian Archipelago, and that the Fijians, in the course of their intercourse with the Tongans as described by Mr. Hale,† obtained from them the term for "to shoot," which the Polynesians, but not the Fijians, apply to the bow.

The word *fana* or *pana* might perhaps be connected with the Malay term *bunuh*, which means "to kill." Mr. Wallace asserts, however, that not only the Polynesians, but also the Malays, were not acquainted with the bow and arrow. This is an extraordinary fact, if true, considering that the Malay word for the "bow" is used throughout the whole Pacific, but it is hardly probable, seeing that the Javanese, who belong to the Malay race, have employed that weapon for centuries past. Sir Stamford Raffles gives representations of the bow and of numerous forms of arrows used by the Javanese, but he states that the weapon is used now by them only on State occasions,‡ which reminds us of the peculiar position it held among the Polynesian Islanders. Moreover, it is used by the uncivilised Malays of the small islands belonging to Sumatra,§ and is one of the weapons of the warlike Achinese|| of Sumatra itself, although we know too little of the Malays proper to say whether they also possess it. Nevertheless, the comparative vocabulary of Sir Stamford Raffles gives words in Malayan, Madurese, and Bali, not only for "bow" and for "arrow," but also for the "arrow-barb," showing that something more than the simple arrow of sport was known to the Malays.

Major-General Fox, who has treated fully of the weapons of primitive warfare, not only refers to the use of the bow and arrow by the Polynesian Islanders, but on philological grounds thinks that they received the bow from a Malay source.¶ The Malay word may however probably be traced to the Sanskrit *Vāna*, an arrow, or to the root *Van*, to kill, injure, thrust, &c.

\* "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," vol. iv, 1874, p. 305.

† *Op. cit.* p. 174, *seq.*

‡ "History of Java," i, 295. The Hovas of Madagascar have words for the bow and arrow, although these weapons are now used only by some of the northern tribes of that island. See Sibree's "Great African Island," p. 216.

§ "Australasia," edited by A. R. Wallace, p. 341.

|| *Ibid.* p. 338.

¶ Catalogue of the Anthropological Collection, exhibited at the Bethnal Green Museum, 1874, p. 43.

It seems to me that we must now admit that the Polynesian race was acquainted with the use of the bow and arrow before their migrations over the Pacific, although some of the islanders have forgotten it. The source of this forgetfulness is probably not difficult to discover. Herr Peschel is doubtless wrong when he ascribes it to the fact that, hunting being impossible, the chase is not practised by the Polynesian Islanders as a means of subsistence.\* We have seen, indeed, that the bow and arrow was used by the Sandwich Islanders and the Tongans in rat shooting, as well as on other occasions of sport. It is more probable that the use of that weapon, as an instrument of warfare, had died out among the ancestors of the Polynesians before the commencement of their migrations, although they carried the knowledge of it with them. This idea is consistent with the fact already referred to that the Javanese have long since given up its use. An analogous state of things would seem to have occurred among the Papuans. As Peschel points out, the Fijians now use the bow and arrow only for throwing missiles into fortified places, or leave it to the women, who thus assist in the defence of their fortified places.† In itself the Fijian weapon is inefficient and it will soon be remembered only as an instrument of sport, as with the Sandwich Islanders. Moreover, notwithstanding Mr. Wallace's statement that the bow and arrow are "almost universal among the Papuans and most of the allied frizzly-haired races,"‡ no trace of them have been met with among the natives of New Caledonia, nor were they known to the Tasmanians or to the aborigines of Australia, except in the extreme north. This fact would seem to show that the bow and arrow were unknown to the dark frizzly-haired race when it first reached the islands of the Pacific, and that the Fijians and the neighbouring allied peoples have either migrated at a later period or received that weapon from the Polynesians since their settlement. If Mr. Hale's opinion that the Fijians are a mixed race, having a Polynesian element, be true, it is of course possible that they may have learnt the use of the bow from the Tongans. The name used by them for this weapon, however, is against such an idea, and the fact that so many other Papuan peoples are well acquainted with it renders it very improbable. The facts would seem to be that at the date of the earliest Papuan migration, applying that term to the Tasmanians and

\* "The Races of Man," p. 185.

† *Op. cit.* p. 184.

‡ "Contemporary Review," p. 431. According to the Rev. W. G. Lawes, the use of the bow and arrow among the natives of South-East New Guinea is restricted to the coast tribes, who are supposed to be of Malayan origin. "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," vol. viii, 1879, p. 373.

New Caledonians as well as to the Fijians, the bow and arrow were unknown to their ancestors. After that date this weapon was introduced among the Papuans, and was taken with them on their later migrations to the New Hebrides and Fijian Islands. Probably at that period the bow and arrow was used as an instrument of warfare among nearly all the peoples of the Indian Archipelago, but afterwards it came to be employed only as an instrument of sport or ceremony. Such would have been the case when the ancestors of the Polynesian race left their ancestral home in the Archipelago, and when they reached the Samoan Islands, from which as a new centre they spread, as Mr. Hale clearly shows,\* over the Pacific, they carried the bow and arrow with them thus modified in its use and afterwards to be almost entirely forgotten. The Tongans alone used it as a weapon of warfare, owing to their association with the Fijians, who having migrated at an earlier period had retained the use of the bow and arrow for that purpose.

Before bringing this paper to a close I wish to say something with reference to a new name which has been proposed by Mr. W. L. Ranken for the brown Polynesians, and which Mr. Wallace has adopted in the work on Australasia edited by him. The derivation of *Mahori*, the term here referred to, is not given by Mr. Keane, who has also adopted it in his philological and ethnological appendix, but very sufficient reasons have been adduced by the Rev. S. J. Whitmee why it should not be adopted.† I feel much inclined to agree with Mr. Keane's opinion that the so-called Mahori "seem, on the whole, to be a pure unmixed race, if any such are still anywhere to be found on the globe,"‡ and as such it is very desirable that some distinctive name should be given to them to replace that of Polynesians. The word Mahori, however, is not satisfactory, and I would propose another term which has the advantage not only of being a word in common use in all the Polynesian dialects, but also of having a meaning which recommends it for adoption. I will go further and say that it is already employed in the mode desired, as we see from a passage in M. Jules Garnier's work on New Caledonia, where it is said the name *Kanak* is generally given to the islanders of the Pacific Ocean.§ Travellers among peoples of a low degree of

\* *Op. cit.* p. 119, *seq.* and see Mr. Gill's work, p. 23, *seq.*

† "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," vol. viii, 1879, p. 365. Mr. Whitmee proposes to call the Polynesian *Sawaiori*, a word formed from the names of three chief peoples of that race, but I think Mahori would be preferable.

‡ *Op. cit.* p. 611.

§ This fact has been cited as a reason for not applying the term *kanaka* as proposed in the text. See Dr. J. Barnard Davis's, "Thesaurus Craniorum," *note*, p. 326, but it cannot be deemed sufficient.

culture are struck by the fact that the names by which these peoples are known among themselves often denote "man," as though they were the only real men. Now a word having this meaning is found with slight dialectic variations among all the Polynesian peoples, and it is the word *Kānākā* referred to by M. Garnier. If we look at the Rev. Mr. Pratt's "Samoa Dictionary," we find that the proper term for "man" or "mankind" is *tagata*. In Tongan the word is *tangata*, as it is also in the native languages of New Zealand, the Union Islands, the Hervey Islands, Savage Island, and the Sandwich Islands. It is even found in the same form in the small islands of the New Hebrides, such as *Nina* and *Mele*, peopled by the brown Polynesians. The Rev. Mr. Whitmee, however, in a note to the last edition of Mr. Pratt's Grammar, refers to the fact that in the Hawaiian dialect the practice has been adopted of substituting in words the letter *k* for *t* and *n* for *ng*, and he states that the same practice is rapidly growing in Samoa. In this way the word *tangata* becomes *kanaka*, or *kanata*, according to whether the letter *t* is exchanged for *k* at both the commencement and end of the word, or only at the beginning, as at *Nukuhiva* of the Marquesas group. It is true that in some dialects the word for "man" appears at first sight different. Thus in Tahiti we have *ta'ata*, and in the Marquesas *anata*, but these words require only the restoration of the letters which they have evidently lost to be recognised as the *tanata* or *kanaka* of the common "Polynesian language."\*

I would therefore propose to use as a designation for the brown race who inhabit the Pacific Islands the native term for "man," *kānākā*, instead of the word *Mahori* suggested by Mr. Ranken. A commencement has indeed been made in that direction by the application of that term to the Pacific Islanders in general and to the Sandwich Islanders in particular.† Another reason for, and not an objection to, the use of the term *kānākā* may be found in the fact that it is known in a modified form to not only the dark Fijians, but also the lighter coloured tribes of Micronesia. Father d'Aubenton, in his account of the establishment of the Jesuit Missions in the Carolinas, speaks of the principal people on the islands as *Tamoles*, and from his description of them as having "curly hair, the nose large, eyes large and extremely penetrating, and beard moderately thick," the probability is that they belonged to the Polynesian race, or *kānākā*, or at least to an allied branch of the Papuan race. In the Erakor dialect of the New Hebrides the word for "man" is *Natamol*, which may be intermediate between the *tamoles* of

\* See the Rev. W. W. Gill's "Life in the Southern Isles," p. 28.

† Wallace's "Australasia," p. 529.

the Carolines and the *tamata* of the Fijian. The latter term also means "man," and with it is connected the word *tama*, a "father," which curiously enough is found in the Polynesian dialects with the sense of "child," the same word with the accent on the last letter *tamā* being used for "father." We can hardly doubt that this phrase is related to the Polynesian *tane*, a man, or male, through which the term *kanaka* or *tangata*, can probably be traced to its primitive source. In the Tanna dialect of the New Hebrides the word for "land" is *tana*, which in Fijian takes the form of *vanua* and in the Polynesian dialects of *fenua* or *hanua*. The word is very valuable as showing the fundamental relationships of the Kanaka race, seeing that, according to Balbi, it is found in most of the Malay dialects in the form of *tanah* or *tanu*,\* and in Malagasy as *tane*, meaning also "land." We may find in these facts another argument for the use of *kānākā* to denote the Polynesian race. For not only does the connection of this word with that used for "land" or "earth," show that the *Kānākā* look upon themselves as essentially an aboriginal race, the people of the soil, but it shows that they are fundamentally connected with other peoples so different from them and from each other in many respects as the Papuans and the Malays. Agreement in language is not by itself a sufficient proof of race affinity, but when combined with other important points of similarity, such as we see between the *Kānākā* and the Papuans, we cannot doubt that they spring from a common source; although the latter have been much more modified than the former by contact with the negroid race, which would seem to have spread throughout nearly the whole of the Pacific area before the advent of the *Kānākā*. On the same grounds the Malays also must be affirmed to bear a relationship, on one side at least, to the black and brown races of the Pacific, although on the other they probably trace their descent to an Asiatic if not Mongolian source. This view is consistent with the theory advocated by Mr. Keane that "Malaysia was originally peopled by the Mahori [Kanaka] race, which afterwards became modified in various proportions by fusion with intruding peoples from the north."†

#### DISCUSSION.

Major-General LANE FOX PITT RIVERS said that he had not an opportunity of referring to his former remarks on the subject of the distribution of the bow in the Polynesian Island, but he thought his views would not be found to differ from those now expressed by

\* This word, and also *tama*, are found in some of the Dyak dialects of Borneo. See Keppel's "Expedition to Borneo," vol. i, appendix No. ii.

† *Op. cit.* p. 622.

Mr. Wake so much as he seemed to suppose. He was not aware that he had ever said that Malay names were employed for the bow exclusively in Polynesia, but that they are in use over a great extent of that region, and the circumstance might fairly be used as an argument for the origin of the bow in those parts. No doubt its disuse might have arisen from a variety of causes.

Mr. KEANE explained that his use of "Mahori" in the Appendix to Stanford's "Australasia," referred to by Mr. Wake, had been necessitated by Mr. Wallace's adoption of that unfortunate term in the body of the work. The word itself he had already elsewhere objected to publicly, and had suggested and since used "Sawaiori" as the collective name of the large brown Polynesian race. This suggestion had been accepted by the Rev. S. J. Whitmee, who intended to substitute Sawaiori for the misleading "Malayo-Polynesian" in his large comparative dictionary of the Eastern Polynesian languages now in progress. Against Mr. Wake's "Kanaka" there would be little to urge had it not already been rendered useless as a scientific designation by the reckless way in which it was currently employed, especially by French writers who applied it to the Melanesians, Mikronesians, Eastern Polynesians, and in fact to all the Pacific races indifferently; but whatever name might ultimately be agreed upon, it was so far satisfactory to find that ethnologists were beginning to feel the necessity of substituting some fresh and more accurate expression for Humboldt's "Malayo-Polynesian." He had otherwise listened with great pleasure to Mr. Wake's interesting paper, which went far to confirm his own conclusions regarding the mutual affinities of the Inter-Oceanic races as embodied in his monograph on that subject published in the last number of the *Journal of the Institute*.\* It was obvious that if the Eastern Polynesians were really a bearded race, they must be ethnically separated altogether from the Mongolian, and of course also from the Malay connection, beardlessness being one of the most distinctive and universal characteristics of that type. It did not follow, however, that the Eastern Polynesians must therefore be affiliated to the Papuans, a view which Mr. Wake would scarcely have suggested had he had an opportunity of seeing the monograph above referred to. They differ more from the Papuans than they do from the Malays proper, and their true affinities must be sought in the pre-Malay Caucasian elements of the Archipelago, and the pre-Mongoloid elements of Indo-China.

\* See paper "On the Relations of the Indo-Chinese and Inter-Oceanic Races and Languages," by A. H. Keane, Esq. Vol. ix, p. 254.