

MR. WALLACE ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF POLYNESIA.

The Malay Archipelago. By A. R. WALLACE. 2 vols.
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IN his very interesting and instructive volumes on the Malay Archipelago, Mr. Wallace controverts the usually accepted view as to the Malay origin of the lighter-coloured inhabitants of Polynesia. He also doubts the hitherto undoubted division of the Polynesians into two totally distinct races—Malayan and Papuan—and believes “that the numerous intermediate forms that occur among the countless islands of the Pacific, are not merely the result of a mixture of the races, but are, to some extent, truly intermediate or transitional; and that the brown and the black, the Papuan, the natives of Gilolo and Ceram, the Fijian, the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands and those of New Zealand, are all varying forms of one great Oceanic or Polynesian race.” (*Malay Archipelago*, vol. ii. pp. 454—5.)

This race is accounted for as follows:—“Polynesia is pre-eminently an area of subsidence, and its great widespread groups of coral-reefs mark out the position of former continents and islands. The rich and varied, yet strangely isolated productions of Australia and New Guinea, also indicate an extensive continent where such specialized forms were developed. The races of men now inhabiting these countries are, therefore, most probably the descendants of the races

which inhabited these continents and islands. This is the most simple and natural supposition to make. And if we find any signs of direct affinity between the inhabitants of any other parts of the world and those of Polynesia, it by no means follows that the latter were derived from the former. For as, when the Pacific continent existed, the whole geography of the earth's surface would probably be very different from what it now is, the present continents may not then have risen above the ocean, and when they were found at a subsequent epoch, may have derived some of their inhabitants from the Polynesian area itself." (Vol. ii. pp. 457—8.)

From these extracts Mr. Wallace's opinion is clear. He believes in the close affinity of the Papuan and Polynesian races, and the radical distinctness of both from the Malay. The object of this paper is not to prove the distinctness of the Papuan from the Polynesian, although I believe that to be comparatively easy, but to show the affinity existing between the Polynesian and Malay races.

Mr. Wallace is so good an observer, and so well capable of forming a correct opinion on such a subject as this, that, but for one circumstance, I should have felt extreme diffidence in opposing the view he advocates. He has not himself been amongst the islands of Polynesia; consequently he has not seen the races about which he writes; and his opinion is formed from a comparison of his own observations in the Malay Archipelago with the writings of travellers and missionaries who have visited the islands of the Pacific. He writes:—"Now, turning to the eastern parts of the Archipelago, I find, by comparing my own observations with those of the most trustworthy travellers and missionaries, that a race identical in all its chief features with the Papuan, is found in all the islands as far east as the Fijis; beyond this the brown Polynesian race, or some intermediate type, is spread everywhere in the Pacific. The descriptions of these latter often agree exactly with the characters of the brown indigenes of Gilolo and Ceram." (Vol. ii. p. 454.)

From the above, one would think Mr. Wallace intended to allow that a difference exists between the race west of Fiji, and that to the east of that group. But, although the "most trustworthy travellers and missionaries" who have written about the Polynesian races—as far as my knowledge of their works goes—have usually stated that the distinction between them is marked and unmistakeable, Mr. Wallace thinks otherwise. He tells us, "It is to be especially remarked that the brown and the black Polynesian* races closely

* Here, and elsewhere in his work, Mr. Wallace very properly uses the name Polynesia as including the islands generally united with Australia under the name Melanesia. The use of Melanesia is very good in an Ethnographic Map; but it is utterly useless and confusing to draw an arbitrary line—as is done by the writer of

resemble each other. Their features are almost identical, so that portraits of a New Zealander or Otaheitan * will often serve accurately to represent a Papuan or Timorese, the darker colour and more frizzly hair of the latter being the only differences. They are both tall races. They agree in their love of art, and the style of their decorations. They are energetic, demonstrative, joyous, and laughter-loving, and in all these particulars they differ widely from the Malays." (Vol. ii. p. 454.)

Had Mr. Wallace extended his travels from New Guinea through the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides, and the Fijis, on to Tonga and Samoa, I feel confident he would not have written that paragraph. His generalization is based upon insufficient evidence. And I think there would be no great difficulty in showing that two strongly contrasted races inhabit the islands of the Pacific—the Malays occupying exclusively the larger eastern portion, and the Papuans the western; † while, in a few islands where the two meet, there is, to a certain extent, a mingling of the races.

Having resided several years in one of the principal groups in the South Pacific, and visited several others; having, also, seen natives of every group south of the equator, with the exception of the Marquesas, Santa Cruz, and Solomon Islands, I am able to speak with confidence respecting the inhabitants of nearly all the islands between 165° E. and 148° W. longitude; including New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands. Taking Mr. Wallace's own statements as to the physical, mental and moral characteristics of the true Malays, I shall endeavour to show that a general resemblance exists between them and the Polynesians, and in many particulars such a close resemblance, as is only to be found existing between closely related races.

I.—PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.

I may appear very considerably to damage my argument at the very outset by making the concession, that in *stature* there is usually a great difference between the Polynesians and the Malays. Mr.

the article "Polynesia" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica"—to the east of the Solomon Archipelago and the New Hebrides, thus cutting off these groups, together with New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, from Polynesia. If an Ethnographical division of the Pacific be attempted, Fiji should certainly be included under Melanesia, as is done in some maps: *e.g.*, Keith Johnston's *Royal Atlas*, map 35.

* Why should the old orthography of this name be retained? The natives spell it Tahiti. The "O" is the definite article universally prefixed to proper names in the Polynesian dialects.

† On at least two islands in the Papuan area, viz., Niua and Vaté, both in the New Hebrides, some Eastern Polynesians are found.

Wallace tells us the stature of the Malays in the Indian Archipelago is "tolerably equal, and is always considerably below that of the average European." It is, on the other hand, well known that the Polynesians are "generally rather over the middle stature, with frames well-knit and robust." Of eleven men, from the different islands, measured by Commodore Wilkes in 1840, the lowest was five feet two inches, while one was six feet ten inches. The average of the eleven was five feet ten inches.

It appears to me highly probable that the great stature of many Polynesians may be accounted for by the conditions under which they live: namely, in comparatively small and thinly-populated islands, where they have an abundant supply of nutritious food, and little labour is required to procure it. This opinion seems to be confirmed by the fact that the families of chiefs—who, as a rule, feed the best, and work the least—are generally the largest and best developed amongst the whole population. In some islands a chief may almost be known by his portly bearing. Another fact which tends to confirm this opinion is, that the population of the Gilbert, or Kingsmill Islands, who almost certainly belong to the same race, are shorter in stature, and much more sparely built than the other brown Polynesians. Now the Gilbert Islands are very barren atolls, and are thickly populated according to their food-producing capabilities. Hence, probably the difference. Is it surprising that a race occupying the fertile islands of the Pacific, where they live in ease, and in the enjoyment of abundance of nutritious and fattening food, should, during generations, increase in stature beyond the size of the normal type not enjoying equal advantages? Do we not constantly find physical (and even mental and moral) divergence when a race is divided, and the colonies live under different conditions as to climate, food, &c., from those of the parent race?

As one of the acknowledged originators of the modern "Natural Selection" theory, the fundamental principle of which is "variability of species," Mr. Wallace will not deny the possibility, or probability, of considerable physical variation in the same race under suitable conditions. And the conditions favourable to divergence are doubtless to be found in the islands of Polynesia as compared with those of the Malay Archipelago.

But in many respects Mr. Wallace's description of the Malay agrees so well with the Polynesian—*e.g.*, in *colour, hair, and general physiognomy*—that I should have no hesitation in using his own words, with a few slight modifications, in describing representative Polynesians. Take the following:—

"The colour of all the varied tribes is a light reddish brown, with more or less of an olive tinge, not varying in any important degree

over an extent of country as large as all Southern Europe. The hair is equally constant, being invariably black and straight, and of a rather coarse texture, so that any lighter tint, or any wave or curl in it, is an almost certain proof of the admixture of some foreign blood. The face is nearly destitute of beard, and the breast and limbs are free from hair. . . . The body is robust, the breast well developed, the feet small, thick and short, the hands small and rather delicate. The face is a little broad, and inclined to be flat; the forehead is rather rounded, the brows low, the eyes black and very slightly oblique; the nose is rather small, not prominent, but straight and well-shaped, the apex a little rounded, the nostrils broad and slightly exposed; the cheek-bones are rather prominent, the chin round and well formed.

"In this description there seems little to object to on the score of beauty, and yet on the whole the Malays are certainly not handsome. In youth, however, they are often very good looking, and many of the boys and girls up to twelve or fifteen years of age are very pleasing, and some have countenances which are in their way almost perfect. . . . The Malayan race, as a whole, undoubtedly very closely resembles the East Asian populations from Siam to Mandchouria. I was much struck with this, when in the island of Bali I saw Chinese traders who had adopted the costume of that country, and who could then hardly be distinguished from Malays; and, on the other hand, I have seen natives of Java, who, as far as physiognomy was concerned, would pass very well for Chinese." (Vol. ii., pp. 441-2, and 453.)

Before making any remarks on this description, I will quote the following notice, by the author of "Polynesian Researches," from the article "Polynesia," in the "Encyclopædia Britannica:"—"The several portions of the race which inhabit the different groups of the Pacific exhibit considerable variety in figure and colour; but are generally rather above the middle stature, with frames well-knit and robust. Their limbs are muscular and firm; their hands and feet small; their heads not unduly large nor disproportionate, the face sometimes exhibiting, in a slight degree, the triangular form of the Tartar races, though as frequently oval, occasionally with broad and well-shaped foreheads; the eyes black, not large, but placed horizontally, with somewhat straight and well-defined eyebrows. The nose is frequently small and broad, but occasionally aquiline and well-formed, with nostrils open. The mouth is usually large, and the lower lip projecting; the teeth regular, perfectly white, and well set; and the hair is often coarse, black, and straight, or curling." (*Encyclopædia Brit.*, vol. xviii., p. 268, 8th ed.)

Perhaps I might almost leave this description of the Polynesians as

a sufficient reply to Mr. Wallace's opinion that they differ essentially from the Malays. In many particulars the two descriptions very closely agree; and the points upon which they differ may be easily reconciled.

It should always be borne in mind that while there is a general resemblance between all the brown Polynesians sufficient to settle the question of their common origin, there are many minor differences in almost all the groups. One accustomed to them can at once readily recognize a Tahitian, a Tongan, a Hawaiian, a Samoan, a Savage Islander, or a New Zealander.* The natives of the atolls differ, as a whole, from those inhabiting the high volcanic islands. They also differ considerably amongst themselves: those living on the more productive atolls, where they have an abundant supply of cocoa-nuts, being much larger and stouter than those occupying the extremely barren islands where pandanus fruit is the chief article of diet. Probably the inhabitants of no single island in the Pacific would combine all the features sketched by Mr. Wallace in his portrait of the Malay. But they are all, or nearly all, more or less developed in the Polynesians as a whole.

Speaking, then, generally of the brown Polynesians, "their colour is a light reddish brown, with more or less of an olive tinge." Their hair is almost "invariably black and straight," and is of a coarse texture. It is seldom, however, that the hair is seen in its natural condition in some of the islands. In Samoa, for example, bleaching and dyeing substances are almost universally used by both males and females. It is rarely worn long, but in the case of both sexes is cut from an inch to two inches long over the whole head, and stiffened so as to make it stand on end. From the appearance of the hair of the natives of Samoa, a casual visitor to the group might easily arrive at very incorrect conclusions. When the young women are prevailed on to wear it long, they have a profusion of fine black hair which would be envied by many a belle in more civilized countries. On Savage Island the hair is seen to greatest perfection, and no visitor to that island would believe for a moment that the natives have a drop of Papuan blood in their veins.† Mr. Ellis speaks of the hair of the

* The following incident, trivial in itself, is worth mentioning as a ready illustration of this. While writing this paper, one of my children came to my study saying, a Rarotongan wished to speak with me. I found, not a Rarotongan, but a Tahitian, who was a perfect stranger to the child. He, however, at a glance knew he was *not* a Samoan. This particular individual bears a striking resemblance to the Chinese.

† Before the introduction of Christianity to Savage Island, the natives were the most exclusive of any Polynesians I am acquainted with. If by any chance strangers landed on the island, they were instantly put to death. If one of their own people

Polynesians as being "black and straight, or curling." By curling he can only mean such a tendency as is found in individuals of most straight-haired races, widely remote from the frizzly hair of the Papuans. Like the Malays, the brown Polynesians are nearly destitute of beard, and generally free from hair on the breast. The face is decidedly broad, and inclined to be flat. I could very well adopt Mr. Wallace's terms in his description of the Malays with respect to most of the other features; but I should except the hands and feet. Although the author of "Polynesian Researches" tells us the hands and feet of the Polynesians are small, I am inclined to doubt the appropriateness of that term. I should certainly not adopt (except in the case of part of the females) Mr. Wallace's expression, and say "the hands are small and rather delicate."

As to beauty, Mr. Wallace's remarks apply exactly to the Samoans. Boys and girls are often very good looking; not handsome, if we take the Anglo-Saxon standard of beauty, but still with regular features, and a pleasing expression. Some of the men, too, are very good looking. Young women very soon lose all pretensions to beauty, if they ever had any. In this group more is made of a handsome man than of a handsome woman. A woman is seldom sought in marriage for her beauty, but on account of her birth.

Judging from their physical characteristics taken as a whole, I think we must still regard the brown Polynesians as belonging to the Malay race. Certainly they resemble the true Malays more closely than they resemble any other race.

II.—MORAL AND MENTAL CHARACTERISTICS, AND HABITS.

When I first read Mr. Wallace's volumes, I was much impressed with the exact resemblance of the Polynesians to the Malays in their moral characteristics. This impression was derived from the traits of character incidentally touched on in various parts of the work, before a general description of the races inhabiting the Indian Archipelago is given. Mr. Wallace has the idea that the brown Polynesians are impulsive, energetic, and demonstrative. As a rule, nothing can be further from the truth; although there are apparent exceptions on some of the islands. In mental and moral resemblance, I believe the

left for a time, in a whaling or other vessel which called off the island, he was instantly put to death on his return. The natives would have no communication whatever with the outer world. This has doubtless helped to keep their original blood pure; while on the islands in the neighbourhood, there has been more or less admixture with Fijian blood.

people of Samoa come nearer to the true Malays than most Polynesians. But I would not lay much stress upon this ; for it is very possible that my belief may arise from more intimate knowledge of the Samoans, than of other islanders. Brief visits among other people, and a casual acquaintance with them—generally under most favourable circumstances—do not present opportunities for the study of character like an extended residence, when one sees their everyday life and manners. If, however, it be true that the Samoans resemble the Malays, in their mental and moral characteristics, more closely than do most other Polynesians, the fact is interesting in connection with another theory which makes the island of Savaii, in Samoa, the centre whence many other islands have received their population. This makes the Samoans one of the nearest links connecting the Polynesians with the Malays of the Indian Archipelago. It is not my intention, in this paper, to enter into any defence of this theory, whatever arguments there may be in its favour. But I wish the following remarks to be understood as applying particularly to the natives of Samoa ; and more generally to the inhabitants of other groups.

Mr. Wallace tells us, "The Malay is impassive. He exhibits a reserve, diffidence, and even bashfulness, which is in some degree attractive, and leads the observer to think that the ferocious and blood-thirsty character imputed to the race must be grossly exaggerated. He is not demonstrative. His feelings of surprise, admiration, or fear, are never openly manifested, and are probably not strongly felt. He is slow and deliberate in speech, and circuitous in introducing the subject he has come expressly to discuss. These are the main features of his moral nature, and exhibit themselves in every action of his life." (Vol. ii. pp. 442-3.)

With the introduction of a few qualifying words into that description, I could present it as a faithful moral portrait of the Samoan. He is impassive. He generally exhibits a reserve and diffidence ; and is sometimes even bashful, although this quality is not as general as are some others. He is not demonstrative. He will receive the greatest favour as if it were his due ; and will, most likely, not take the trouble to thank you for it. As to gratitude, or any great manifestation of affection, one is more likely to meet with such qualities in many an animal to which one shows kindness, than in the average Samoan ! Neither surprise nor admiration is often openly manifested ; and his sensibilities are not, generally, keen enough for the manifestation of very great fear. I have seen these people under all imaginable circumstances, and a more impassive, unimpressible, careless race I never saw. As a missionary, I feel very keenly that

this is one of the greatest obstacles to their social, political, and religious progress. It is impossible to excite in the minds of the majority of them any desire to improve their present condition. They will quietly listen to what one has to say as to the advantages of civilization, and after you have done (for they will by no means interrupt you), they will, in the most provokingly apathetic manner, tell you, "This is very good indeed for people of other countries who have more knowledge than they, but the Samoans are very foolish"; and thus the matter ends! What would prove an overwhelming calamity to most persons of acute sensibilities, only produces the slightest and most fleeting impression upon them; if, indeed, it produce any impression at all. They, as a people, are fatalists by nature; the most profane among them will say, as naturally as a Mohammedan, it is the will of God; and that will often be sufficient to account for the effect of the most preposterous human folly, or the most notorious human wickedness. The impassive, take-it-easy, hope-for-the-best character of the people is never more painfully manifested than when they are near death. The awful realities and mysteries of a future state seem scarcely to be thought about, even when they are near at hand.

It has been my lot, for several years, not only to minister to the spiritual wants of the Samoans, but also, to the extent of my ability, to attend to their bodily wants, and administer medicine in their sicknesses. Numerous illustrations of racial characteristics have occurred to me in this work. But the most striking illustration of the impassive character, and almost want of sensibility, of many of the people occurred a few months since. It came in my way (there being no better doctor accessible at the time) to amputate a man's hand. Although I administered no anæsthetic, or stimulant, he sat, without being held, watching the operation the whole time. Not a sound indicating pain did he utter; and it was only by looking at his features that any sign of pain could be discerned. After the operation he quietly walked away, as if nothing out of the ordinary way had taken place.

There are only two conditions under which excitement and noisy demonstration are exhibited by this people. When working in great companies, they make a great noise; and in war, they are furious. When the war-spirit is thoroughly roused, they exhibit characteristics totally different from anything one would think them capable of when seen in a time of peace. They appear then to have lost all regard for life. They will butcher and mutilate one another in the most barbarous manner. The only parallel to their conduct at such times, which I can call to mind, is the "amok" of the Malays. The

murderous attacks of the Samoans are only better in this respect: they distinguish friends from foes, and spend their fury only on the latter.*

Mr. Wallace tells us the Malay is "slow and deliberate in speech, and circuitous in introducing the subject he has come expressly to discuss." Had he spent years in Samoa, and given the characteristics of a Samoan, he could not possibly have presented a truer picture. The coolness and deliberateness of an "orator" are remarkable. As for circumlocution, he will talk for hours and say nothing, and will then put all he has to say into a closing sentence. It is quite foreign to the nature of a Polynesian to go straight into a subject. He must approach it by a circuitous route, mixing up compliment, and (if I may be allowed the use of a vulgarism, which alone seems to match their talk) palaver *ad nauseam*. The same in writing: I have frequently received letters, in which three pages of a sheet have been filled with complimentary expressions, and the last sentence only has contained the sum of what the writer had to tell me.

Here are some other traits of the Malay character which are almost equally applicable to the Samoan. "He is cautious of giving offence to his equals . . . dislikes asking too frequently even for the payment of his just debts, and will often give them up altogether rather than quarrel with his debtor" (p. 443). I am not sure that a Samoan would not quarrel with one who withheld from him his due, but it would ostensibly be for other reasons. He would be ashamed to ask for his right; but would avenge himself on his debtor by grumbling behind his back. The fear of giving offence is a prominent feature, and leads to a great amount of deceit. Mr. Wallace continues: "Practical joking is utterly repugnant to his disposition; for he is particularly sensitive to breaches of etiquette, or any interference with the personal liberty of himself or another." A Samoan cannot understand a practical joke: he cannot relish a joke of any kind. As to etiquette, it is impossible to move or speak with freedom without a breach of it. There are three or four different grades among the people, and a different form of language is used in

* In one particular part of Samoa this distinction was not made during war, until recently. This district still raises a body of warriors in time of war who pride themselves on their prowess—although they are called "tagata vaivai:" i.e., *weak men*. Their traditional mode of fighting is, to make a wild rush, yelling furiously, and cut down every person they meet with—be he friend or foe. In consequence of this, notice would previously be given to their allies of the time and place of attack, in order that they might keep out of the way.

addressing individuals of each grade.* The use of a common word in addressing a chief would be taken as an insult. Form and ceremony are so frequent that one becomes wearied with it; the unmeaning, hollow, hypocritical talk much too common, becomes most repulsive to one unaccustomed to dishonesty and flattery.

In a recent number of the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*,† Professor Meinicke opposes Mr. Wallace's general theory as to the ethnological relations of the Malays, Polynesians, and Papuans. But while the Professor accepts the view advocated in this paper as to the connection of the Polynesians and Malays, he doubts whether the Papuans are a distinct race. With regard to the Malays, he argues that their courtesy and reserve may not be a race-character at all, but an effect of their conversion to Mohammedanism. In this I think Professor Meinicke is mistaken. There is no reason to doubt that the politeness and reserve of the Malays are very prominent characteristics of the race; and these are not incompatible (unfortunately) with a revengeful and cruel disposition. Mr. Wallace very correctly remarks:—"It is not to be wondered at that different persons give totally opposite accounts of them—one praising them for their soberness, civility and good nature; another abusing them for their deceit, treachery, and cruelty."

Opposite accounts have been given of the Polynesians as well as of the Malays of the Indian Archipelago. La Pérouse described the natives of Samoa as being more savage than the most ferocious beast;‡ and he declared the Hawaiians to be more hypocritical than the most daring rascals of Europe. There are other navigators and travellers who speak of the Polynesians in similar terms; but the majority use totally different language, and praise them as being a quiet, harmless, good-natured race. Apart from the beneficial influences of Christianity, and the change which has been produced in many islands by intercourse with civilized men, there is some truth in both accounts, but neither gives the whole truth.

* For example, *to come* is expressed as follows, according to the rank of the person addressed:—*A fio mai*, to a king; *susù mai*, to a high chief next in rank; *malii mai*, to all other chiefs; and *sau* (plural *o mai*) to all common people. There are other words, besides these, which are occasionally used. Language proper to a higher grade is generally addressed to a person; and the dual pronoun is almost invariably used, as a matter of etiquette, in addressing a chief—the dual "of majesty." A chief makes a call, and instead of "Good morning," he is saluted, in polite language, as follows:—*Ua oulua a fio mai?* which means, "Have you two come?" To this etiquette demands that he should reply in the lowest language; and even although he may be a king, he drops the dual, and replies in the singular, *Ua ou sau*, i.e., "I have come."

† Notice in *Nature*, July 27th, 1871. ‡ "Voyage de la Pérouse," tome ii., 128.

In many of the Pacific Islands Christianity has modified, to a very considerable extent, the natural characteristics of the inhabitants. But in some of the small atolls the people appear to have been, even during their heathenism, very peaceable. In the Ellice group, if the statements of the natives may be relied on, there have been no wars since the islands were peopled. This is an instructive fact for the ethnologist, who seeks, and expects to find in the offshoots of a race all the characteristics of the parent stock. The Ellice Islanders are, without doubt, descendants of the Samoans; and if there is one feature of the Samoan character more prominent than the rest, it is a morbid propensity to political feuds, leading to frequent wars. In the Gilbert, or Kingsmill Islands, on the other hand, we find a people whose normal condition seems to be one of warfare, who are given to the most reckless cruelty, and manifest an utter contempt of human life.

Mr. Wallace thinks that in intellect, the Malays are "rather deficient." He tells us, "they are incapable of anything beyond the simplest combinations of ideas, and have little taste or energy for the acquirement of knowledge." This may be said generally of most of the brown Polynesians. The natives of the Sandwich Islands, and a few others, have, of late years, manifested more desire for knowledge and civilization than most others; and they are far in advance of the Samoans. Of the latter people it may be emphatically said, "They manifest little taste or energy for the acquirement of knowledge."

Another trait in the Malay character, incidentally mentioned by Mr. Wallace, is so exactly Samoan that I must allude to it. He tells us in the treatment of their children the Papuans are often violent and cruel; "whereas the Malays are almost invariably kind and gentle, hardly ever interfering at all with their children's pursuits and amusements, and giving them perfect liberty at whatever age they wish to claim it." The only real affection which the majority of the Samoans manifest, is towards their children. They are excessively indulgent to them. To correct a child is considered by them cruelty. Consequently, children are allowed to have their own way in everything. No restraint being exercised over them when they are young, sons very soon acquire more real authority in the family than their parents. One thing, however, must be said in their favour, neglect of aged parents is utterly unknown, much less ill-usage. A Samoan cannot understand how such a thing is possible in other countries; for, by him, neglect of relatives would be considered the greatest disgrace imaginable.

The exceedingly easy and careless conduct of the Malay in boats

at sea is also intensely like the Samoans. Indeed, the whole of Mr Wallace's graphic descriptions of boats and boating would be almost as appropriate to the "Navigator's Islands" as they are to the Indian Archipelago. The boat which "could not boast an ounce of iron" in any part of its construction, "nor a morsel of pitch or paint in its decorations;" with a "mat-sail;" the middle portion of the boat "covered with a thatch-house in which baggage and passengers are stowed;" and withal, the "dreadful 'tom-toms,' or wooden drums, which are beaten incessantly by two men, making a fearful din the whole voyage:" all these particulars seem so natural, that they almost make me think Mr. Wallace has been to Samoa, and has given by mistake his recollections of a Samoan craft.

III.—LANGUAGE.

I come now to the resemblance between the dialects of the brown Polynesians and those at present in use in the Malay Archipelago. Here, as in the preceding pages, I shall confine myself to an examination of Mr. Wallace's views, and a comparison of the words he has given at the end of his second volume, with Polynesian words.

Mr. Wallace asserts that, "The occurrence of a decided Malay element in the Polynesian languages . . . is altogether a recent phenomenon, originating in the roaming habits of the chief Malay tribes; and this is proved by the fact that we find actual modern words of the Malay and Javanese languages in use in Polynesia, so little disguised by peculiarities of pronunciation as to be easily recognizable—not mere Malay roots only to be detected by the elaborate researches of the philologist, as would certainly have been the case had their introduction been as remote as the origin of a very distinct race—a race as different from the Malay in mental and moral, as it is in physical characters." (Vol. ii. pp. 455-6.)

The difficulty Mr. Wallace finds in believing the Polynesian to be of Malay origin, appears to be of his own making. He imagines the Polynesians to be altogether different from the Malays; and, consequently, will not allow the Malay element in the language to counterbalance, what he believes to be, the evidence on the other side in the physical, mental, and moral characteristics of the people. I believe every intelligent observer, residing in the Pacific islands, who reads Mr. Wallace's volumes, will conclude with me, that he himself, by his description of the Malays, has proved the connection of the brown Polynesians with them. I think my preceding statements have shown them to be as like in physical, mental, and moral

characters, as we could reasonably expect them to be after a period of separation which must necessarily be considerable. I have frankly allowed that there is a difference of stature to be accounted for; but believe the changed physical conditions under which they live will be sufficient to account for that. In fact, when I see—as I have recently seen in the Ellice Islands—how much a people, whose ancestors were drifted from Samoa at a period which must be very recent compared with the peopling of Polynesia, now differ from the Samoans, I am surprised to find so many qualities common to the Polynesians and the Malays of the Indian Archipelago.

This explanation being made, what other reason is there for doubting that the “actual modern words of the Malay and Javanese languages in use in Polynesia,” are relics of the language spoken by the remote ancestors of the present Polynesians, or that those ancestors were a branch of the Malay stock?

Throughout all the islands peopled by the brown Polynesians, dialects of one language are spoken: and these dialects are so much alike, that a native of one island has little difficulty in acquiring the dialect of another. The grammatical forms and idioms are the same; and in many instances the words only differ by a letter or two.* There are no double consonants in these dialects;† and in this respect they differ radically from all the dialects of the black Polynesians, such as the Fijians, New Hebridians, &c., a fact telling very strongly against Mr. Wallace’s theory that these and the brown Polynesians, “are all varying forms of one great Oceanic or Polynesian race.” We find the brown Polynesians very inefficient pioneer missionaries amongst the Papuan races, for this reason: they cannot pronounce the words of their dialects, owing to the great number of consonants they contain.

Mr. Wallace does not dispute “the occurrence of a decided Malay element in the Polynesian languages;” but he thinks it is “altogether a recent phenomenon, originating in the roaming habits of the chief Malay tribes.” Here Mr. Wallace allows that Malays have come from the west to Polynesia, and have left their mark upon the language of the Polynesians. But I suppose he would not demand that these modern voyagers should be regarded as having visited

* The Samoan dialect alone possesses a sibilant. Natives of other islands cannot say Samoa, but use *H* instead of *S*: calling this group, *Hamoā*. In the same way the Maories of New Zealand say they came from *Hawaiki*, or *Hawai’i*; probably meaning the island of *Savai’i* in Samoa. The same word is seen in the name of the *Hawai’ian* Islands.

† The sound represented by *ng* can scarcely be called an exception. It is simply a hard *g* with a slight nasal sound.

all the different and widely-scattered islands in succession. Yet we find the most prominent Malay words common to nearly all the islands, extending from Samoa to Tahiti, and from New Zealand to the Hawaiian Islands. Putting aside this idea as extremely unlikely, this fact takes the *modern* Malays, who brought Malay words to Polynesia, back to a period anterior to the migration of the New Zealander from "Hawaiki;" which is of itself rather remote.

Further, is it at all probable that the migrations from the west—against the prevailing trade winds—would be frequent; so that different voyagers would visit different islands, and all leave the same, or nearly the same words, as legacies to the aboriginal inhabitants? Frequent migrations—generally involuntary—from the east towards the west are easily understood, on account of the prevailing winds; but migrations from the west towards the east must ever be considered as exceptional, and as occurring but very rarely.

However much the principal Malay tribes may be given to roaming, there are no indications of any of them roaming to the distant islands of Polynesia within the Polynesian historic period; and there are no traditions among the people—as far as I can learn—of any such former visits. Had there been Malay immigrations within a period which could, even comparatively, be called recent, there is little doubt but some other evidence of the fact would be found. These "modern" Malays could not have left their mark on the language alone. The probability is, that the descendants of migrating parties of that kind would still be found as colonies among the other inhabitants, if there had been any. Colonies of brown Polynesians still exist in the New Hebrides, where they remain quite distinct from the black Polynesians, and widely separated from them by their dialects.

With regard to the pure Malay words undoubtedly found in the Polynesian dialects, I think they are readily accounted for by the fact that they are generally nouns, are in constant and familiar use, and consequently less likely than many other words to become obsolete. Is it not a fact that such words do generally live through very long periods, notwithstanding the gradual process of decay and renewal which is continually going on in languages as in everything else?

Moreover, the Polynesians must not be regarded as being destitute of a native literature, although they have only recently become possessed of books. They have mythological traditions which have been carefully taught by father to son, and thus handed down from generation to generation. The possession of some of these stories has been confined to particular families; others have been more generally known; verbal accuracy being aimed at by those who recited these

tales, this doubtless helped, to no inconsiderable degree, in the conservation of the original language.*

The great resemblance of all the dialects of the brown Polynesians shows that they, as a race, are naturally conservative of their language. This conservatism shows itself very prominently in Samoa, in the absolute uniformity of one dialect throughout the whole group, notwithstanding the little intercourse which takes place between the more distant islands.†

Mr. Wallace's list at the end of his second volume, contains one hundred and seventeen words in thirty-three dialects of the Malay Archipelago. Many of these dialects are spoken by tribes, which he regards as being quite distinct from the Malays. I have, therefore, taken only the first twelve in the list for comparison with the dialects of the brown Polynesians. These twelve, I believe, are all spoken by Malays at the present time; and the words in them present more resemblance to the Polynesian dialects than those in most of the remaining twenty-one. Mr. Wallace distributes the twelve dialects I have chosen for comparison as follows:—1, Malay; 2, Javanese; 3 and 4, S. Celebes; 5 and 6, N. Celebes; 7, Sanguir; 8, Salibabo; 9, Sulu Islands; 10 to 12, Bouru.

I find forty-seven of Mr. Wallace's hundred and seventeen words which have Polynesian equivalents very closely resembling them. There are others which have equivalents, originating, I believe, in the same root; but as their resemblance is not so close, and might require "the elaborate researches of the philologist" to detect it, I have omitted them. I think the fact that, out of a list of one hundred and seventeen words, not chosen by myself, I can produce Polynesian words presenting a striking resemblance to forty-seven, speaks very strongly in favour of the essential unity of the Polynesian and Malayan languages. As the words I have given are taken from different dialects, I have indicated the island or group to which each respectively belongs. The vowel sounds are the same in all, whether Malayan or Polynesian.

* Since the introduction of Christianity into the islands, and the people have become possessed of books which nearly all can read, these old legendary tales have not been retained with anything like their former accuracy. In order to hear them now in Samoa it is necessary to find one of the few old men who had attained to years of maturity before the reception of Christianity. It has been stated in the "Anthropological Review" (Vol. iii. p. 14) that "the missionaries discountenance these old traditions;" but their disuse arises from natural causes, as above stated.

† The carelessness which has led to the neglect of traditional stories, is also now corrupting the Samoan dialect. Many natives mutually interchange *t* and *k*; also *n* and *ng*. Native conservators of the language seem to think their work is done now that books are printed in the dialect. They were vigilant before.

| ENGLISH. | MALAYAN. | POLYNESIAN. | DIALECT. |
|---------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Ant. | Kokoi. | Loi. | Samoa. |
| 2. Banana. | Fuati. | Futi and Fai. | Savage Island and Samoa. |
| 3. Belly. | Kompo. | Kopo. | Rarotongan. |
| 4. Bird. | Manu. | Manu. | Common. |
| 5. Boat. | Waa. | Vaa. | Samoa. |
| 6. Bow. | Panah. | Pana and Fana. | Marquesan and Tahitian. |
| 7. Cocoa-nut. | Nyu. | Niu. | Common. |
| 8. Come. | Mai, Omai. | Omai (plural). | Samoa. |
| 9. Ear. | Talinga. | Talinga. | " |
| 10. Eye. | Mata. | Mata. | Common. |
| 11. Father. | Ama. | Tama. | Samoa. |
| 12. Feather. | Bulu. | Fulu. | " |
| 13. Finger. | Limado. | Lima. | " |
| 14. Fire. | Api. | Afi. | " |
| 15. Fish. | Ikau. | Ika. | Rarotongan. |
| 16. Flower. | Bunga. | Funga. | Samoa. |
| 17. Fly. | Lango. | Lango. | " |
| 18. Fowl. | Manu. | Manu. | Hawaiian. |
| 19. Fruit. | Bua. | Fua. | Samoa. |
| 20. Hand. | Lima. | Lima. | " |
| 21. Head. | Ulu. | Ulu. | " |
| 22. House. | Bali & Bareh. | Fale and Fare. | Samoa and Tahitian. |
| 23. Leaf. | Daun. | Lau. | Samoa. |
| 24. Louse. | Kutu. | 'Utu.* | " |
| 25. Moon. | Fasina. | Masina. | " |
| 26. Mother. | Inana. | Tina. | " |
| 27. Prawn. | Ulai. | Ula. | " |
| 28. Rain. | Oha. | Uha. | Savage Island. |
| 29. Red. | { Mahamu } { & Hamu. } | Mumu. | Samoa. |
| 30. River. | Wailé. | Vailéle. | Savage Island. |
| 31. Road. | Dara & Aya. | Ala. | Samoa. |
| 32. Root. | Akar. | A'a.* | " |
| 33. Star. | Fatui. | Fetu. | Common. |
| 34. Tooth. | Nihi. | Niho. | Tahitian. |
| 35. Water. | Wai. | Vai. | Samoa. |
| 36. Woman. | Bawine. | Fafine. | " |
| 37. Two. | { Dua, Rua, } { & Lua. } | Lua. | " |
| 38. Three. | Talu & Toro. | Tolu. | " |
| 39. Four. | Pa & Ha. | Fa. | " |
| 40. Five. | Lima. | Lima. | " |
| 41. Six. | Onomo. | Ono. | " |
| 42. Seven. | Pitu. | Fitu. | " |
| 43. Eight. | Walu. | Valu. | " |
| 44. Nine. | Siwa. | Iva. | " |
| 45. Ten. | Sapuloh. | Sefulu. | " |
| 46. Eleven. | Sapuloh rua. | { Sefulu male } { (and) lua } | " |
| 47. Twenty. | Dua puloh. | Lua fulu. | " |

* A comma before a vowel thus—a'a—represents a sound something like *k* in Samoa. It is *k* in most other dialects.

I have shown that the physical, mental, and moral characteristics of the Malays in the Indian Archipelago are, with the exception of stature, almost equally characteristics of the brown Polynesians. I have also shown the close resemblance existing between a large per-centage of Polynesian and Malay words. To complete the argument, a description of the differences existing between the brown and black Polynesians is required. That I cannot pretend to give in this paper: let it suffice at present to say, all the black Polynesians I have seen differ essentially in almost every particular from the brown race. They have the appearance of the negro; their hair is invariably frizzly; they are far more active, lively, and impulsive than the brown Polynesians; they are more systematically savage, and are, in their heathen state, almost invariably cannibals. I have already alluded to their languages, which are as full of consonants as the languages of the brown Polynesians are full of vowels; and as harsh and grating to the ear, as the others are soft and flowing.

I think we may safely adopt Professor Huxley's opinion, recently advocated by Dr. H. J. Bleek in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*,* respecting the ethnological connection of the Papuans and the South Africans; and, at the same time, regard the black Polynesians as being intimately related to the Papuans; while the brown Polynesians are as intimately related to the Malays.

Believing then that the brown Polynesians are Malays, of course I am not prepared to accept Mr. Wallace's hypothesis respecting a former Polynesian continent, inhabited by the progenitors of the present race; notwithstanding that he tells us, "this is the most simple and natural supposition to make." I have nothing to say about its simplicity, but I have very grave doubts as to whether it is philosophical. Fully believing that "Polynesia is pre-eminently an area of subsidence," and that we have some reason for concluding that large islands—or continents—once existed there, I know no reason whatever for thinking these islands or continents were once peopled by the progenitors of the present Polynesian race or races. Consequently, I think, we are not bound to accept Mr. Wallace's assertion that, "if we find any signs of direct affinity between the inhabitants of any other parts of the world and those of Polynesia, it by no means follows that the latter were derived from the former," but that the present continents and islands, "when they were formed at a subsequent epoch, may have derived some of their inhabitants from the Polynesian area itself." (Vol. ii. p. 457.)

Were this hypothesis correct, there would be some probability in

* Notice in the *Academy* of August 1st, 1871.

the theory of the origin of the Indo-European languages in the Polynesian, at which Professor Max Müller seems somewhat inclined to smile, notwithstanding his assertion that "mere ridicule would be a very inappropriate and inefficient answer" to it. This theory is, "that all those tongues which we designate as the Indo-European languages have their true root and origin in the Polynesian language;" and "that the study of the Polynesian language gives us a key to the original function of language itself, and to its whole mechanism."*

I know a gentleman who has recently found unmistakable evidence (so *he* thinks) that the descendants of the long lost tribes of Israel are now in Polynesia: in fact, that these brown Polynesians are Israelites! But we are now going even beyond this, and finding that, probably, in the Polynesian area the progenitors of the human race were created. (I beg pardon for my old-fashioned expression; I should have said, that here *one pair* of the progenitors of the human race lost their tails, and developed into talking animals!) It may even be (who can tell?) that here one of Sir William Thomson's "seed-bearing meteoric stones moving about through space" may have come in contact with the earth; and thus, in the area of the present Pacific Ocean, organic existence on our globe may have commenced!

But leaving these hypotheses, which, whether "unscientific" or not, are, at any rate, rather "wild and visionary," we will come back to a more prosaic view of the origin of the Polynesians. Finding a race so like, in most respects, to the brown inhabitants of the Isles of the Pacific, still peopling many islands in the Indian Archipelago, and being able to trace that race to its cradle on the Asiatic continent, it appears to me after all, that "the most simple and natural supposition to make" is, that the brown Polynesians have migrated from the west to some island or islands in the Pacific; and from that centre, or those centres, have become distributed throughout the numerous islands they now inhabit.

S. J. WHITMEE.

* "Science of Language." Second Series, p. 10.