Race and Custom in the Malay Archipelago.—By Miss Margaretta Morris, Philadelphia, Pa.

Fifty years ago the intrepid world-traveller Ida Pfeiffer commented on the similarity between the Dyaks of Central Borneo and the mountain Alforas of Ceram, saying of the latter that their customs "agreed so much with what I had observed among the Dyaks that I feel convinced that the Alforas may be classed as their descendants or collateral relatives." It was a ready, rapid, and undoubted conviction on her part. The theory implied in it, that all people whose customs agree are of the same ancestry, seems to have been at that time an axiomatic assumption on which explorers built up the history of the great ethnic migrations. As a result of this method of classifying the relationships of mankind according to likeness of manners, various origins have been suggested for the inhabitants of Borneo. Sir Stamford Raffles declared that the uncivilized tribes of all the islands of the Malay Archipelago approach so nearly in appearance certain inhabitants of Asia, and "exhibit so striking an affinity in their customs and usages, as to warrant the hypothesis" that the population of the Archipelago came from the region between Siam and China. But the same argument works the other way. If custom proved, according to some writers, that the Borneo people came out of the west, it equally assured Brooke and Keppel that they came from the east, so close was the resemblance of their way of living to that of the mountain tribes of Celebes and the more eastern islands, as far as New Guinea. One readily sees to what a tangle this sort of reasoning leads us. I have even heard it rather timidly hinted that all the uncivilized inhabitants of Malaysia came from South America, on account of the likeness of the Dyak usages to those of some tribes of the Amazon. And what, then, are we to think of the Iroquois of North America who live in longhouses like the Dyaks and have many of their habits? ¹

¹ Ida Pfeiffer, Second Journey Around the World, English translation. N. Y. 1856, p. 227; Raffles, History of Java, i. p. 63; Sir James Brooke, quoted by Keppel, Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido, American
The assumption of the identity of custom and race seems to be typical of the thought of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The explorers of that time, whose writings are authority for much of our knowledge of the Borneo tribes, were accurate observers, keen thinkers, as a rule not professedly ethnologists, nor strictly scientific. Their whole position is a forcible illustration of the truth of Darmsteter's plaint of the over-use of the idea of race, formed in the first quarter of the century. He speaks of the word race as having been "snatched from the hands of science by the would-be men of affairs and thrown out to the masses." From the complete absorption of the race theory by oriental travellers of the period, one must judge that this idea was more than commonly rapid in percolating through the products of scholarship to the public consciousness.¹

It was not dead in 1880, when the well-known sociologist, Letourneau, wrote that "there is a hierarchy in human races . . . race has a larger influence than the ways and means upon sociological development;" and when Sir Charles Brooke (to return to the Borneo explorers) reiterated from the test of manner of life the earlier statement of a "strong affinity" between the Jakoons of the Malay Peninsula and the forest dwellers of Borneo.² Writers of the latter part of the nineteenth century,

² Ch. Letourneau, Sociology based on Ethnography, translation by Henry M. Trollope, p. 31; Sir Charles Brooke, Ten Years in Sarawak, ii, p. 351. Cf. also Col. H. Yule in Reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1870, p. 178. Col. Yule here gives an argument for the Asiatic origin of the Malay race, based chiefly on incidental customs collected at random from numerous insular tribes, each of which has some counterpart somewhere between China and India.

Writing at the same time as Brooke, Bock maintained that the Nias Islanders and the Dyaks were evidently descended from the same stock, judging from their religious customs, dress, ornament, etc. Head Hun-
however, usually reinforce their arguments by physical tests and other considerations. But that custom still holds a foremost place we may fairly judge by the following sentence from Spencer and Gillen's scholarly work on the tribes of Central Australia: "Over the whole continent, so far as is known, we can detect a community of customs and social organization sufficient to show that all the tribes inhabiting various parts are the offspring of ancestors who, prior to migrating in various directions, . . . already practiced certain customs and had the germs of an organization which has been developed along different lines in different localities." ¹

In view of the modern tendency to subordinate the culture test of race, and also of the evident lingering desire to hold on to it, it may be worth while to drag it out of the realm of things ignored or instinctively taken for granted and try to make some suggestions toward a clearer analysis of its validity, especially in the light of certain salient facts observable in the Malay Archipelago.

Following in the footsteps of Darmsteter, we must recognize in this region the power of tradition to modify race characteristics. He exemplified it by what are called the Aryan and Semitic races, groups which he showed to be made up of heterogeneous peoples who by conquest or contact came to speak Aryan and Semitic languages. As he urged, one must constantly be on the lookout for adoption of ready-made ideals from abroad.

¹ Spencer and Gillen, Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 117.
In the Malays, for example, of the Indian Islands, you have the interesting spectacle of a people ethnically Mongol, their language and ideas greatly modified by contact with Aryans from India and Semites from Arabia. They developed an agricultural civilization, probably in the south of Sumatra. Increasing in numbers, and finding seas at hand easy to navigate, they colonized the Malay Peninsula and became traders and seafarers. Here they came into contact with Hindu culture (if they had not already been visited by Kling merchants) and acquired a large Sanskrit vocabulary. According to their own annals, they had been in their new home about six generations when, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, they were converted to Mohammedanism by Arab traders and colonists, and added the Semitic layer. With this triple foundation they have spread over the entire Archipelago, making trading or colonial settlements on the coasts of nearly all the islands, and acting as middlemen between the savage natives of the interior and the various nations of Asiatic and European merchants, who were drawn to this luxuriant clime by the gold and frankincense and spices, the romantic, fabled wealth of the tropical Orient. The Malays, in their language, their customs, and their religion, give a vivid picture of what one might call a compound, or eclectic civilization. People of the sea, trading from port to port, or retailers in some commercial emporium where all races meet, they offer an interesting field for study of the human powers of assimilation, the breaking down of the barrier of race, and building up of tradition by contact.¹

But it is not of the littoral and the influence from without that I wish especially to speak, but of the problem of race and custom in the remote mountains of the interior, where tribes have remained stationary for hundreds of years with little or no for-

¹ Cf. John Leyden, Malay Annals, passim; Crawfurd, History of the Indian Archipelago, i, p. 184, and ii, pp. 371 ff.; Keane, pp. 8–9, 117–118; Cameron, Our Tropical Possessions, p. 128; Reinward Brandstetter, Malaio-Polynesische Forschungen, i, p. 21; Aristide Marre, Malais et Chinois; Notices of the Indian Archipelago, edited by J. H. Moore, p. 3; Dalton in ibid., pp. 45, 100; Raffles, History, i, pp. 211–212; Raffles, in Introd. to Leyden's Annals, pp. vii–x; A. Pompe, Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche overzeese Bezittingen, 2d ed., pp. 13–17; England, Hydrographic Office, Eastern Archipelago, 1890–1893, ii, pp. 10–11.
eign intercourse. If in the center of separate, distant islands one finds people strikingly alike in arts, architecture, and traditions, so far apart for centuries that they could not have borrowed from one another, is it not fair to infer a remote common origin, whose heritage has long been preserved? Such likeness does actually exist between the primitive tribes of many islands. Glancing rapidly over the whole Archipelago, one finds a striking uniformity of native custom. Certain types of architecture, prevalent religious ideas, social relationships and form of government, the habit of tattooing, and the curious, famed institutions of taboo and head-hunting are found in astounding likeness of detail, here and there, from the Malay Peninsula, northward through the Philippines to Formosa and southeast, recurring in innumerable islands, at least as far as the western portion of New Guinea.¹

The similarity exists, moreover, in instructive isolation. For while the land-locked seas and favorable monsoons have been an enticement to navigation, which has produced a littoral cosmopolitanism, back from the coast, in almost every island, mountain crags and dense jungles have placed an obstacle to inland invasion.

More closely considered, the inhabitants of this scattered region fall roughly into three great cultural classes, the members of each of which show close resemblances to one another, but wide distinctions from those of the other groups.

The lowest class, of wandering savages found only in the far interior forests, are probably as little above the ourang-outang as any human beings. They build no houses but, like the monkeys, weave themselves temporary shelters in trees. Little is really known of these people, for they are shy as the mountain deer, and only rarely, for barter, leave their jungle retreats. The next higher group is the most numerous. And it is their characteristic manner of life which has given the popular impression of the inhabitants of the Eastern Islands. These tribes also

¹ The Philippines and Formosa do not, strictly speaking, belong to the Malay Archipelago. And the many interesting varieties of human progress, or lack of progress, in those islands have not been taken into consideration in this analysis, with the exception of two, which are included because their likeness to the “wild men” of the Indian Islands is a significant geographical extension of the type.
are called savages, though they live in settled communities and have some agriculture. It is they who are the famous head-hunters. With some local modifications their description might fit almost all the natives of the Malay Archipelago, with the exception of the jungle wanderers before-mentioned, and the three semi-civilized nations which form the third class, the Malays, the Bugis, and the Javanese.

If, now, we compared our three great cultural groups with the known geographical distribution of races in the Archipelago, we should be able to point out the relationship of race and culture. Unfortunately there is not the unanimity of opinion among ethnologists about the racial status of the peoples with whom we are dealing that would make the task easy. Indeed this attempt to analyze a test of race is a little like trying to lift oneself up by the bootstraps. We must first know something of the race affinities. And since we are examining the validity of similarity of custom as a test, we cannot use any conclusions which are based on this argument. Yet turning to other standards generally in use, one by one, falling prey to some critic, they also seem to fail us. Darmsteter has effectually demolished the reliability of the language test; Meyer, Wallace, and others agree that the study of skulls has produced comparatively little result; color of skin can hardly be absolute; and the Dutch scholar, van der Aa, inveighs against Haeckel for trusting to the nature of the hair. In fact, there seems to the layman to be no one infallible standard of distinction by which one can test the doubtful tribes and put each in its proper racial pigeon-hole. If, then, there is no means left of assuring ourselves definitely of race relationships, how are we to tell whether race and culture run parallel?

1The dominant people of the Sulu Archipelago, who have perhaps some claim to the appellation "semi-civilized," seem to have been a colony of Bugis from Borneo. Cf. Hunt in Not. of Ind. Arch., Appendix, pp. 31 ff.

But not to carry cautious subtleties too far, one may at least venture to say that the bushy-haired Negroid is fairly distant from the round-faced Mongol. And whether we agree with Wallace, that the Malays are Asiatic in affinities, the black Papuans Oceanic, and the brown Polynesians a cross between the two; or with van der Aa, that the Papuan is the original element in all, and the physique of the Malayan the result of much Asiatic intermarriage; we must admit that the yellow Malay type, prevalent in the western portion, the dwarf Negrito of the Malay Peninsula, and the burly black Papuan of the eastern islands can hardly owe their similarity of custom to close family relationship.¹

The race line, roughly speaking, divides the Archipelago into an eastern and a western portion. The culture classification cuts right through the race division, and presents a social and relig-

¹ Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, p. 81; van der Aa, *Verhouding*, pp. 19–20. Wallace divided the Archipelago physically into an Indo-Malayan and an Austro-Malayan region, on the basis of the geology and the flora and fauna. And he maintained that the distribution of races nearly corresponded. In the western portion one finds the Mongoloid Malayan race, with Negritos (also of Asiatic affinity, he believed) in the interior of some islands and of the Malay Peninsula; in the eastern portion the tall, Negroid Papuan race; and between the two a mixed population of settlers from both directions and a brown race with some Malay and some Papuan characteristics. The race line is, however, a little to the east of the physical dividing line, a fact which points to the greater enterprise of the yellow race, who would seem, according to Wallace’s theory, to have pushed the black race eastward, besides colonizing on the coasts of some of the far eastern islands. Other writers who differ from Wallace in theoretical explanation of the facts, yet agree with him in the general description of racial distribution. Cf. *May. Arch.*, pp. 20, 30 and 532; Wallace, *Transactions of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1863, p. 107; Keane, *Eastern Geog.*, pp. 116–122; Crawfurd, i, pp. 18–20; Allen, *Original Range of Papuan and Negrito Races*. Allen and Crawfurd do not draw a sharp distinction between the Negritos and Papuans. Dalton, *Not. of Ind. Arch.*, p. 46, found a Bugis tradition that confirmed his theory of the Asiatic origin of the population of at least the western islands.
ious type that prevails in one great sweep in the jungle from Malacca to New Guinea. This, van der Aa said, is the great ethnographic riddle—that between the Papuans and Malaieo-Polynesians there is such great inner likeness with so great physical difference.\(^1\) Crawfurd accounted for it by the similarity of savage life.\(^2\) But to see the inadequacy of his explanation one has only to turn to Australia and compare with the natives of the Malay Archipelago the equally savage Bushmen whose customs are antipodal.

The true explanation, I believe, lies in the adaptability of human nature and the remarkable uniformity of conditions in the interior of most of the islands. With but few exceptions, Wallace informs us, the islands are physically uniform, having a similar climate, and all covered with luxuriant vegetation. It is true that from a naturalist's point of view New Guinea and the Moluccas have flora and fauna that mark them off as regions totally distinct from the western portion. But viewed as a setting for human life, the disparity of the islands is less. In all, the jungle-covered hills and fertile river valleys afford opportunities for the same sort of agriculture, one that demands some cooperation, and hence the village community; that will not support a large population in one region, so that the tribes are kept about the same size by sending off colonies when their growth presses upon the resources; one that requires only periodical labor and leaves the men free at times to organize hunting, fishing, and warlike expeditions. If in one place rice grows better, in another sago, both require about the same sort of communities for their culture, under the prevailing conditions, and about the same type of mental and physical ability. And though the naturalist's collection of mammals may show great diversity, it is rather in those that are less important for human life. The deer and the pig, the animals which are so greatly

\(^1\) Van der Aa, "Het ethnografische raadsel, dat er tusschen de Papoes en Maleio-Polynesiërs bij groote innerlijke overeenkomst uiterlijk zulke aanmerkelijke verschillen bestaan."

\(^2\) Crawfurd, i, p. 8. Crawfurd gave some local reasons, which showed keen insight, for the development of particular forms of industry and government among the semi-civilized nations. But he thought these environmental differentiations did not begin to take effect until the people had reached a certain stage of progress; i, p. 280, iii, pp. 4-10, 24.
valued and which play a large part in the religious ritual, are to be found in nearly all the islands.¹

Curiously enough, not only is the physical determination of life fairly uniform, but the changes due to human enterprise, the influences upon the native manner of life that have resulted from the coming of the foreign trader, have not been unlike in the different regions. One may wonder, perhaps, that the foreigners, who settled on the coast almost everywhere, did not oftener draw the people up out of savagery to imitate their customs. But what the traders often wanted kept the natives in their jungles. In one place they had to collect birds' nests from mountain caves; in others, camphor, rattans, guttapercha, or beeswax, from the innermost forest; while in the eastern islands they hunted woodland birds of paradise. And all these undertakings fostered the primitive mental, moral, and physical traits. The same cause also kept them isolated from the influence of the traders, whom they saw only at intervals, when the goods were brought down for barter.²

¹ Wallace, May. Arch., pp. 14-15, 27, 158, 397-398. Pompe (Geschiedenis, pp. 2-5) follows Crawfurd (i, pp. 8-11) in dividing the Archipelago into five regions in which the physical resources gave different opportunities for the development of human institutions. But it is to be noticed that both refer to the “civilized,” that is to say, the coast population. Even in the most favored localities the mountaineers have remained savage.

² Cf. for account of foreign trade in jungle products, Ida Pfeiffer, p. 183; Raffles, Hist. of Java, i, p. 231, and iii, p. 418; Crawfurd, i, p. 515-517, and iii. 421-433, and 438. The Kayans of Borneo are reported to be “especially lithe and active. . . . This is the result of an active life spent in the forest, climbing after gutta, rubber, jungle fruit, or beeswax.” H. Ling Roth, Natives of Sarawak, i, p. 59, quoting Burbidge. The Kayans are also noted gatherers of birds' nests, which reach the Chinese markets via the Malays. Sir Spencer St. John, Forests of the Far East, i, p. 121.

In some islands, however, the demand for other than jungle products has led to a decided change of native life. Three notable articles of trade that have influenced the savages for better or worse, beside the famous spices, have been coffee, pepper, and sago. The first, introduced by the Dutch into Java in 1723, was there cultivated on their plantation system, to which the natives adapted themselves. Its introduction by the same government into the Minnahassa district of North Celebes completely revolutionized the native communities, which before had been similar to those among the Kayans of Borneo. Crawfurd, i, p. 486; Wallace, pp. 251-263. Pepper has been for centuries exported from the
There are, of course, many localities in the Indian Islands where opportunity varied. In these there is greater or less divergence from the type. And in most striking development we have the three great nations, the Malays, the Bugis, and the Javanese. These, owing their superior progress undoubtedly in large part to Hindu and Arab teaching, developed in three separate centers, whose local conditions were favorable alike to economic advance and to the influx of foreign influence. The Bugis, whose chief port, Macassar in south Celebes, was, like Malacca, a natural commercial center, developed, as did the Malays, a mercantile civilization, which scattered them to many adjacent coasts and brought them into intimate relations with foreign adventurers. The Javanese, quite differently situated, progressed on other lines. Their island is poor in harbors, but of most marvelous fertility. The inhabitants of Java were less seafaring than the other two nations, and developed an advanced system of agriculture. As for the foreign influence, it came to them. It was perhaps chiefly due to the fact that the interior of Java is far more accessible than that of most of the islands, that first the Hindus and later the Arabs, attracted by its convenient location and enticing wealth, made themselves much at home here, and let their civilizing influence permeate the entire country.  

coasts of North Borneo, Northern Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula, and for long has been cultivated mostly, if not altogether, under foreign direction on great plantations. Crawfurd, iii, pp. 357-370, and i, p. 479 ff. A large part of the sago of Europe comes from the western coast of Borneo, where the Milanaus cultivate it, and send it to the markets of Singapore. Through the exigencies of the trade they developed a civilization not unlike that of their neighbors, the Malays, in its complex system of laws, rights of private property, system of slavery and slave debtors, and many social customs. Low, p. 389; Boyle, Adventures Among the Dyaks of Borneo, p. 819; Ida Pfeiffer, p. 72.

Raffles, Hist. i, p. 64; England, Hydrographic Office, Eastern Archipelago, ii, p. 2; Crawfurd, i, p. 344, and iii, p. 148; Keane, Eastern Geog., p. 119.

These three semi-civilized nations all belong to the so-called Malay race, which Wallace thought inferior to the Papuan in feeling for art and in vital energy. He attributed the Papuan backwardness to a lack of governmental ability. More important than this, I think, is the fact, which Wallace stated (p. 589), that for centuries the Malays have been instructed by Hindu, Chinese, and Arab immigrants. Crawfurd thought
But generalities, such as have been indulged in in the last few pages for the sake of a broad view of the subject, are always dangerous. I wish rather to take as examples a few definite tribes, whose likeness to the natives of Borneo has been made the basis of various theories, and examine their actual race affinities and environmental conditions.

To take first an instance of our lowest culture type. The Samangs of the Malay Peninsula have often been compared with the Punans, Ukits, and Bakatans, the wandering tribes of the inner forests of Borneo. They are alike in their general manner of life; in building temporary shelters in trees; in their slight family relations; in the perfect equality of individuals, and absence among them of any form of government. These peoples belong, however, to entirely different racial types. The Samangs of Queda principality are described as black, flat-nosed, woolly-haired dwarfs, physically like the Negritos of the Philippines and the Andaman Islanders. The Borneo tribes, like them in habits, are, on the contrary, known to be a branch of the great Malay race. They are taller, well built, with straight glossy hair, and they are described as being even fairer than the usual brownish Malay type, as the result of life in the forests with little exposure to the sun. It is difficult to see how one could group these peoples together as the remnant of one primeval population. Is it not more reasonable to account for their likeness of customs on the ground of similarity of circumstances? For their conditions are almost identical. Both are kept by powerful neighbors in the interior mountain regions, which easily supply a casual nomadic livelihood. The art of agriculture, which almost undoubtedly reached their more accessible relatives from abroad, did not penetrate as far as their fastnesses. Hence they wander because they must for food; in small groups, because there is not enough in one place for large; and their lack of architecture and stable social institutions follows naturally.1

It noteworthy that the civilized nations were all in the western part of the Archipelago, and immediately afterwards remarked that the great trade routes were in the west; but he did not explicitly follow out the relationship of the two facts (iii, p. 264).

1 Crawfurd, iii, p. 5; Wallace, p. 592; Keane, p. 120; Alfred C. Had- don, Head Hunters, Black, White, and Brown, pp. 304 and 320; Roth, i, pp. 16 and 18, quoting Hose and Maxwell; Molengraaf, Geological
If one needed any further proof that their backward state is the result of circumstances rather than of inherited incapacity, it is afforded by the progress of the relatives of both these peoples. Abundant evidence exists that some of the wandering tribes in Borneo are more closely allied to the settled villagers in their respective neighborhoods than they are to one another. In Borneo agriculture was the developer. In the Malay Peninsula cooperation for hunting large game forged a communal link. There a branch of the Samangs, who chance to live in less elevated territory inhabited by the elephant and some large beasts of prey, have learned to unite for hunting, and constructed "a regular form of social polity" under a strong chief.¹

If the woodland savages of different race, when subjected to like conditions, have like customs, while members of their own tribes, given greater opportunities, develop further, the same is equally true in the tribes that make up our second stratum of civilization, the predominant type of the Eastern Islanders, of

¹Sir Ch. Brooke, ii. p. 301; W. H. Furness, Home Life of the Head Hunters, p. 183; Crawfurd, iii, pp. 5-6. One finds in Borneo tribes known as "Ukits," or "Bukkits" in far distant parts of the island. There seems no more reason to suppose a relationship between them than likeness of custom, which they share with the Negrito Samangs. The name "Bukkit" simply means people of the hills.
which the settled villagers in Borneo are characteristic representatives.¹

Among the Borneo tribes we find a minute correspondence in many customs with the Battas of Sumatra, the natives of Minnahassa in North Celebes, the Galela tribes of North Gilolo, the Alforas of Ceram, the Arfaks of New Guinea, and to go beyond the strict limits of the Archipelago, with the Igorottes of the Philippines and the mountain tribes, the “Chi-Hoan” of Formosa. The social superstructure—what Spencer would call the stage of superorganic evolution—is alike in all. In politics it is the same story throughout; the village chief, with more personal influence than actual power; his council of elders, and the respect for age and tradition where there is no reason for change; above the village the loose alliance of neighboring chiefs for aggression or protection. In the family one finds monogamy with easy divorce, chiefs, however, occasionally having two or three wives. The position of women is one of independence and influence, at the same time of hard work, with main responsibility for the agriculture. In religion a common type of spirit worship prevails; but further than this we have an agreement in the customs of head-hunting and many taboos; we have the harvest festival, which belongs no more to Borneo than to Formosa, Ceram, and Celebes, the taking of omens from the flight of birds, and the worship of mountains.²

¹ These tribes are usually said to be like the “Dyaks” of Borneo, an indefinite term used indiscriminately by most writers to mean any natives of the island. In using the Borneo people as an illustration I shall confine myself here to the Kayans, whose customs perhaps most closely correspond to those of the various tribes mentioned.

² Furness, Head Hunters, pp. 4-5, 92-93: Haddon, pp. 387-395; Brooke in Mundy, i, p. 260; Hose, J.A.I. xxiii, p. 170; St. John, i, p. 118; Wallace, pp. 250, 251, 499; B. F. Matthes, Willer, Het Eiland Boeroe; Graaffland, De Minnehassa; R. Padt-Brugge, Major, India in the XVth Cent., and Van der Lith, Kitāb adḥāb al-Hind, quoted by C. M. Pleyte, De geographische verbreiding v. het koppenzellen in den Oost-Ind. Archipel, pp. 912, 913, 923, 927, 981; Ida Pfeiffer, pp. 156, 171, 227-233; Bastian, Indonesien, p. 139: Not. of Indian Arch., App., p. 2; J. H. Neumann, quoted by Preuss in Globus, 1904, p. 388; Mackay, Formosa, pp. 255-273. The Aboongs of south Sumatra seem to belong to this type, as well as the Battas, cf. Veth, quoted by Pleyte, Koppensnellen, p. 913.
Geographically these people are far separated, and between them are numerous civilized and uncivilized nations of varying social genius. Ethnically they present almost every variety known in this part of the world. In appearance and physique, the tribes of Borneo, the Battas of Sumatra, and the mountainers of Formosa belong to the category of Asiatic Malay; the Igorottes are said to have some Chinese or even Japanese admixture; the tribes referred to in Celebes are probably predominantly Malay, though here, as in the case of some Borneo tribes, reasoning from their more Caucasian features or long skulls, many writers argue an ancient intermingling with the "Indonesians," (the pre-Malay white race whose existence in this region seems fairly well proved); the Alforas of Ceram are what are called "brown Papuans" with bushy Negroid hair; the Arfaks of New Guinea are also Papuan, though lighter than their black neighbors of Dorey Bay; and the tribes of North Gilolo are Papuan, with perhaps some admixture which connects them with the Polynesians of Tahiti. ¹ The similarity is evi-


Vivien St. Martin was one of those who argued the existence of a pre-Malay white race in the Archipelago. Bull. de la Soc. Géog. de Paris, 1871, vol. ii. A few years later Hamy endorsed his position and reinforced it with some ethnographic details, brought by the explorer Raffray from Gilolo. Ibid., 1877, pp. 480–490. Raffray had found, Hamy thought, some pure descendants of this tall "Indonesian" race, in Dodigna, in central Gilolo, who were physically quite different from the black Arafuras of the north described by Wallace. Hamy connected these white Gilolans with the Dyaks of Borneo and the Battas of Sumatra, for like both of these they are intrepid hunters and great collectors of human heads. But so—it is interesting for our argument to emphasize—were the black Gilolans visited by Wallace. Hamy connected the Dodigna Gilolans with the light race in Ceram. But it is important to note that not the lighter race of Ceram, but the mountain tribes which belong to the black race are those whose customs are said to be like the Dyaks.

The idea used by Marsden, Crawfurd and Raffles, of a Great Polynesian nation (not, I think, the same as the supposed Indonesian race) which at some remote time spread its language and civilization over all this part of the world, has become very generally familiar. The chain of islands, the easily navigable seas, contrasted with difficulties of inland
dentely not due to racial inheritance. Nor, in this case, can it be borrowing through contact. Let us examine the environment. These are all people of the mountains, living among the jungle-covered hills. Between each tribe and the sea are settled hostile nations, generally of higher development, with whom they have alternately slight relations of profitable exchange, and of raid and retaliation. Here we have the first obvious likeness of circumstance, in their natural surroundings and in their relations with the outside world. With all the stage of economic development is the same, for spontaneously, or more likely from their coastal neighbors, all have learned the art of rice or sago culture, and their time is divided between working in the fields and jungle expeditions, in which they hunt the wild pig and deer found in the forests of all these tribes, make war upon neighbors who have tampered with their stores, and collect the rich produce of the jungle for sale to the traders. They all have domesticated poultry, pigs, and dogs. There are, then, in the environments of far separated Dyaks, Battas, and Papuans, the common characteristics of productive forest land capable of easy cultivation; the protecting mountain chain which has prevented complete foreign domination; and rich, hostile neighbors, who are both an enticement to predatory raids, and offer the conflicting attraction of oppor-

communication, would all foster such a spread from coast to coast of some people who had started a course of higher development. The stage of civilization which Crawfurd supposed the Great Polynesian nation to have possessed, building it up from his linguistic studies of pre-Sanskrit words common to all this region, is about the same as that of the widely separated inland tribes with whose likeness to one another we are here concerned. It can not be that they all represent survivors of the Great Polynesians, for we have seen their racial diversity. It may well be that they all once learned their arts and agriculture from the wonderful hypothetical nation, and thus progressed from the life of jungle wanderers. In Borneo, at least, many legends suggest the introduction of agriculture from abroad. One point, however, it is important for our purpose to emphasize here. These could not have been the only people taught. Their habitat was favorable, equally favorable in the case of all, to so much growth; while their circumstances limited a further development, for which many of their neighbors and kindred, differently situated, found opportunity. Cf. Crawfurd, i, p. 358, ii, pp. 72-101; Raffles, History, i, p. 412.
tunities for lucrative barter.' And in the case of these peoples, as of the nomad savages we have mentioned, some of their kin with diverse chances have made strides towards a different development. The Battas of Sumatra belong to the same race, and have the same language as the coast people, who scorn them as savages. In Formosa, though the indigenous population is all Malayan and of the same physical type, it is only the mountaineers who are by chance compared to the Borneo natives, for they alone resemble them in institutions. Others have had chances to produce a more complex society. The very names by which the divisions of Formosan natives are known, those given them by the Chinese, show that the classification is environmental. Translated, they are "the barbarians of the plain," "the barbarians of the south," "the raw barbarians" (of the mountains), and "ripe barbarians" (a few who have settled among the Chinese colonists and adopted their customs). In Borneo itself we have already spoken of the close connection between the Kayans and some wandering forest tribes. This seems to be fairly well established, though it must be confessed that tribal relationship is one of the last and one of the most difficult problems of fact to be solved when a long unknown district is opened to knowledge. The various theories on the subject in Borneo are bewilderingly diverse. Fair agreement, however, may be found on a certain practical grouping of the people, which is here, as in Formosa, not according to genealogy but according to environment. The great divisions, Land and Sea Dyaks, Milanaus, Kayans, etc., geographically correspond to typical surroundings, that afford slightly varying methods of gaining a livelihood.  

1 Hose, J.A.I. xxiii, p. 159; Charles Brooke, ii, pp. 223, 277 and 307; Low, Sarawak, pp. 91, 97, 321-323; Sir James Brooke, in Mundy's Narrative of Events in Borneo, i, pp. 263-4; Haddon's Head Hunters, pp. 297, 304, and 360; C. J. Temminck, Coup d'oeil general sur les possessions néerlandaises dans l'Inde archipelagique, p. 135; Dalton in Not. of Ind. Arch., p. 15, cf. also appendix, pp. 1-2; Mackay, Formosa, pp. 41-43, 56-63, 76-80, 251-270; Ida Pfeiffer, pp. 169, 223-229; Letourneau, Sociology, p. 18; Forrest, Voyage to New Guinea, pp. 97, 109, 116, 117; Wallace, Malay Arch., pp. 250, 502, 509, 574; Raffles, History of Java, Appendix, pp. lxxxvi, xciv.  

2 For some of the theories of tribal affinity in Borneo, cf. Haddon, p. 327; Roth, i, p. 6; Keane, p. 131; Earl, p. 255; Sir James Brooke in Keppel, p. 61; ibid., in Mundy, i, p. 235; Dalton, in Not. of Ind. Arch., p.
Had we minute knowledge of every custom of the Malaysians, as well as a complete account of their islands, or were there even space here to present some interesting known facts, valuable results might be obtained from a careful comparison of the concomitant variations of land and life.

As one instance of the social effect of local conditions in two tribes mainly alike, one may note the position of women among the Kayans of central Borneo and among the mountaineers of Formosa. While the Kayan women are good looking, well-fed, prosperous, and happy, the Formosan feminine lot is said to be a dreary, hopeless drudgery of overwork. And why? Because in Borneo there were weaker tribes near the Kayans, whose members could be captured and made slaves to assist the women in the farm and house work, the work which wears out the life of the Formosan drudges. And the Kayan women share the prosperity of their whole tribe, the Formosan the poverty of theirs. Though both live in a rich camphor country, the Kayans gather the camphor themselves and sell it at profit, while the Formosan mountaineers are oppressed and downtrodden by the Chinese, who push into their region and monopolize this product. Such discrepancies in the daily routine of the women affect not only their physique, but their minds as well, making the Formosan women, as they have been described, "too dreary for pleasure, too unromantic for tragedy," and giving the Kayan aristocrats all the charm of the privileged oppressor.

One need hardly urge that mental attainment is directly dependent on whatever determines the daily activities. An illuminating comment of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen on the mentality of the Australian natives might well be applied to

41; Sir Ch. Brooke, i, p. 46; Low, pp. 173, 183, 248, 325; St. John, Forests of the Far East. i, p. 120; idem, in Transactions of the Ethnological Society, ii, p. 282; the Bishop of Labuan, in ibid, p. 26. The group for which the name "Kalamantans," was proposed by Haddon, Hose, and McDougall, is a large scattered collection of inland "weak agriculturists." Haddon says of them: "From the measurements we have made of some of these tribes, there is no doubt that they were not all originally of one stock. Some are distinctly narrow-headed, others are inclined to be broad-headed." The narrow-headed, he thought Indonesian; the broad-headed, Proto-Malay. Head Hunters, pp. 321-328. Hose and McDougall, Jour. Anth. Inst., 1894, p. 156, 1901, p. 192.

1 G. L. Mackay, op. cit.
those of the Archipelago: "Whilst in matters such as tracking, which are concerned with their everyday life and upon efficiency in which they actually depend for their livelihood, the natives show conspicuous ability, there are other directions in which they are as conspicuously deficient." By the common necessities of their daily life, the tribes whose institutions we have found to correspond closely have developed a mental type which is broadly very much the same. They have sufficient foresight to watch the seasons and plan for the next harvest; they have few abstract ideas; they are reported to be credulous, ingenuous, and honest; living in constant danger of sudden concealed attack and of many ills of mysterious origin, they are timid, especially afraid of evil spirits. What courage they need for their expeditions must be fostered by display of bravado and fierce war dress; at the same time they have the endurance of hunters, the lithe grace and strength of a forest animal, wonderful agility in scaling dizzy heights for beeswax or birds' nests. The character, which, like the social institutions, belongs to different ethnic types in similar positions, must be more circumstantial than racial.

1 Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 25.
2 Cf. Pfeiffer, pp. 224–5; Mackay, pp. 262, 275; Keppel, p. 385; Low, p. 386; Boyle, p. 224, and also references above, p. 310. Dr. Nieuwenhuis called my attention to the real timidity of the head hunters, in spite of their bluster and ferocious aspect. In his study of particular tribes, he found fear greater where an unhealthy climate had made the natives deteriorate mentally and physically (cf. op. cit., especially pp. 9, 12, 14). Dr. Hirn agrees with Dr. Nieuwenhuis as to the absence of valour among savages. For a study of the need of primitive art to stimulate lacking courage, as well as to terrify the foe, with particular reference to the natives of Borneo, cf. Yrjö Hirn, Origins of Art, pp. 263–265. Dr. Hirn maintains that "contrary to the romantic notions of popular literature, primitive man seems to be timorous rather than brave when not encouraged by adventitious excitement." He thinks this cowardice circumstantial rather than inherent, that it can "to a great extent be explained by defective military organization," which gives the mutual support of esprit de corps. Many facts in the Archipelago confirm this point, and especially the contrast in the temperaments of inland and seafaring head-hunters. There are two methods, according to circumstances, of head-hunting warfare—that of the upland forests, carried on in small parties, to kill individuals by stealth; and that of the navigable river and coast dwellers, carried on by concerted attack of warriors in a long canoe. The latter have more esprit de corps, more fero-
I shall not stop here to follow the process by which the social and the intellectual phenomena grew out of the local foundations, a process that offers enticing and suggestive possibilities for research. It is enough for present purposes merely to note the facts,—where there are like circumstances, no matter what the race, there we have found a common culture; where circumstances varied, even close relations grew apart.¹

Two points in the custom test that have been made much of in tracing race affinity still remain to be considered. The city, more courage. An example of this difference in type of warfare and in temperament is found in the gentle and timorous Land Dyaks of the Borneo hills, and the more aggressive seafaring pirates between them and the coast—a difference that Dr. A. Piton described as due to their manner of life (Un Voyage à Borneo, p. 17). A lack of cooperation in government and in warfare seems to lead to a timorous temperament. In many cases, and notably in that of the Land Dyaks, the physical conformation of the country prevented union. Dr. Nieuwenhuis does not say whether this may have been an additional reason for individualism and cowardice in the tribe whose lack of government he has shown to go hand in hand with a lack of mental and physical energy due to prevalence of malaria.

Sir Alfred Russell Wallace, in contrasting the Malay type with the Papuan, at first set up his standard of distinction, "details of physical form or moral character." But later when he came to apply it, he rather took back the second part of the test and said that "The moral characteristics of the Papuan do not seem to separate him so distinctly from the Malay as do his form and features." Malay Arch., pp. 31, 589.

¹ One of the most striking instances of likeness of manners between peoples of distant race is to be found in the islands of Timor and Rotti. Between these two islands runs the great race line of the Archipelago, so that the mountaineers of Timor are distinctly Papuan, "dusky brown, or blackish, with bushy, frizzled hair" (Wallace, p. 590), those of Rotti "remarkable for having long lank hair" (Not. of Ind. Arch., App., p. 9), which would class them with the Malays (cf. Hydrographic Office, Eastern Arch., ii, pp. 3-4), and they have features of a type like the natives of India, which (with other characteristics) have led to their classification as Indonesian. (Cf. Wallace, p. 606.) The geographical line, on the contrary, running west of the race line, unites both Timor and Rotti to the Australian region of non-forest islands, and makes the conditions of living much the same in both. The agriculture, the useful animals, the foreign trade are similar. And (shall we say consequently?) an explorer, after describing a peculiar burial custom of the people of Rotti, says: "Their religion, customs and belief in auguries are in other respects the same as in Timor." Not. of Ind. Arch., App., p. 9, see also p. 5; and Wallace, 19-20, 210, 214.
first is a likeness in art, in ornament, decoration and conventional patterns; and the second, similarity of architecture. On the first I am not prepared to advance any theory backed by an array of facts; though I am strongly inclined to agree with those who believe that art, like religion, is so closely bound up with life as a whole, that the same impelling motive may lead to the spontaneous production of an identical design in opposite quarters of the globe. But as to architecture, in the Malay Archipelago at least, it depends very naturally on the land they have to build on, the materials at hand, the number of people who want to live close together, the necessary precautions for protection, etc. Where these are the same you have the same type of building, as for instance in the longhouse of the Sea Dyaks of Borneo and of the Dorey Bay Papuans of New Guinea. Here the entire village lives in one or two houses, the cheapest way of building on piles in the water, and the best for mutual defence. The piles are on account of floods and tide, and because water is a better highway than swampy land. And plenty of good timber was in both cases available for the purpose. The housing of the Land Dyaks is at first sight so different from that of their Sea Dyak neighbors, that one might be inclined to attribute it to a different traditional genius. Closer investigation shows that the little cluster of houses that forms a village is nothing more than the longhouse broken up because there was not level space on their hills to build it continuously. Being

1 Dr. Hirn (op. cit., p. 277) says: "The art-production of military tribes has everywhere, independently of racial and climatic influences, acquired some common qualities; their decorative arts as well as their poetry and dramatic dances, are always characterized by an intense and forcible life, which is often combined with dignified power and graceful elegance." One might use this theory of Dr. Hirn's, making it a trifle stronger in statement, to interpret the exact similarity of the sword dance of the Battas of Sumatra and of the Dyaks of Borneo. (Pfeiffer, p. 171.) Of course it is quite possible that both inherited the tradition of the sword dance from common ancestors and kept it unchanged through their centuries of separation. Of their history I think hardly enough is known to make it safe to assert positively either the primeval relationship or the lack of it. It is important to consider that the two peoples are curiously alike in general conditions and in methods of warfare. I should venture to assert tentatively only so much as this—that from the training of desire and emotion by the same necessities, the dramatic swordplay might have developed separately, and be original with both.
thus scattered, they had to build a "pangah," or village house, where the warriors could sleep together, to be ready to defend the village against surprise by night.  

People are architecturally thoroughly adaptable to circumstances, as they are politically and socially. If it be true that all race difference was originally due to the effect of physical environment, or, as others hold, that the fundamental race difference is primeval and permanent; in either case we must recognize that there are two classes of human characteristics, the variable, quickly adaptable to local influences, and the more permanent, by which we can follow race identity through a series of changed abodes. This paper has, I hope, contributed some suggestions toward a more accurate classification than is generally made of the plastic and static qualities. As the result of our analysis of facts in the Malay Archipelago, and contrary to frequent assumptions, we must regard as conditional rather than as racial all social phenomena, such as family relationships and form of government; the religious organization; religious beliefs and customs which are of immediate importance; arts and architecture; and I believe, to a very great extent, intellectual ability and moral character. In the more static are above all, physical formation, features, hair, color, build, etc., perhaps skull formation; indifferent religious and social forms, which may persist if not harmful; relics of language, etc. Custom, then, as the word is generally understood

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1 For descriptions of the architecture, cf. Forrest, *Voyage to New Guinea*, p. 102; Sir Ch. Brooke, i, pp. 84, 124; Low, pp. 279-282; Pfeiffer, p. 51; Noel Denison, *Jottings During a Tour Among the Land Dyaks of Upper Sarawak*, Ch. ii, iv, and vii. From these descriptions it will be seen that the Land Dyaks do occasionally build longhouses when the ground permits of it. The Papuans of Dorey Bay, though having the longhouse like the Sea Dyaks, have the separate bachelors' building, like the Land Dyaks, Boyle (pp. 63, 197, 219) shows the purpose of the Land Dyak "pangeran" to be defense, and says that latterly in these peaceful times the young men of many villages have allowed them to fall into decay. He gives evidence to show that at one time the Sea Dyaks had similar structures. These have probably fallen into disuse among the stronger Sea Dyak tribes, because with their inter-tribal organization and the protection of the Malays they were too greatly feared to be in much danger of attack. They were more raiders than raided. The Papuans, on the other hand, are in constant expectation of enemies both by sea and land.
to mean social organization and habits, detailed manner of life and religious ritual, can tell us little or nothing of race affinity, since we have seen it to be dependent less on inherited tendencies than on local needs.

The theory that like conditions produce like civilizations is not startlingly new. Yet I think it has hardly been given the full scope it deserves in application to detailed studies. To-day it is a vital question to what degree the long racial inheritance of the past can be modified by a new environment. It is a question of prime practical importance for us in America with our imported Africa. For study of race problems the Eastern Archipelago is a veritable laboratory of sociology. There we find closely related members of the same race in diverse environments, as well as antipodal races and their half-breeds, separated, yet in parallel circumstances. A more detailed comparison of all the different types and their setting would probably bring out a clearer distinction than has yet been drawn between the phenomena due to fundamental race difference and those that have grown immediately out of adaptation to the environment.