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ON THE

NEGRO'S PLACE

NATURE.

BY

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A paper read before the London Anthropological Society,

by Dr. James Hunt, F. R. S.,

President of the Association

1863

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TO
CAPT. RICHARD F. BURTON,
H.B.M. Consul at Fernando Po.

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY
OF LONDON, ETC., ETC., ETC.

MY DEAR BURTON,

THE Council of the Anthropological Society of London having acceded to the general wish of the Fellows, that my Paper on the "Negro's Place in Nature" should forthwith be published in the form of a pamphlet, I had no option but to comply with their decision, although I have done so with some reluctance.

I dedicate these pages to you, not merely because you are a distinguished Fellow of our Society, but because you are one of the few men living who are capable of judging as to the exact value of the general deductions contained in this paper.

You are fully aware that it is one thing to read a paper to an intelligent scientific audience, and quite another to promulgate the same views before the general public. And yet, perhaps, it is not men of science who require to be inoculated with these sentiments, but rather those "outer barbarians" whose habit it is to sneer at any views opposed to their own, and to denounce that which they cannot understand, and are unwilling to study. You will, therefore, not be surprised to hear that when I brought the facts contained in the first part of the paper before a miscellaneous audience at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, at the recent meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, my statement of the simple facts was received with such loud hisses that you would have thought the room had nearly been filled with a quantity of Eve's tempters instead of her amiable descendants. It was not till then that I fully realised the profound ignorance which

exists in the minds of even the semi-scientific public on the Negro race, and indeed on African Anthropology generally.

You will be glad, however, to learn that, neither in the discussion which followed, nor in the comments which were made on it in the public press, was one scientific fact elicited which tended in any way to invalidate the general conclusions I had arrived at. My friend Mr. C. Carter Blake ably supported me, but the audience also favoured him with strong marks of disapprobation when he ventured to suggest that the question was one of fact, and that it was of no use to rail against the plain deductions to be made from the physical character of the Negro.

I should perhaps explain that the paper was originally written chiefly to illustrate the propositions I had laid down in a paper previously read on "The Principles of Anthropological Classification." In that paper I have explained the meaning I attach to the words "species," "race," &c., which I have occasionally used in this paper. Our Society, however, expressed a desire to hear the paper, and I then felt it my duty to introduce some general conclusions which I had not touched on at Newcastle. Here, instead of being met with hisses, I received the cordial and earnest support of our scientific brethren in the Anthropological Society. The report of the discussion which followed will appear in the February number of the *Journal of the Society*,* and will show that scientific men will no longer accept the stereotyped opinions of the last generation on this subject.

I do not mean to assert that the views held by myself on this subject have met with universal acceptance from the Fellows of our Society; but I think we are all bound together by a firm determination to openly and fairly discuss this subject in all its varied and important ramifications.

I cheerfully commit the following observations to your mature judgment, and ask you, as an Anthropologist and a man of science, how far these views are in accordance with known facts? You are, as all Anthropologists know, one of the few

* *Anthropological Review and Journal of the Anthropological Society of London*, February 1864. Trübner and Co.

men who are competent to give any decided opinion as to the value of my communication. We have had plenty of African travellers, but there is perhaps no other man living who, by previous education and study, is better able than yourself to paint the Negro and other African races as they exist, regardless of what we may consider should be their state.

I was necessarily confined to a limited space in my paper, but you will see that I have added notes in support of my views. I have also thought it desirable to print all the important passages in M. Pruner Bey's admirable Memoir on this subject. As Physician to the Viceroy of Egypt, he had ample opportunities of studying the anatomy and physiology of the Negro. The only part of his paper I have omitted is some descriptive matter relating to the variety of races in Africa: not the object of the present inquiry. I shall feel grateful if you will state my great obligations to the author of *Wanderings in West Africa*, should you meet with its accomplished, agreeable, and unbiassed author.

In conclusion, I am glad to inform you that the Society whose birth you witnessed only requires one thing for its complete success, viz., that you should return to England and give to Anthropology not only the benefit of your large stores of knowledge, but also that you should preside over the affairs of a Society destined under such a Presidency to accomplish the great and important objects for which it was established.

Believe me,

My dear Burton,

Yours very faithfully,

JAMES HUNT.

Ore House, Hastings, England.

December 9, 1863.

N.B.—I ought to tell you that I had a goodly number of supporters among the audience at Newcastle; and amongst numerous letters I have since received, I give the following extract from a letter, just written to me by a lady who as-

sisted in the microscopical investigations of some scientific men in the Confederate States of America. Some of the notes taken on the occasion referred to were to the following effect:—

“The skeleton of the Negro can never be placed upright. There is always a slight angle in the legs, a greater in the thigh bones and still more in the body, until in some instances it curves backwards. All the bones of the legs are flattened and wider than in the European; and the arm-bones have always a tendency to fall forward, while the head stoops from the shoulders, and not from the neck, as in other nations. To make the skeleton stand equal in its weight on all parts, you must give it these inclinations.

“The blood is vastly dissimilar,—the red corpuscles are greatly in excess, and the colourless have an extraordinary tendency to run together: the molecular movement within the discs differs in every respect, and when tried with a solution of potass, the protrusions from the cell-walls take every intermediate form, reverting with great rapidity to the normal condition. It is an attested fact, that if there is a drop of African blood in the system of a white person, it will show itself upon the scalp. The greater the proximity, the darker the hue, the larger the space: there may not be the slightest taint perceptible in any other part of the body, but this spot can never be wiped out, no intervening time will ever efface it; and it stands in the courts of law in the Southern Confederacy as a never-failing test, unimpeachable as a law of Nature.

“Their eyesight decays very early, failing generally after thirty, but very few become totally blind; and in the three instances I ever met, they were blind to light, but found their way easily through the streets and over their dwellings during the hours of darkness. The hair is very peculiar;* three hairs, springing from different orifices, will unite into one; it is very friable, like moss, the ends splitting up.”

The above intelligent remarks, although they contain nothing new, are chiefly valuable from the fact that ladies in the Confederate States seem to be better informed on the subject than many men of science in this country.

In time the truth will come out, and then the public will have their eyes opened, and will see in its true dimensions that gigantic imposture known by the name of “Negro Emancipation.”—J. H.

* See, also on this, the able memoir by M. Pruner-Bey, communicated to the Anthropological Society of Paris: *De la chevelure nommée caractéristique des races humaines, d'après des recherches microscopiques*. 8vo. Paris, 1863, p. 14.

ON

THE NEGRO'S PLACE IN NATURE.

I PROPOSE in this communication to discuss the physical and mental characters of the Negro, with a view of determining not only his position in animated nature, but also the station to be assigned to him in the genus *homo*. I shall necessarily have to go over a wide field, and cannot hope to treat the subject in an exhaustive manner. I shall be amply satisfied if I succeed in directing the attention of my scientific friends to a study of this most important and hitherto nearly neglected branch of the great science of Anthropology.

It is not a little remarkable that the subject I propose to bring before you this evening is one which has never been discussed before a scientific audience in this Metropolis. In France, in America, and in Germany, the physical and mental characters of the Negro have been frequently discussed, and England alone has neglected to pay that attention to the question which its importance demands. I shall, therefore, make no apology for bringing this subject in its entirety under your consideration, although I should have preferred discussing each point in detail. I hope, however, this evening to bring before you facts and opinions that will lay a good foundation for future inquiry and discussion. Although I shall dwell chiefly on the physical, mental, and moral characters of the Negro, I shall, at the same time, not hesitate to make such practical deductions as appear to be warranted from the facts we now have at hand, and trust that a fair and open discussion of this subject may eventually be the means of removing much of the misconception which appears to prevail on this subject both in the minds of the public, and too frequently in the minds of scientific men. While, however, I shall honestly

and without reservation state the conclusions at which I have arrived, I shall at the same time listen with deep attention and respect to those who differ from me, and who support their opinions by facts, by the opinions of some travellers, or by their own observations. Heretofore, however, it has happened that much human passion has been introduced, not only into public discussions, but especially into the literature on this subject. Even such a generally fair and philosophic writer as Professor Waitz* has accused men of science with promulgating scientific views which are practically in favour of the so-called "slavery" of the Confederate States of America. Many other scientific men could be named who have equally been guilty of imputing such unfair and uncharitable motives. While, on the other hand, writers who are thus accused retort by applying to their opponents all sorts of epithets. One author, for instance, exclaims: "How I loathe that hypocrisy which claims the same mental, moral, and physical equality for the Negro which the whites possess."† No good can come of discussion conducted in such a spirit. If we wish to discover what is the truth, we must give each other credit for scientific honesty, and not impute base or interested motives.

In the first place, I would explain that I understand by Negro, the dark, woolly-headed African found in the neighbourhood of the Congo river. Africa contains, like every other continent, a large number of different races, and these have become very much mixed. These races may be estimated as a whole at about 150 millions, occupying a territory of between 13 and 14 millions of square miles. I shall not enter into any disquisition as to the great diversity of physical conformation that is found in different races, but shall simply say that my remarks will be confined to the typical woolly-headed Negro. Not only is there a large amount of mixed blood in Africa, but there are also apparently races of very different physical characters, and in as far as they approach the typical Negro, so

* See Introduction to *Anthropology*, edited from the first volume of *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, by J. Frederick Collingwood, F.R.S.L., F.G.S., F.A.S.L., and Hon. Sec. of the Anthropological Soc. of Lond., 1863, p. 92.

† *Negro Mania*: being an examination of the falsely assumed equality of the various races of man; by John Campbell, Philadelphia, 1851, p. 11.

far will my remarks apply to them. But I shall exclude entirely from consideration all those who have European, Asiatic, Moorish or Berber blood in their veins.

My object is to attempt to determine the position which one well-defined race occupies in the genus homo, and the relation or analogy which the negro race bears to animated nature generally. We have recently heard discussions respecting Man's place in nature: but it seems to me that we err in grouping all the different races of Man under one generic name, and then compare them with the anthropoid Apes. If we wish to make any advance in discussing such a subject, we must not speak of man generally, but must select one race or species, and draw our comparison in this manner. I shall adopt this plan in comparing the Negro with the European, as represented by the German, Frenchman, or Englishman. Our object is not to support some foregone conclusion, but to endeavour to ascertain what is the truth by a careful and conscientious examination and discussion of the facts before us. In any conclusion I may draw respecting the Negro's character, no decided opinion will be implied as to the vexed question of man's origin. If the negro could be proved to be a distinct species from the European, it would not follow that they had not the same origin—it would only render their identity of origin less likely. I shall, also, have to dwell much on the analogies existing between the Negro and the Anthropoid Apes; but these analogies do not necessarily involve relationship. The Negro race, in some of its characters, is the lowest of existing races, while in others it approaches the highest type of European: and this is the case with other savage races. We find the same thing in the Anthropoid Apes, where some species resemble man in one character and some in another.

The father of English Ethnology, Dr. Prichard, thought that the original pair must have been Negroes, and that mankind descended from them. His words are:—“It must be concluded that the process of nature in the human species is the transmutation of the characters of the Negro into those of the

* *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, 1813, p. 238.

European, or the evolution of white varieties in black races of men. We have seen that there are causes existing which are capable of producing such an alteration, but we have no facts which induce us to suppose that the reverse of this change could in any circumstance be effected. This leads us to the inference that the primitive stock of men were Negroes, which has every appearance of truth." It is not a little remarkable that although Blumenbach and Prichard were both advocates for the unity of man, they materially differed in their arguments. Blumenbach saw, in his five varieties of man, nothing but degeneracy from some ideal perfect type. Prichard, on the contrary, asserted he could imagine no arguments, or knew of no facts, to support such a conclusion. Prichard, however, was not alone in this supposition; for Pallas,* Lacépède,† Hunter,‡ Doornik§, and Link,|| were also inclined to the same view. We must not dwell on such speculations; for on the present occasion we shall not touch on the origin of man: it will be enough if we assist in removing some of the misconceptions regarding the Negro-race existing in the minds of some men of science. It is too generally taught that the Negro only differs from the European in the colour of his skin and the peculiarity of his hair; but such opinions are not supported by facts. The skin and hair are by no means the only characters which distinguish the Negro from the European, even physically; and the difference is greater, mentally and morally, than the demonstrated physical difference. In the first place, what are the physical distinctions between the Negro and the European?

* *Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire, in 1793-4.*

† *Vue Générale, etc.* Paris, 1822.

‡ *Disputatio inauguralis de Hominum Varietibus et earum causis exponens,* Joannes Hunter. Edinburgh, 1775.

§ *Wysgeerig-natuurkundig Onderzoek, etc.* Amst., 1808.

|| On this point Link (*Die Urvwelt, etc.*, Berlin, 1821-2) says:—"Soemmering's investigations (*Die Körperliche Verschiedenheit des Negers, Frankfurt, 1785*), show how much more the Negro in his internal structure resembles the Ape than the European. The latest productions of the animal world were mammals, and it stands to reason that the most recent race should be that which is the most remote from the other mammals, and that race should be the oldest which approaches them most, namely, the Negro. Colour, also, confirms this everywhere, when we observe white and black animals of the same species. The latter always form the original stock, the former the deviation."

The average height of the Negro* is less than that of the European, and although there are occasionally exceptions, the

* "The stature of the Negro approaches the middle size. The tribes above the middle stature are probably more numerous than those below it. I know of no instances of dwarfism among Negroes, though the monuments of Egypt show that there were dwarfs among the Negroes at a very remote epoch. Nevertheless, giants and dwarfs occupy a certain place in the ideas and stories of the Negro, as well as tailed men. We know what to believe as regards the latter point. With respect to dwarfs, the Bosjesmen seem to answer the ideas of the Negroes, for they play in their stories the same part as the Hyperboreans in the traditions of ancient Greece. Obesity is exceptionally found in males of high rank, and more frequently in the women. The disposition to grow fat is less rare among the short than among the tall Negroes. The taller are frequently lank and very angular.

"On examining the physiognomy of the Negro, I would first observe that the palpebral fissure is narrow and horizontal; but the aperture of the nostrils presents instead of a raised triangle a tranverse ellipsis; that the point of the nose is obtuse, round, and thick; that the ear is small, detached from the head, with a lobule little separated. To this must be added the cheeks stuffed by the masseters, the conformation of the jaws and lips, and the ensemble of the physiognomy of the Negro presents a singular mixture. The inferior part reflects sensuality, not to say more; above the mouth we might say it is the face of a new-born child enlarged. The absence of expression in the features produces the effect of an unfinished work. The change of colour, so significant in the white man, that mute language, but more effective than the spoken word which moves us, is almost entirely absent in our African brothers. The black veil which covers the whole, even withdraws the play of the muscles from the eye of the observer, unless it be in moments of passionate agitation.

"The eye alone enables us to judge what passes in the depth of the mind. This mirror is sufficiently bright to enable us to distinguish two classes, which may be compared to the choleric and phlegmatic temperaments. The travellers who have observed the Negro in his native country indicate some expressive, and, so to say, national shades, which distinguish the peoples of the Sudan. This is in harmony with the differences in features, stature, we shall speak of in the sequel. We find thus among the authors the terms, "dignified and proud, jovial and gay, intelligent and cunning;" also, "insignificant and inexpressive, melancholy and morose, dull and stupid." Thus the Negro participates also in this respect largely of the nature of man in general; but it cannot be said of him what was applied to the American, "Gentleness hovers on his lips, and ferocity gushes from his eyes."

"The neck of the Negro is generally short; it is scarcely 8 to 9 centimetres, excepting very tall subjects, when it attains 10 centimetres; the prominence of the larynx is rounded; the shoulders are less powerful than in the Turanian or Aryan. The Negro prefers carrying his burden on the head. The Negro is shrunk in the flank, the abdomen frequently relaxed; the umbilicus, situated nearer the pubis than in the European, is slightly prominent.

"After these short remarks on the conformation of the trunk, we must fix our attention on the limbs. We have already indicated the proportion of the parts which compose them. It now remains to describe their particular form. The arm and the forearm of the Negro present neither the muscular contours of the European nor the rounded shape of the American. The palm of the hand, as well as the sole of the foot, are always of a bistre colour. The palm is narrow and flattened; that is to say, the thenar and hypothenar eminences, as well as the tactile cushions, are little developed. The folds of the palm are very simple and rudimentary. The fingers are elongated; of little thickness at the ends; the nails are flat, bistre coloured, and rather widened at the end.

"In the inferior limb we observe the fold of the buttocks less rounded, the

skeleton of the Negro is generally heavier, and the bones larger and thicker in proportion to the muscles than those of the European. The bones are also whiter, from the greater abundance of calcareous salts. The thorax is generally laterally compressed, and, in thin individuals, presents a cylindrical form, and is smaller in proportion to the extremities. The extremities of the Negro differ from other races more by proportion than by form : the arm usually reaches below the middle of the femur. The leg is on the whole longer, but is made to look short on account of the ankle being only between $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. above the ground ; this character is often seen in mulattoes. The foot is flat, and the heel is both flat and long. Burmeister has pointed out the resemblance of the foot and the position of the toes of the Negro to those of the ape. The toes are small, the first sepa-

thighs more angular in front and specially at the back ; the knees approximated ; the calf usually weak, short, and laterally compressed ; the feet spread out ; the heel wide and prominent ; the lateral borders of the feet straight, their anterior portion widened ; the great toes short and small. The foot is rarely highly arched ; on the other hand it is elongated, and what it wants in height is made up by the tibia, which is longer in proportion.

"This conformation of the foot of the Negro has induced a learned naturalist to take the foot as the starting point to fix the type of races. But the particulars given by M. Simonot, on the diversities met with in this respect among the peoples of the Senegal, which accord with the reports of other travellers and my own observations, throw doubt upon the constancy of the conformation. On the other hand, it is certain that the type of the inferior limb, as I have described it, is the appanage of the majority of Negroes. The flat foot is, however, also met with in a large number of races approaching more the Aryan than the Negro ; for instance, in some tribes of America and Polynesia. It is also frequent in Russia, and it frequently influences the reform of the military service in the rest of Europe. The shortening of the great toe, combined with a slight distance from the rest, has been noted in the Negro, in some races of Malaisia, and the Hottentot as a constant character approaching these peoples to the ape. The importance of the great toe is incontestable, for it is the first bone which disappears from the extremities on descending the animal series. I think it therefore necessary well to examine this point as regards the Negro. Now it is true that the great toe in the Negro rarely rises above the second, but neither is it often shorter. This applies also to the pretended lateral distance which may moreover be owing to the employment of thongs in their shoes, as done by the Arabs, for instance. It is clear that all that has been asserted relative to the opposition of the great toe of the Negro is reduced to the simple question : Is there a muscle, or at least an aponeurotic tendon, subservient to this pretended use ? Nowhere, and never has anything like it been discovered in the human genus. But a slight shortening of the great toe undoubtedly exists, not merely among the Negro tribes, but also in ancient and modern Egyptians, and even in some of the most beautiful types of Caucasian females I have seen. This character is not merely constant in the ancient Egyptian statues, it is also seen where art has fixed the characters of the ideal man, namely, in the sculptures of Greece. I am, however, as far from wishing to establish the identity of the foot of the Negro with that ideal type, as I am to class the inhabitants of Alsace among the Negroes, because many of them present the same peculiarity. (Pruner Bey. *Memoire sur les Nègres*, 1861.)

rated from the second by a free space.* Many observers have noticed the fact that the Negro frequently uses the great toe as a thumb. The knees are rather bent, the calves are little developed and the upper part of the thigh rather thin. The upper thigh-bone of the Negro has not so decided a resemblance to the ape as that of the bushman.† He rarely stands quite upright, his short neck and large development of the cervical muscles give great strength to the neck. The shoulders, arms, and legs are all weak in comparison to the corresponding limbs in the European. The hand is always relatively larger than in

* "In most of the Africans the heel projects. From the skin of their feet being often of a horny hardness, sandals appear to me much better adapted than the shoe, as it allows of greater flexibility and movement. Lawrence in his 'Lectures on Man' says, that the calves of the leg in the Negro race are very high, so as to encroach upon the hams. His observation I can fully corroborate, as well as Dr. Winterbottom's remark respecting the largeness of the feet, and the thinness and flexibility of the fingers and toes."—*Sierra Leone*, by Robert Clarke, p. 49. Mr. Louis Fraser also says, "He will pick up the most minute object with his toes; his 'great' toe is particularly flexible."

† "It is quite certain that the ape which most nearly approaches man, in the totality of its organisation, is either the chimpanzee or the gorilla; and as it makes no practical difference, for the purposes of my present argument which is selected for comparison, on the one hand, with man, and on the other hand, with the rest of the primates, I shall select the latter (so far as its organisation is known) as a brute now so celebrated in prose and verse, that all must have heard of him, and have formed some conception of his appearance. I shall take up as many of the most important points of difference between man and this remarkable creature, as the space at my disposal will allow me to discuss, and the necessities of the argument demand; and I shall inquire into the value and magnitude of these differences, when placed side by side with those which separate the gorilla from other animals of the same order. In the general proportions of the body and limbs there is a remarkable difference between the gorilla and man, which at once strikes the eye. The gorilla's brain-case is smaller, its trunk larger, its lower limbs shorter, its upper limbs longer in proportion than those of man. I find that the vertebral column of a full-grown gorilla, in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, measures 27 inches along its anterior curvature, from the upper edge of the atlas or first vertebra of the neck to the lower extremity of the sacrum; that the arm, without the hand, is 31½ inches long; that the leg, without the foot, is 26½ inches long; that the hand is 9½ inches long; the foot 11½ inches long. In other words, taking the length of the spinal column as 100, the arm equals 115, the leg 96, the hand 36, and the foot 41. In the skeleton of a male Bosjesman, in the same collection, the proportions, by the same measurement, to the spinal column taken as 100, are—the arm 78, the leg 110, the hand 26, and the foot 32. In a woman of the same race the arm 83, and the leg 120, the hand and foot remaining the same. In a European skeleton I find the arm to be 80, the leg 117, the hand 26, the foot 35. Thus the leg is not so different as it looks at first sight, in its proportions to the spine in the gorilla and in the man, being very slightly shorter than the spine in the former, and between one-tenth and one-fifth longer than the spine in the latter. The foot is longer and the hand much longer in the gorilla; but the great difference is caused by the arms, which are very much longer than the spine in the gorilla, very much shorter than the spine in the man."—*Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature*, by T. H. Huxley, 1863, p. 70.

the European: the palm is flat, the thumb narrow, long, and very weak.

It will be seen from Dr. Pruner Bey's table that the humerus and the femur in the Negro and European, of equal height, are shorter in the Negro than in the European: while the tibia, the foot, the radius, and the hand are more elongated than in the Negro race. That the fingers and arms are longer has long been affirmed, and Negroes are quite conscious of this fact, but we have to thank Dr. Pruner Bey for the absolute proof.*

The great distinguishing characters of the Negro are the following: the forehead is flat, low, and laterally compressed. The nose and whole face is flattened, and the Negro thus has a facial angle generally between 70-75 degs., occasionally only 65 degs. The nasal cavities and the orbits are spacious.† The skull is very

* M. Pruner gives the following measures of the bones of the limbs in centimeters:

Designation of Measures.	Mean Measures.				Individual Measures.					
	Negroes.		Europeans		Negroes.		Europeans.			
	Males.	Fe- males.	Males.	Fe- males.	Man.	Wo- man.	Man.	Wo- man.	New- born Infant	Child 5 yrs. old.
Total height of Skeleton....	160.04	148.66	172.28	164.42	160.0	156.0	160.0	157.0	42.25	101.0
Femur	44.72	43.50	47.00	44.00	43.0	41.5	45.0	42.0	6.7	25.0
Tibia	38.09	35.33	38.76	37.71	39.0	38.5	36.0	36.0	6.0	22.0
Length of foot	24.50	21.83	25.00	23.37	23.5	21.5	24.0	23.0	"	"
Humerus	31.27	29.50	33.72	34.57	31.5	31.0	34.0	31.0	6.2	18.0
Radius	24.63	23.00	25.46	24.85	24.5	25.0	27.0	21.0	5.75	13.0
Length of hand.....	18.54	17.00	18.84	18.14	18.0	18.0	20.0	17.0	"	"

N.B.—“The preceding measures having been taken on skeletons, are only strictly correct as regards the isolated bones: femur, tibia, humerus, and radius. The lengths of hand and foot, and the total height of the skeleton, can only be approximative, as they are more or less modified by the mounters of the skeletons.

“By the side of the mean measures I have placed six individual measurements, viz.: a Negro and European of the same stature, and a European female and a Negress of the same height; and also a new-born European infant and a European child five years old. I wished to add a European child from thirteen to fifteen years old. It is at that age, according to M. Carus, that our children most approach the Negro by the relative dimensions of their extremities.

“The skeletons of the European females, which served for measurement, are in the gallery of the museum, having been placed at my disposal by the kindness of M. Quatrefages. Nearly all of them are those of females above the middle height.”

† *Facial cranium.*—“Before considering the anatomical details of the facial cranium, it is indispensable to note the disproportion existing between the size of the face and the cerebral cranium. This character, already indicated by Cuvier, depends chiefly on the excessive development of the jaws and the size of the cavities of the organs of sense. The orbits are large, funnel-shaped,

hard and unusually thick, enabling the Negroes to fight with or carry heavy weights on their heads. The coronal region

with obtuse angles; their inferior margin is thick, round, more advancing than the superior margin; the inferior is flattened; the depression lodging the lachrymal gland is very deep. The lachrymal canal is large, and almost exclusively formed by the nasal apophysis of the maxillary. The bones of the nose are short, narrow but quadrangular, very rarely triangular, and exceptionally soldered together, always joined at obtuse angles; they are sometimes on the same plane. The nasal aperture is large, of an irregular triangular form, wide, without a spine, or only the rudiment of one. The root of the depressed nose is only exceptionally in a right line with the forehead; the width of the root of the nose increases the distance between the eyes a little more in the Aryan, but less than in the Turanian race. Sometimes the nose of the Negro resembles, by its round aperture, that of the Hottentot. The cornets, especially the middle, are swelled out; the vertical lamina of the ethmoid is spread out, and the vomer stands out.

"The malar bones are neither large nor high, but are either embossed in the centre of their external surface, or distorted outwards by their inferior border. The superior jaw presents frequently in its malar apophysis a vertical pit; then the cheekbones form an angle, and their prominence appears great. When, on the contrary, the apophysis is flattened, and the inferior border of the malar is much advanced, this character, joined with the narrowness of the forehead, gives to the face a form approaching the pyramidal shape. The prominence of the external orbital apophyses of the coronal, the projection of the malar bones, and the antero-posterior direction of their frontal apophyses produce a malar angle less open than in the Aryan race; whilst, on the contrary, the lateral compression of the anterior lobe of the brain is marked by rather a right angle formed by the external wall of the orbit with the temple. The ascending apophyses of the maxillary have their internal border more or less curved according to the shape of the nose.

"Prognathism, that is to say, the inclination of the alveolar border of the superior jaw downwards and forwards from behind constitutes one of the most constant characters in the skeleton of the Negro. Three degrees are distinguished:—

"(1.) The alveolar arch, elliptic instead of parabolic, generally convex throughout, rarely concave at its external part, is alone inclined, and the teeth are vertical.

"(2.) The direction of the teeth is that of the jaw. In these two cases the superior incisors pass a little beyond the superior dental arch.

"(3.) The highest degree, which may be called double prognathism, presents itself when the inferior incisors are, like the superior, projected obliquely; then the junction of the two rows of incisors form the angle of a chisel. This latter form is not the most frequent. But in double prognathism, cases have been observed where, by a slight shortening of the horizontal rami of the inferior maxillary, the superior incisors presented upon their posterior surface triangular facettes produced by the points of the inferior incisors.

"The molar teeth of the superior jaw descend sometimes lower than the incisors, or are at least at a level with them, but rarely do the molars in the Negro participate in prognathism, as is the case with some Australians, or Oceanic Negroes. Never is, to my knowledge, the prognathism of the Negro confined to a simple inclination of the alveoli. I have only remarked this disposition in some female crania of the Aryan race of India.

"The palatine arch, and especially the alveolar apophyses are not merely much elongated, but more enlarged in the Negro than among the Aryans. This arch is, on the average, about sixty-five millimeters in length in the Negro, and only fifty-eight in the Aryan.

"The inferior jaw, always more or less massive, is distinguished by a chin, retracted, generally large and rounded, rarely pointed, and by the thickness

is arched, but not so much developed as in the European woman. The posterior portion of the skull is increased, in proportion to that of the anterior part being diminished. But M. Gratiolet has shown that the unequal development of the anterior lobes is not the sole cause of the psychological inequalities of human races. The same scientific observer has also stated that in the superior, or frontal races, the cranial sutures close much later than in the inferior or occipital races. The frontal races he considers superior not simply from the form of the skull, but because they have an absolutely more voluminous brain. The frontal cavity being much larger than the occipital, a great loss of space is caused by the depression of the anterior region, which is not compensated for by the increase of the occipital region. M. Gratiolet has also observed that in the frontal races the sutures of the cranium do not close so early as in the occipital or inferior race. From these researches it appears that in the Negro the growth of the brain is sooner arrested than in the European. This premature union of the bones of the skull may give a clue to much of the mental inferiority which is seen in the Negro race. There can be no

and length of its external rami. Its ascending rami are large, short, and their junction with the horizontal are rarely at right angles. The coronoid apophyses are always large, with an elliptic surface, flattened or oblique on its external half. The glenoid cavities are large and mostly of little depth. The teeth of the Negro are long, large, strikingly white, and not easily used up. The inferior molars sometimes present five tubercles, an anomaly which is sporadically found in all races of mankind. The jaw of the Negro never presented to me any trace of an intermaxillary bone (I owe to M. E. Rousseau's kindness the firm conviction of the non-existence of the intermaxillary bone in man in the normal state. His treatise places this important fact, now for ever acquired by anatomical science, beyond any doubt), though the incisive suture may be perfectly distinguished in the adult Negro at a period when the cranial sutures are mostly obliterated.

"The consistence of the cranial bones of the Negro is always considerable; but their thickness varies much, chiefly according to the volume of the cranium. Placed by the side of the Oceanian Negro, for instance, the cranium of the African would in this, as well as other respects, produce the impression of belonging to a civilised man, opposed to that of a savage, if this term be applicable to a man who, more or less, lives in a state of nature.

"Before quitting the examination of the cranium, I cannot pass over the facial angle of the Negro. It naturally varies, as in the other races, according to the greater or lesser inclination of the face, according to the development of the frontal sinuses; and, as regards the conformation of the face, it sinks, though rarely to 70°. But, on the other hand, the frontal angle of the Negro reaches to 80°. We, however, attach but a relative value to these two angles, for though the median line of the forehead is rather vertical in the Negro, the cranium is faulty, as regards the forehead, by an evident lateral contraction." (Pruner-Bey).

doubt that at puberty a great change takes place in relation to psychical development; and in the Negro there appears to be an arrested development of the mind exactly harmonising with the physical formation. Young Negro children are nearly as intelligent as European children; but the older they grow the less intelligent they become. They exhibit, when young, an animal liveliness for play and tricks far surpassing the European child. The young ape's skull resembles more the Negro's head than the aged ape: thus showing a striking analogy in their craniological development.

It has been pointed out that there were four forms of the human pelvis, and that they might be classified under the following heads:—The oval (European), round (American), square (Mongol), and oblong (African). The latest researches of Dr. Pruner Bey enable him to affirm that this law is perfectly applicable to the Negro. The head of the Negro is the best type of the long skull, with small development of the frontal region. The form of the pelvis is narrow, conical, or cuneiform, and small in all its diameters. Vrolik has asserted that the pelvis of the male Negro bears a great resemblance to that of the lower mammalia. With respect to the capacity of the cranium of the Negro, great difference of opinion has prevailed.* Tiede-

* Dr. Pruner-Bey gives the following interesting summary of the Osteological peculiarities of the Negro race:—

Of the Cranium.—“Cerebral cranium.—The antero-posterior diameter of the cerebral cranium approaches 19 centimeters; the transversal diameter is about 13.6; the face measures, from the chin to the hair, 18 centimeters; and the distance of the zygomatic arches is 13 centimeters. I class the cranium of the Negro in the category of harmonic dolichocephali.

Cerebral Vertebra.—“The coronal bone is rather short and narrow than receding backwards, frequently distinguished by slender superciliary arches, rarely by frontal bumps, but usually by a protuberance on the median line, which corresponds with the third primordial convolution of the brain. A slight compression is clearly marked on the two sides of the protuberance. The nasal apophysis is always more or less large, according to the conformation of the nose. The orbital apophyses, large at the base, are more curved downwards than outwards. The temporal portion of the coronal presents frequently on the top a slight dilatation, at the bottom on the contrary it is compressed. The contours vary, according to the general form of the cranium, when this is very much elongated and compressed on the sides, the coronal is more elliptic, and more parabolic when the contrary is the case. The frontal sinuses exist; they are but moderately developed as all the aerial reservoirs. The summit of the cranium presents along the sagittal suture an ogival or flattened, rarely vaulted, conformation. The great extent of the second cranial vertebra, and its predominance over the first and third, is clearly defined, specially at the posterior part where the parietals slope gently down towards the occiput, whilst their descent towards the temples is always very

mann's researches, although very limited, have until recently been accepted as satisfactory. He stated it as his opinion that "The brain of the Negro is, upon the whole, quite as large as that of the European and other human races; the weight of the brain, its dimensions, and the capacity of the *cavum cranii* prove

abrupt. In cases where the cranium of the male negro approaches the female type, the posterior descent of the parietals approaches a vertical line, and the horizontal section represents a wedge, instead of an ellipsis, which predominates in the typical form of the Negro cranium.

"When the cranium is viewed in profile, the temples appear deeply hollowed in front, flattened or elongated backwards. The anterior margins of the temporals are frequently joined to the coronal, on account of the shortening of the great ala of the sphenoid. The parietal knobs are lower and less marked in the male than in the female, and the superior semicircular lines, though well marked, reach rarely the arch of the cranium. The squamous part of the temporal is relatively low and long; its margins are irregular. The zygomatic arches are convex, rarely flattened; the meatus auditorius presents a large and usually round orifice. The greatest width of the cranium is thus as frequently found at the posterior and superior angle of the squamous temporal as at the level of the parietal protuberances. Taken from this point, the cranium diminishes in breadth towards the occiput, especially when the latter projects, which is seen in most cases. There is a rather striking parallelism between the coronal and the superior part of the occipital squama; the latter being relatively small, curved, narrow, like the frontal squama and in the elliptic crania it is arched in the centre. In this case its margins intercept an obtuse angle; in the contrary case they are parabolic. The Wormian bones may be met with in the crania of Negroes, and even form a complete series along the lambdoid suture; but these cases are rare.

"The base of the cranium is always relatively narrow; that part of the occipital squama where the muscles are attached, presents sometimes a horizontal, but more frequently a slightly inclined, long, and narrow plane. In the first form the superior part of the squama rises more to a right angle towards the lambdoid suture than in the second form. The surface of the squama, marked by the imprint of the muscles, represents a truncated pyramid the base of which touches the anterior border of the great occipital foramen. This aperture, always of a more or less elongated shape, is slightly inclined from before backwards, so that its posterior border at least is above the level of the palatine arch. Its position in relation to the centre of gravity is in accord with dolichocephaly. (The distance from the occipital hole to the base of the nose and the alveolar margins of the incisors, is naturally more considerable in the Negro than in the orthognathous races; but the distance of this hole to the base of the forehead, presented only slight differences. In the brachycephalous races, on the contrary, especially in those with flattened occiput, the occipital foramen is farther back. It is, moreover, difficult to find crania in which this aperture corresponds exactly to the centre of the cranium, as asserted by some anatomists.) The condyles of the occiput are elongated, narrow, much inclined. The petrous portion of the temporal voluminous. The basilar bone is long, narrow, slightly inclined from before backwards. The development of the mastoid apophyses corresponds with the greater or lesser massiveness of the cranium; the styloid apophyses are frequently much elongated; the pterygoid apophyses are large, distant, and more or less inclined. The union of the palate with the maxillary is usually formed by an indented or undulated, instead of by a plain suture. The palate is elongated, elliptic rather than parabolic, superficial, or deep. It is only in exceptional cases that its width exceeds its length. All the apertures at the base of the cranium are very spacious. We are at the same time struck by the elliptic contours of this base and its general flatness, which renders the elevation of the borders of the occipital foramen more perceptible."

this fact.* All recent researches have, however, done much to show that Tiedemann's investigations are not only unsatisfactory, but that his conclusion is not warranted by the facts which we now have at hand. Blumenbach's, Knox's and Lawrence's conclusions did not accord with Tiedemann's. But the most satisfactory researches on this point are those made by the late Dr. Morton, of America, and his successor, Dr. J. A. Meigs, of Philadelphia. Dr. Meigs, in following out the researches of his predecessor, has found that in size of the brain, the Negro comes after the European, Fin, Syro-Egyptian, Mongol, Malay, Semitic, American Indian, and the Esquimaux; but that the brain of the Negro-race takes precedence of the ancient civilised races of America, the Egyptian of all periods, the Hindoo, the Hottentot, the Australian, and the Negroes of Polynesia. Thus we see that the Negro has at least six well-defined races above him and six below him, taking the internal cavity of the skull as a test. Pruner Bey says that his own experience with the external measurements did not yield essentially different results. But we now know that it is necessary to be most cautious in accepting the capacity of the cranium simply as any absolute test of the intellectual power of any race.

The recent researches of Huschke on this point are most significant and valuable. He gives the following mean measurements of the surface of the cranium, viz. :—

Male Negro.	53206 square millimètres.	Male European.	59305 square millimètres.
Female.	49868 " "	Women.	53375 " "

Relative size of three cranial vertebræ expressed in hundredths (1).

	Negro.	Negress.	Male European.	Female European.
1st Vertebra - - -	7·7	8·1	9·7	9·68
2nd and 3rd together -	92·3	91·9	90·3	90·32
	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·00
2nd Vertebra alone	75·7	76·4	72·7	74·1
3rd Vertebra - - -	24·3	23·6	27·3	25·9
	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

"It is surprising," says Pruner Bey, who quotes these tables,

* *Philosophical Transactions*, 1836.

“ to observe to what a degree the mean capacity of the Negro cranium* approaches in its *ensemble* that of the European female, and particularly how much in both the middle vertebra predominates above the two others; whilst on the contrary, in the European male, the posterior vertebra, and particularly the anterior, are more developed in relation to the middle vertebra than they are in the Negro and in the European female. It

* Pruner Bey quotes the following Table respecting the cerebral cranium of the Negro.*

DESIGNATION OF MEASURES.	Mean Measures in Millimeters.			
	Mean of 24 Negros.	Mean of 12 Negresses.		
1°. DIAMETER (BY COMPASS).				
Antero-posterior	186.4	176.4		
Vertical	124.8	111.6		
Transverse Diameters {	Inferior frontal	100.0	95.8	
	Superior frontal	113.4	108.7	
	Bi-temporal	125.0	119.2	
	Bi-auricular	112.7	108.0	
	Bi-parietal	134.2	130.0	
	Bi-mastoidian	117.7	111.6	
2°. CURVES (BY METRICAL TAPE).				
Horizontal circumference	511.7	492.5		
Transversal bi-auricular curve	305.2	295.5		
Vertical antero-posterior circumference	504.0	489.8		
Decomposed in : {	Frontal part	105.0	108.3	
	1°. Middle part {	Parietal part	136.5	128.3
	Occipital part	114.4	109.9	
2°. Inferior part {	Length from the occipital foramen	35.9	34.0	
	Distance from the ante- rior margin of the fora- men to the frontal emi- nence	112.2	104.8	
3°. OTHER MEASURES.				
Distance in a straight line from the meatus } to Nasal eminence .	113.1	107.1		
			to occipital protube- auditorius } rance	
Dimensions of the occipital foramen { length	110.9	107.0		
	35.9	34.0		
	breadth	28.0		
	80.3			
4°. MILLESIMAL RATIO.				
Circumferences {	horizontal circumference .	1000	1000	
	vertical	985	984	
Diameters {	length (antero-posterior diameter)	1000	1000	
	breadth (parietal diameter)	720	737	
	height (vertical diameter)	669	585	

* See *Memoires de la Société d'Anthropologie*, 1861.

should be remarked that the occipital vertebra of the Negress is more spacious than that of the Negro."

Tiedemann affirmed that the brain of the Negro did not resemble that of the Oran-útan more than that of the European, except in the more symmetrical distribution of the gyri and sulci. Tiedemann also denied Sömmering's assertion that the nerves of the Negro are larger, in proportion to the brain, than in the European; but Pruner Bey has confirmed Sömmering's opinion.

There seems to be, generally, less difference between the Negro and the Negress,* than between the European male and female: but on the other hand, the Negress, with the shortened humerus, presents a disadvantage "which one might be tempted to look at as a return to the animal form" (Pruner). Lawrence says,† "the Negro structure approaches unequivocally

* *The Negress*.—"Before reviewing the chief varieties which the Negro type offers to travellers, it is necessary to cast a glance at the Negress.

"She possesses a cranium shorter, rounder, and wider in the posterior part of the middle vertebra; the parietal protuberances are more prominent, the apertures of the orbits frequently nearly circular, characters which approach her a little to the European female. As regards stature and the length of the hair, as well as in the proportions of the parts composing the inferior limb, the Negress resembles her husband more than the European female resembles her husband. As regards the latter point, it is not rare to find also in Europe, females of high stature and a muscular aspect. The features of the face do not, in the two sexes of the Sudan, present the same differences as in the Aryan race. The mammae are less rounded, but already more conical in early age. Their relaxing is rapid and excessive. This peculiarity is, however, though in a less degree, found in Oriental females in other places, and of different origin. The pelvis presents, as regards width, some advantage over that of the male; the iliac bones are inclined towards the horizon, thinning towards the centre, without, however, being transparent; the haunches are rounder, steatopygy (fatty lumps on the buttocks) is only exceptionally met with. The neck of the matrix is large and elongated; the aperture of the vagina has a forward direction, despite of the inclination of the pelvis." (Pruner Bey.)

† Mr. Lawrence thus summarises the chief physical characters of the Negro "The characters of the Ethiopian variety, as observed in the genuine Negro tribes, may be thus summed up:—1. Narrow and depressed forehead; the entire cranium contracted anteriorly; the cavity less, both in its circumference and transverse measurements. 2. Occipital foramen and condyles placed farther back. 3. Large space for the temporal muscles. 4. Great development of the face. 5. Prominence of the jaws altogether, and particularly of their alveolar margins and teeth; consequent obliquity of the facial line. 6. Superior incisors slanting. 7. Chin receding. 8. Very large and strong zygomatic arch projecting towards the front. 9. Large nasal cavity. 10. Small and flattened ossa nasi, sometimes consolidated, and running into a point above."—*Lectures on Physiology, Zoology, and the Natural History of Man*, 1819, p. 363.

to that of the ape ;” while Bory St. Vincent,* and Fischer† do not greatly differ in their description of the anatomy of the Negro from the facts I have adduced.

There is no doubt that the Negro brain‡ bears a great resemblance to a European female or child's brain, and thus

* Bory de St. Vincent (*L'homme*, Paris, 1827) says:—“Large; the skin black and entirely glossy, with the rete mucosum of Malpighi thicker and also black; hair black, woolly, felted together; the anterior part of the skull very narrow; flattened on the vertex, and rounded behind; eyes large, subrotund, prominent, always damp, cornea yellowish, iris tinted of a chestnut black, eyebrows very short; nose flat (nasal bones flattened); zygomatic arches protuberant; ears of moderate size and prominent; lips thick and brown; inside of the ears bright red; jaws, especially the lower one, projecting; incisor teeth procumbent; chin short, round, receding; beard rare; breasts pear-shaped, loose during milking; thighs and shanks partially curved.”

† Fischer (*Synopsis Mammalium*, 1829-30), says:—“The brain is less, and the origins of the nerves thicker than in the American races, an opposite condition prevailing in the Japetic races; skull-cap one-ninth less ample than in the European, sutures more narrow; all the bones whiter; intermaxillary bone inclining above the chin; pelvic bones broad; muscles, blood, and bile of deep colour; fetid sweat; filthy; voice sharp and shrieking; nervous-phlegmatic temperament.”

‡ Pruner-Bey makes the following observations respecting the brain: “Sommering had already observed that the peripheral nerves are larger, relative to the volume of the brain, in the Negro than in the white man. This fact is demonstrated in all its details by the beautiful preparation from the skilful hand of M. Jacquart, exhibited in the gallery of the Museum of Natural History.

“The brain, narrow and elongated, presents on its surface always a brownish tint on account of a considerable injection of venous blood. The superficial veins are very large, and resemble by their stiffness the sinus of the dura mater. The grey matter shows in the interior a clear brown colour; the white substance is yellowish. I am inclined to attribute this colour rather to the blood than to a special pigment. Melanotic patches may be met with in the meninges as elsewhere. Sommering has observed blackish spots on the spinal marrow. The cortical layer of the grey substance of the cerebral hemispheres is of less thickness than in the European. Regarded in front the brain presents a rounded point; from the top the parts appear grosser and less varied than in the European. The convolutions, especially the anterior and the lateral, are flat and of little depth, excepting the primary convolution, the curvature of which produces the frontal eminence. In following the undulations from the front backwards, we remark less lateral deviations in the convolutions, which render the Aryan brain a real labyrinth. In the middle lobe the convolutions seem considerably raised, but they are coarse. The posterior lobe has always appeared to me flattened on the top, as the anterior at the base. Viewed in profile, it is chiefly the direction of the fissure of Sylvius and its interior which has occupied the attention of anatomists. (Huschke cites with reserve the observations of Van der Kolk, who places in parallel some peculiarities of this region of the Negro brain with the disposition existing in apes. This part of cerebral anatomy has as yet been little cultivated, and before arriving at conclusions we should wait until the modifications which the human brain undergoes in all the periods of its development are better known than they are at present; hence I confine myself simply to draw attention to Van der Kolk's remarks. In order to establish race characters upon such data, we should not forget what Rousseau says of the brain of Cuvier: “Multiplied convolutions were in the centre, sur-

approaches the ape far more than the European,* while the Negress approaches the ape still nearer.

With regard to the chemical constituents of the brain of the Negro, little that is positive is yet known. It has been found, however, that the grey substance of the brain of a Negro is of a

mounted by a mammilated exuberance, which formed an integral part of these convolutions." Are we on that account disposed to assume that this great man belonged to another race?) With regard to the former, I have never been able to observe any appreciable difference between the brain of the Negro and that of the Egyptian, which I have placed side by side in order better to study the relation of the parts externally. The superior part of the brain above the corpus callosum is relatively little elevated. The cerebellum has a less angular form than in the European; the vermis and the pineal gland are very large. Finally, the consistence of the cerebral mass is unquestionably greater in the Negro than in the white man.

"The inspection of the Negro brain shows that the convolutions of the centre are clearly marked as in the Aryan foetus of seven months (Reichert), and that the secondary details are less distinct. By its rounded apex, its less developed posterior lobe, it resembles the brain of our children; by the prominence of the parietal lobe it resembles that of our females, only that the latter is broader in the European female. The form of the cerebellum, the volume of the vermis and the pineal gland also place the Negro by the side of the Aryan child.

"Having indicated the general characters relating to the external form of the great nervous centre, I must say a word with respect to its weight and the relative proportions between cerebrum and cerebellum. The number of observations on this point is very restricted, nevertheless we obtain some important points. First, the extremes present a scarcely credible difference, were it not confirmed by the great diversity in the measurement of the horizontal circumference of the cranium. Mascagni gives 738 grammes as the weight of one brain and 1587 grammes as the weight of another. The results obtained by Sœmmering and Cooper seem to approach the average weight: 1354.5 and 1458 grammes. The mean for the weight of the cerebellum compared to that of the cerebrum would be : : 13,83 : 85,93. Measurement shows that the cerebellum of the Negro, in accord with the general form, excels by 3,13 in length that of the European, which is, however, broader. Weight and measurement establish that the two sexes present less differences in both respects in the Negro race than in the Aryan race."—*Pruner Boy*.

* "The situation of the foramen magnum of the occipital bone is still a matter of dispute. Dr. Prichard thought it to be 'the same in the Negro as in the European;' and so it may be, if no allowance be made for the face. The situation of the foramen magnum of the occipital bone is not the same in the Negro as in the European. Dr. Prichard says it is exactly behind the transverse lines, bisecting the antero-posterior diameter of the base of the cranium. Supposing this measurement to be correct, which it is not, it has nothing to do with the *pose* or position of the head upon the vertebral column, which, all must know, depends on the position of the condyles of the occipital bone. A line bisecting the antero-posterior diameter of the skull, and dividing into two equal parts, passes in the European head through the centre of the condyles of the occipital bone; and the same measurement applies nearly to the antero-posterior diameter of the entire head. Not so in the coloured races. In speaking of the base of the cranium, I am not quite sure to which Prichard and his followers allude; for very generally in anatomical works the base of the skull, including the upper jaw, is confounded with the true base of the skull." Robert Knox. *Anthropological Review*, vol. i., p. 266.

darker colour than that of the European, that the whole brain has a smoky tint, and that the *pia mater* contains brown spots, which are never found in the brain of a European. M. Broca has recently had an opportunity of confirming the truth of this statement.* With regard to the convolutions, there is unanimous testimony that the convolutions of the brain of the Negro are less numerous and more massive than in the European. Waitz thinks that the only resemblance of the Negro's brain to that of the ape is limited to this point.† Some observers have thought they have detected a great resemblance between

* The following observations by M. Paul Broca on the brain of the Negro is extracted from *Bulletins de la Soc. d'Anthropologie*, 1860. Before reading a manuscript addressed to the Society by Professor Gubler, of the Faculty of Medicine, M. Broca stated the circumstances which induced Professor Gubler to present it. A negro died in the Hospital de la Pitié. The body was brought to the amphitheatre of Clamart, when M. Broca asked of the prosector of the hospital to examine the brain of that body. Owing to the great heat of the month of August, the body was already in an incipient state of decomposition, and the brain was too soft to study the convolutions. M. Broca had, therefore, to confine himself to examining the colour of the substance. In order to render the examination more easy, M. Broca opened at the same time the cranium of a white subject, which was brought in the same day. The *pia mater* of the Negro presented in certain spots a brown tint; nothing of the kind existed in the white subject. The white substance of the Negro brain had a smoky tint, but it was especially in the grey substance that the brown tint was marked. The two brains were placed in two separate vases containing the same quantity of alcohol. After three days they were sufficiently firm to be examined. The difference of coloration was then as decided as on the first day. In order approximately to determine the relative weight of the two brains, they were, after the removal of the membranes, dried upon some linen during a few minutes, and placed in the scale. The brain of the white subject weighed 1003 grammes, that of the black weighed only 925.5 grammes, being a difference of 8.3 per 100. This individual fact would be insignificant if it did not accord with the known data. Thus it is well known that the measurements of the capacity of the cranium made by Meigs, according to Morton's method, gave an average of 93½ cubic inches for European and Anglo-American crania, and only 82½ for Negro crania, being a difference of 11½ cubic inches; that is to say, that the cranial capacity of the Negro being represented by 100, that of the European is represented by 111. M. Broca had preserved in alcohol the least altered portion of the Negro brain, and presented it to the Anthropological Society; but fearing that the long contact with the alcohol might modify its coloration (which, however, it did not), he showed it when fresh to the Biological Society. Already, some ten years ago, M. Bayer made to the same Society an analogous present; and it is known that since Meckel in 1753 published a paper on this subject in the *Memoirs of the Prussian Academy of Science*, many authors have stated that the brain of the Negro is notably of a darker colour than that of the white man."

† See Introduction to *Anthropology*, by Dr. Theodor Waitz. Edited from the first volume of *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, by J. Frederick Collingwood, Esq., F.G.S., F.R.S.L., F.A.S.L., Honorary Secretary of the Anthropological Society of London, p. 93.

the development of the temporal lobe in the Negro and ape ; but much further observation is required on this important subject.

The eyes are more separated than in the European, but not so much so as in the Mongol. The aperture of the eye is narrow, horizontal, and both eyes are wide apart. All the teeth, especially the last molars, are generally large, long, hard, and very white, and usually show little signs of being worn. In some Negro-skulls there has been found an extra molar in the upper jaw. There is also sometimes a space between the incisors and canine teeth of the upper jaw. The inferior molars sometimes present in the Negro race five tubercles, and this anomaly is sporadically found in other races.* It has been noticed in the European and the Esquimaux, but is affirmed by my friend Mr. Carter Blake to be more frequent in the Negro and Australian than in any other race. Sometimes Negroes

* "An examination of the teeth in a considerable number of African Negro crania has enabled us to draw the following conclusions:—In the African Negro the teeth are usually of large, but not excessive, size ; they are regular, commonly sound, although caries is occasionally observed, and they seldom present that extreme amount of wearing down of the cutting and grinding surfaces which may be found so commonly in the Australian and Polynesian. The incisors are large, broad, and thick, but not of greater absolute dimensions than in numerous individuals amongst the white varieties. The teeth do not depart from the human type in their relative proportions ; for wherever the incisors and canines are of considerable size, the true molars are likewise large, and maintain that superiority which is a distinguishing feature of the teeth of Man. The lateral incisors are well formed, and in the perfect entirety of their outer angles they adhere more invariably to the human type than do the same teeth in some more civilised races. The canines are not proportionally longer or more pointed than in the white man. The premolars agree in configuration and relative size with the typical standard. The true molars are usually of large size, generally larger than in the European ; the *dentes sapientie*, although smaller than the other molars, are in the majority of instances of greater relative and actual dimensions, and the fangs of the last-named teeth are usually distinct in both jaws. But in the character of their grinding surfaces and their general contour, the molars of the African Negro present no departure from the typical configuration, and, as in other races, there are many instances in which a general description will not entirely apply. . . . We would observe that, according to our limited experience, the general characteristics of the African Negro dentition are best exemplified (albeit liable to exception) in the Negroes of the Western Coast. The teeth in the crania we have seen from Eastern Central Africa, and from the Mozambique, appeared to us to present less markedly the minor differences above noted. The prognathic development of the jaws also, and the consequent obliquity of implantation of the incisor teeth, though common in a varying degree to all African nations, not excluding the Egyptians, attains its greatest development in crania from the Western Coast."—F. C. Webb. *Teeth in Man and Anthropoid Apes*, p. 41.

have thirty-four instead of thirty-two teeth. The skin between the fingers, according to Van der Hoeven, reaches higher up than in the European. The skin is also much thicker, especially on the skull, the palm of the hand, and the sole of the foot. The *rete mucosum*, which is the chief seat of coloration, presents nothing particular as regards structure.* The hair of

* M. Pruner thus speaks of the skin:—"Having now indicated the more prominent characters of the skeleton, I pass to the examination of the Negro with his integuments.

"The skin, supple and cool to the touch, presents a velvety aspect (besides the shades of colour already mentioned). Upon the abdomen such prominences form zigzags and broken fine lines; on the forearm they are seen in the form of small lozenges, and even in the extremities the skin is not altogether smooth. This aspect is partly the consequence of the great development of the glandular apparatus, indicating a great turgescence of the tissues. Thus the skin of the penis does not merely present simple folds, but mammilated eminences. The dermis is thicker than in the other races, specially on the cranium, the palm, and the sole. The epidermis of an ash-grey colour is very resisting. The *rete mucosum*, which is the chief seat of the coloration, presents nothing particular as regards its structure. Its contents, viz., the pigment, is deposited in a shapeless mass, or in granules, chiefly around and in the interior of the nuclei of polyhedric cells, which are disposed in numerous irregular layers. The pigment presents shades of colour according to the position of the cells. The deeper and more coloured cells are of a blackish brown, whilst those approaching more the dermis of a more or less dilute yellow resemble the serosity of the blood (Koelliker). The coloured web may be considered as the complement of the epidermis, to which it adheres more closely than to the dermis, so that it is detached in blistering, though some patches usually remain on the dermis. The colour of the cicatrices in Negroes differs according to the colour of the individual, and the time elapsed since the cicatrisation. I have observed nothing noteworthy in this respect. It is known that the lines in tattooing present a deeper colour than the skin from the materials rubbed in.

"The Negro loses a portion of the pigment on being transported to the north. It is always upon the prominent parts, such as the nose, the ears, &c., that a slight diminution is observed in dark subjects. I have, however, never observed this change in individuals with a velvety black skin which has sometimes a blueish shade. But in chronic diseases the diminution of the pigment is very perceptible; thus the Negro grows, in a certain manner, pale like the European. It is a general rule that the deeper coloured a Negro is, compared to other individuals of his tribe, the better is his health. With regard to the relation between the degree of coloration and the intellect, the accounts of travellers do not agree. Thus, Dr. Barth asserts that in the centre of the Sudan, the most glossy jet black skin belongs to the most intelligent tribes. The example of the Yaloffs seems to confirm this as regards the West. Mr. Speke, on the contrary, states with regard to the Eastern populations between Mozambique and Lake Nyassa, that the tribes of a lighter colour, though Negroes in all other respects, by far excel in activity, bravery, and intelligence their jet black brothers. Very probably both versions are correct; for we see in India, as well as Arabia, the two extremes of colour combined with the same intellectual capacities in peoples evidently congeners.

"The intensity of the colour does not depend on the geographical latitude in the tropical zone of Africa. The extremes of the chromatic scale are in juxtaposition in the principal spots, on the Senegal as well as on the

the Negro is essentially different from that of the European, and consists of coarse, crisp, frizzly sort of wool, growing

Gaboon, north of the Niger and south of Lake Tsad, towards the Bay of Biafra as in Mozambique, where M. Froberville counted thirty-one different shades of colour. Continued displacements have so much intermixed the tribes, and amalgamated entire nations, that it would be vain to determine, even by approximation, the primitive country of the true Negroes, and to derive therefrom any theory regarding the influence of geographical latitude on coloration. It is equally impossible to establish the degrees of intermixture which the representatives of the chromatic map have undergone. But, taking the deep brown or black Negro as the starting-point, can we attribute his colour to the soil, the air, the position of the sun, the great fluctuations between the diurnal and nocturnal temperature, an aliment rich in carbon such as the butter-tree, fermented liquors, &c., on one side, and the physiological reaction of the organism on the other? Must we, as regards the latter point, take in account the important part which the skin and the liver take in the respiratory functions according as we proceed from north to south? Must we admit that, in this respect, extremes meet, so that in turning to the high north, we find the coloration increase as we approach the pole? Science is as yet not in possession of the necessary facts to solve this question; experimental physiology must encounter it. As regards the etiology of the colour of the Negro, we must recur to the laws of heredity."

The same author makes the following remarks respecting the distribution of the pigment on the mucous membranes, the subcutaneous tissue, and the viscera:—"The pigment is in the form of black patches, found not merely upon the tongue, the velum, the conjunctivæ, and the external angles of the eye, but also upon the mucous membrane of the intestinal canal, etc.

"The cellular tissue is very abundant, especially on the erectile organs. The mamms, penis, lips, ears, and nostrils. The colour of the conjunctivæ, always more or less injected, is more or less yellowish; the fat is always of a wax colour. An analogous coloration is observed in all the cellular and fibrous membranes and even in the periosteum. The development of the muscles, excepting the masseters, the external muscles of the ear, the larynx, and sometimes of the temporals, are not in proportion to the weight of the bones; their colour is never of the bright red of the European, but rather of a yellowish tint, sometimes approaching the brown. M. Eschricht has found the muscles of the larynx very strong, the crico-thyroidæ are especially large; he has moreover found that a portion of the fibres of these last muscles ascend to the internal surface of the thyroid cartilage. Should that be a trace of the internal crico-thyroid muscles of the hylobate apes? The visible mucous membranes of the mouth, the nostrils, etc., are of a cherry colour, excepting the lips which are bluish.

"As upon the skin, so is the glandular system much developed in the internal integument; the intestinal canal always presents a broken aspect, especially in the stomach and the colon. The intestinal mucus is very thick, viscid, and fatty in appearance. All the abdominal glands are of large size, especially the liver and the supra renal capsules; a venous hyperæmia seems the ordinary condition of these organs. The position of the bladder is higher than in the European. I find the seminal vesicles very large, always gorged with a turbid liquid of a slightly greyish colour, even in cases where the autopsy took place shortly after death. The penis is always of unusually large size, and I found in all bodies a small conical gland on each side at the base of the frænum.

"The vascular apparatus is very strong; but the nervous system visibly predominates over the arterial. The small arteries present everywhere numerous flexuosities.

"The heart is powerfully organised and the right cavities are always very spacious. I have never observed here the least anomaly. The blood of the

in tufts like the wool of sheep. It is rarely more than three inches long, and generally not nearly so much.* The larynx in the Negro is not much developed, and the voice resembles sometimes the alto of an eunuch. In the male the voice is low and hoarse, and in the female it is acute and shrieking; at least, this is the opinion that has generally been given by Hamilton Smith and others: but there appear to be exceptions, for Dr. R. Clarke† says that "a pleasing manner, soft and winning ways, with a low and musical laugh, may in strict truth be declared to be the heritage of most of the Negro women." There is a peculiarity in the Negro's voice by which he can always be distinguished. This peculiarity is so great that we

Negro (apart from anæmia and the dropsy) is always very thick, viscid, and pitchy; it rarely is projected in a jet in bleeding; it strongly adheres to the vessel, and always presents a serosity of a more or less dark yellow colour. The lungs relatively much less voluminous than the viscera of the abdomen, are usually melanose and pushed in by the stomach, the spleen, and the liver; it might be said that the latter organ usurps their place."

* "The hair of the adult Negro is very fine, hard and elastic; generally black, exceptionally of a fiery red, resembling wool, in describing several circles from 6 to 8 millimeters. Its length in the male is usually from 9-12 centimeters. In the Negress of East Africa it rarely descends below the shoulders. These women wear the hair in small tresses, carefully greased. In the male the hair frequently has the appearance of a regular wig. Its insertion seems to follow another law in the Negro than in the white man. In the latter it presents irregular lines which converge and diverge in crossing, whilst in the former it is always circular. From this disposition frequently result separate tufts as in the Hottentot, and this peculiarity is very common among the Negresses of which I have spoken.

"The hair of the Negro is not cylindrical. Transversal sections show that its circumference is always an ellipsis, the large diameter exceeds the small diameter by 1-3rd to 3-5th. What is, moreover, remarkable, is that the large diameter, examined in different sections, does not remain parallel to itself; it turns as it were around the axis of the hair, so that the summits of these small ellipses, instead of being disposed in a straight line, describe around the hair two spiral curves (Koelliker). It is to this disposition that the crisp state of the hair of the Negro is due. With regard to the elementary microscopic structure, the hair of the Negro differs from that of other races only by its medullary portion. The central medullary and seriferous canal which is clearly seen in hair with elliptical circumference, and of which some traces are found in the cylindrical hair of Turanians, is absent in the Negro, even in those of his race which have red hair.

"In the Aryan race, the hair of the same individual presents different shades in different parts of the body, but it is certain that the hair of the Negro is finer, elliptical and crisp, and that I have never found in it any trace of a medullary canal. The Negro race has, moreover, no down upon the body; and but few hairs on the pubes and armpits. The beard comes late in the male; it is silky or slightly crisp on the upper lip, more or less frizzled on the cheeks and the chin. The eyelashes curved; the eyebrows but little furnished are generally but little arched. The contrary is, according to Dr. Barth, observed in the Mousgous."—PRUNER-BEY.

† *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, vol. ii of New Series.

can frequently discover traces of Negro blood when the eye is unable to detect it. No amount of education or time is likely ever to enable the Negro to speak the English language without this twang. Even his great faculty of imitation will not enable him to do this.

Having thus briefly recapitulated the anatomical peculiarities of the Negro, we now come to the physiological* difference between the Negro and European.

* Mr. Pruner Bey gives the following:—*Physiological Fragments*.—"The penetrating odour which the Negro exhales, has something ammoniacal and rancid; it is like the odour of the he-goat. It does not depend on the aqueous perspiration, for it is not increased by it. It is probably a volatile oil disengaged by the sebaceous follicles. This odour much diminishes by cleanliness, without, however, entirely disappearing. We are not aware whether this race-character changes by a uniform diet, as is the case with the fishers and opossum hunters in Australia.

"The observations on the temperature of the internal cavities of the Negro race are not numerous enough to draw conclusions. It is, nevertheless, useful to note the results of the researches of M. d'Abbadie. In Upper Ethiopia this celebrated traveller found at all seasons, in the buccal cavity of the Negro, a higher temperature than in individuals belonging to other races. The young Negroesses always preserve in Egypt this excess of temperature; not so the young Negroes: these have the mouth warmer than young men of other races in hot weather, but colder, on the contrary, in cold weather.

"The pulse of the Negro in Egypt nearly corresponds to that of the other inhabitants, being, from 60-70 pulsations per minute. The contrary is observed in male children, from 10-13 years, and in young females from 14-20: for the former 74-96; for the latter 84-104 pulsations per minute.

"The senses of the Negro are not developed as in other races which are nearer to the state of nature, or live in a different climate. Vision does not in the Negro surpass that of the European; the flattening of the cornea renders the Negro rather presbyopic than myopic. From his inclination and talent for music, hearing seems his most developed sense; at any rate he excels, in this respect, the Egyptian. To judge from the extent of the nasal cavities, smell ought to be very acute, such, however, does not appear to be the case. This applies also to the sense of taste; the Negro is omnivorous. Touch, this general corrector of the white races, is little developed in the Negro, which accords with the flattening of the tactile cushions. But the most striking phenomenon with regard to general sensibility, is the apparent apathy of the Negro as to pain. In the most serious affections of internal organs, the Negro, arrived at a certain point, cowers on his bed (at least in the hospitals) without responding by any sign to the care of his physician. However, in a state of civilised slavery, where he has acquired some knowledge, he becomes more communicative, without, however, betraying any manifestation of pain. Bad treatment causes the Negro, the Negress, and the child to abundantly shed tears, but physical pain never provokes them. The Negro frequently resists surgical operations, but when he once submits, he fixes his eyes upon the instrument and the hand of the operator without any mark of restlessness or impatience. The lips, however, change colour and the sweat runs from him during the operation. A single example will support our view. A negress underwent the amputation of the right half of the lower jaw with the most astonishing apathy; but no sooner was the diseased part removed, than she commenced singing with a loud and sonorous voice, in spite of our remonstrances, and the wound could only be dressed after she had finished her hymn of grace.

The assumption of the unity of the species of man has been based chiefly on the asserted fact that the offspring of all the

"The phases of development present in the Negro race some peculiarities which appear to me worth notice. We know next to nothing of the embryonic state. The Negro infant is born without prognathism, with an ensemble of traits which is more or less characteristic as regards the soft parts, but which is scarcely marked in the cranium. In this respect the Negro, the Hottentot, the Australian, the Neo-Caledonian, do not indicate in the osseous system the difference which will arise later. The new born Negro child does not present the colour of the parents; it is of a red colour mixed with bistre and less vivid than that of new-born European children. This premature colour is, however, more or less deep, according to the regions of the body. From reddish it passes to slate-grey, until sooner or later, according to the climate and soil, it corresponds to the colour of the parents. In the Sudan the metamorphosis, i.e., the development of the pigment, is generally completed at the end of the first year; in Egypt only at the end of three years. The hair of the Negro baby at first is rather chestnut than black; it is straight and slightly curved at the point. I was unable exactly to determine the extent of the fontanelles, but to judge from the cranium, the difference in this respect from the Aryan child is not appreciable.

"The first dentition commences nearly at the same epoch as with us. I have however, observed in Egypt cases of precocious as well as retarded dentition. Suckling continues during two years at least. After the first dentition, we already observe upon the cranium certain distinctive characters, viz.—The median line of the forehead raised, the chin retracted, the superior jaw slightly inclined, the nose widened, the occiput prominent. Still the young Negro presents, until the time of puberty, a pleasing exterior. Puberty supervenes in girls between the ages of 10-12, and in boys between 13-15 years. It is then that the great revolution in the forms and proportions of the skeleton rapidly proceeds. This process and its results follow an inverse course as regards the cerebral and facial cranium. The jaws are enlarged without any compensation for the brain: it is not meant that there is an arrest of development—no, the difference of race manifests itself merely by a different order of increase in the growth of the respective parts. Whilst in the Aryan man the moderate increase of the jaws and the bones of the face is abundantly compensated and even surpassed by a development or rather enlargement of the brain, specially of the anterior lobe: the contrary takes place in the Negro. Great compression, chiefly lateral, produced from without inwardly by the muscles destined for animal life; small reaction in the interior on part of the brain, and we have the mould of his cranium and his brain formed as we have described it. Everything is in harmony with the organism. No doubt this mode of viewing the conformation of the Negro cranium is open for discussion.

"The course taken by the obliteration of the cranial sutures, furnishes a significant commentary to these phenomena. The medio-frontal suture as well as the lateral part of the coronal suture is in the Negro invariably closed already in early youth. In the adult Negro the union proceeds then to the middle part of the coronal suture and the sagittal suture—or as I have observed on crania in East Africa—on all sutures at once. The lambdoid suture is that which remains open longest, especially on the summit. At the base of the cranium, on the other hand, the basilo-sphenoid suture is frequently found open. As regards the incisive suture, it not only persists in the infant Negro, but is very distinct in many Negro crania of an advanced age. The obliteration of the sutures seems in the Negro race to be more rapidly effected in the female than in the male.

"Prognathism has been, and may be considered, at least partly, as the result of the action of the inferior jaw on the concentric arch of the superior jaw. At any rate, the mode of articulation of this bone with the temporal, seems

mixtures of the so called races of man are prolific. Now this is assuming what yet has to be established. At present it is only proved that the descendants of some of the different races of man are temporarily prolific; but there is the best evidence to believe that the offspring of the Negro and European are not indefinitely prolific. This question is one which must be dealt with separately and proved by facts. At present we find that all *primâ facie* evidence is against the assumption that permanent mixed races can be produced, especially if the races are not very closely allied. This subject, however, merits a special discussion, and belongs to that large and important question—human hybridity. We, therefore, cannot agree with

much to contribute to it; for I have met with this conformation preferentially in the races in which the glenoid is large but of little depth, and the condyles of the maxillary more or less flattened, or at least elliptic; it coincides with a more or less pronounced harmony of the row of teeth. These conditions facilitate the movement of the jaw from behind forwards, whilst in the cranium with deep and contracted glenoid cavities, and with condyles more or less rounded or pointed, the movement of the jaw is preferentially vertical. I am, however, well aware of the insufficiency of this etiology, and I ask myself whether prognathism is not simply the expression of a movement towards animality. It has been thought that prolonged lactation may in the Negro favour prognathism; but I must observe that this custom prevails among many Oriental nations which are orthognathous. Moreover, it is known that the conformation is not exclusively peculiar to the African Negro. The majority of human races, whether dolicho- or brachycephalous, participate in it, as well as some civilised peoples: for instance the Peruvians, the Chinese, and Javano-Malays, at least the plurality of individuals comprising those nations. We find also exceptional cases more frequently in the ancient and modern Egyptians, less among the Jews, and less still in Western Europe. In all these cases, this conformation, however, does not exceed the first degree of the three distinct degrees we have established.

“It must also be observed that the relative depression of the middle part of the face joined to the prominence of the jaws, is the essential condition of prognathism, and of the results derived from the measurement of the facial angle. We thus comprehend that the two straight lines drawn from the meatus auditorius to the forehead, and the alveolar border of the palatine suture, rarely present in favour of the latter a difference of two millimeters. This shows us that the depression of the nose in the Negro is as essential to produce prognathism, as the increase of the jaws from behind forwards. Parturition, and lactation ordinarily give but little trouble to the Negress. Her fecundity seems to be great, for she produces up to ten children; but the manners and even the institutions much reduce the number of offspring. Decline commences in the Negress between thirty-five and forty. Whilst the ugliness which accompanies age in the female is excessive, we find that in the male the hair blanches early, and at an advanced age his external aspect loses its harmony. Even in the races of the Sudan, with clear complexions and expressive features, as for instance in the Foulahs, which some hesitate to place among the Negroes, Dr. Barth remarks on the ugliness they exhibit in old age. He observes that their face has something of the ape at that period, and he makes similar observations as regards the old ladies of the Maghis tribe, whose harmonious features when young he so much admired.”

the asserted statement, especially when we find that the two scientific men who have in recent times paid the most attention to this subject—I allude to Messrs. Broca and Nott—have come to the conclusion that the offspring of the Negro and European are not indefinitely prolific. With the permission of the Society, I will enter into that question at some future day.

M. Flourens asserted that the Negro children were born white; but recent observation has shown that this is not the case. Benet, ex-physician of Runjeet Singh, and Dumoutier, affirm that the children are born chestnut colour. M. Pruner Bey confirms this fact from personal observation.

In the Negro race there is a great uniformity of temperament. In every people of Europe all temperaments exist; but in the Negro race, we can only discover analogies for the choleric and phlegmatic temperaments. The senses of the Negro are said to be very acute, especially smell and taste; but Pruner Bey says that there has been much exaggeration as to the perfection of the senses of the Negro, and that his eye-sight in particular is very much inferior to the European. The most detestable odours delight him,* and he eats everything.

While the anatomical and physiological questions must be decided by actual facts, there still remains to investigate the psychological peculiarity of the Negro. It is here, perhaps, that the greatest amount of misconception exists in the minds of the public generally, and not unfrequently in the minds of some men of science. Wedded to the theory of a single pair for the origin of man, they attempt to show that there is in mankind no variety, nothing but uniformity.

To show I do not exaggerate on this point, I will quote the words of an esteemed friend, which he read last year at Cambridge. He says:—"For as God made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and endowed them all with the same animal, intellectual, moral, and religious nature: so has he

* Mr. Louis Fraser informs me that this is not always the case, and that sometimes a Negro will leave a vessel on account of a disagreeable odour, saying, "Cap'n, your ship stink too much, I can't stop."

bound them all together—in accordance with the high behest that they should increase and multiply and replenish the earth—in one common bond of universal brotherhood.”

Mr. Dunn, however, it must be acknowledged, does not carry out the principles he here enunciates, for he fully admits the fact that, practically, Negro children cannot be educated with the whites. He also admits that some of the lower races are not able to receive complex ideas, or have little power of thinking, and none of generalisation, although they have excellent memories.

The assertion that the negro only requires an opportunity for becoming civilised, is disproved by history. The African race has had the benefit of the Egyptian, Carthaginian, and Roman civilisations, but nowhere did it become civilised. Not only has the Negro race never civilised itself, but it has never accepted any other civilisation. No people have had so much communication with Christian Europeans as the people of Africa, where Christian bishops existed for centuries.* Except some knowledge of metallurgy they possess no art; and their rude laws seem to have been borrowed and changed to suit their peculiar instincts. It is alleged that the Negro only requires early education to be equal to the European; but all experiments of this kind have proved that such is not the fact. With the negro, as with some other races of man, it has been found that the children are precocious: but that no advance in education can be made after they arrive at the age of maturity, they still continue, mentally, children. It is apparently of little consequence what amount of education they receive, the same result nearly always follows, the reflective faculties hardly appear to be at all developed. The dark races generally do not accept the civilisation which surrounds them, as is shown in the South Sea, where they remain the uncivilised race by the side of the Malays. The opinion of Dr. Channing of America, is often quoted respecting the Negro. He says:—“I would expect from the Negro race when civilised, less energy, less courage, less intellectual origi-

* It is said that when the Negro has been with other races, he has always been a slave. This is quite true: but why has he been a slave?

nality, than in ours ; but more amiableness, tranquillity, gentleness, and content." Now, if it were possible to civilise them, there is no doubt they would show less energy, courage, and intellectual originality (of which they would be utterly deficient) and, as to their amiableness, tranquillity, gentleness, and content, it would be more like the tranquillity and content shown by some of our domestic animals than anything else to which we can compare it. It has been said that the present slaveholders of America "no more think of insurrection amongst their full-blooded slaves than they do of rebellion amongst their cows and horses !"* It has also been affirmed (and I believe with truth) that not a single soldier has been required to keep order in the so called "Slave States" of America.

The many assumed cases of civilised Negroes generally are not those of pure African blood. In the Southern States of North America, in the West Indies and other places, it has been frequently observed that the Negroes in place of trust have European features, and some writers have supposed that these changes have been due to a gradual improvement in the Negro race which is taking place under favourable circumstances. It is assumed that great improvement has taken place in the intellect of the Negro by education, but we believe such not to be the fact. It is simply the European blood in their veins which renders them fit for places of power, and they often use this power far more cruelly than either of the pure blooded races. At the same time, there are doubtless many exceptions to this rule ; depending perhaps on the amount of mixture of blood and inherited peculiarities. It has been affirmed that occasionally there are seen Negroes of pure blood who possess

* "The Southern planter, with a consciousness of superiority that would be ashamed to resort to fiction or imposition of any kind, takes off his coat and works in the same field and at the same labour as his 'slave.' The thought of the latter contesting his superiority never once enters his mind. As said by a sound statesman and gallant soldier of the South, 'we no more think of a Negro insurrection, than we do of a rebellion of our cows and horses.' The planter rules as naturally as the Negro obeys instinctively ; the relation between them is natural, harmonious, and necessary, and their interests being indivisible, there can be no cause or motive, either for the abuse of power on the part of the master, or of rebellion on the part of the servant."—*Negroes and Negro Slavery.* By J. H. Van Evrie, M.D. New York, 1861, p. 29.

European features : but I believe such not to be the fact, and Pruner Bey also says that "with regard to the regular Caucasian features, with which some travellers have endowed certain Negro peoples, I must state that among many thousand Negroes who have come under my own observation, there was not one who could lay claim to it."

Instances have often been quoted of reputed European skulls with Negro characters. Such an instance there is in the College of Surgeons, another in Morton's museum, and one in Gall's collection ; but if we admit these to have belonged to the pure race,* we shall only be admitting that in one character the European skull sometimes resembles that of the Negro ; but there will be plenty of other characters to show that they did not belong to the same race or species, and it ought simply to caution us not to base our ideas of race or species upon one character. We know that species of the mammalia frequently cannot be distinguished by the form of the skeleton, and we must therefore not be surprised to find that we are unable to prove a distinction of species in mankind if we take the cranium or even skeleton as a sole test.

We now know it to be a patent fact that there are races existing which have no history, and that the Negro is one of these races. From the most remote antiquity the Negro race seems to have been what it now is.† We may be pretty sure

* A large amount of mixture has continually been going on between the natives and the traders, especially on the rivers. The traders are not the finest specimens of their race, and much of the immorality of the settlements may be owing to this mixed blood. The following custom has existed for ages, and render most uncertain the parentage of some Africans who even come direct from the interior :—"The European stranger, however, travelling in their country, is expected to patronize their wives and daughters, and these unconscious followers of Lycurgus and Cato feel hurt, as if dishonoured, by his refusing to gratify them. The custom is very prevalent along this coast. At Gaboon, perhaps it reaches the acme ; there a man will in one breath offer the choice between his wife, sister, and daughter. The women of course do as they are bid by the men, and they consider all familiarity with a white man a high honour."—*Wanderings in West Africa*, vol. 2, p. 24.

† As a proof that the African race has not changed during the last 2,000 years, the following description of an "Aunt Chloe" of the days of Virgil may be interesting :—

Afra genus, tota patriam testante figura,
Torta comam, labroque tumens, et fusca colorem ;
Pectore lata, jacens mammis, compressor alvo,
Cruribus exilis, spatiosa prodiga planta ;
Continuis rimis calcanea scissa rigeabant.

that the Negro race has been without a progressive history ; and that Negroes have been for thousands of years the uncivilised race they are at this moment. Egyptian monuments depict them as such, and holding exactly the same position relative to the European. Morton* truly observes : " Negroes were numerous in Egypt, but their social position in ancient times was the same that it now is, that of servants and slaves."

Some writers have assumed that the Negro has degenerated from some higher form of civilisation, but we see no evidence to support such an assertion. We, however, fully admit that there are found traces of a higher civilisation, especially along the coasts visited, during all ages, by Europeans. The working of metals and imitation of European manufactures also exist in many parts of Africa. Indeed, there seems to be a great sameness in this respect throughout all Africa. Consul Hutchinson has given an interesting account of the finding of some implements used by the natives of Central Africa exactly resembling those used by the Anglo-Saxons. ¹

Consul Hutchinson thus describes them :—“ You will be surprised, no doubt, to hear that I brought down with me from the tribes of Filatahs, in Central Africa, iron heads of spears with wooden shafts and iron spiked ferules, heads of javelins and arrows, double-edged swords, knives, beads for ornaments, potteryware for culinary purposes, exactly similar in pattern to those that are described by Mr. Wright, in a paper on ‘ Fausset Antiquities,’ which he read before the British Association at Liverpool, in 1856, and which antiquities I need scarcely tell you were excavated at Canterbury, as well as proved to have been used in this country before the introduction of Christianity to our shores. Even the cowrie (the shell

As it is the fashion to quote *Cowper on the Negro* in the anthropological discussion, I append his translation of the above, which although feeble, yet conveys the spirit of the original.

“ From Afric she, the swain's sole serving maid,
Whose face and form alike her birth betrayed ;
With woolly locks, lips tumid, sable skin,
Wide bosom, udders flaccid, belly thin,
Legs slender, broad and most misshapen feet,
Chapped into chinks, and parched with solar heat.”

* *Crania Ægyptiaca*. Philadelphia, 1844 (eighth conclusion).

† *Transactions of the Ethn. Soc.*, vol. i, new series, p. 328.

of the *Cypræa moneta*), which is described in Mr. Wright's paper as having been found among other relics of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, is in this very day the currency among the Filatahs. It may perhaps increase the interest of my statement, which can be demonstrated by the articles I brought home (being deposited at the Royal Institution museum at Liverpool), when I add that they were obtained from tribes who had no record of ever having been visited by any white man previous to the time of our voyage at the end of 1854."

There is good reason to believe that, like all inferior races, there has been little or no migration from Africa since the earliest historical records. The European, for ever restless, has migrated to all parts of the world, and traces of him are to be found in every quarter of the globe. Everywhere we see the European as the conqueror and the dominant race, and no amount of education will ever alter the decrees of Nature's laws.

We hear much of late in this country of the equality of the Negro and European, because we have little real knowledge of the Negro; but in America the Negro is better known. As Dr. Van Evrie observes:* "In the United States, among a people almost universally educated, and where the fact of 'equality' is almost universally understood and acted on, personally as well as politically, the advocacy of woman's 'equality,' in the sense that they (in England) argue it, or 'equality' of the Negro to the white man in any sense whatever, is inexcusable on the ground of ignorance; and those thus warring against the laws of nature and progress of society, deserve to be treated as its enemies, or as absolute maniacs, and irresponsible for the evils they seek to inflict upon it." It has been assumed on very insufficient evidence that the Negroes in America improve in intelligence in every generation, and that they gradually approach the European type. M. Quatrefages recently directed our attention to this point, as did Sir Charles Lyell many years ago. It is affirmed that the head and body also approach the European without any mixture of the races.

* *Negroes and "Negro Slavery."* New York, 1861, p. 10.

M. Quatrefages quotes the following* from M. Elisée Reclus : "We do not intend here to touch upon the question of slavery, we would merely state a certain fact—the constant advance of Negroes in the social scale. Even in physical respects they tend gradually to approach their masters ; the Negroes of the United States have no longer the same type as the African Negroes ; their skin is rarely of velvet black, though nearly all their progenitors have been imported from the Coast of Guinea ; their cheekbones are less prominent, their lips not so thick, nor the nose so flattened, neither is the hair so crisp, the physiognomy so brutish, the facial angle so acute as those of their brethren in the old world. In the space of one hundred and fifty years they have, as far as external appearance goes, passed one-fourth of the gulph which separates them from the white race." We believe such not to be the fact, and that no improvement takes place after the second generation.

On this point Dr. Nott † has very judiciously observed : " Sir C. Lyell, in common with tourists less eminent, but on this question not less misinformed, has somewhere stated that the Negroes in America are undergoing a manifest improvement in their physical type. He has no doubt that they will, in time, show a development in skull and intellect quite equal to the whites. This unscientific assertion is disproved by the cranial measurements of Dr. Morton. That Negroes imported into, or born in, the United States become more intelligent and better developed in their physique generally than their native compatriots of Africa, every one will admit ; but such intelligence is easily explained by their ceaseless contact with the whites, from whom they derive much instruction ; and such physical improvement may also be readily accounted for by the increased comforts with which they are supplied. In Africa, owing to their natural improvidence, the Negroes are more frequently than not a half-starved, and therefore half-developed, race ; but when they are regularly and adequately fed, they become healthier, better developed, and more humanised. Wild horses, cattle, asses, and other brutes are greatly im-

* *Unité de l'Espèce Humaine*. Paris, 1861.

† *Types of Mankind*. Philadelphia, 1857, p. 260.

proved in like manner by domestication ; but neither climate nor food can transmute an ass into a horse, or a buffalo into an ox."

The real facts seem to be, that the Negroes employed in domestic labour have more intelligence than those who are employed at field labour, who are nearly in the same mental condition as when they left Africa. We must bear in mind, however, that there are only some of the African tribes of Negroes who are docile and intelligent enough for domestic purposes : the Eboes are generally selected for this purpose. We see therefore in this improvement of the Negro simply the effect of education, but not of climate or other physical agents. We fully admit that the domestic Negroes are improved in intelligence in America, resulting from the imitation of the superior race by which they are surrounded ; but much of the improvement in intellect is owing to the mixture of European and Negro blood. The Negro is not generally educated because it is affirmed that he is no sooner taught to read than he will take every chance of reading his master's letters ; and if he be taught to write, he will soon learn to forge his master's signature. This applies with equal, and, perhaps, greater force to those free, semi-civilised Negroes who are held by some in such theoretical veneration.

I have intentionally avoided dwelling on the great diversity of physical type found in Africa, as this is foreign to our subject. There can be no doubt, however, that there is, both in North and South Africa every shade of colour and races with very different features. There are also in Central Africa some races such as the Mandingos, Fulahs, and Wolofs, who are quite distinct from the typical Negro. In these races, some of the characters found in the typical Negro are found in only a very modified degree. How many races inhabit Africa, and their relation to one another, is not the subject of present inquiry. M. Pruner Bey has very judiciously made the following observations on this point :—

“ We must admit that the inferior orbital margins are frequently narrow and retreating ; that the noses become longer and more prominent ; that the lips turned up in some tribes

are only full in others ; that prognathism diminishes without however disappearing entirely ; that the aperture of the eye becomes wide ; that the hair short and woolly in most, grows longer ; that the transverse diameter of the chest becomes enlarged ; that even the pelvis, though much more rarely, acquires more rounded outlines ; that the limbs acquire more harmonious proportions ; that the hips, thighs, and legs become more fleshy and the foot more arched ; but as regards the crowning of the work, *i.e.*, the skull, especially the cerebrum, all the variations in the Negro race remain confined within limits which deserve our attention. In the Aryan race the skull presents three fundamental types, the elongated form (producing in some exceptional cases prognathism) which approaches the limit of the Negro type ; the short and round form, approaching the Turanian race ; and finally, the typically beautiful oval form, which seems to have resulted from a combination of the two former. Nothing like it is to be found in the Negro. The skull is and remains elongated, it is elliptical, cuneiform, but never round ; his facial bones may approach the pyramidal form by the increasing distance between the cheekbones, and may in this respect resemble the Kaffirs and the Bechuanas, but this is all." This generalisation appears to me to be in accordance with all the known facts respecting the craniological development of the chief African tribes, which thus form one great ethnic family, although composed of many distinct races.

I need not enlarge on the well-known and admitted facts respecting the intense immorality which exists amongst the Mulattoes and others of mixed blood.* There are, at the same

* The following extract is a striking confirmation of this remark :—" But the worst class of all is the mulatto—under which I include quadroon and octaroon. He is everywhere, like wealth, irritamenta malorum. The 'bar-sinister,' and the uneasy idea that he is despised, naturally fill him with ineffable bile and bitterness. Inferior in point of morale to Europeans, as far as regards physique to Africans, he seeks strength in making the families of his progenitors fall out. Many such men visiting England are received by virtue of their woolly hair and yellow skin into a class that would reject a fellow-countryman of similar, nay of far higher, position ; and there are amongst them infamous characters, who are not found out till too late. London is fast learning to distinguish between the Asiatic Mir and the Munshi. The real African, however—so enduring are the sentimentalisms of Wilberforce and Buxton—is still to be understood."—*Wanderings in West*

time, perhaps, some exceptions to this general rule, which, however, has been observed in every country where these people exist.

Of all the questions connected with the Negro, the most difficult to settle is that of his intelligence. Amidst conflicting testimony, it is difficult to discover the truth. We may ad-

Africa. 1863. Vol. i. p. 271. This is by no means a modern idea, for I find the following extract from a work entitled "A new voyage to Guinea," by William Smith, Esq., appointed by the Royal African Company to survey their settlements, make discoveries, &c., in a second edition published in 1745, p. 213. Speaking of the Mulattoes of the Gold Coast at that time, this author observes: "Upon this coast are a Sort of People called MULLATORS, a race begotten by the *Europeans* upon *Negroes* Women. This Bastard Blood is a Parcel of the most profligate Villains, neither true to the *Negroes*, nor to one another; yet they assume the Name of Christians, but are indeed as great Idolators as any on the Coast. Most of the Women are public Whores to the *Europeans*, and private ones to the *Negroes*. In short, whatever is bad among the *Europeans* or *Negroes* are united in them; so that they are the Sink of both. They are frightfully ugly, when they grow in Years, especially the women." There is, however, an earlier description of these peoples from which the author seems to have partly borrowed his ideas. Nearly the same words are given in William Bosman's work on Guinea, published at the end of the 17th century. Is not this picture true of Mulattoes as a class all over the world? Bosman says (*Loc. Cit.* 141):—"Though I have been tedious in this, I hope you will pardon it; for I must own my Itch of Scribbling is not yet over, and I cannot help giving you an account of a wonderful an extraordinary sort of People, I mean the *Tapayers* or *Mulattoes*; a race begotten by the *Europeans* upon the *Negro* or *Mulatto*-Women. This Bastard Strain is made up of a parcel of profligate Villains, neither true to the *Negroes* nor us, nor indeed dare they trust one another; so that you very rarely see them agree together. They assume the Name of Christians, but are as great Idolators as the *Negroes* themselves. Most of the Women are public Whores to the *Europeans* and private ones to the *Negroes*, so that I can hardly give them a character so bad as they deserve. I can only tell you whatever is in its own Nature worst, in the *Europeans* and *Negroes* is united in them; so that they are the sink of both. The Men, most of which are Soldiers in our service, are clothed as we are; but the Women prink up themselves in a particular manner: Those of any Fashion wear a fine Shift, and over that a short Jacket of silk or stuff, without sleeves; which reaches from under the arms to their hips, fastened only at the shoulders. Upon their heads they wear several caps, one upon the other; the uppermost of which is of Silk, plated before and round at the top, to make it fit soft, upon all which they have a sort of Fillet, which comes twice or thrice around the Head. Thus dressed they make no small show. On the lower part of their body they are clothed as the *Negro*-Women are; and those who are poor are only distinguishable by their dress: they going naked in the upper part of their body.

"The whole Brood, when young, are far from handsome, and when old, are only fit to fright children to their beds. If a painter were obliged to paint Envy, I could wish him no better original to draw after than an old *Mulatto*-Woman. In process of time, their Bodies become speckled with white, brown, and yellow spots, like the Tigers, which they also resemble in their barbarous natures. But I shall here leave them, for fear it may be thought that I am prejudiced by hatred against 'em; but so far from that, that there is not a single person who hath anything to do with them but he must own they are not worth speaking to."

mit, however, that there are instances of the pure Negro showing great powers of memory, such as the acquirement of languages; but we must also remember that memory is one of the lowest mental powers. Numerous instances have been collected by different partisan writers to show that the Negro is equal intellectually to the European; but an examination of these cases nearly invariably leads to the conclusion that there has been much exaggeration in the statements made by writers as to the aptitudes of the Negro for education and improvement. The exhibition of cases of intelligent Negroes in the saloons of the fashionable world by so-called "philanthropists"* has frequently been nothing but mere imposture. In nearly every case in which the history of these cases has been investigated, it has been found that these so-called Negroes are the offspring of European and African parents. I propose on some future occasion to lay before you evidence to show, that nearly all the Negroes who are asserted to have arrived at any mental distinction had European blood in their veins: and think I shall be able to show that of the fifteen celebrated Negroes whose histories were collected by Abbé Gregoire there is not one who is of pure Negro blood. Some writers who advocate the specific difference of the Negro from the European have very injudiciously admitted that occasionally the Negro is equal in intellect to the European, but this admission has materially

* The following words of Thomas Carlyle deserve to be recorded in every discussion on the Negro:—"Sunk in deep froth oceans of 'Benevolence,' 'Fraternity,' 'Emancipation-principle,' 'Christian Philanthropy,' and other most amiable looking, but most baseless, and in the end baleful and all-bewildering jargon, sad product of a sceptical eighteenth century, and of poor human hearts left destitute of any earnest guidance, and disbelieving that there ever was any, Christian or heathen, and reduced to believe in rosepink sentimentalism alone, and to cultivate the same under its Christian, anti-Christian, broad-brimmed, Brutus-headed, and other forms—has not the human species gone strange roads during that period? And poor Exeter Hall, cultivating the broad-brimmed form of Christian sentimentalism and long talking, and bleating and braying in that strain, has it not worked out results? Our West India legislatings, with their spoutings, anti-spoutings, and interminable jangle and babble; our twenty millions down on the nail for blacks of our own; thirty gradual millions more, and many brave British lives to boot, in watching blacks of other people's; and now, at last, our ruined sugar estates, differential sugar duties, 'immigration loan,' and beautiful blacks sitting there up to the ears in pumpkins, and doleful whites sitting here without potatoes to eat; never, till now, I think, did the sun look down on such a jumble of human nonsenses."

weakened their argument in favour of a specific difference. If this is so, let me ask those who hold such an opinion to give the name of one pure Negro who has ever distinguished himself as a man of science, as an author, a statesman, a warrior, a poet, an artist. Surely, if there is equality in the mental development of human races, some one instance can be quoted. From all the evidence we have examined, we see no reason to believe that the pure Negro even advances further in intellect than an intelligent European boy of fourteen years of age. Many writers have mentioned the precocity of the Negro children. Sir C. Lyell has observed :* "Up to fourteen years of age black children advance as fast as the whites ;" and Eliot Warburton has remarked† that the modern Egyptian "when young, is remarkably precocious in intellect, and learns with facility. As he grows up, his intelligence seems to be dulled or diminished : he has no genius for discovery, and though apt in acquiring rudiments, he is incapable of generalising. He fills subordinate departments well, but appears incapable of taking or of keeping a lead." Sir C. Lyell expresses his surprise at the results of the mixture of some European blood with the Negro, and thinks "it a wonderful fact, psychologically considered, that we should be able to trace the phenomena of hybridity even into the world of intellect and reason." It would, indeed, be remarkable if all men were endowed with the same instincts ; but not so wonderful if we do not accept such an unfounded hypothesis. The pure Negro seems incapable of much mental cultivation ; and Archbishop Sumner's much-talked-of "improveable reason," as a distinction between men and animals, only finds a limited application in the Negro race. The reason of animals is improved to some extent by domestication and training, and this is all we can say of the Negro. Dr. Madden observes : "It will be seen by all the answers the missionary gentlemen in our different settlements have given to my queries respecting the mental capacity of Negro children, that they are considered universally, in that respect, equal to European children, and by some even quicker, in their percep-

* *Second Journey to the United States*, vol. i, p. 105.

† *The Crescent and the Cross*.

tions, and more lively in their powers of apprehension." To which Dr. R. Clarke adds :* "This is observable from the ages of five to twelve or thirteen years ; but from that period of life to the age of eighteen or twenty, it becomes less strongly marked, and there appears to be less activity in the mental faculties."

Professor Owen gives it as his opinion † that we are unable "to appreciate or conceive of the distinction between the psychological phenomena of a Chimpanzee and of a Bosjesman, or of an Aztec with arrested brain growth ;" but we are able clearly to appreciate the psychological distinction between the Negro and the Chimpanzee : just as we see that there are decided mental and moral distinctions between the European and the Negro. We fully admit, however, that the psychical distinction is simply a question of degree and not of kind.

The day is not far distant when we shall be able to analyse the mental character of the Negro far more minutely than we can do in the present infant state of psychological science. ‡ In

* *Sierra Leone*, p. 34.

† *Journal of the Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London*, 1857, p. 20.

‡ Pruner-Bey thus speaks of the Psychology of the Negro :—"The manifestations of the affective and intellectual faculties of the Negro may be placed in parallel with his physical type. Sensuality is the great lever of his propensities ; from his imitative talent result the qualities which demand our esteem. The first renders him an eminently sociable being ; by the second he becomes an artist of a secondary rank. Solitude is insupportable to him ; song and dance are indispensable wants. Materialist in the main, he is in this respect below the more refined Chinese ; but, like the latter, he prefers suicide to great privations. He preferentially selects the most violent means to attain this object ; he suffocates himself by reversing his tongue towards the larynx ; he throws himself from precipices ; he drowns himself. He rarely takes the initiative in anything. In spiritual things he reproduces, but is not productive. It was only after having acquired the knowledge of the existence of letters among other peoples that an individual of the Vei tribe invented an alphabetic primer, the greatest effort which the Negro has ever made in the cultivation of science. The eminently imitative nature of the Negro even reveals itself in that part in which the creative faculty of every race reflects itself ; viz., language. It appears to me evident that the Negro in the structure of his languages has endeavoured to produce a copy of all the systems known without attaining the perfection of any original. The same remark applies to the ideas and conceptions referring to regions of the invisible world, towards which the human mind at all times, and in all regions, soared to attempt the solution of the highest problems. The adoration of natural objects, of stones, trees, &c., of the sun, as well of the names of ancestors, demonology, the attribution of superior powers to objects made by the hand of man, divination by the inspection of entrails, human sacrifices, and anthropophagy,—for a mystical object all this found its place in the soul of the Negro, as amongst us in times past ; but he surpasses the Semitic, the Aryan, and even the Chinese, in having completely forgotten

dwelling on the mental character of the Negro we must, therefore, for the present, rely on the general observations of those

the signification of the symbol. For him animals would speak the language of man if they were not too lazy. He has probably invented the fable, in approaching by the excess of his instincts, the brute to man. It is specially south of the Equator that the Negro is heavily enchained by a fatal superstition. Living in continued fear of being bewitched, the simple suspicion of it induces him to immolate hecatombs of innocents. The *Judgment of God* of the ancient gallants of the North of Europe is not unknown to him, but he prefers poison for the ordeal of suspected persons. Moreover, the Negro takes the world as he finds it, and he neither imagines a system of cosmogony nor any spiritual theory on the attributes of a superior being. On the other hand, he readily accepts Islamism, and he probably would never oppose to the introduction of the sublime doctrine of fraternal love that desperate resistance shown by the ancient Saxons and Scandinavians.

"Another point in the psychology of the Negro remains to be examined, and it is not the least important one. I would speak of the facility with which he loses his equilibrium when passing from one extreme to the other, frequently without any appreciable motive, of that contradiction in which he presents himself in his social relations, and the excesses of which he is capable. Patient towards a master who illtreats him, he assassinates one who has cherished him. Defending his cabin with ferocious obstinacy, he would sell his children for a piece of stuff. A kneeling slave before a king of his blood, he would condemn him to death when he is tired of him. 'You please no longer men or women, old men or children, sheep or fowls,' say the Negroes of the Sudan to their Sultan, to signify to him that it is time he should execute himself. Caring little about the chastity of his daughters, and prostituting his slaves, the Negro assures himself during his absence of the fidelity of his wife by mechanical means, and he becomes an assassin on the mere suspicion of her adultery. Nevertheless, the Negress has more liberty than Islam women, and she is respected in war. Abusing the weaker sex, and deprecating her even by the difference of aliments which he gives her, he nevertheless accepts a woman as his sovereign, according prerogatives to the Queen-mother, and regulating the rights of succession as the peoples of Asia who live in a state of polyandry. A mutual exchange of the occupations of the two sexes is not rare, even among the Negroes of the Sudan. The women cultivate the soil, and the man spins cotton; he guards the fields, she goes to war. The same contradiction is observed in other things which touch the interest of the Negro. Particularly anxious about the arrangements of the interior of his cabin, he remains naked outside in the heat of the day and the comparatively excessive cold of the night. Very domestic and attached to the soil, the Negro travels over the great continent from one end to the other, either for traffic or to fulfil some religious duties. Whole nations are continually on the move, and gipsies would find their brothers among the Negro race.

"The Negro is not cruel by nature; he remains as far in this respect from the bloody refinement of the Chinese as from the atrocious proceedings of the Aryan Persians. Still the dynasties of Wadai blind their nearest male relations; the despot of the Moluwas mutilates and skins those condemned to death. The civilised Bornoui cuts off the thighs of his war prisoners, and the Mougous skin the backs of their horses to have a firmer seat. But they do not put their slaves to the plough like some tribes of Touaregs. The punishments inflicted by the Negro on his equals, savour, however, more or less of barbarism."

"Let us not, however, forget that these excesses do not constitute the rule, and that 'the black man is to the white man what woman is to man in general, a loving being and a being of pleasure.' We cite with conviction the words of Golbery, 'the Negro is generally sober, industrious, an excel-

unbiased travellers and others who have been much associated with the Negro race. In the first place we will see what is the evidence recently published by our English consuls, who have the best opportunities of judging of the character of the people amongst whom they are placed.

Consul Hutchinson, who spent no less than eighteen years on the West coast of Africa, and who is as competent a judge as any man now living, says* that "his own observations on the African tribes tend to show that the African is not exactly the style of 'man and a brother' which mistaken enthusiasts for his civilisation depict him to be." He gives the result of a ten years' attendance at the Missionary school at Cape Palmas of one of his servants, a Kruman, and says that at the end he was asked what he knew of God? He replied: "God be very good; He made two things—one sleep and the other Sunday, when no person had to work."† Consul Hutchinson says that "the thirst for each other's blood, which seems a daily habit amongst so many of the Negro tribes in Western Africa, appears to me to be incompatible with ordinary notions of common humanity." He says that for scores of years European missionaries and English traders have mixed with them in social intercourse,

lent and patient workman, not wanting skill; he governs his family with sagacity and dignity.' We also subscribe the judgment of Mungo Park, that 'the Negro is compassionate by nature,' and we may add that the Negro is even in a state of slavery capable of the greatest devotion.

"Improvidence they have in common with all human races who live in a more or less primitive state, and pride of the stronger against the weaker is not foreign to the Negro.

"The portrait which L. Magyar traces of the peoples east of Angola is not favourable. The Djambandis, though polite to strangers, are described as suspicious, false, malicious, and thievish; the Djohoes are still worse, specially vicious to strangers. They contrast with the Moluwas, who are full of attention to their guests. Most of the inhabitants of the Lobal are ferocious brigands. The judgment of Mr. Kauffmann on the Negroes of the White Nile is generally not more favourable.

"In social respects the Negro has at least attained the position of shepherd and agriculturist. Besides this some Negro-peoples have founded, independent of all foreign influence, a sort of civilisation and considerable states; they possess the art of metallurgy and the talent for trade to a high degree, and they well know how to profit by the foibles of their masters; their answers, for instance, are always shaped according to the desire of the questioner."

* *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, vol. i, New Series, p. 327.

† "All missionaries praise the African for his strict observance of the Sabbath. He would have 365 sabbaths in the year if possible, and he would as scrupulously observe them all."—*Wanderings in West Africa*, vol. i, p. 266.

yet they still cling "to their gris-gris, jujus, fetichism and cannibalism with as much pertinacity as they did many hundred years ago." He adds: "Here we have all the appliances of our arts, our science and our Christianity, doing no more good than did the wheat in the parable that was sown amongst the briars and the thorns. To attempt civilising such a race before they are humanised appears to me to be beginning at the wrong end. I have passed many a hour in cogitating and endeavouring to fabricate some sort of education likely to root out the fell spirit that dictates human sacrifices and cannibalism; but I fear years must elapse before any educational principle, in its simplest form, can produce an amendment on temperaments such as they possess."

Consul Burton considers* that M. Du Chaillu's remarks concerning the commercial shrewdness and eagerness, the greediness and rascality of the Negro, apply to him everywhere in his natural state; that an abnormal development of adhesiveness, in popular language a peculiar power of affection, is the brightest spot in the Negro character; as in children, it is somewhat tempered by caprice, especially under excitement, yet it has entitled him to the gratitude of many a traveller. Exaggeration, he considers, is the characteristic of the mind of both the East† and West African. He says that "they justly hold labour as an evil inferior only to death."

These are the opinions which have been published by the

* *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, vol. i, New Series, p. 317.

† Captain Burton thus speaks of the Coast clans of Eastern Africa:—"Supersubtle and systematic liars, they deceive where duller men would tell the truth; the lie direct is no insult, and the offensive word 'Muongo,' (liar) enters largely into every dialogue. They lie like Africans, objectlessly, needlessly, when sure of speedy detection: when fact would be more profitable than falsehood; they have not discovered with the civilised knave, that 'honesty is the best policy;' they lie till their fiction becomes subjectively fact. With them the lie is no mental exertion, no exercise of ingenuity, no concealment, nor mere perversion of the truth: it is apparently a local instinctive peculiarity in the complicated madness of poor human nature. The most solemn and religious oaths are with them empty words; they breathe an atmosphere of falsehood, manoeuvre and contrivance, wasting about the mere nothings of life—upon a pound of grain or a yard of cloth—ingenuity of iniquity enough to win and keep a crown. And they are treacherous as false; with them the salt has no signification, and gratitude is unknown even by name."—*Lake Regions of Central Africa*. By R. F. Burton. 1861. Vol.

last two consuls who have written on the subject, and we shall now examine the evidence of some other witnesses.*

M. Du Chaillu describes the general characteristics of the tribes he visited who spoke the Mpongwe language as far superior to the Negroes of Congo. He says† “the Negroes

* Truthful William Bosman published the following as his opinions respecting the Negroes of Guinea in 1705 (*loc. cit.*, p. 117).

“The Negroes are all, without exception, crafty, villainous and fraudulent, and very seldom to be trusted, being sure to slip no opportunity of cheating an European, nor indeed one another. A man of integrity is as rare among them as a white falcon and their fidelity seldom extends farther than to their masters; and it would be very surprising if, upon a scrutiny into their lives, we should find any of them whose perverse nature would not break out sometimes, for they indeed seem to be born and bred villains. All sorts of baseness having got such sure footing in them, that 'tis impossible to lye concealed; and herein they agree very well with what authors tell us of the Muscovites. These degenerate vices are accompanied with their sisters—Sloth and Idleness, to which they are so prone, that nothing but the utmost necessity can force them to labour. They are besides so incredibly careless and stupid, and are so little concerned at their misfortunes, that 'tis hardly to be observed, by any change in them, whether they have met with any good or ill success.”

Mr. J. W. Jackson makes the following observations on the Negro (*Ethnology and Phrenology*, 1863, p. 35):—“The radical defect of the Negro is want of due nervous development. His brain is less in proportion to his body than that of any other grand division of humanity, and as a result, the involuntary and animal functions altogether preponderate. His flat foot, his long heel, his imperfect pelvis, his powerful stomach, his prognathous jaw, his enormous mouth, and his pug nose, are in perfect correspondence with his imperfectly developed brain, in which correspondently passion, and affection rule principle and faculty, the basilar and posterior developments being predominant over the coronal and anterior. Except in a few unfavourable instances, however, he does not exist on the continent in his lowest form; for it is the Oceanic Negro who is the almost irreclaimable savage, while the African is the improvable barbarian type of his race. The former is useless even as a slave, while the latter is eminently valuable, because he has been broken to work and obedience, and has that hereditary aptitude for sustained toil, of which the utter savage is so generally devoid. Hence, despite his present degradation, he obviously belongs to the redeemable families of humanity. He is the labourer of the tropics, and is not going to perish out, like a wild Indian, because his buffalo grounds have been enclosed by the white faces. He has his place on the earth which none can take from him, and what we have to attempt is not his extirpation, but improvement. Hence, a study of his character and capabilities is of the utmost importance. From temperament he is slow, but from organisation he is persistent, his lymphatic nature being sustained by a considerable amount of firmness and self-esteem. He is not skilful, his mechanical ingenuity being that of a child; nor is he capable of delicate manipulation, for which his entire organisation is too coarse. His perceptive faculties are stronger than his reflective or imaginative, and he dwells in the real rather than the ideal. He never rises from a fact to a principle, or re-creates beauty from the faultless beau-ideal of artistic conception. He has but little reverence for the past, and no very brilliant anticipation of the future, being from the overwhelming strength of his sensuous nature swallowed up in the present.”

† *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, vol. i, New Series, p. 306.

possess an imaginative mind, are astute speakers, sharp traders, great liars, possessing great powers of dissimulation, and are far from being in many respects the stupid people they are believed to be. In everything that does not require mental labour and forethought, they seemed to me to learn almost as fast as any amongst the more intellectual races to a certain point." He further affirms that they have little power of forethought or power of reflection, and that there is "a total lack of generalisation." He also says, that although these people "are often treacherous, they have noble qualities, given to hospitality, and the women show great kindness of heart, especially when one takes into account the way they are treated."

Brehm* says that "there seems to be a complete absence of moral sentiment amongst the natives of East Sudan, who not merely excuse theft, murder, and treachery, but consider these actions as praiseworthy in man. They first learned under a Turkish ruler to distinguish murder from justifiable homicide in war. Lying and deceitfulness are considered as marks of mental superiority; and those who suffer death on the gallows are buried with the same honours as the rich merchant or the sheik."

Count Görz† narrates of the Negroes in Cuba, "Their character is very degraded; the moral feeling entirely undeveloped; all their actions proceed from animal impulse, or a cunning calculation of their own advantage. Generosity and indulgence exhibited by the white man they consider as weakness. Power imposes upon them, and excites their hatred, which would become dangerous were they not aware of their powerlessness. The only efficacious punishment for them is the whip. They delight in sowing discord; are thievish and revengeful; void of any religious feeling, they are given to the crudest superstition. Their frame, however, is well-developed and powerful; their teeth magnificent:‡ their legs slender; they digest like beasts of prey." This certainly is a

* *Reise-skizzen aus Nordost-Afrika*, vol. i, pp. 162, 175. 1855.

† *Reise um die Welt (Voyage round the World) in 1844*. Stuttgart, 1853.

‡ Mr. Louis Fraser says—"Their mode of mastication is very peculiar, being more like a monkey than a man."—J. H.

severe judgment, and may be partly explained by the large amount of mixed blood in Cuba.

Colonel Hamilton Smith* thus describes the Negro. "The Negro is habitually dormant, but when roused shows his emotion by great gesticulations regardless of circumstances. War is a passion that excites in them a brutal disregard of human feelings; it entails the deliberate murder of prisoners, and victims are slain to serve the manes of departed chiefs. Even cannibalism is frequent among the tribes of the interior. Notwithstanding the listless torpidity caused by excessive heat, the perceptive faculties of the children are far from contemptible; they have a quick apprehension of the ridiculous, often surpassing the intelligence of the White, and only drop behind them about the twelfth year, when the reflective powers begin to have the ascendancy. Collectively, the untutored Negro mind is confiding and single-hearted, naturally kind and hospitable. Both sexes are easily ruled, and appreciate what is good under the guidance of common justice and prudence. Yet where so much that honours human nature remains in apathy, the typical woolly-haired races have never invented or reasoned out a theological system, discovered an alphabet, framed a grammatical language, nor made the least step in science or art. They have never comprehended what they have learned, or retained a civilisation taught them by contact with more refined nations as soon as that contact had ceased. They have at no time formed great political states, nor commenced a self-evolving civilisation. Conquest with them has been confined to kindred tribes, and produced only slaughter. Even Christianity of more than three centuries' duration in Congo has scarcely excited a progressive civilisation. Thus, even the good qualities given to the Negro by the bounty of nature, have seemed only to make him a slave trodden down by every remorseless foot, and to brand him for ages with the epithet of outcast. The marked, unceasing proof of a curse as old as the origin of society, not even deserving human forbearance, and true it is that the worst slavery is his lot even at home, for he is there exposed to the constant peril of becoming also a victim slaughtered with the most revolting

* *Unity of the Human Species*, p. 190-7.

torments. Tyrant of his blood, he traffics in slavery as it were merchandise, makes war purposely to capture neighbours, and sells even his own wives and children."

Van Amringe observes of the Negro race :* " Even after having lived for centuries with the white people, from whom they have received every possible instruction for the purpose of developing an attribute which would be so serviceable to them, as well as those whom they serve, it is very far from having any virtue for which they are distinguished, or even trusted. The Canaanite (Negro) is indolent, careless, sensual, tyrannical, predatory, sullen, boisterous, and jovial. Such are the specific characteristics, and the sensual relations are founded upon them. It has been a favourite theory with some visionary philanthropists that intermarriages of the different species would be highly favourable to the race ; but we have never heard of any of them who was willing to commence the practice in their own families. There is certainly no method that could possibly be devised, which would as certainly and as expeditiously degrade the whole human family as amalgamation. If there is any hope for the improvement of the condition of the dark races, the history of mankind shows it can only be founded upon the preservation of Shemitic (White) species. This is the only species endowed with any power to drag the cumbrous dark races out of the slough in which they have been wallowing for ages."

Burmeister, an excellent observer, says :† " I need not enlarge on the long hands, slender fingers, and flat feet of the African. Any one who has ever visited a menagerie, cannot fail to have observed the long hand, slender fingers, long nails, the flat foot, the deficient calf, and compressed shank and thigh of the apes, which so much resemble in every respect the peculiarities of the Negro. I have often tried to obtain an insight into the mind of the Negro ; but it never was worth the trouble ; the only available result obtained was, that there is not much mental life in the Negro, and that all his thoughts

* *An Investigation of the Theories of the Natural History of Man.* New York, 1848.

† *R. nach Brasilien.* 1857.

and actions were merely directed to the lowest requirements of human existence. There is something in the Negro like the cunning forwardness of the monkey tribe, which renders any very familiar intercourse, such as we have with an European servant, impossible."

Carl Vogt has recently observed :* "Most of the characters of the Negro viewed externally remind us irresistibly of the ape ; the short neck, the long lean limbs, the projecting pendulous belly, all this affords a glimmer of the ape beneath the human envelope, such similitudes are equally detected on examining the structure of individual parts."

Mr. Winwood Reade† says, "It must be acknowledged, that putting all exceptions aside, the women of Africa are very inferior beings. Their very virtues, with their affections and their industry, are those of well trained domestic animals. But if the women of Africa are brutal, the men of Africa are feminine. Their faces are smooth, their breasts are frequently as full as those of European women ; their voices are never gruff or deep. Their fingers are long ; and they can be very proud of their rosy nails. While the women are nearly always ill-shaped after their girlhood ; the men have gracefully moulded limbs, and always are after a feminine type—the arms rounded, the legs elegantly formed, without too much muscular development, and the feet delicate and small." . . . "A king of Ashanti cut off the hands of a slave, and bade her scratch his head for vermin with the stumps. If any one had accused him of barbarity he would not have understood the accusation. It was his idea of a good practical joke."‡ He continues, "It

* *Vorlesungen über den Menschen (Seine Stellung in der Schöpfung und in der Geschichte der Erde)*. Giessen, 1863 (seventh lecture).

† *Savage Africa*, ch. 36.

‡ I know not on what authority Mr. Winwood Reade has made this assertion, but Bosman records a similar case which was perpetrated by *Anqua* about A.D. 1691. After recording innumerable cruelties, he goes on to say that one of *Anqua's* slaves touched a new coral belonging to one of his wives, "But *Anqua* so resented this innocent freedom, that as soon as I was out of the camp, he caused both wife and slave to be put to death, drinking their blood, as he useth to do those of his enemies. For such another trivial crime, a little before, he had caused the hands of one of his wives to be cut off, after which, in derision, he used to command her to look his head for vermin, which being impossible with her stumps, afforded him no small diversion."—*A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*, by William Bosman, translated from the Dutch, 1705, p. 24.

will be understood that the typical Negroes with whom the slavers are supplied, represent the dangerous, the destitute, and the diseased classes of African society. They may be compared to those which in England fill our jails, our work-houses, and our hospitals. So far from being equal to us, the polished inhabitants of Europe, as some ignorant people suppose, they are immeasurably below the Africans themselves. The typical Negro is the true savage of Africa, and I must paint the deformed anatomy of his mind as I have already done that of his body. The typical Negroes dwell in petty tribes where all are equal, except the women, who are slaves; where property is common, and where, consequently, there is no property at all; where one may recognise the Utopia of philosophers, and observe the saddest and basest spectacles which humanity can afford. The typical Negro, unrestrained by moral laws, spends his days in sloth and his nights in debauchery. He smokes haschisch till he stupifies his senses, or falls into convulsions; he drinks palm-wine till he brings on a loathsome disease; he abuses children, and stabs the poor brute of a woman whose hands keep him from starvation, and makes a trade of his own offspring. He swallows up his youth in premature vice; he lingers through a manhood of disease; and his tardy death is hastened by those who no longer care to find him food. Such are the 'men and brothers' for whom their friends claim, not protection, but equality! They do not merit to be called our brethren; but let us call them our children. Let us educate them carefully, and in time we may elevate them; not to our own level—that, I fear, can never be—but to the level of those from whom they have fallen."

This last remark is made in the supposition that the typical Negro is degenerated from some higher African race; but we think such an hypothesis is not warranted by history, archæology, or any well established facts. Mr. Reade's observations were apparently chiefly made on the Gaboon, and his description does not quite agree with the accounts generally given of the Negroes in the Bights or Windward coast. Mr. Reade's terminology is far from satisfactory. All typical Negroes are Africans; but all Africans are not Negroes.

Dr. Van Evrie, of New York, who has paid considerable attention to the character of the Negro, and had ample opportunities for observation, thus describes* the Negro:—"But while the analysis of a single bone or of a single feature of the Negro is thus sufficient to demonstrate the specific character, or to show the diversity of race, that great fact is still more obviously and with equal certainty revealed in the form, attitude, and other external qualities. The Negro is incapable of an erect or direct perpendicular posture. The general structure of his limbs, the form of the pelvis, the spine, the way the head is set on the shoulders, in short, the *tout ensemble* of the anatomical formation forbids an erect position. But while the whole structure is thus adapted to a slightly stooping posture, the head would seem to be the most important agency; for with any other head, or the head of any other race, it would be impossible to retain an upright position at all. But with the broad forehead and small cerebellum of the white man, it is perfectly obvious that the Negro would no longer possess a centre of gravity; and therefore, those philanthropic people who would 'educate' him into intellectual equality, or change the mental organism of the Negro, would simply render him incapable of standing on his feet, or of an upright position, on any terms. Everyone must have remarked this peculiarity in the form and attitude of the Negro. His head is thrown upwards and backwards, showing a certain though remote approximation to the quadrumana, both in its actual formation and the manner in which it is set on his shoulders. The narrow forehead and small cerebrum—the centre of the intellectual powers, and the projection of the posterior portion,—the centre of the animal functions, render the Negro head radically and widely different from that of the white man. Thus an anatomist, with the Negro and ourang-outang before him, after a careful comparison, would say, perhaps, that Nature herself had been puzzled where to place them, and had finally compromised the matter by giving them an exactly equal inclination to the form and attitude of each other."

Dr. Louis Büchner† has drawn a most graphic picture of

* *On Negroes and Negro Slavery*, p. 93-4-7. 1861.

† *Kraft und Stoff*. Seventh edition.

some of the physical characters of the Negro:—"An uninterrupted series of the most various transitions and analogies connect the animal world, from the lowest to the highest. Even man, who in his spiritual pride deems himself elevated above the animal creation, is far from forming an exception to this rule. The Ethiopian race connects him by a number of the most striking analogies with the animal world. The long arms, the form of the foot, the thin calf, the long small hands, the general leanness, the undeveloped nose, the projecting jaw, the low receding forehead, the small head, the narrow pelvis, the pendulous belly, the deficient beard, the colour of the skin, the disgusting odour, the uncleanness, the grimaces in talking, the shrieking voice, are the many marks which manifestly exhibit the most decided approach of the Negro to the ape. That he also resembles him in his intellectual capacity, is sufficiently known and established by the best observers."

M. Pruner Bey, one of the most eminent of living Anthropologists, has written the most complete memoir on the Negro yet published on this subject.* Many years ago he thus expressed himself† respecting the psychological character of the Negro:—"The capacity of the Negro is limited to imitation. The prevailing impulse is for sensuality and rest. No sooner are the physical wants satisfied, all psychical effort ceases, and the body abandons itself to sexual gratification and rest. The family relations are weak; the husband or father is quite careless. Jealousy has only carnal motives, and the fidelity of the female is secured by mechanical contrivances. Drunkenness, gambling, sexual gratification, and ornamentation of the body, are the most powerful levers in the life of the Negro. The whole industry is limited to ornaments. Instead of clothing himself he ornaments his body. Like certain animals, the Negro seems apathetic under pain. The explosions of passion

* By the kind permission of the Council, I have been able to print nearly the whole of his last Memoir on the Negro. Some portions are quoted in the text, other parts will be found in copious notes, and I have only omitted the introduction which is merely descriptive of the different African races. Feeling sure that Anthropologists will duly estimate the great value of his treatise on the Negro, I am proud to be the means of M. Pruner-Bey's labours being made generally known to the English public.

† *Ägypten's Naturgeschichte*. Erlangen, 1847.

occur when least expected, but are not lasting. The temperament of the Negro has been called choleric, but it is only so to a certain extent. It is a momentary ebullition, followed instantly by perfect apathy. Life has for the Negro no longer any value when he cannot supply the physical wants; he never resists by increased activity, but prefers to die in a state of apathy, or he commits suicide. The Negro has no love for war; he is only driven to it by hunger. War, from passion or destructiveness, is unknown to him." This is a sufficiently clear and truthful picture, and the following summary, with which M. Pruner Bey concluded his paper, presented to the Paris Anthropological Society, is equally to be commended for

* M. Pruner-Bey also says: "It results from the examination of the organization of the Negro, that it is admirably adapted to the geographical position he occupies. The dark layer in his external integument, and its velvety character, like all blackened and rough bodies, favour the radiation of heat, and act as coolers. Experience has proved that black crape protects also the face from the solar reflection in the ascent of snow-covered mountains. The great development of the glandular system of the skin favours the secretions, refreshing the skin, and protecting it by an unctuous secretion. The thickness of all the layers of the skin protects the Negro from the night frost in his usual condition of nudity. The same considerations apply to the internal integument; the mucous membrane, with its glutinous and abundant secretion; and to all glands, without exception, which by their really enormous volume, in harmony with the excitation by heat, favour and facilitate the change, and the reproduction of organic matter so rapidly used up in the torrid zone. Do we pass beyond the limits of science, and lose ourselves in the vicious circle of teleology, if we venture to suppose that even the infantile form of the brain of the Negro may have its relative advantages? What has the noble Hindoo become under an Indian sun, drowned in a sea of spiritualism the most obscure, with his cranium, which by its admirable harmony, its graceful mould, seems exactly to resemble the organic egg which received the Divine breath of Brahma? He has, it is true, fulfilled an eminent task; but for many centuries he has been a being severed from terrestrial regions, and of little use to his fellow beings. Let us, finally, endeavour to assign to the Negro his place in relation to the quadrumana, to which some authors seriously approximate him, and to that of other human races, which either make use of or despise the Negro. As for me, the moment that an organised being uses for standing and motion that admirable pedestal, the narrow base of which supports an enormous weight; the moment he makes use of the instrument of instruments—the hand; when he expresses his sentiments, his thoughts, his fears, and hopes by speech, I look upon it as a new order of things. While recognising the undoubted value of homologies, which form the bases of zoological science, I cannot but admire the simplicity of the means employed by creative wisdom to separate man from the anthropomorphous ape. The hair on the skin is reduced; a suture is suppressed to draw the teeth closer, and, though prognathism is developed, the lips are thickened; the iliac bones are turned aside instead of being adossed to the vertebral column; the muscles of the thumb are strengthened; the great toe is fixed; nature finally, instead of the temporal lobe, selects the anterior lobe of the brain "there to fashion the instrument of intelligence which reflects her image." (Gratiolet.)

its truth and moderation. "The Negro has always appeared to me as partaking of the nature both of the child and the old man. Anatomists worthy of our confidence—Jacquart, Serres, and Huschke—have, in this sense, interpreted the details of the anatomy of the Negro. The elongated form of the cranium, the proportions of the cerebral lobes and their respective forms, the prominence of the inferior border of the orbits, the flattened nose, the rounded larynx, the less marked curves of the vertebral column, the lateral compression of the thorax and pelvis, with the vertical direction of the iliac bones, the elongated neck of the uterus, the proportion of the parts composing the extremities, the relative simplicity of the cerebral convolutions, etc., are characteristic features of the Negro race, which are found in the foetus or the infant of the Aryan race, in the different periods of development. The propensity for amusements, for material enjoyments, for imitation, and the inconstancy of affection, are the appanage of the Negro as well as of our children. The flexuosity of the arteries, the flattening of the cornea, the weakness of the muscles, the dragging walk, and the early obliteration of the cranial sutures, the obstinacy and love of repose are met with in the Negro as in our aged men. In short, the great curve of human development, and its backward direction, appears to be sufficiently extended to appreciate the differences characterising the Negro race opposed to our race, always taking in account the differential characters resulting from adaptation to external conditions. If our interpretation leaves open many gaps, the future may fill them up, perhaps, in the same sense. If, finally, the Negro, speaking always figuratively, partakes of the nature of the ape, it must still be admitted that it is not the most ferocious, malicious, nor the most pernicious, but rather the most patient, and frequently the most useful animal. In any case, an honourable mediocrity is his inheritance."

The general deductions we would desire to make are:—1 That there is as good reason for classifying the Negro as a distinct species from the European, as there is for making the ass a distinct species from the zebra; and if, in classification, we take intelligence into consideration, there is a far

greater difference between the Negro and European than between the gorilla and chimpanzee. 2. That the analogies are far more numerous between the Negro and apes, than between the European and apes. 3. That the Negro is inferior intellectually to the European. 4. That the Negro is more humanised when in his natural subordination to the European than under any other circumstances. 5. That the Negro race can only be humanised and civilised by Europeans. 6. That European civilisation is not suited to the Negro's requirements or character.

No man who thoroughly investigates with an unbiassed mind, can doubt, that the Negro belongs to a distinct type. The term species, in the present state of science, is not satisfactory; but we may safely say that there is in the Negro that assemblage of evidence which would, *ipso facto*, induce an unbiassed observer to make the European and Negro two distinct types of man.

The facts I have quoted I believe are sufficient to establish that the Negro is intellectually inferior to the European, and that the analogies are far more numerous between the ape and Negro than between the ape and the European.

We shall not enter at length into the three last propositions. Suffice it to say, that no subject needs more attention at this minute than the position which the Negro race is fitted to hold in Nature. I have said it devolves on the student of the Science of Man to assign to each race the position which it shall hold. This is truly a momentous and most difficult problem, but one which science must not evade. As the student of mechanical science has given to the world his inductions and discoveries, so must the student of the Science of Man endeavour to deduce from actual facts principles of guidance for the relations of one race of Man to another.

It is painful to reflect on the misery which has been inflicted on the Negro race, from the prevailing ignorance of Anthropological Science, especially as regards the great question of race. By our ignorance* of the wants and aspirations of the Negro, and

* Dr. Van Evrie makes the following remarks respecting the imperfect accounts we have continually received of the Negro. He says (page 49):

by a mistaken theory respecting his origin, this country has been the means of inflicting a prodigious, and, at present, totally unknown amount of mischief on these people. Our Bristol and Liverpool merchants, perhaps, helped to benefit the race when they transplanted some of them to America; and our mistaken legislature has done the Negro race much injury by their absurd and unwarrantable attempts to prevent Africa from exporting her worthless or surplus population. All this has been done on the theoretical assumption of a mental equality of the different races or species of Man. In an attempt to benefit the Negro we have brought on him endless misery and rendered some of the most beautiful and productive islands in the world of little more use to humanity at large than they were before the discovery of Columbus.* But men wedded to a theory become blind to all facts, and will learn nothing from experience. All the millions of money which have been spent, and which expenditure has inflicted great hardships on our own working classes, might have been saved had we taken the trouble to investigate the character of the Negro race.

"African travellers, explorers, missionaries, &c., ignorant of the ethnology, of the physiology, of the true nature of the Negro, and moreover bitten by modern philanthropy, a disease more loathsome and fatal to the moral, than small-pox or plague to the physical nature, have been bewildered, and rendered unfit for truthful observation or useful discovery, before they set foot on its soil or felt a single flush of its burning sun. With the monstrous conception that the Negro was a being like themselves, with the same instincts, wants, &c., the same (latent) mental capacities, all they saw, felt, or reasoned upon in Africa, was seen through this false medium, and therefore of little or no value."

* "I cannot avoid repeating that Hayti must not be held up as an example of what can be accomplished by free labour; but that it ought rather to be the beacon to warn the government of England against an experiment which may prove absolutely fatal to her colonial system. If it be not wished that a fate similar to that which has befallen Hayti should overtake our colonies, that they should be rendered wholly unproductive to the revenue of the country, and that the property invested in them should be preserved from destruction, the advisers of the Crown must pause before they listen to the ill-judged suggestions of enthusiasts; for they must banish from their minds the idea that the work of cultivation can be made productive by means of free labour. Such a thing appears to me impossible. The Negro, constituted as he is, has such an aversion to labour, and so great a propensity for indulgence and vice, that no prospect of advantage can stimulate him; and as for emulation it has not the slightest influence over him. Without force he will sink into a lethargy, and revert to his primitive savage character, and the only feasible and effectual plan to promote his civilisation is to persist in those measures which compel him to labour, inculcate morality, and tend to extirpate those vices which are inherent in the descendants of the African race."—*Franklin on the Present State of Hayti.*

Scientific men have yet to do their duty in showing what are the facts.

It may be said that some of the propositions I have advanced are in favour of the slave trade. Such, however, is not my own interpretation of these propositions. No one can be more conscious of the horrors of the "slave trade" as conducted at this time. Nothing can be worse for Africa generally than the continual capture of innocent men and women by brutal Europeans. Few things can be more horrible than the manner in which it is attempted to carry these people across the Atlantic. Nay, more, nothing can be more unjust than to sell any man, woman, or child, into "slavery", as understood by the Greeks and Romans, where the life of the slave was absolutely at the disposal of the master whenever his caprice or fancy thought fit to take it. We protest against being put forward as advocating such views.

But while I say this, I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that slavery as understood by the ancients does not exist out of Africa,* and that the highest type of the Negro race is at present to be found in the Confederate States of America. Far superior in intelligence and physique to both his brethren in Africa and to his "free" brethren in the Federal States, nowhere does the Negro attain to such a long life as in the Confederate States; and this law formerly obtained in the West

* "No man maltreats his wild brother so much as the so-called civilised Negro. He hardly ever addresses his Kruman except by 'you jackass!' and tells him ten times a day that he considers such fellows as the dirt beneath his feet. Consequently he is hated and despised withal, as being of the same colour as, whilst assuming such excessive superiority over, his former equals. No one, also, is more hopeless about the civilisation of Africa than the semi-civilised African returning to the 'home of his fathers.' One feels how hard has been his own struggle to emerge from barbarism. He acknowledges in his own case a selection of species, and he sees no end to the centuries before there can be a nation equal even to himself. Yet in England, and in books, he will cry up the majesty of African kings; he will give the people whom he thoroughly despises a thousand grand gifts of morals and industry, and extenuate, or rather ignore, all their faults and short-comings. I have heard a Negro assert, with the unblushing effrontery which animates a Negro speechifying in Exeter Hall, or before some learned society, that, for instance, at Lagos—a den of thieves—theft is unknown, and that men leave their money with impunity in the storehouse, or in the highway. After which he goes home, 'tongue in cheek,' despising the facility with which an Englishman and his money are parted."—*Wanderings in West Africa*, vol. i. p. 209.

India Islands before our mistaken interference. Nowhere does the Negro character shine so highly as it does in his childish and fond attachment to his master and his family. The Negro cares far more for his master and mistress than he does for his own children after they are a few years old. I by no means join in that indiscriminate abuse of the Negro character which has been indulged in, especially by those who have only seen the Negro in his savage state, or the "emancipated" (from work?) in the West India Islands. On the contrary, there is much that is to be admired, and more that is useful in the Negro when properly and kindly treated. Brutal masters there are in every part of the world: but we must not found a law on exceptions. Scientific men, therefore, dare not close their eyes to the clear facts, as to the improvement in mind and body, as well as the general happiness, which is seen in those parts of the world in which the Negro is working in his natural subordination* to the European. In some respects, the Negro is certainly not only not inferior, but even far superior to the European. If, for instance, the European were alone in the Confederate States of America, these fertile regions would soon become a barren waste. The Negro is there able to work with impunity, and does himself and the world generally much good by his labour.† Occupations and diseases which are fatal to the

* "Of late, it has become the fashion for the missionary and the lecturer to deny, in the presence of Exeter Hall, the African's recognition of the European's superiority. "The white man," writes Mr. Robert Campbell, a mulatto, "who supposes himself respected in Africa because he is white, is grievously mistaken." I distinctly assert the reverse, and every one who has studied the natural history of man, must have the same opinion. The same egregious nonsense was once propounded before the Ethnological Society—where with some ethnology there is no anthropology—by another "African". And yet the propounder, the late Mr. Consular Agent Hansen, whose death, by the bye, was an honour, and the only honour, to his life, had shaved his wool, and at the time was wearing a wig of coal-black hair, like a Cherokee's. Is imitation no sign of deference?"—*Wanderings in Western Africa*, vol. i. p. 269.

† Again, I would call attention to the noble words of Thomas Carlyle. Speaking of labour, he well says: "The thing must be done everywhere; must is the word. Only it is so terribly difficult to do, and will take generations yet, this of getting our rich European white men 'set to work!' But yours in the West Indies, my obscure black friends, your work, and the getting of you set to it, is a simple affair; and by diligence, the West Indian legislatures, and royal governors, setting their faces fairly to the problem, will get it done. You are not 'slaves' now; nor, do I wish, if it can be avoided, to see you slaves again; but decidedly you will have to be servants to those that are born wiser than you, that are born lords of you—servants to

Europeans, are quite harmless to the Negro. By their juxtaposition in this part of the world, they confer a material benefit on each other.

But it may be asked, "Why remove the Negro from his own country?" "Why not humanise him in Africa?" No doubt this sounds very feasible, and no pains should be spared to introduce every possible humanising influence into Africa. There is little doubt that the African is much easier humanised out of his native land away from all his savage associations; but this need not prevent us from doing all we can towards civilising him in his own country.

It has been affirmed on the best authority (although frequently denied) that domestic slaves are only sold in Africa for some crime. No one, we presume, will dare assert that there are no criminals in Africa! What shall we do with our criminals may be a problem which is occupying the attention of the political economist of Africa—like his Majesty the King of Dahomey—as well as the government of Great Britain. Is Africa not to be allowed to export her criminals, or are they so worthless and unmanageable that no people will have them? What is to be done with unruly or criminal slaves? as a king of Old Calabar said,* "You bind me down not to sell them, tell me it is wrong to kill them! What must I do with them? I will *give you some, and then you won't take them!*"

the whites, if they are (as what mortal can doubt they are?) born wiser than you. That, you may depend on it, my obscure black friends, is and was always the law of the world, for you and for all men; to be servants, the more foolish of us to the more wise, and only sorrow, futility, and disappointment will betide both, till both in some approximate degree get to conform to the same. Heaven's laws are not repealable by earth, however earth may try—and it has been trying hard, in some directions, of late! I say, no well being, and in the end no being at all, will be possible for you or us, if the law of Heaven is not complied with. And if 'slave' mean essentially 'servant hired for life,'—for life, or by a contract of long continuance, and not easily dissoluble—I ask, whether in all human things, the 'contract of long continuance' is not precisely the contract to be desired were the right terms once found for it? Servant hired for life, were the right terms once found, which I do not pretend they are, seems to me much preferable to servant hired for the month, or by contract dissoluble in a day. An ill-situated servant that;—that servant grown to be nomadic; between whom and his master a good relation cannot easily spring up!"

* The late King Eyamba made this remark to the late Dr. Lawton in 1850, who told it to Mr. W. H. Ashmall, a Liverpool merchant who has resided for eighteen years on the West Coast of Africa, and to whom I am indebted for his approval of the chief facts contained in this paper.

Would it not be well to allow a regular export of the surplus population, instead of permitting, and indeed encouraging the butcheries of the so called King of Dahomey? The difficulties of humanising, much less of civilising, the Negro in his own country are very great; yet, if such healthy sentiments were generally diffused in this country as have been lately published in an admirable work, entitled *Wanderings in West Africa*, it is impossible to say what great results might in time be attained. This author well says, "Ever remember, that by far the greater number of the liberated were the vilest of criminals in their own lands, and that in their case exportation becomes, in fact, the African form of transportation."*

There is abundant evidence to show that the Negro will not work without a considerable amount of persuasion. Even Dr. R. Clarke† is obliged to admit that the Creoles of Sierra Leone "manifest the utmost contempt for agricultural pursuits, and the same feeling seems to actuate the half educated liberated African lads." Another writer observes‡ that "In Sierra Leone the christian tenderness of the British Government has tended to demoralise them. . . . The women have become as vicious as those of Egypt, the basest of kingdoms—worse than the men, bad as they are. . . . Theft is carried to such an extent, that no improvement is possible at Freetown."

* *Wanderings in West Africa*, vol. i, p. 220.

† *Sierra Leone*. By Robert Clarke, p. 38.

Dr. R. Clarke speaking of the Africans of Sierra Leone, says (*Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, vol. ii, new series, p. 331)—"Servants consider it no crime to rob the white man, and so long as they are undetected they do not lose caste among their equals, although the latter may be aware of their thefts. . . . They appear to hold agricultural pursuits in contempt, preferring to obtain situations in the government offices and merchants' stores; while the young women seek employment as sempstresses, etc., seldom entering service as domestics. . . . Comparatively few of the female creoles are married, and in a colony where the marriage ceremony is held in but little esteem, and generally dispensed with, young girls live as concubines, or "sweethearts," as they phrase it (p. 332). The civilised blacks spare no expense in obtaining the best and newest style of European dress; and this love of finery too often becomes quite a passion amongst the young people, its inordinate indulgence occasionally leading to pilfering and other dishonest acts (p. 326). The Africans are very litigious, and constantly sum-moning each other on the most trivial occasions (p. 330). In one instance (of children born with supernumerary fingers) which came to my knowledge, the infant was on this account, soon after its birth, burnt alive; and, in another case, the child was destroyed by twisting its neck, when it was buried in a dung heap" (p. 333).

‡ *Wanderings in West Africa*, p. 267.

I have stated that one of the results of my inquiry leads me to believe that English institutions are not suited to the Negro race. There seems to be a maximum testimony to show that the liberated and the creoles in our colonies are a perfectly worthless set. They accept all the vices of our civilisation with none of its duties. A recent public writer in behalf of the English colonies on the west coast of Africa well says :—“The African is far more innocent and natural a creature when he has never been brought within the range of civilised life. The liberated Africans are far superior to the rising generation—in energy, in talent, and in honest principles. To handle a hoe has now become a disgrace, and the people have lost their manhood by becoming gentlemen . . . only the ignorant can boast of the extensive freedom we have given the African. Freedom indeed we should have given, but it ought to have been qualified to suit their capacities.” *

In now bringing my remarks to a close, I cannot, perhaps, do better than quote the graphic picture of the present state of Africa, which has been only published during the last few weeks. There is much true science and healthy manhood in these sentiments. The work of which I speak is evidently the work of a man who has devoted much attention to the study of the great science of mankind; and I am pleased to find that my own views find ample support in the conclusions of this accomplished and scientific observer. Speaking of the Negroes of Bonny, he says :† “The slaves wore a truly miserable appearance, lean and deformed, with Krakra lepra and fearful ulcerations. It is in these places that one begins to feel a doubt touching the total suppression of slavery. The chiefs openly beg that the rules may be relaxed, in order that they may get rid of their criminals. This is at present impossible, and the effects are a reduplication of misery; we pamper our convicts, Africans torture them to death. Cheapness of the human article is another cause of immense misery to it. In some rivers a canoe crew never lasts three years. Pilfering—

* The editor of the *Sierra Leone Weekly Times*, July 30, 1862, quoted in *Wanderings in West Africa*, vol. i, p. 221.

† *Wanderings in West Africa*, vol. ii, p. 230.

'Show me a black man and I will show you a thief,' say the traders—and debauchery are natural to the slave, and they must be repressed by abominable cruelties. The master thinks nothing of nailing their hands to a water-cask, of mutilating them in various ways; many lose their eyes by being peppered, after the East Indian fashion, with coarsely-powdered cayenne, their ears are cut off, or they are flogged. The whip is composed of a twisted bullock's or hippopotamus's hide, sun dried, with a sharp edge at the turns, and often wrapped with copper wire; it is less merciful even than the knout, now historical. The operation may be prolonged for hours, or for a whole day, the culprit's arms being tied to a rafter, which keeps them at full stretch, and every fifteen minutes or so, a whack that cuts away the flesh like a knife, is administered. This is a favourite treatment for guilty wives, who are also ripped up, cut to pieces, or thrown to the sharks. If a woman has twins, or becomes mother of more than four, the parent is banished, and the children are destroyed. The greatest insult is to point at a man with arm and two fingers extended, saying at the same, *Nama shubra*, *i. e.*, one of twins, or a son of some lower animal. When a great man dies, all kinds of barbarities are committed; slaves are buried, or floated down the river bound to bamboo sticks and mats, till eaten piecemeal by sharks. The slave, as might be expected, is not less brutal than his lord. It amazes me to hear Englishmen plead that there is moral degradation to a Negro bought by a white man, and none when serving under a black man. The philanthropists, doubtless, think how our poorer classes at home, in the nineteenth century, would feel if hurried from liberty to eternal servitude by some nefarious African. But can any civilised sentiments belong to the miserable half-starved being, whose one scanty meal of vegetable per day is eked out with monkey and snake, cat and dog, maggot and grub; whose life is ceaseless toil, varied only by torture, and who may be destroyed at any moment by a nod from his owner? When the slave once surmounted his dread of being shipped by the white man, nothing under the sun would, I believe, induce him willingly to return to what he should call his home. And, as they were, our West

Indian colonies were lands of happiness compared with Oil Rivers ; as for the 'Southern States,' the slave's lot is paradise when succeeding what he endures on the West Coast of Africa. I believe these to be facts, but *tant pis pour les faits*. Presently, however, the philanthropic theory shall fall, and shall be replaced by a new fabric built upon a more solid foundation."

Finally let me observe, that it is not alone the man of science who has discerned the Negro's unfitness for civilisation as we understand it. Here is the opinion of Mr. Anthony Trollope,* who is certainly quite guiltless of ever having examined the evidence on the distinction of the Negro and European, and yet truly says of the Negroes :—"Give them their liberty, starting them well in the world at what expense you please, and at the end of six months they will come back upon your hands for the means of support. Everything must be done for them ; they expect food, clothes, and instruction as to every simple act of life, as do children."

We must for the present leave alone all questions as to the origin of the Negro, and simply take him as he exists, and not as poets or fanatics paint him. We shall then learn, that it is only by observation and experiment that we can determine the exact place in nature which the Negro race should hold, and that it is both absurd and chimerical to attempt to put him in any other.†

* *North America*, vol. ii, p. 85. 3rd Edition. 1862.

† We believe the following opinion of Mr. George M'Henry can be confirmed by all who have narrowly watched the position of "Free" Negroes in the Federal States. He says that "he has resided nearly all his life in Pennsylvania, where exists the largest community of free Negroes in the world, and he can testify to the gradual decay in their health and morals as slavery disappeared from the neighbourhood. Neither the laws of the land, nor public societies for his benefit, prevent the African from degenerating ; nothing but the controlling influence of a master will keep him from sinking to that barbarous condition which is his natural state,"—*The Cotton Trade Considered in Connection with Negro Slavery in the Confederate States*, 1863, p. 259. Many other interesting and important facts, showing the superiority of the "Slave" over the "Free" (?) Negro, will be found in this valuable work.

Anthropological Society of London.

4, ST. MARTIN'S PLACE, TRAFALGAR SQUARE.



THIS SOCIETY is formed with the object of promoting the study of Anthropology in a strictly scientific manner. It proposes to study Man in all his leading aspects, physical, mental, and historical; to investigate the laws of his origin and progress; to ascertain his place in nature and his relations to the inferior forms of life; and to attain these objects by patient investigation, careful induction, and the encouragement of all researches tending to establish a *de facto* science of man. No Society existing in this country has proposed to itself these aims, and the establishment of this Society, therefore, is an effort to meet an obvious want of the times.

This it is proposed to do :

- First. By holding Meetings for the reading of papers and the discussion of various anthropological questions.
- Second. By the publication of reports of papers and abstracts of discussions in the form of a Quarterly Journal; and also by the publication of the principal memoirs read before the Society, in the form of Transactions.
- Third. By the appointment of Officers, or Local Secretaries, in different parts of the world, to collect systematic information. It will be the object of the Society to indicate the class of facts required, and thus tend to give a systematic development to Anthropology.
- Fourth. By the establishment of a carefully collected and reliable Museum, and a good reference Library.
- Fifth. By the publication of a series of works on Anthropology which will tend to promote the objects of the Society. These works will generally be translations; but original works will also be admissible.

The translation of the following work is now ready and will be delivered free to all Fellows joining the Society before the end of the year.

1. Dr. Theodor Waitz, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Marburg. *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*. 1861. First Part. Edited by J. Frederick Collingwood, Esq., F.R.S.L., F.G.S., Hon. Sec. A.S.L., with corrections and additions by the Author.

The translation of the following works is contemplated :—

2. A. de Quatrefages. *Unité de l'Espèce Humaine*. 8vo, Paris, 1861.
3. Prof. Rudolph Wagner, of Göttingen. *Bericht über die Arbeiten in der allgemeinen Zoologie und der Naturgeschichte des Menschen*. 8vo, Berlin. 1859-60-61.
4. Broca. *Sur l'Hybridité Animale en général, et sur l'Hybridité Humaine en particulier*. 8vo, Paris, 1860.
5. Gosse. *Mémoire sur les Déformations Artificielles du Crâne*. 8vo, Paris, 1855.
6. Gratiolet. *Mémoire sur les Plis Cérébraux de l'Homme et des Primates*. 4to, Paris, 1855.
7. Peuchet. *Pluralité des Races Humaines*. 8vo, Paris, 1858.

Sixth. By the appointment, from time to time, of various Committees authorized to report to the Society on particular topics which may be referred to them; the results of such investigations being in all cases communicated to the Society.

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