

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 growing of the work, *i.e.*, the skull, especially the cerebraum, 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, coniform, 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 octoroon. He is everywhere, like wealth, irritamenta malorum. The 'bar sinister,' and the uneasy idea that he is despised, naturally fill him with ineluctable bile and bitterness. Inferior in point of morals 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 Mr and the Mushi. The real African, however—so enduring are the sentimentalisms of Wilberforce and Burton—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 Mulattoes, a race begotten by the Europeans upon Negro 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." 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. It is not this picture true of Mulattoes as a class all over the world? Bosman says (*Loc. Cit.* 143):—"Though I have been tedious in this, I hope you will pardon it; for I must own my Ichn 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 *Tomboys* or *Mulattoes*; a race begotten by the Europeans upon the Negro or *Mulatto*-Women. This Bastard Swain 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 Pilliet, 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 like 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 Blood, 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 Enny, 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."

nity, 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:—"Sunken 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, Britches-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 legislatures, with their sportings, anti-sportings, 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 bean-tiful 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 be 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 Elliot 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. 1, p. 105.

† *The Crescent and the Cross*.

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 J. Magyar traces of the peoples east of Angola is not favourable. The Djanbandis, 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 Molwas, 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 agriculturalist. 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 follies 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, fetishism 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 Chaillet'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:—"Superstition and systematic lies, they deceive where taller men would tell the truth; the lie direct is no insult, and the offensive word 'Mungo,' (liar) enters largely into every dialogue. They lie like Africans, obediently, 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 inquiry enough to win and keep a crown. And they are treacherous as false; with them the salt has no significance, and gratitude is unknown even by name."—*Lake Regions of Central Africa*. By R. F. Burton. 1861. Vol. i.

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

M. Du Challu 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 live concealed; and herein they agree very well with what authors tell us of the Muscovites. These degenerate vices are accompanied with their sisters—Stoith 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 irremediable 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 other 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 extripation, 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 faithless bean-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 Götz† 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 gestulations 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 untaught 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 cumbersome 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.
† *H. 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 *Angwa* about A.D. 1691. After recording innumerable cruelties, he goes on to say that one of *Angwa's* slaves touched a new coral belonging to one of his wives. "But *Angwa* 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 used 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 indignation, 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 hashisch till he stupefies 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 and his description does not quite agree with the accounts generally given of the Negroes in the *Biglis* or *Windward coast*. Mr. Reade's terminology is far from satisfactory; all typical Negroes are Africans: but all Africans are not Negroes.

Dr. Van Eyrie, 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 quadruman, 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 orang-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 Bichner† has drawn a most graphic picture of

* On Negroes and Negro Slavery, p. 93-4, 7, 1861.
† Kraft und Stoff: Force and Matter. Seventh edition.

some of the physical characters of the Negro:—"An interrupted 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, than all psychological efforts cease, 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 Dr. Pruner-Bey's labours being made generally known to the English public.

† *Mogyloten'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 crepe 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 glistening and abundant secretion; and to all glands, without exception, which by their really enormous volume, in harmony with the exhalation 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 paleology, 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 quadrupeds, 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 tears, and hopes by speech; I look upon it as a new order of things. While recognising the undoubted value of homologues, 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 lobes, selects the anterior lobe of the brain "there to fashion the instrumental 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 Husccke—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 fœtus or the infant of the Aryan race, in the different periods of development. The propensity for amusements, for physical enjoyments, for imitation, and the inconsistency 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 obscurity 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 as 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 the ape, than between the European and the ape. 3. That the Negro is inferior intellectually to the European. 4. That the Negro becomes 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 are, I believe, 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 the present time 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 Eyrie 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 their discovery by 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 phlanthropy, a disease more loathsome and fatal to the moral, than small-pox or plague to the physical nature, have been bewildered, and perverted, 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 indolence and vice, that no prospect of advantage can stimulate him; and as for emigration 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 extinguish 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 mal treats his wild brother so much as the so-called civilised Negro. He hardly ever addresses his Krumm 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 speaking 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 brightly 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. Consul 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 be the world. 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 you 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; not, 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 plausible, 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, fertility, and disappointment will befall both, till both in some approximate degree get to conform to the same. Heaven's laws are not repeatably 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 romantic; between whom and his master a good relation cannot easily spring up!"

* The late King Eyiamba 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. Clarket 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 Clarket, p. 38.

Dr. R. Clarket 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, whose inordinate indulgence occasionally leading to pilfering and other dishonest acts (p. 326). The Africans are very litigious, and constantly summoned 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—

'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

* 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. 280.

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. 250. Many other interesting and important facts, showing the superiority of the "Slave" over the "Free" Negro, will be found in this valuable work.

Another public writer, Mr. George Augustus Sala, gives the following picture (not derived from the study of Anthropology) of the Free Negroes of New York, vide *Daily Telegraph*, Jan. 2, 1864.—"Hundreds of witnesses could, if needed, be put into the box to prove how utterly puerile and irresponsible the vast majority of these poor people are. From the old slaves who crawl about the houses of their owners, fed for nothing and not worked, saying

APPENDIX.

AFTER reading the foregoing paper, I was favoured with an account of Dr. Pruner-Bey's further researches since he published his first "Memoir," and as he has kindly placed them at my entire disposal, I have thought it advisable to annex a translation of M. Pruner-Bey's obliging communication.

and doing what they please, and sleeping with their feet so thrust into the numbers on the hearth that they scorch their toe-nails off, to the little black bands smugging like so many guinea-pigs about the floors of southern houses; from these to the women who buy silk umbrellas instead of chibbled henns, and who come roaring to their mistresses for remedies if they have a sore finger or a soft corn—who will only take medicine when they are sick from her hand—and who, as mothers, are so shamefully neglectful of, and wantonly cruel to, their children, that the white ladies are often compelled to take the little lamentable case of an inferior and impracticable race. And in the North—the free North—the land of liberty, of intelligence, of newspapers, and Methodist chapels, and common schools; do they fare better there? I declare that, of all the miserable and woe-begone objects I have ever beheld out of a Jussan goal or an Italian Lazar-house, the free Negroes I have seen in New York are the wretchedest and most forlorn. Take away those who are coachman or body-servants in private families, and who are dead in some kind of decent slavery by the employers; take away a proportion of the in-baddes and 'brilliant' coloured people, among which class the women are often given to larder; fancy-impaired, but seldom to personal cleanliness; take away a few, a very few old Negroes, who have made money by store-keeping, and wear broadcloth and tall hats; and the residue is a listless, decrepit, drowsy, conceiving race, always going to the wall, always sliding and sinking away, always ragged, always dirty—lying and pilfering and disgracing themselves in a feeble, shambling kind of way—horribly overgrown children—*creeps* whose *goitres* are on their brains instead of in their throats. In the back stints of New York you meet them prowling about with baskets full of scraps and offal. When the police rout out some disinclined tenement at the Five Points, they are sure to find Negroes harking and snoozing among the rubbish. Let a streak of sunshine be cast across the pavement, and you are sure to find a Negro sitting on a doorstep, basking in the radiant warmth."

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