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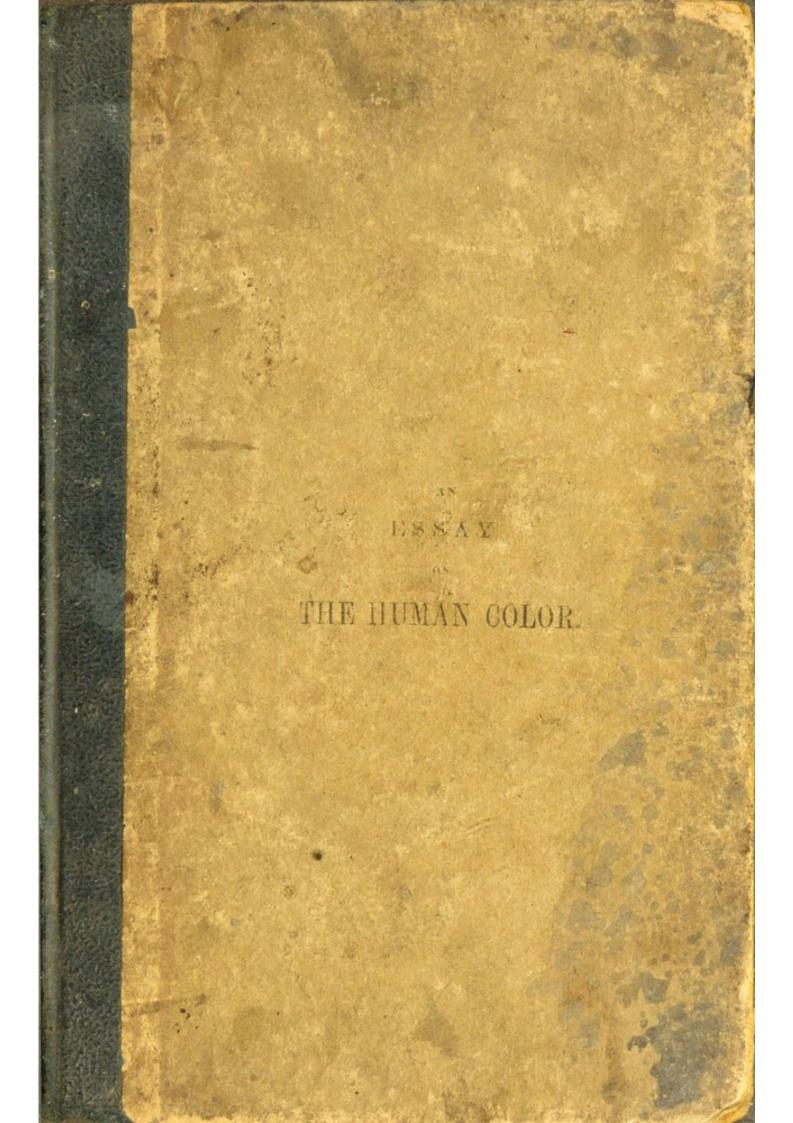
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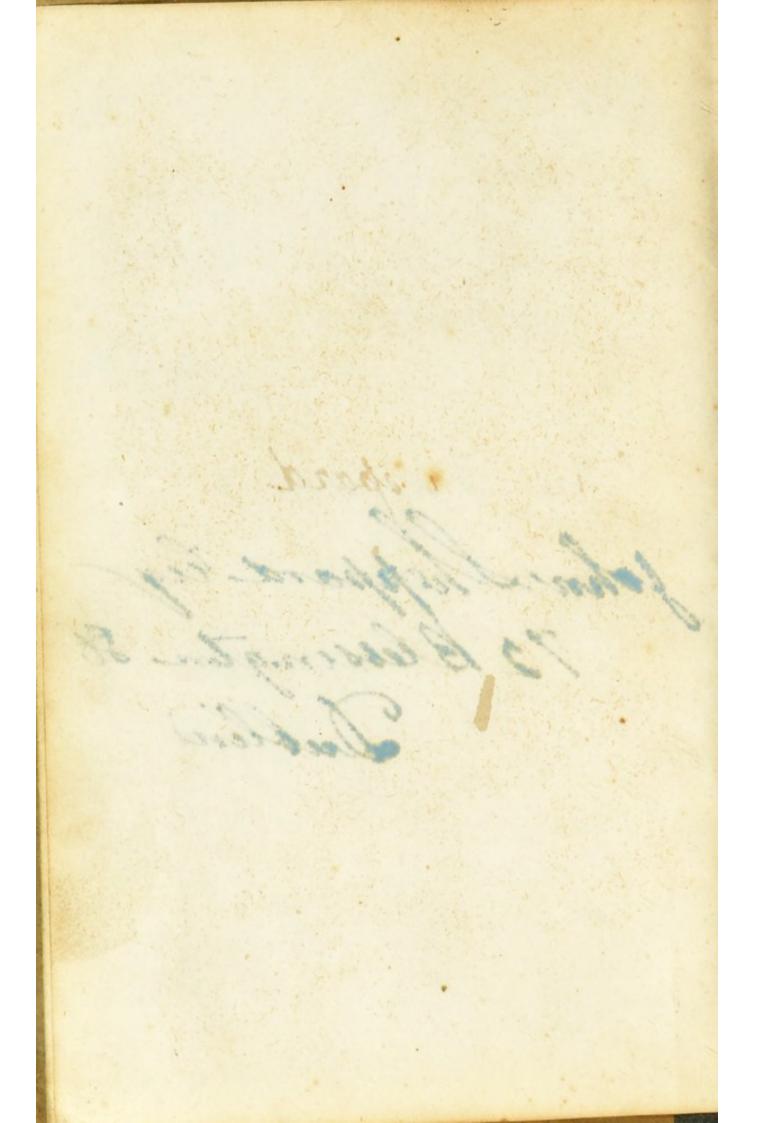
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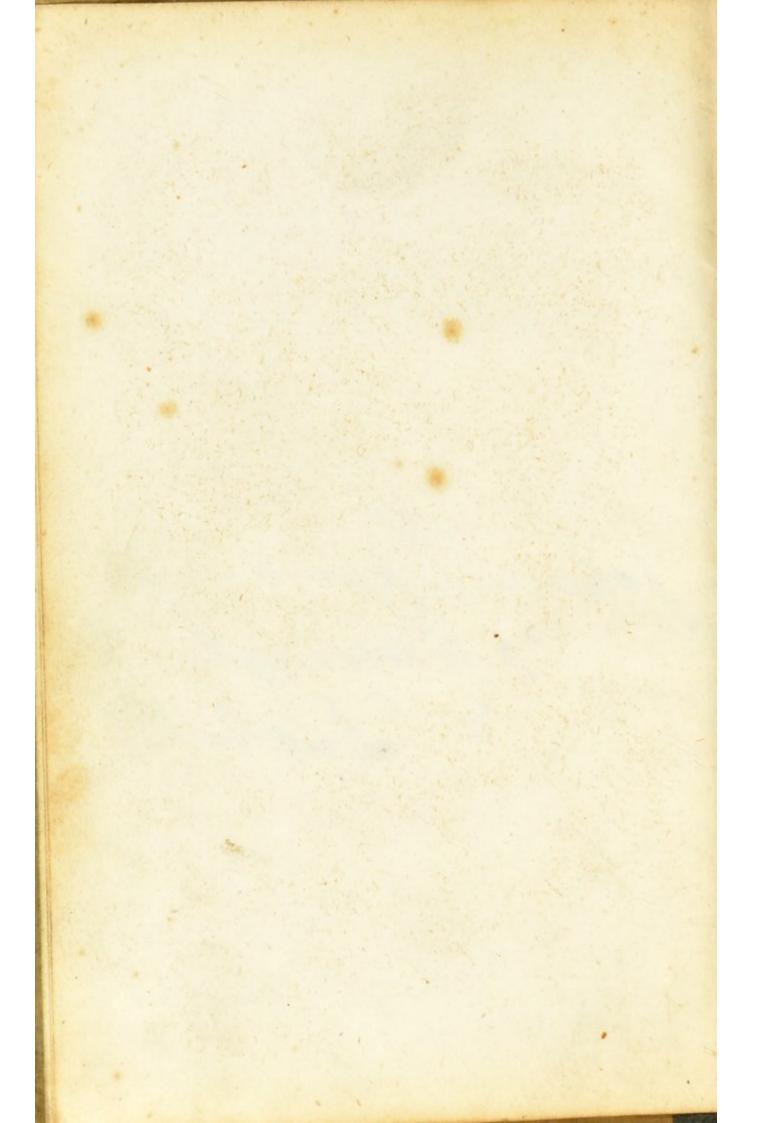
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AN ESSAY

ON

THE HUMAN COLOR,

IN THREE PARTS.

BY DAVID B. SLACK.

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J. F. MOORE, PRINTER.

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TO THE VENERABLE

WILLIAM ROTCH,

OF NEW BEDFORD, MASS.

whose life has been sedulously employed, and whose wealth has been freely expended in the promotion of peace, industry, humanity, and knowledge, the present little volume is, with the highest regard of the author, inscribed; with the hope that it may meet with a charitable reception, and an impartial examination by the public.

DAVID B. SLACK.

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The First and Second Parts of the Essay on The Human Color, were published in the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, more than a year ago; a Third Part is now added. At the instance of several gentlemen interested in the subject of the Essay, I have consented to give it a more general publicity. If it, in any degree, subserves the interests of humanity; or throws a spark of light into an obscure corner of the field of science; lessens the innate prejudices and hostile instincts prevalent among the geographical divisions of mankind; and promotes amity and friendship, the writer will have realized all that he expects from it.

The exterminating spirit which exists among mankind, is a barbarous sentiment, inconsistent with reason, and incompatible with that equality of rights and privileges, which we, in the small sphere of our own community, revere and maintain.

The first duty of every man is to himself: the next, to his family; the third, to the community in which he lives; the fourth, to his country; and the fifth, to mankind; nor should this last be held in any less respect, or fulfilled with any less reluctance, than the first or the second; if otherwise, the moral character must be incomplete. The same respect, which one family is taught to pay to another, should be paid by one people to another. Patriotism is a virtue, but for one people to seek the extermination of another, arises not from patriotism, which, like the more social virtues, has its limits, but from a want of a proper understanding of the patriotic duty. Amity among the geographical divisions of mankind, can no more be violated with impunity, than amity among families,-the mutual relations in the one case, are of the same nature with those in the other, The variety in the color, like the variety in the laws, usages, and customs of nations, is a source of animosity, which can only be mitigated and removed, by reconciling this variety with the physical laws which control the animal economy.

AN ESSAY

ON THE

HUMAN COLOR.

PART I.

In the following essay, I have attempted the solution of the problem of the human color. Goldsmith, and almost every other preceding, as well as succeeding naturalist, has made a similar attempt. With what success, will appear from a perusal of their several systems of Natural History. Dr. John Mason Good, in his Book of Nature, has, at least, given us the opinion of the learned world upon this subject as it stands at the present time, but I think he has failed to unravel the mystic knot. Some notes were made by the writer upon this subject, as long ago as the year 1825, with the view of answering certain queries contained in Mr. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, but the completion of the design has been delayed until the present time.

Geographers have estimated the number of the human race to be 800,000,000. Of this number, 500,000,000 are of a black or blackish color, and 300,000,000 of a white or whitish

color. There are on the earth five black or blackish men to three white men. Among the black men, I include the Asiatics, the Australians, the Africans, and the Indians of our own Continent. Naturalists have usually divided mankind into a number of varieties or species, but I shall consider them only under the common division of black and white.

Whence the color of the black man? says the European naturalist. Whence the color of the white man? says the Chinese philosopher. The Chinese is as much puzzled to account for the color of the white man, as the white man is to account for the color of the Chinese. The form, the features, the hair, and the color of the white man, are as curious and perplexing subjects of philosophical inquiry among the Chinese, as the personal peculiarities of the Chinese are among us. The black or blackish men of the earth everywhere regard their own color as the primary color of mankind, and all other colors as deviations from it, for the same reason that we do, because being used to it, they like it the best. The color, figure, and features of the white man are as strange and uncomely when first beheld by the Africans or Chinese, as their personal peculiarities are to us.

The Chinese suppose themselves to be not only the oldest and most civilized people of the

earth, but to be superior to the whites in personal beauty and in knowledge. White people set up an equal claim. The whites admit no other standard, either of beauty or knowledge, than their own. The Chinese make themselves the only true standard, and for an equally good reason. The Chinese have never manifested any admiration, love, or preference, for the color of the white man; nor been in the least disposed to imitate him either in his looks, color, or personal appearance.-A full proof that they are entirely satisfied with their own complexions and features. Indeed, being accustomed to see such a majority of people around them of their own color, a white man must be much more of an anomaly among them, than one of them would be among us. It is only, then, at home, among his own color, that the white man enjoys his own sense of superiority in point of lineage, personal beauty, and knowledge.

It is agreed, on all hands, that the color of the human race resides in a thin membrane composed of mucus, lying between two other thin membranes called cutis and cuticle, both of which last are white as well in black people as white people. It has been long settled, by the dissections of anatomists, and the observations and experiments of physiologists, that the color of the skin arises from the color of this mem-

brane, called the rete mucosum. The scarfskin above and the true skin below this membrane, are both white in every individual of the human race. Anatomists and physiologists have traced the various shades of color which characterize individuals and nations of men, to this mucous substance placed between the scarfskin and the true skin. In men of a dark brunette complexion, this membrane is found to be dark; in those of a light complexion, it is light. In black men, it is black; and in copper-colored men, the rete mucosum is of a copper color. The mucus appears to be of the same nature in all; but its color is various, or varies from what is called a flesh color to a very dark brown or black; but it is never perfectly black, or so black as the color of many other objects. Indeed, a black person in a very black dress, will appear by comparison to be much lighter than the dress itself. No observations or analyses have furnished any reason why the rete mucosum should in one man reflect the color of the European; in another, the color of the Chinese or American Indian; and in a third, should reflect scarcely any color at all, as in the African-for black, philosophically speaking, is no color, but an absorption of all the seven primary colors. But, here, in this mucus membrane, lies all the difference in the color of men, be it

what it may; in an arrangement of the particles of matter too minute to be detected by the most powerful glass of the optician, too subtile for the nicest tests of the chemist. All the internal parts of the body, as well in blacks as whites, all the organs, tissues, membranes, muscles, nerves, and bones, are of one and the same color. Wherever the mucus membrane becomes eroded or destroyed by the application of blisters, or by ulceration, the part where the cicatrization takes place become perfectly white, as well in blacks as whites.

The coloring matter of the skin is no doubt the same as the coloring matter of other objects in nature which reflect a similar color. If a man were colored black or brown artificially, although it would greatly disfigure him according to our notion of things, it would not at all change his nature or his capacities. No more can we, philosophically, suppose the black man to differ from the white man, than that the white man would differ from himself before and after he became artificially colored, provided this color were indelible.—So far, I mean, as color constitutes a difference.

The coloring matter of the black hair and black eyes of white people, is the same as that which colors the skin of black people, but no one supposes a white person any different in his nature, or inferior in personal beauty, or in talent, for having black hair, or black eyes. In many, not only the hair on the head, but over the whole body, the eye-brows, the eye-lashes and the beard, are of a black color, the amount of black being, sometimes, sufficient to color the whole skin of a large person. From this, we must infer that the mere color of the external parts of the body does not sensibly vary the nature of the individual.

If the human race ever were of the same color. that color can now only be reproduced by a composition of all the colors which diversify the complexions of mankind. By a composition of the color of the Chinese, of the European, of the African, and of the American Indian, a color would probably result very nearly resembling that of the inhabitants of Arabia, or of the Jews. This color, then, if the species ever were of one and the same color, must have been that color. It is possible that the color of the whites may not be convertible into any other color, unless by commixture of blood. It is possible also, that the color of the Africans may not be convertible into white, under ordinary circumstances, by any other process; and yet, a color resulting from a commixture of all the different colors of the race, be re-convertible into all the colors of which that color is composed. The

supposition I wish to convey is this, that if the whole human species were uniformly mixed, as whites or as blacks are now mixed, a color would result which would be re-convertible into all the colors of which it was composed, whenever such a commixture ceased to exist; although neither of the extremes of such a color, which I suppose to be the color of the clear whites and the clear blacks, would be capable of such a re-conversion.

In the reproduction of the human species, two opposite tendencies are observable, the one to a similitude of form, features, and color, and the other to a dissimilitude in the same respects. No two individuals, however closely allied by birth, present a perfect resemblance. Dissimiltude is a result as inevitable as a resemblance. A variation in the shape, in the features, and in the color, is easily recognized in every family of children. A great variation is observable between members of different families. And a still wider variation is observable between people of different nations and languages. The variation in shape; features, and color, between the English and French people, is so remarkable as to designate them all over the world, wherever the two nations are known. The more a community of people intermaries with itself and separates from every other community, the nearer it comes to a common resemblance in form, features, and color; and the further it deviates from every other community in this identity of likeness.

These two natural tendencies, the one to similitude and the other to dissimilitude in the conformation of the human body, may be denominated the physical latitude allowed by nature in the reproduction of the human species. The same latitude is observable in the reproduction of every other species of animals; and even of vegetables. This latitude exists independently of all external causes. It results from the organization of the species.

In cases where a white man marries a black woman, in this part of the world, their children partake equally of the color of the father and mother. A color is reproduced, compounded equally of the color of the parents. The color is literally halved. But, at the same time, it must be remarked that no greater alteration has happened in the color of the skin, than in the form, and features of the children. Both in the form, and features of the children, the original dissimilitude of the parents is partially lost. The short curly hair, and the broad, flat features of the mother, and the long, light hair and the narrow, sharp features of the father, are equally divided in the children. If these children con-

tinue to marry only among whites, in a few generations, all traces of the African color, as well as form and features, are obliterated. The race has become white.

On the contrary, if a white man goes to Africa and marries a black woman, in that part of the world, and their children keep on mixing only with the blacks, the fourth generation will be complete Africans, with short, curly hair, black skins, and all the other peculiarities of form, and of features, which characterize the African people; in a word, the white man is lost—his color, his form, and his features have become divided and sub-divided until nothing is left. The race has become black.

In this illustration it will be noticed that the color of the skin is produced and obliterated in the same way with the form, and the features. The color of the skin, then, evidently results from the physical latitude allowed by nature in the reproduction of the human species. The form, features, and color of the African may be regarded as the terminating points of this latitude on the one hand; and the form, features, and color of the whites, as the terminating points on the other. All the resemblances among the whites themselves, and all the differences between whites and blacks, must result from this latitude. The physical difference,

then, between a black man and a white man, is of the same nature with the physical difference between any two white men, or any two black men, since the difference results from the same cause, and is reducible by the same process.

If all the people of the earth, 800,000,000 in number, were to be arranged in a straight line as thick as they could stand, exactly according to their color, beginning from the whitest and ending in the blackest, it would be impossible to tell where the white race ended and the black began. We should find no line of demarkation between them. The white runs imperceptibly into the black. It is only by taking one from either extreme that a difference is observed. But although we observe such a wide difference between the individuals taken from each extreme of this long line, the difference is of the same nature with all the lesser differences; it is completely annihilated in the course of the reproduction of the species, precisely like the smaller dissimilitudes.

Black and white are apparently extremes of the human color, as large and small, tall and short, are the extremes of the human size. All these peculiarities are determined in the reproduction of the individual.

The human color has been generally supposed

to be the effect of climate, especially of heat and cold; but this is most evidently an error. In the same family of white children, in the same climate, and in the same house, where all external circumstances are apparently the same, the complexion of one child will be a dark brunette, its hair black and curly, and its eyes black; while the complexion of another will be light, its hair light, and straight, and its eyes blue. Most certainly climate has nothing to do with coloring these children's skins, hair, and eyes. As little has it to do in coloring the skins of the Africans, Asiatics, and Indians. The blacks have lived in North America for the space of three hundred years, without the least alteration in the color of their skins; and the whites have lived in South America under the torrid zone, for more than three hundred years, without becoming black. The only alteration in the complexion of white people, which has been observed to take place, is in the process of tanning, by exposure to the light of the sun, which invariably disappears by living a short time in the shade. The Spanish people of South America are no blacker than the inhabitants of old Spain, unless they have mixed with the Indians or Africans. The Indians of the American Continent, whether under the torrid, the temperate, or the arctic circles, are all

of the same color, or nearly so. Baron Humboldt saw several tribes in the south of Mexico, much lighter in their complexions than the tribes further north, and hence infers, that the climate has no agency in determining the color of the skin. The Arabians are merely brown; while on the same latitudes in Africa, the inhabitants are black. The eastern Asiatics, and the Australians, under the equator, the tropics, and the arctic regions, are all of nearly the same color.

When we reflect upon the wonderful diversity in the external appearance of individuals of the same town or city, where all are exposed to nearly the same external agents, we are compelled to admit, that the cause of all this diversity must lie in the motions of the animal economy. It will be perceived that I have not undertaken to give the cause of the human color itself, but a history of the manner in which the diversity of color is produced. I have shown that it was produced and obliterated by the reproduction of the species, in the same degree and manner that all physical differences are produced and effaced. I think it will appear evident, that the cause of the difference of color between any two white people, must also be the cause of the difference of color between a black and a white person. In mulatto people, the skin becomes half white, and all alteration in

the hair, features of the face, and shape of the head and feet, follows as a single simultaneous effect from the same cause. In quadroons, or those people who are three-quarters white, the skin, the hair, the features of the face, and the shape of the head and feet, have all undergone a simultaneous change in a parallel degree. The next generation are a white people. But let this generation mix only with those of a black color, and in four removes from the original stock they will become black again. We need no further proof that a diversity in the human color is produced by the physical latitude allowed by nature in the reproduction of the human species.

All inquiries respecting the original color of man have gone upon the supposition that this color must have been white, and that the black color must have been produced by some singular combination of circumstances. Ordinary facts have been overlooked, and explanations attempted by adding conjecture to conjecture, without the least approach to a solution of the phenomena in question. Were the eyes of the first pair black or blue? was the hair straight or curly, light or black? were the features long and sharp, or obtuse, thick and flat? are questions quite as rational and easy of solution, as the inquiry after the original color of men.

Goldsmith gives the following account of the causes which he conceives to operate in the production of the varieties of the human color; and his opinions have been repeated by subsequent naturalists to the present day, without any important variation. "In general, it may be asserted, that, as we approach the line, we find the inhabitants of each country grow browner, until the color deepens into a perfect blackness. Thus taking our standard from the whitest race of people, and beginning with our own country, which, I believe, bids fairest for the pre-eminence, we shall find the French, who are more southern, a slight shade deeper than we; going farther down, the Spaniards are browner than the French; the inhabitants of Fez darker than they; and the natives of Negroland the darkest of all." But, it may be replied, the Germans, who are on the same latitude with the French, are as light colored as the English; and the Grecians, who are as far south as the Spaniards, are as light as either the Germans or English. In all the eastern parts of Europe, among the Poles and the Russians, we discover no difference in the color of the inhabitants as "we approach the line." The Arabians, who live almost under the equator, are much whiter than the inhabitants of China, who live in the temperate zone, or the native inhabitants of North America. Goldsmith has overlooked an essential part of the natural history of the French and the Spanish. The dark color of the French, the darker color of the Spanish, and the yet darker color of the inhabitants of Fez, is not owing to the greater degree of heat which these nations are successively exposed to, but to the African blood which has gradually crept towards the North. The Moors, it is well known, once inhabited Spain for several hundred years, and freely intermixed with the Spanish. The French, by reason of their proximity to Spain, have intermixed with the Spanish. In this way the Moorish blood has extended north among the Spanish and French, while the English and the eastern European nations, who, by their remoteness from Spain, have been excluded from any participation in the Moorish blood, present a lighter

As if not satisfied with the influence of heat in producing the black color of the skin, Goldsmith assigns an opposite cause, that of cold. He says, "The extremity of cold is not less productive of a tawny color than that of heat. The natives of the arctic circle are all brown, and those that lie most to the north are almost entirely black. In this manner both extremes are unfavorable to the human form and color,

and the same effects are produced under the poles that are found under the lines." As I have before observed, in this Continent, from Labrador to Cape Horn, the same color of the skin pervades all the aboriginal inhabitants. They are as black in the temperate zones as they are in the arctic region and the torrid zones. In eastern Asia and the Eastern Islands, the color is the same in all latitudes. The color of the inhabitants of the north of Europe, to which Goldsmith no doubt refers, must have originated from an intermixture with the Siberians and other Asiatics, by being in the vicinity of each other. For we know, that as we approach the pole, the north of Europe and Asia terminate in a point, which brings the Siberians and Laplanders very near together.

Besides the influence of heat and cold, the food, the manner of living, and hereditary diseases, have been assigned, by naturalists, as the cause of the black color of the skin. But it is enough to say in answer to the assignment of these causes, that neither heat nor cold, food, manner of living, or hereditary diseases, have exhibited any influence in blackening or whitening the aboriginal inhabitants of America. The same is true of the Asiatics and the Australians; the color of the Asiatics and Indians is about the same under all latitudes. I ought here to

except the inhabitants of Turkey in Asia, Armenia, Persia and Arabia, who are all of a lighter color than the rest of Asia; but who have manifestly intermixed with the ancient Romans and Greeians, the early conquerors of these nations and their governors for many years; and who have become whitened in consequence of this intermixture. The mere vicinity of these people is sufficient to account for an intermixture of blood.

According to the reasoning of Goldsmith and other naturalists upon the subject of the human color, the inhabitants of New Zealand should be white. They live in a temperate climate, the most so of any on the globe; they are separated very far from all other parts of the earth, and every external circumstance is favorable to the production of a white skin. But they are as black as the inhabitants of Sumatra, who live under the equator. These external causes are entirely conjectural. If more proof were necessary upon this subject, it may be found in the color of the lower animals. Black and white animals are found equally under all the habitable latitudes of the globe. As many white animals of almost every name and nature are found under the equator, as in the temperate zones; and as many black animals in the temperate as in the torrid zone. If the sun, then,

has no influence in determining the color of the lower animals, why should it in the human species?

One of the many speculations in which natural historians have indulged upon the subject of the human color, is contained in Goldsmith's Animated Nature, Vol. II., page 19. "Not to enter into a matter of very remote specula-'tion," says this author, "I think one argument will suffice to show that the white man is the original source from which all the other varieties have sprung. We have frequently seen white children produced from black parents, but have never seen a black offspring the production of two whites. From hence we may conclude, that whiteness is the color to which mankind naturally tends; for as in the tulip, the parent stock is known by all the artificial varieties breaking into it, so in man, that color must be original which never alters, and to which all the rest are accidentally seen to change." If my illustration of the subject be correct, that the color of man is the result of the operations of the animal economy alone, independent of external agents, this speculation would prove the reverse of what Goldsmith intended. If whites are never known to produce blacks, the plain inference is, that, blacks must have existed first, and their's have been the

original color. But, as we have seen, the theory of Goldsmith is, that men have become black by the force of external agents. A truly powerful agency this, to blacken and keep in blackness 500,000,000 of the human species, out of the 800,000,000 who are estimated to inhabit the earth! A fearful antagonist power to oppose to any physical tendency which the black race have ever manifested to become white! What chance does the human race, in general, stand against so great odds? Is not the danger fearfully great that mankind will become totally black? The blacks and whites are now as five to three! Will not the force of these external agents always remain the same, and although by conquest and extermination the whites may succeed in establishing their own color, will not the force of the outward elements finally triumph? It signifies but little that man was created white, if external nature is so strong against him. Upon the theory of Goldsmith, I am afraid the elements will finally triumph, and turn all our posterity to a totally black color!

The instances to which Goldsmith refers, where black parents have produced white children, are extraordinary physical phenomena. If two of them should ever come together, their offspring would probably return to the

original black color. They are called albinos, and no instances of their marriage and offspring have, to my knowledge, been recorded. Unless their offspring continued to be white, such instances would prove nothing more than that nature has only stepped aside, as she has in a thousand other instances, to return to the old track.*

One color is as natural to man as another, and a common original color can only be produced by the composition of all the different colors which diversify mankind. It is quite as peurile to contend about the superiority of any particular color of the skin, as to its inherent beauty or naturalness, as about the color of the hair or the eyes. Familiarity reconciles us to the lesser diversities which exist among the species, and knowledge of each other pronounces them of no moment; will not time and knowledge also reconcile us to those which we con-

*I do not conceive albinos to be a lusus naturæ, but a rare physical occurrence—an illustration of the same thing which takes place in other species of animals—an instance of the occurrence of opposite colors in the offspring of the same stock, as a white and a black colt from the same parentage of a red color; or as a black and a white lamb from the same white mother and father. The rarity of its occurrence in the human species has, no doubt, originated the idea that it is a freak of nature.

ceive to be the greater differences? Since nature produces so great a variety of shapes and colors in the formation of the individuals of our species, and will continue to produce them in spite of our repugnances or preferences, it would seem to be the part of wisdom to submit to her decrees, and to learn to appreciate the variety as well as the uniformity of her operations.

No writer has produced a more labored comparison between the white man and the man of color, than Mr. Jefferson, in his "Notes on Virginia." Mr. Jefferson does not profess to absolutely believe in the inferiority of the man of color, but proposes many queries and arguments by way of stimulating further inquiry upon the subject. "The first difference," he observes, which strikes us, is that of color. Whether the black of the negro resides in the reticular membrane between the true skin and the scarskin, or in the scarskin itself; whether it proceeds from the color of the blood, the color of the bile, or from some other secretion, the difference is fixed in nature, and is as real as if its seat and cause were better known. And is this difference of no importance? Is it not the foundation of a greater or less share of beauty in the two races? Are not the fine mixtures of red and white, the expressions of every passion

by greater or less suffusions of color, preferable to that eternal monotony which reigns in the countenances, that immovable veil of black, which covers all the emotions of the other race?"

It is surprising that so philosophical a man as Mr. Jefferson did not perceive that he was arguing in a circle, and trying to convince himself and his readers of the inferiority of black people, by a romantic eulogy upon the color of the whites, instead of presenting an accurate comparison of the differences between the two colors. The Chinese and the Africans are as fully aware of the difference in color as we are, and can retort all the questions which Mr. Jefferson has put, with full as much consciousness of the superiority of their own color. They can say, that "whether this whiteness resides in the reticular membrane between the true skin and the scarfskin, or in the scarfskin itself, the difference is as fixed in nature and is as real as if its seat and cause were better known." The mere circumstance of our making the color of the black man a theme of philosophical speculation, confers upon us no right to make our own color the standard of beauty. The color of the white man is as monotonous to the eyes of black men, as the black man's color is to us. They are not familiarized to

these "fine mixtures of red and white," as we are. The color presents to them "one eternal monotony." Besides, it is not a fact that "the fine mixtures of red and white, by the greater or less suffusions of color, are the expressions of every passion." Every physiologist knows that the expression of the passions almost entirely depends upon the contraction and relaxation of the muscles, independent of any change of color. Indeed, were there no other expression of the passions than the greater or less suffusions of color, the countenance of the white man would be very much of a blank. It would only become red or pale; it would give us the expression of a fever or of faintness, and nothing more. It is even doubtful whether the change of color to which the whites are exposed under the influence of the passions, does not contribute as much to deformity as to beauty. The paleness of fear is certainly not beautiful; nor is the redness of anger. The leaden hue of despair is a positive deformity. Black people are also subject to a change of color, though in a much smaller degree. For want of a familiarity with the color, it is not always visible to us, when it is very perceptible to them. Among the clear Africans, there is a great difference in the color of different individuals; some are only brown, while others are of a shining black. I

have noticed as great a difference between the color of two Africans, as there is between a common white man and the lightest colored of the Africans. I have heard them exclaim that such a person was too black to look well, precisely as we do of those of our color who possess a very dark complexion.

Our ideas of beauty depend so much upon what we are accustomed to see, and upon the intellectual laws of association, that were every nation to produce a standard of their own, we should, in proportion to the relative number of each color, at least, have five black beauties to three white ones. It may sound strange to the ears of many to hear a black skin pronounced beautiful, but the assertion has been made by a distinguished English traveller. I quote from a popular work, called Geographical View of the World. "Of that part of Ethiopia or Nubia which separates Senaar from the second cataract of the Nile, little was known until the year 1821, when Mr. Waddington and Mr. Hanbury visited these regions. The most remote district visited by them was Dar Shegy'a, through which the Nile flows from north to south for nearly two degrees. It is subdivided into three States, often at war with each other, but ever ready to unite against a common foe. The people are black, a clear, glossy jet black,"

says Mr. Waddington, "which appeared to my then unprejudiced eye to be the finest color that could be selected for a human being."

In a word, it appears to me that the whole sum and substance of the argument of the whites, is this, that with them their own color is the most fashionable, and of course will continue to be the most beautiful until the fashion changes. Whatever nation possesses the superiority in the arts, in arms, in knowledge and in wealth, will from the force of admiration, emulation, and the universal love of splendor and glory among mankind, be pronounced the most beautiful, be the color what it may. Egypt was once this nation. It was the place where the scholars of Greece and Rome went to complete their education. The monuments of its ancient renown still continue to astonish us. The ancient Egyptians were black, and their hair short and curling. "The Colchians," says Herodotus, "certainly appear to be of Egyptian extraction, which, indeed, before I had conversed with any one on the subject, I had always believed. I interrogated the inhabitants of both countries; the result was that the Colchians seemed to have better remembrance of the Egyptians, than the Egyptians of the Colchians. The Egyptians were of the opinion that the Colchians were descended of a

part of the troops of Sesostris. To this I myself was also inclined, because they were black
and have hair short and curling; which latter
circumstance may not, however, be insisted on
as evidence, because it is common to many
other nations." Says Mr. Volney, in remarking upon this passage, "That is, the ancient
Egyptians were real negroes, and of the same
species with all the natives of Africa, and
though, as might be expected, after mixing so
many ages with the Greeks and Romans, they
have lost the intensity of their first color, they
still retain strong marks of their original conformation."

"Besides those of color, figure and hair," continues Mr. Jefferson, "there are other physical distinctions proving a difference of race. They have less hair on their face and body. They secrete less by the kidneys and more by the glands of the skin, which gives them a very disagreeable odor. This greater degree of transpiration renders them more tolerant of heat and less so of cold than the whites."

Women have no beards, and much less hair on the surface of the body generally than men, and yet it was never suspected that women, on account of this distinction, were a distinct race. The physical distinction in the organization of man and woman, is much greater than any dis-

tinction which exists between the different colors of men. It is the greatest distinction by far of any which exists among mankind, but was never conjectured to be a proof of a difference of race. It is a strong proof, on the contrary, that great physical distinctions may exist without destroying or materially affecting the identity of the human race.

The question may be asked, how can they be of the same species, since the two genders differ more widely from each other than the man of Africa differs from the man of Europe?

The identity of the human race appears to depend upon a sameness of structure in the external senses, and the organization of the brain and nervous system in general. Neither the hair, the figure, the bones of the skull, nor the color, appear to hold any near relation to the mind. The hair possesses no sensibility, and whether there be much of it or little, whether it be long or short, straight or curly, or even whether there be none of it at all, as in many bald people, seems to be no essential matter as it respects the strength or weakness of the intellectual powers. Neither does the mind reside in the bones of the skull. All the bones of the African race are thicker and bulkier than the bones of the whites. The skull bone is an index of the general thickness of the other bones of their systems. This fact

has never been attended to by anatomists and physiologists.

In all children, the bones are extremely thin, at a time, when the mind has scarcely begun to develope itself. In the adult, the bones have become thick, and the mind strong. This fact militates strongly against the opinion that a thick skull bone is a proof of inferiority of mind. Many of the lower animals have extremely thin skull bones, while yet they betray but little proof of intelligence. The bones of the heel have a still more remote relation to the capacity or incapacity of the mind, than those of the skull. In both these respects, the African has the advantage of the white man. The brain is better defended, and the strength of the foot is increased. The foot of the African is better adapted to the support of the superincumbent weight of the body.

The thickness of the lips in African people, shows no want of symmetry in the organism of their forms. I am persuaded that the thickness of their lips is only an indication of the size of the muscles in general. Anatomists have not noticed this circumstance, but so far as the observation of the writer extends, the existence of it has been well confirmed. A thinness of the lips, while the muscles in general are bulky and thick, would produce a disagreement in the

proportions of the different parts. A thickness of the lips is not, however, a universal, it is only a general or prevailing characteristic of their organism.

The assertion of Mr. Jefferson that the blacks secrete less by the kidneys and more by the glands of the skin is not a physiological fact. I have never met with the observation in the course of twenty years' medical reading, or noticed such a fact in the course of seventeen years' practice, in a city where one twelfth of the inhabitants are black; or of its having been noticed by any other practitioner of medicine. Laboring people perspire more than others, and consequently secrete less by the kidneys. The blacks being mostly laborers, must have originated this idea in the mind of Mr. Jefferson.

The common opinion which Mr. Jefferson endorses as a physiological fact, that black people can bear heat better, and cold not so well as the whites, is also an error. It is well known that the same degree of health and strength which enables a man to bear one extreme well, will also enable him to bear the other equally well. This fact is well known among sailors and travelers who experience the extreme changes of different climates. Those who estand the heat with impunity, will also stand

the cold the longest without freezing. The same man who can labor in the open field, uncovered, in the hottest days of summer, will be the ablest to withstand the severest cold of winter. The blacks, although they go thinner clothed than the whites in winter, do not oftener freeze. The idea must have originated in the conjecture that such must be the fact, because they came from a warm climate, or from an analogy to those vegetables and animals which can only flourish in the warm latitudes. No such observation has ever been made of the Indians, or the Asiatic nations, although many of both live in the northern latitudes. Queryhow black must a man be, before Mr. Jefferson's remarks apply to him?

The greater transpiration of the skin, Mr. Jefferson says, gives to them "a very strong disagreeable odor." But this odor arises from a secretion by the axillary glands situated under the arm. It is a little different from the odor of the same secretion in white people, but I have heard the blacks say it was not stronger or more disagreeable than the same odor in white people. Where they observe an equal degree of cleanliness, they betray no more of it than the whites do. Every individual emits a peculiar odor from the axillary and other glands of the body, insomuch that blind people can

identify their acquaintances by the sense of smelling. This, to be sure, is a physical distinction, but not of sufficient magnitude to furnish a proof of difference of race. Poverty and its concomitant, if not consequent personal uncleanliness, have subjected the blacks to a dislike on the part of the whites, which, it becomes them to redeem, by allowing no personal impurity to subject them to observation.

Great physical distinctions in color, size, hair, and features, exist among the whites, without corresponding differences in the degree of personal beauty, or intellectual endowments. I have already noticed the distinction between the sexes, which is the greatest that can be supposed to exist between two individuals of the same species, and which furnishes us with no proof of "a difference of race." A brunette complexion of the darkest hue, accompanied with black eyes, and black and curly hair, not only often occurs among us, but is pronounced perfectly beautiful. In the settlement of these questions the opinions of the blacks should not be entirely disregarded. They, especially, the Chinese and American Indians, must be supposed to have some little sense of the true and the beautiful as well as we, and some judgment of their own capacities in comparison with ours. They never feel, they never see, and

they never manifest, either in word or deed, any inferiority to the whites. In war and in peace, they meet the white man only as an equal, nor dream they of any superiority.

The hair of the African is finer than that of the European. The curliness of the African hair is owing to its fineness. In some individuals of an equally deep color, it grows much longer than in others. Being curly and matted together, it easily wears off, and is, in this way, kept much shorter than where pains are taken to braid it and keep it clean and straight. There is as great a diversity in its length in different individuals, as in the length of the hair of white people. The broad, flat features, and the thick, heavy muscles and bones of the blacks, deviate no more from the true standard of beautiful proportion, than the long, sharp, peaked features, and the thin, slender, light muscles and bones of the whites. Perfect symmetry lies between the two extremes.

PART II.

As the Phrenologogical Theory of Gall and Spurzheim, does unmeasured injury to the people of color, it becomes necessary to examine its title to credibility and truth.

The writer is not alone in his disbelief of the doctrines of phrenology. John Mason Good, the most learned and ablest medical writer of the present century, in his Book of Nature, has preceded him in denying the truth of this system, otherwise he would not have ventured to differ from the public in regard to a theory which they appear to espouse. If he advances anything inconsistent with truth and reason, he holds himself subject to correction.

Tycho Brahe was persuaded that he had not only demonstrated the absurdity of the Copernican theory of the planetary motions, but that he had settled the laws of the planets upon an immovable basis. This nobleman mistook the earth for the largest planet in the system, and made it the immovable centre about which all the others, and the sun among the rest, revolved. It appears to me that Gall and Spurzheim have committed a similar mistake. The

Danish astronomer was probably as learned a man, as well acquainted with astronomical facts, and as much in earnest in the pursuit of truth, as Copernicus, but he was not so happy in the arrangement and classification of his ideas, and, therefore, instead of being conducted to the true solution of the motions and positions of the planets, fell into one of the most egregious errors. So it may be with Gall and Spurzheim. The credit of giving to the world a true solution of the motions and phenomena of mind, I cannot accord to them. Gall and Spurzheim appear to me to stand in the same relation to the metaphysical system of Locke and his disciples, as Tycho Brahe stood to the system of Copernicus; they have invented an ingenious and plausible theory to explain mental exercises and phenomena, the true solution of which had already been given. They do not appear to me to have been acquainted with the extent of the physical and mental history of man as it is known at the present day in Great Britain and America. They certainly betray very different ideas of demonstrative and scientific evidence from Newton, Locke, Harvey, Hunter and Jen ner, or they never would have allowed themselves to call an aggregation of problematical positions, scientific principles. Hunter demonstrated the stomach to be the central governing

organ of the animal system, a discovery which will doubtless stand the test of ages.

To show how slight a claim Dr. Spurzheim has to the title of a philosopher, I will quote a scientific definition from a manual published by him in Boston in 1834, entitled "Outlines of Phrenology.' After saying, that he admits four different temperaments as four degrees of activity in the mental powers, he thus defines the sanguine temperament. "The second, or sanguine temperament, is distinguishable by moderate plumpness of person and a tolerable firmness of flesh, light hair inclining to chesnut, blue eyes, fair complexion, great activity of the blood-vessels, easy perspiration, and an animated countenance." It will be perceived, on the slightest reflection, that this definition does not indicate, in the least, the temperament of an African, Asiatic, or American Indian, although it is given as a scientific definition of the sanguine temperament of man in general. It indicates only the sanguine temperament of the white race; and it is evident from the three other definitions of the remaining temperaments, that the characteristics of the temperaments of the colored races of men never occurred to him. In a new system professing to be founded upon demonstrative evidence and the most extensive induction, and to supersede all other systems of mental 'philosophy, such an omission is rather ominous of other short comings. Are the Africans, Asiatics, and Indians, all, of one temperament? or are their different temperaments incapable of definition?

The fundamental principle of phrenology, is, that Size, all other conditions being equal, gives "energy of action" to the cerebral mass. Energy of action, as applied to mental exercises, is rather a vague and equivocal expression; it may very well denote the exertions of physical strength, but as the human brain may be full of energy, or the feeling of strength, and yet have no real capacity either for thinking or observing, the expression does not appear to me at all happy or appropriate. The train of ideas and feelings is the most active or energetic under the influence of passion, but passion is the bane to all useful exercises of the mind or cerebral mass. I shall employ the expression, however, as nearly as I can understand it, in the sense of the author.

Does the condition of Size, ceteris paribus, give energy of action to the brain? The pulse of the child at birth is twice as quick as the pulse of a man at 35 years of age. The digestive function manifests the same energy; the muscular motions and the sensations betray the same rapidity; the lungs are no less active; all

the phenomena of mind and body discover the same remarkable acceleration compared with the vital motions in after life, when the whole body, and each organ in particular, have acquired eighteen times the size of the same being at birth. The motions of the child which weighs eight pounds only, discover just double the activity (the pulse being the true measure of the mental as well as the bodily motions) which is manifested when it has grown to the weight of a hundred and fifty pounds. Dr. Spurzheim would reply, that if the organs of the infant were still larger at birth, the activity of the mind and body would be still greater. But this would be begging the identical question at issue. It may appear very plain and reasonable that Size should give energy of function to the brain, just as it appeared plain and reasonable to Tycho Brahe that the earth stood still or only moved on its axis; but there is a wide difference between reasonable appearances and demonstrated truths, At the age of 21 all the vital motions, the train of ideas and sensations, the passions and emotions, love, joy, hope, fear, anger, sorrow, grief and disappointment, are all vastly more active and vivid than in after life,at the period of mature manhood, although the brain and the organs in general have not acquired near their full size. Love, especially,

at the age of 35, when the brain is full grown, bears no proportion, in strength, to the same passion at 21; its activity has dissipated and its pleasures are comparatively weak and stale. Friendship, benevolence, reverence, the love of music and poetry; the fondness for colors, paintings and language; the pleasures of taste, smelling and feeling, are all proverbially less active and ardent at the age of 35 than at 21. At a little past mature manhood, while the size of all the organs is in its zenith, the keenness of sight begins to fail, the hearing grows dull, the feeling becomes more obtuse, the train of ideas less rapid, and all the vital motions sensibly slower. Whence this sudden decrease of energy of action in all the organs, while they yet remain unchanged in Size? Again, at the age of 85, for instance, the mental faculties, as well in large brains as in small ones, have all departed. The cerebral mass and all its structure are as entire as at the age of 35. The health is sound. The activity of the other organs-the digestive function-the lungs-the liver-the heart -the locomotive powers, is quite unimpaired. The temperament is unchanged. Age is the cause of nothing, it only indicates a series of vital or chemical changes in the system. Where then, is the energy of action which characterized the cerebral mass at an earlier period of

life? The brain is not dead, it is only changed in its constitution. A chemical change in the constituent particles of the optic nerve, called ameurosis, without the slightest alteration of Size, renders it insensible to the stimulus of light; and the power of vision is lost. A change in the arrangement of the constituent particles of the cornea, from being transparent, renders it opaque. We are told it is produced by disease, but disease only signifies chemical changes in the function or structure of the animal organs.

But what becomes of the thirty-five primitive metaphysical faculties of Dr. Spurzheim in nearly all men who die of old age? In them the temperament and the size of the cerebral mass, the fundamental principle of energy of action according to Dr. Spurzheim, remain the same, while the mental faculties are nearly extinct. The changes which the cerebral mass has undergone, are not discoverable by our senses, nor by any tests which we are at present able to apply. The mental faculties and exercises, then, depend upon certain qualities or conditions of the brain, independent of its size and temperament. This property or condition of the cerebral mass, probably, consists in the peculiar arrangement or combination of the material particles of which it is, for the time being, composed, like the transparency of the cornea

or the sensibility of the optic nerve before the chemical changes take place, which render the one opaque and the other insensible to the influence of light. Innumerable instances of such combinations may be noticed in the various departments of the material world. Iron loses its magnetic power without the slightest change in any of its known properties, whether of size or temper. Some bodies lose their electric power without any perceptible change in size, density, or cohesiveness. Water, congealed into snow, becomes opaque; into ice, it is transparent.

The property of transparency in bodies is the reverse of the principle assumed by Dr. Spurzheim. The less the size or quantity of matter in a given surface, the greater the degree of transparency; the thinner a piece of glass or ice, is, the more light there is transmitted through it. The activity between light and transparent bodies, is increased in an inverse ratio of size. Previous to the knowledge of the evidence derived from observation and experiment, energy of action has no more connection with largeness than with smallness of size. The mental faculties may and probably do depend upon a property of the cerebral mass resembling that of transparency in bodies. It is evidently not the same property, but a property analogous to it. The mental faculties are produced and destroyed by chemical changes in the organ of the brain, without the remotest reference to its size or any other known property. In every period of life—infancy—manhood and old age—the cerebral mass undergoes changes, like the changes from transparency to opacity in the same mass of other matter, which destroy, increase or diminish the mental faculties. Neither size, therefore, nor temperament, can be admitted as fundamental conditions of the mental faculties, or of their energy of action.

Mr. Combe contends that the strength of the bones and muscles depends, ceteris paribus, on their size, and infers the greater strength of the cerebral mass from its analogy to these parts. There may be a certain degree of truth in this position, including the et ceteras, but when the et ceteras make the chief bulk of the account, they lessen materially the importance of the first item. I will not charge that gentleman and Dr. Spurzheim with a want of familiarity with the first principles of physical science, but they obviously avoid a special reference to all of them except the principle of size. In estimating the force of matter, density is a property or condition of matter equally as essential as size. The principles which constitute the force of bodies, are velocity, density, and size, multiplied into each other. But these conditions do not constitute the strength of masses of The fundamental principle of the strength of masses of matter, is a peculiar species of attraction, denominated, in physical science, the Attraction of Cohesion. Although the application of this principle to account for the strength of masses of animal matter in general, and of the animal organs in particular, may be new, and peculiar to the writer of this Essay, I trust that the intuitive evidence in favor of the proposition will insure it a ready approval. The principle of cohesive attraction has no necessary connection with quantity or size. In the same species of matter of the same weight, as in water congealed into ice, the power of cohesion varies immensely. A bone or muscle of one inch in diameter, highly endowed with the principle of attraction, will manifest more strength than a bone or muscle of twice or three times this size, which is but slightly endowed with this property. A rod of iron an inch in diameter, is a hundred times stronger than a hempen rope of the same size. The attraction between glue and wood is truly wonderful, and exhibits the force of this power in a palpable light; it furnishes, also, a specimen of cohesive attraction, as being the fundamental condition of the strength of animal matter. The strength of a bone or muscle, then, is compounded of three conditions-cohesive attraction, density, and size; but all these principles do not constitute force or energy, in the sense in which Dr. Spurzheim uses the term. Motion or impulse must still be added. The force or energy with which the heart beats or propels the blood, for instance, consists of the velocity of its motion, the density, and size of its walls, and its degree of cohesiveness. In estimating the force of action of the muscles even, this definition of the energy of action of an organ, reduces the relative importance of the single condition of size to quite a secondary consideration. In determining the energy of the cerebral mass, the properties of cohesiveness and density must be considered of at least equal importance with size, although phrenologists furnish us with no means of ascertaining the degree of either. A great degree of cohesiveness and density added to a small brain, may give it a much greater degree of energy than a large brain possesses, which is comparatively unendowed with the other principles. I do not even profess to know that cohesiveness and density are cardinal conditions of the brain; I only reason upon the principles of phrenology, which are borrowed from the analogy which the other parts of the system bear to the cerebral mass.

If the size of the brain has any considerable

influence in producing the strength and activity of the mental faculties, I should have supposed that the size of the external organs of sense, would have, long ago, been observed to manifest remarkable degrees of difference in the power of perceptibility; but not a suspicion of the kind has ever been raised. When the Belgian giant was in this city, I put the question to him whether he was aware of hearing sounds or seeing objects at any greater distance than other people, to which he replied that he was not. Indeed, so unconscious was he of the possession of any superior power in the external organs of sense, that the question struck him with a degree of surprise. The size of the organs of sense in this man must have been much larger than the size of the same organs in the general run of mankind, and yet he had never observed any difference. He was aware that he possessed greater physical strength than other men; if his senses had been really superior to those of other people, would he not have also been aware of that? In case of the slightest defect of any of our external senses, we become immediately aware of it by a direct comparison with others in the exercise of the faculty of that sense. The least dimness of sight or dulness of hearing is immediately detected by a comparison with our companions. Does the

large man, in whom the dimensions of the sense of feeling are four-fold greater than in the small man, feel a greater degree of heat or cold than the small man in the same temperature? Can the one form any better idea of moisture and dryness, hardness and softness, roughness and smoothness, than the other? The class of mental phenomena is so entirely dissimilar to the phenomena exhibited by the other organs, that no analogy can be instituted between them, and all deductions from such analogies, when instituted, must necessarily be erroneous. What does Dr. Spurzheim mean by energy of action, as applied to the brain and the external senses? Does he mean that the retina of a large eye is more sensible to the light reflected from minute objects than the retina of the small eye? That a less quantity of light will affect a large retina than a small one? That a large brain, ceteris paribus, can discover distant objects or hear distant sounds, which to a small brain are unseen or inaudible? This is the species of power that must constitute superiority in the external senses, which are also a part of the human mind. Can it be meant that a large nerve ramified on the organ of taste, will distinguish sweetness, sourness and bitterness, in substances, where a small nerve of taste can distinguish nothing? Or is it meant that these

impressions when made are more permanent and durable in the former than in the latter case? In a matter so palpably open to observation, is it not a little singular that the first intimation which we obtain of different degrees of power between a large retina and a small one, should come to us through the medium of hypothesis? The image of an object impressed on the retina of a large eye, is larger than the image of the same object on the retina of a small eye, but the image is equally complete in both cases, and produces an equal degree of stimulus in proportion to the mass to be moved or impressed. The permanency also of the impression is likely to be as great in the one case as in the other. It is equally difficult to conceive how the ideas derived from the external senses can be any more distinct, vivid or permanent in large brains than in small ones. I presume that Drs. Gall and Spurzheim never gave the operations of the mind that particular analysis which is contained in the works of the English and American writers. The supposed analogy, between the functions of the other organs and that of the brain, appears to be the chief ground-work of their system. But how could any analogy, even, between the liver and the lungs, have ever led to the discovery of the oxygenation of the blood? Much less, then, can the exercises of the brain be solved by their similitude to the functions of the muscles and the grosser organs.

Like all medical writers who have made one particular organ their especial study, Drs. Gall and Spurzheim have magnified amazingly its relative importance in the human system. The human brain is a physical organ like the stomach or the lungs, and its size merely, is of no more importance than the size of the other organs. A large-sized brain is entirely out of place, and must necessarily be feeble, if the other organs are not in keeping with it. The size of the head must be in proportion to the rest of the body, to possess strength and energy. A large stomach can be of no advantage, if the sanguineous system and the respiratory system are not in a due proportion to it; its digestive power can be no greater, and its function performed with no more ease.

The number and variety of ideas, derived from the senses, must be the same, be the size of the individual brain what it may. A small brain may give us only a miniature likeness of the external world, but the picture will be as complete and perfect, and appear as large to the brain itself, as if the brain were ever so large. There is one fact in physiology which shows that the size of the brain may be coun-

terbalanced by another principle. It is a well-known fact, that the smaller the size of the individual, and consequently the smaller the size of each organ in particular, the quicker will be the pulsations or motion of the heart, and consequently the quicker will be the train of ideas and of feelings. In other words, the lighter the wheel-work, the swifter the motion; so that what is lost in weight, is gained in time. The superior vivacity of small people, is proverbial; while, on the contrary, dulness and heaviness are spontaneously associated with large brains, as if bulk or size were an impediment to, and incompatible with, the ethereal operations of the mind.

John Hunter, as I have before observed, regarded the stomach as the controling organ of the system, and every attentive observer of the functions of the animal economy, I think, must coincide with him in opinion. If the stomach is a weak organ, the whole system will be weak, and the mental operations, be the brain large or small, will be weak and feeble. If the stomach be strong, the ideas and feelings will be likewise strong and energetic. The strength of the mental capacity depends upon the strength of the gastric viscera. The energy of the brain is, again, exceedingly dependent upon the respiratory organs. The oxygen of the air

has no despisable agency in the vigor and brilliancy of our ideas, in the transport of our feelings, and the rapidity and distinctness of our sensations. Whoever has inhaled the exhilarating gas, or experienced the difference between the country air and the ocean breezes, will find no difficulty in conceiving the important part which the vital air plays in giving energy to the function of the brain. The force of the heart constitutes still another item in estimating the energy of the brain. A languid circulation will produce a languid state of the brain; and be its size what it may, its function will more or less depend upon the force of the heart. Now, what rules have Gall and Spurzheim given us to determine the strength of the stomach, the power of the respiratory organs to vivify the blood, or the capacity of the heart to supply the brain with the vital fluid? The remaining organs, too, all act their part in strengthening or weakening the function of the brain. The phrenologists will reply, "we have supposed all these circumstances to be equal." But how can any opinion be formed of the energy of the brain, unless some rules are established to determine the energy of those organs on which the energy of the brain mainly do pends? If a judgment could be formed of the positive size of the stomach, respiratory organs,

or the heart, it would give us no rule of determining the degree of energy with which their offices are performed.

The operation of the external senses forms a part, and no ignoble part, of the mental function; and what rules have Gall and Spurzheim given us to determine the dimensions of the nerves of these organs? Are they invariably large when the brain is large? Does the size of the optic and auditory nerves always correspond to the size of the brain? Are these nerves always large when the organs of sense are large? Are the senses of taste, smelling and feeling, sure to be acute when the brain is most active? The external senses are the basis of all our knowledge, and I am surprised at the degree of inattention with which they are treated by Drs. Gall and Spurzheim. In the system of these gentlemen, the five external senses hardly appear to be necessary to the acquisition of a knowledge of the external world.

The second prominent principle of Gall and Spurzheim is, that the brain consists of a plurality of organs. It is singular enough that the existence of these organs should have been infered from the supposed existence of a plurality of metaphysical principles, which they denominate primitive principles—a species of principles—as pecies of pr

ples always regarded by philosophers with the greatest distrust. How subtile and intangible the principle of Ideality, Comparativeness, or Causality. What two philosophers could possibly give the same definition of them? To infer the positive existence of physical organs from the supposed existence of abstract principles so extremely problematical, appears to me to be a deviation from every acknowledged rule of philosophizing. Mr. Spurzheim has discovered thirty-five primitive abstract principles, denominated sentiments, propensities, and faculties, which he contends must require as many separate organs for their manifestation. I should as soon have thought of searching the retina of the eye for a plurality of organs located there, for the purpose of distinguishing the diversity of objects addressed to that sense, as of searching the surface of the brain for a plurality of organs as instruments of the diverse mental operations. The eye performs a multifarious office, like the brain, and would seem to require a similar diversity of subordinate organs. There is a plurality of elementary principles in the blood; does it not, therefore, follow, that the heart must have a plurality of organs to eliminate and combine these principles? The office of the stomach is as manifold as the office of the brain; does it not also require a plurality of little subordinate stomachs? How discordant and diversified the sounds addressed to the ear; how numerous the species of odors; how opposite the degrees and kinds of sensations produced by the single organ of feeling; do not these organs require a system of smaller organs to perform their several offices? The anatomy and organization of the brain, like the anatomy and organization of the eye or any other organ, conduct us to the conclusion that it is a single organ, all its parts contributing to the accomplishment of a single purpose, the production of a train of feelings and ideas.

Dr. Spurzheim has alloted several cerebral organs for the reception and manifestation of the impressions derived from one single organ of sense, the sense of sight, for instance; viz.: Color, Configuration, Size, Individuality, Ideality, &c. There are thirty-five cerebral organs to receive and manifest the impressions derived from the five organs of sense; that is, seven cerebral organs for each organ of sense, or in this proportion. The necessity of such an arrangement surpasses my comprehension. In its form, the sanguiferous system corresponds very nearly to the nervous system, and the heart has probably as many branches as the brain; but, yet, all these branches, extremely complicated and diversified in their action, imply no diversity in

the action of the heart, nor was there ever a diversity of subordinate organs suspected. No analogy of any organ in the system, conducts us to the conclusion that there is a plurality of organs in the brain.

According to the method which Dr. Spurzheim follows in discovering and defining a special faculty of the mind, many more special faculties might be added to the list which he has given us; more easily cognizable, and more clearly distinguishable from each other. The love of motion is earlier developed than the love of music; and dancing was in vogue before the violin or the piano forte was invented. The gambols of children are more pleasing than the softest music. Thirst is as distinct from hunger, as physical love is from the love of gain. Thirst exists without hunger, and hunger exists without thirst. Innutritious liquids will not satisfy hunger, nor solid food satisfy thirst. Perhaps another Charles Bell may discover that these two propensities proceed from two distinct sets of nerves, distributed to the stomach. There should be, therefore, an organ of Thirst. The propensity to sleep, is as constant and urgent as the propensity to eat, and the gratification equally as pleasant. In some people, it constitutes the most delicious indulgence; and, in many species of animals, it is even stronger,

and indulgence in it more gratifying, than in the human species. Why should there not be an organ of Sleep? The love of intoxication is a distinct propensity from thirst or hunger, and discovers itself among all nations. It is the love of exhiliration, and for the most part originates in the constitution of the nervous system. Why should there not be a special organ for the manifestation of this propensity? There is also a propensity to see, a propensity to hear, a propensity to taste, to smell, and to feel. Why not a special organ for each of these original propensities?

Peter Camper, a Dutchman of some note, who figured as a physiologist about a hundred years ago, probably in compliance with longestablished prejudices, for, in the western part of Europe, he could have had but few opportunities of personal observation upon the subject upon which he treated, invented a method of ascertaining the intellectual capacities of the different races of men, founded upon the different conformations of the frontal portion of the brain or head. Camper contended that the forehead of the white race was more erect than that of either of the other races of men, and that the forehead of the African race was the least erect of all. Gall and Spurzheim have seized upon this hypothesis, for it was mere hypothesis with

Camper, to build up a superstructure of their own. In this city, there is from one to two thousand of the African race, and there has always been about the proportion of one man of color to twelve whites. I have often noticed the shape of their foreheads in connection with the facial angle invented by Camper, but could never discover any prevailing difference between the erectness of their foreheads, and the foreheads of the whites. In the same number of individuals, there is, according to my observation, as great a number of erect foreheads among the African, as among the European tribe. In all our American cities, we have had a much better opportunity of deciding upon a fact of this nature, than Camper could possibly have had, in the cities of Europe, where the colored races are, and always have been, comparatively rare. If there had been any truth in the hypothesis of Camper, would not the fact have long ago become proverbial among us, like the other external peculiarities among the two colors? The shorter hair, the flatter nose, the more prominent heel, the thicker lips, have all become proverbial; if the forehead had been really less upright, would it not have been observed, and would the race not been reproached with it? The color makes the forehead of the African, at first sight, less conspicuous than the forehead

of the white man, and, perhaps, it may have influenced our judgment with regard to its height and erectness, and so have orginated the error. A retreating forehead, however, does exist in individuals among mankind; but even the existence of such a conformation of the forehead does not imply, in my mind, any deficiency in the frontal portion of the brain. The brain is a soft mass, and conforms itself, in shape, to the shape of the cranium. The soft parts in contact with bones, always conform themselves to the bones, and not the bones to the soft parts. Dr. Spurzheim evidently supposes the brain to originate the shape of the cranium, and the shape of the cerebral organs to produce a corresponding bump or prominence in the bones of the head-a postulate of the greatest importance to his theory, but which no physiologist would consent to concede to him. The same frontal mass of brain may exist where the bone retreats, as if it were upright. In the former case, the same mass merely reclines, whereas, in the latter, it is forced into a more upright position by the different position of the bone. If the liver or the lungs were to exhibit a similar deviation in shape, is it supposable that the new shape would essentially affect the strength and energy of function in either of these organs? Nature allows great latitude in the shape of all

the animal organs, without creating any perceptible difference in the energy of their functions. As little consequence is it to the vital force of the brain, whether one of its lobes is a little larger or smaller than the other. How could it affect the oxygenation of the blood, if one lobe of the lungs happened to be of a little different shape or size from the other; or the secretion of the bile, if one lobe of the liver be twice the size of the other, and of different shape?

There is a singular hiatus between the situation of the cerebral organs as they are described and located by Dr. Spurzheim, and the external organs of sense. Language is oral as well as written, and one would suppose that the organ of Languge should be in connection with the auditory nerve. The organ of Music should also be located in the same connection. But the former is located at a great distance from the nerve of hearing, and the latter not very near it. The organs of Color, Configuration, Locality and Ideality, the anatomist would expect to find in close connection with the thalami nervorum opticorum; Alimentiveness, in a continuous route to the nerves of taste and smell; the organ of Combativeness, at the origin of the brachial nerves. What a complicated process the mind must go through, in order to form

an idea of any particular event, an eclipse of the moon, fer instance. The external senses, the eyes, for instance, are barely the preliminary instruments in informing us of a distant object, but give us no idea of its color, figure, size, whether it is a thing or an event, or whether it is an individual object, or several objects. The organ of Color determines that the moon, in a total eclipse, is black. The organ of Configuration determines that it is round and not square. The organ of Size determines that it is small. The organ of Comparativeness, that it is less in size than the sun; the organ of Individuality, that it is single. The organ of Eventuality, that the eclipse is an event. Thus the impression made on the retina, goes through six special organs before it becomes a complete idea of an eclipse of the moon, and all these organs holding no anatomical or vascular connection with each other!

The organ of Adhesiveness manifests a propensity to adhere to the same persons; and the organ of Inhabitiveness, a propensity to adhere to the same places and things. Now, who does not perceive that the distinction here made is founded on the difference between persons and places, or between animate and inanimate objects, and not on any conceivable difference between a propensity for persons and a propensity for places. In the same way, the appetite of

hunger might be divided into as many special propensities as there are different species of food, and the organ of sight into as many subordinate organs as there are classes of objects addressed to it. Such distinctions neither contribute to information nor to utility; they may be multiplied without end, and invented where no actual differences, in things, exist.

The shapes of the phrenological organs are no less remarkable than their relative situations and their functions. Some are nearly squares, others parallelograms; some are triangular, others are trapezoids. In general, they bear no similitude to any other animal organs. There is a certain law of configuration running through all the animal organs, a certain cylindrical and globular contour or form, easily cognizable, but yet very difficult to define. In the delineation of the cerebral organs, by Dr. Spurzheim, this law is no where discoverable; the shapes of the organs have no conformity to each other, or to the shapes of the other organs of the animal system.

The special organs of the brain, we are informed by Dr. Spurzheim, are developed, or increased in size, by exercise. The exercise of an organ, in itself, considered, has no effect in enlarging its size. The size of an organ depends upon the quantity of blood which it receives in a

given time. The exercise of the brain has no effect in supplying itself, thereby, with an extra quantity of blood, and, therefore, the exercise of the cerebral mass in general, or of any part of it in particular, can have no tendency to increase its size. The more bile the liver secretes, or the greater its activity, the more that organ is emaciated or diminished in size; and such must be the effect of exercise with every organ which, by that exercise, is not supplied with a greater amount of blood. Even the muscles are not enlarged by exercise, of itself; the enlargement is owing to the agency of exercise in forcing into them a greater amount than ordinary, of arterial blood, their appropriate nutriment. Muscular exercise, added to the natural force of the circulation, is in this way the great agent, and almost the only agent, in augmenting the size of the body in general, and of the brain in particular. The muscles have a known agency in propeling the blood; the brain has no such power, and consequently no power of augmenting its own size. The brain manifests the most perfect passivity, and its phenomena are produced by the action of foreign stimuli upon it. A nerve never manifests the least contractile power. If, in an amputation, or any other surgical operation, the end of a nerve

is left exposed, it remains exposed, until it sloughs off; it never retracts.

If mankind do not differ perceptibly in the capacity of their external senses, what reason have we to search for a greater difference in their mental capacities? There are instances of idiocy and of non compos mentis, as there are of blindness and deafness; but as a general principle, the capacities of the human race appear to me to be very nearly equal; not mathematically equal, for animal bodies admit of no such equality, but physiologically the same. muscular strength they differ materially; but in the phenomena of the mind, carried on whether they will or not, a class of phenomena which resembles no other but the phenomena of the senses, the individuals of the human race differ much too little ever to become a subject of discussion.

The largest class of brains are not found among those who, from infancy, are educated scholars, but among the laboring class. The brains of the laboring class, like their lungs and stomach, are enlarged by exercise. The size of their muscles is only an index of the size of their brains; the latter are as much larger than the brains of sedentary people, however active may have been their minds, as are their muscles. It is not genius which enlarges the brain, but the plough-handle and the spade.

adi ok ridingassen PART III.

It is generally allowed that the external senses furnish the elements of all our knowledge. In running a parallel between the intellectual capacities of the whites and the blacks, I shall, first, compare them by their senses of feeling, seeing, hearing, tasting, and smelling. If the color of the skin, the features of the face, the shape of the body, and the texture of the hair, are the occasion of any difference in the intellectual endowments of these two classes of people, it should, first, and, especially, manifest itself in the parts where the color and other variations are situated.

The sense of feeling resides especially in the skin, where the difference in color resides. If, therefore, the blackness, or the whiteness of the skin, is the occasion of any difference in the elementary knowledge of the two classes of people, the sense of feeling should, first, and clearly, manifest this difference.

But not a suspicion has ever been raised, that black people were inferior in the sense of feeling to white people. Feeling resides in the nervous system, which is as white in black people, as in the whites. The nerves are distributed to the skins of black pleople, in the same abundThe whiteness or the blackness of the skin has never been observed to vary, in the smallest possible degree, the faculty or sense of feeling, or touch. The sensible properties of external objects are as accurately judged of by them, as by us; and we unconsciously place the same trust in them, in this respect, as in ourselves. The shapes, sizes, and dimensions of bodies; the fineness or coarseness of their textures; their softness and hardness, are determined with as much nicety by them as by us. Every impression made upon the skins of the one class, is as vivid and complete, as if made upon the skins of the other.

If color produces any difference in the sense of feeling, some white people must have vastly more of this sense than others. The individual of a pearly whiteness, must differ widely in the sense of feeling, from one who is of a dark brunette color. The infant child, whose sense of feeling is notoriously dull, should vastly excel the adult man or woman in the keenness of this sense.

There is no end to the degree of whiteness, or to the degree of blackness in the objects of nature. As matter is indivisible, so color is illimitable in degree. It is obviously contrary to common observation and experience, much

more to scientific exactness, to say, that one man is white and another black, since the most that can be asserted, is, that one individual of the human race is whiter than another. Blackness and whiteness are but relative terms.

The structure and texture of the skin are alike in all mankind, whether blacker or whiter. The cuticle or epidermis, the true skin or dermis, and the middle layer or mucous membrane, present precisely the same appearances in the one class as in the other. The color of the mucous membrane in the human family, varies from a pearly whiteness to a black color, though never to a perfect black. The skin of the one color performs all the offices of that of the other, and is subject to the same affections and diseases. Contagion operates as quick in the one case as the other; and a fit of the palsy destroys or diminishes the sense of feeling in a black man, as effectually as in a white man. Disease and health are the same in both; and, in pain and pleasure, there is no difference.

It is an observation of Magendie, that "the functions of feeling and touch are improved, by the thinness of the true skin, by a warm atmosphere, by abundant cutaneous transpiration; and by a certain thinness and flexibility or limberness of the cuticle or scarfskin." If this observation is founded in fact, and we believe it

is, the darker or the blacker the color of the individual, the more perfectly will he possess the sense of feeling, since it is well known that the skins of all black animals are, in general, thinner than those of white animals. No superiority in the sense of touch or feeling, is, however, claimed for the people of color.

The features and shape of the individual, and the texture and length of the hair, are circumstances too obviously indifferent, in composing the qualities of the mind, and the perfection of the senses, to require a more particular notice. They have all been examined in a former part of the Essay. Enough has been written to show that the mechanism of touch or feeling, is essentially the same in people of every variety of color.

At birth, children are all white, or, of nearly the same color, and it is not until the lapse of several weeks, before the color undergoes a marked change in the children of black parents. The skin of colored children undergoes the same change which the hair of white children often undergoes,—from white to black.

Old age has the same effect upon the hair, both of black and white people. They both become grey. Age has a like effect upon the sight of both colors. They equally experience a diminution of the sight, after passing the meridian of life.

The evidence is demonstrative, that a greater or less degree of coloring matter in the skin or in the mucous membrane of the skin, produces no sensible difference in the sense of feeling. Every tangible object makes an impression as strong and durable upon the organ of touch in the individuals of the one color, as of the other: and the man of color can touch a musical instrument as accurately, and with as much effect, as the white man; his sense of feeling is directed to the same objects, and conversant with the same properties. It is to be regretted that Mr. Jefferson and others who have investigated this subject, did not turn their attention to those facts which can alone decide whether there is or is not a real difference in the personal and mental endowments of the two colors; their investigations might have produced, ere this, a very sensible effect upon the civilization of the world.

It would seem to be almost a work of supererogation, a useless task, to compare the two colors by their senses of seeing, and yet the inborn and accumulated force of prejudice and superstition, seems to demand it. A blindness seems to hang upon the world, with respect to the subject of color, in as great a degree as that which hung upon the ages which preceded the discovery of the convexity of the earth. It is as hard for people now to believe, that the white man and the black man are as near alike as any two white men, as for people, before the actual discovery of the western continent and the circumnavigation of the globe, to believe that the earth was round. The demonstration of the problem will be attended with as important results in the former case, as those which attended the latter.

Does the color of the skin occasion a difference in the sense of seeing? If color has any effect in producing an inferior man, it ought to manifest its effect in the organ of vision, where this color penetrates and resides. The eyes of colored people are always black, and if color is the occasion of mental or moral differences, their organs of sight ought to manifest an inability in the power of seeing objects at as great distances, and in as strong a light, as those of white people. But the fact is plain, and, I believe, indisputable, that men of the blackest color can see objects at as great a distance, and in as strong a light, as those of the whitest color; and minute objects are as visible to people of the one color, as to those of the other. If the statement is not true, the fact can easily be determined by trial. The beauty and deformity

of visible objects are as readily perceived by one, as by the other. The love of colors manifests itself in as great a degree among blacks, as whites; their taste, in dress and ornaments, is a sufficient evidence of this. The weight, size, figure, and color of objects—properties which are determined by the senses of feeling and sight,—appear to be the same to the man of color, as to the white man.

The elementary ideas are of the greatest importance in determining a difference or sameness in the mental and moral powers. If the elementary ideas and feelings are the same, or similar, in individuals of both colors, one part of the question is settled; it only remains to demonstrate that the intellectual processes are the same. If it is shown that the ideas acquired by the organs of feeling and of sight are as perfect, as complete, and as numerous in the intellectual attainments of the one people as of the other, the presumption will be strengthened, that they are equal in other respects.

The diseases to which the organ of sight is subject, are the same among both classes of people. Certain deformities of these organs, particularly strabismus or squinting, is much less common among colored people, than among the whites, owing no doubt to the enjoyment of healthier and stronger constitutions.

To extend the comparison with the same degree of minuteness, to the senses of hearing, tasting, and smelling, would be unnecessary. In distinguishing the variety of sounds; in the love of music; and in a successful cultivation of a musical taste, it has never been doubted that they were equal with the whites.

In the faculties of smelling and tasting, they evince their equality by their success in the art of cookery, where these senses are especially engaged. Where they have the opportunity of learning the art, they become, proverbially, good cooks, and accomplished housekeepers. No obtuseness nor inferiority have ever been observed in any of the five senses. The external world excites the same sensations in them, as in white people. The grass is as green, the rose as sweet, and the sky as blue to them, as to those of a whiter color.

In the faculty of speech and the art of communicating their ideas, they manifest the same equality which is apparent in the exercise of the external senses. They make words as naturally, easily, and promptly the signs of their ideas as the whites do; and the language of the native Africans is as copious and expressive, as the language of other uncivilized nations, whether white or indian. The mere existence of a language furnishes one of the strongest evidences which we can have, of their title to the attributes of humanity. A sameness in the vocal organs, and the art of substituting sounds and written characters for ideas, sensations, and feelings, scarcely less than a sameness in the possession of the external senses, is a confirmation of the equality and sameness of the people of the two colors, or rather the people of the extremes of the human color: for black and white are evidently only extremes of the color of mankind,

In peopling the earth, nature has manifestly given a preference to a blackish color, since the greater part of the human race are either of the Indian or African complexion. Black hair, black eyes, and broad features, predominate still more than a blackish complexion; probably nine-tenths of mankind are characterized by these physical attributes.

The Indians, Asiatics and Africans, all appear to intermarry indifferently; among them, the question of inequality seems never to have arisen, and yet the Indians and Asiatics differ as much, in complexion and features, from the Africans, as the whites differ from the Indians and Asiatics. In complexion and features, the Indians and Asiatics are equally related to the whites and the blacks, and manifest neither repugnance nor preference for either the one or the other.

The same appears to be the case with mulatto people; they seem to be almost entirely destitute of those preferences and repugnances which distinguish white people. In settling a question of this nature, the instincts, sentiments, and opinions of those of another complexion, are not to be disregarded or despised. Their habits of thinking and feeling may disclose as much of the naked truth, as our own. Those people who border upon Africa, whether Europeans or Asiatics, participate more or less in the possession of the African color and features. Vicinity and intermixture are constantly operating to reduce the diversity of color and features. The Egyptians are a mixture of the Asiatic, the African, and the European blood; and the inhabitants of the Barbary States are an amalgamation of the European with the African blood. No small portion of the African blood runs in the veins of the Portuguese and Spanish. The African blood was conducted into Spain through the medium of the Moors.

The senses being the basis of human knowledge or of the human understanding, and the equality in the organs of sense being established among the different colors, it remains to compare them by their intellectual and moral powers.

Civilization, from some cause or other, has, for many hundred years, prevailed mostly among

the European race. Before the Christian era, it prevailed most in Africa and Asia, or upon the borders of those two quarters of the globe. With the exception of China, there is no civilized nation of colored people, of much magnitude. The Haytiens are not more than a million in number, and they are as yet but a young nation. It is difficult to make a comparison between people so differently situated with respect to the opportunity and means of intellectual development.

Mr. Jefferson, in his notes on Virginia, says, "Comparing the blacks by their faculties of memory, reason, and imagination, it appears to me that in memory they are equal to the whites; in reason, much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid; and, that, in imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous." It will be perceived that Mr. Jefferson allows the colored people the possession of the faculties of memory, reason, and imagination, although in the two last, they are inferior to the whites. Since Mr. Jefferson's time, many of the colored people have mastered the geometry of Euclid with as much ease as the whites. There is not that abstruseness in the science of geometry in our day, which there was supposed to be in the time of our fathers.

Mr. Jefferson must have known many a colored mechanic who could frame and build a house from beginning to end, in which the principles of geometry are constantly called into play; and how could he commit such an oversight, as to imagine that a man could scarcely be found among them capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid? Shall a man apply the principles of geometry, and yet be thought incapable of tracing and demonstrating them in the abstract? Practice in the one case makes the task as easy as in the other.

Architecture, and every other useful art have been learned by the colored people in instances enough, to show that their ingenuity and reason are equal to these faculties in the whites. If we are still left in doubt upon this subject, one might think that the life, and political conduct of Boyer in the government of Hayti, for forty years, would be a sufficient warranty of the possession of a common share of reason. To govern a million of people in peace, and in war; to render them comparatively prosperous and happy; to execute the laws of a well policed nation; and to keep up a well disciplined military establishment, certainly requires a degree of reason which would be capable of comprehending the elements of geometry. The experiment of learning geometry might have been

easily tried, and Mr. Jefferson might have given us fact, or a solution of the question, instead of assertion and conjecture.

To conduct the common affairs of civilized life with judgment and propriety, requires as much reason and common sense, as to fulfil the duties of the highest stations; and to imagine the form and construction of every part of a dwelling house, requires as much imagination as to write a few stanzas of poetry.

A complete refutation of the assertion of Mr. Jefferson, that a colored man could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the geometry of Euclid, is contained in the following extract from Good's Book of Nature, Vol. I.

"Freidig, of Vienna, was an excellent architect, and a capital performer on the violin; Hannibal was not only a Colonel of artillery in the Russian service, but deeply skilled in the mathematical and physical sciences; so, too, was Lislet, of the Isle of France, who was, in consequence, made a member of the French Academy; and Arno, who was honored with a diploma of Doctor of Philosophy, by the University of Wirtemberg, in 1734. Let us add to these, the names of Vasa, and Ignatius Sancho, whose taste and genius have enriched the polite literature of our own country: and, with such examples of negro powers before us, is it

possible to do otherwise than to adopt the very just observation of a very quaint orator, who has told us that the 'Negro, like the white man, is still God's image, although carved in ebony.'*

"Nor is it a few casual individuals among the black tribes, appearing in distant countries, and at distant eras, that we have to look for the clearest proofs of human intelligence. At this moment, scattered like their own oases, their islands of beautiful verdure, over the eastern and western deserts of Africa, multitudes of little principalities of negroes are still existingmultitudes that have, of late years, been detected, and are still detecting, whose national virtues would do honor to the most polished states of Europe; while at Timbuctoo, stretching deepest towards the east of these principalities, from the western coast, we meet, if we may credit the accounts we have received, with one of the wealthiest, perhaps one of the most populous, and best governed cities in the world; its sovereign a negro, its armies negros, its people negroes; a city which is the general mart for the commerce of western Africa, and whose trade and manufactures seem to be equally esteemed and protected."

It seems, therefore, that not only one, but three men of color, are found on record, to have

^{*} See Appendix.

been deeply skilled in the mathematical and physical sciences, and "capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid"—Hannibal, Lislet, and Arno.

"Misery," says Mr. Jefferson, "is often the parent of the most affecting touches in poetry. Among the blacks is misery enough, God knows, but no poetry." But Mr. Jefferson himself was no poet; shall we therefore infer, that he was alike deficient in the power of imagination? Or if all the rest of the world had been Jeffersons, would it furnish a proof of a deficiency in the imaginative faculty of man?

A man of color, by the name of Paul Cuff, who resided in or near New Bedford, of whom the writer has often heard the venerable gentleman to whom this little volume is inscribed, speak in the highest terms of respect, not only as to his modesty and his correct deportment, but as to his sound judgment and common sense, was a good navigator. Paul not only owned several ships himself, but had navigated them across the Atlantic Ocean. He was a member of Friends' Society, and a speaker; and his communications were always acceptable to the meetings he addressed. But, perhaps, the clearest proof of the capacity and intelligence of those whose skins reflect a little less light than our own, is manifested in the present and past condition of Hayti and Liberia, two governments exclusively governed by the blacks. For many years these people have exhibited as strong an interest in the progress of civilization, and have made as much progress themselves, as was ever made by any body of white people in the same time, and under similar circumstances.

Many of the colored people, within a few years, have become good public speakers, and good prose writers; studied the professions of law and medicine; learned mechanical trades, and made handsome proficiencies in science and literature.

In their moral powers, the whites have never claimed a superiority, and in this respect, it is unnecessary to trace a comparison.

In demonstrating an equality in the attributes of personal beauty, there is more difficulty, on account of the unsettled nature of the principles which constitute the standard of beauty in general. I conceive, however, that an attempt to illustrate and establish these principles, is not entirely desperate.

In each quarter of the globe, and in each separate nation, whatever complexion of the skin, set of features, and proportion in stature or size, are the most predominant, constitute the standard of personal beauty. In our country, a light, fair complexion, blue eyes, light hair, a stature varying between five and six feet, among men, and about six or eight inchess less among women, with a corresponding size, and with a set of features inclining to sharpness, are the external personal attributes which predominate; and, of course, these external attributes constitute the standard of beauty. Other complexions, features, statures, and sizes, may be beautiful, but the preference, all other circumstances being equal, is given to the predominant constituents of the external forms and make of the greater mass of the people. We decide involuntarily in favor of the multitude. If black eyes, black hair, a brunette complexion, and a greater or less stature and size, and a rounder set of features, were the predominant external characteristics of the United Statesians, the preference would, for the same reason, be given to people of this make, and they would be pronounced the most beautiful. They, of the light complexion and hair, and blue eyes, will continue to be the most brilliant and dazzling beauties, until the brunettes get the majority. The greatest models of beauty among the individuals of each of these divisions, are those which are compounded the most equally of all the external attributes belonging to that division. Many individuals are a mixture of each of these divisions, and are pronounced the more or less beautiful, as they partake more or less of the

external make of the one or of the other divi-

In England, Scotland, and Ireland, the standard of personal beauty is nearly the same as in the United States. In Spain, Portugal, and France, the external personal attributes are different, and the standard of personal beauty is consequently different. In these countries, the brunette complexion, black eyes, black hair, a shorter stature, and a more stockish size, predominate, and the preference, in point of personal endowments, is conceded to those who manifest the predominant physical characteristics of the people. In the greater part of Asia Minor, in Arabia, Egypt, and the Barbary States, the people are of an olive color, with black hair and eyes, and of a combination of features much rounder than any which the Europeans possess. In this section of the globe, the items, which constitute the standard of personal beauty, differ considerably more from ours than any which the Europeans present. For a person born in these countries, and who had once imbibed the standard of personal beauty which predominated there, it would be difficult to conceive of any other; but if such a person could become equally an inhabitant of the whole globe, and his eye become as familiar with one color and combination of features as with another, the standard of personal beauty would be compounded of all the external characteristics common to mankind.

If the observations which I have made are true, and agreeable to the observations of others, it will not be difficult to perceive that the blackest complexion, the combination of the broadest and flattest features, the shortest and curliest hair, and the most stockish make of the body, may become the standard of personal beauty, as well as the whitest skin and the other corporeal characteristics which go along with it.

In the material and the vegetable world, the preference which we give to one color over another, is founded upon the same principle as in the animal kingdom. Green is the predominant color of the vegetable world, and is the most extensive; for this reason, it is the most agreeable to the eye and pleasing to the mind. Blue is the next most predominant color; it is the color of the sky and the ocean. Yellow, orange, red, violet, and indigo, appear to exist in the order which I have named them, and the preference which we involuntarily give to one over the other, is in proportion to the predominancy of that particular color.

The human skin is everywhere of the same composition and structure; with this difference,

that, in one instance, it reflects a greater portion of the sun's rays than in another. If the skin, in one set of people, reflected one of the primary colors, and in another set, a different primary color; for instance, if the skin of the Africans reflected a green color; the skin of the Indians, a blue color, and the skin of the Europeans, a yellow color, we might have some more tangible points on which to found a physical difference. But the mere circumstance of the reflection of a greater or less degree of the sun's rays, argues but a trifling difference in the organization of the skin. Indeed, the degrees of light and dark run so imperceptably into each other in the human complexion, that no points can be distinctly marked, but the extremes. The human skin is one and the same structure, differently shaded. The human species, all nations, are of one blood.

That white and black are merely comparative terms, as applied to express the color of different people, is obvious from the slightest inspection of the hair of colored people, compared with the color of their skins. At a venture, the color of the hair is as deep again as that of the skin, in the darkest skinned individual that can be selected; or the skin will be found as much lighter than the hair, as the complexion of the European is whiter than that

of the African. If a scale of the human color were to be formed, and the color of the mulatto represented by 0, the skin of the darkest African might be said to be ten degrees below 0, and the African hair, twenty degrees below that point; while the skin of the European might be set down as ten degrees above; and the whiteness to which the hair of aged people changes, as twenty degrees above 0. Compared with snow, milk, or alabaster, the skin of the whitest individual is dark; and compared with the hair of the African, the skin of the mulatto is white. In a word, the sum total of the difference in the human skin, consists in its possession of a greater or less disposition to reflect light. The whitest skin is black, compared with the color of some objects, and even of some animals; and the blackest skin is white, compared with the color of other objects, and even of the color of other animals. To whiteness and blackness there are no limits. One man may be blacker than another, but no individual is either completely black or completely white.

In physical strength, the clearest blacks are fully equal, if not somewhat superior to the whites. The corporeal frame of these people, the bony structure, is, in general, thicker, heavier, and stouter, than that of the whites. This is manifested in the thickness and weight of the

bones of the head, which are an index of the thickness, weight, and strength of the other bones of the body. Anatomists and physiologists have committed an oversight in characterizing the Africans by the possession of thick scull bones, since these bones only partake of the size and thickness of the bones in general. The same thing appears to be true with respect to the thickness of the lips. The thickness of the lips is owing to the thickness and size of the muscles which compose them. It may not be true, in every instance, that the size of the muscles of the lips is an exact index or exemplification of the size of the muscles, in general, but I suspect that it is so in the main. Fat people have thicker lips than lean people, from the increase of the adipose substance in the body, generally, and in the lips and each other part in particular. But where the adipose substance is not abundant, the thickness of the lips arises from the size of the labial muscles. Numerous instances occur among the whites, where the lips are as thick as the lips of the blacks. Other instances occur of flat noses and broad features; of short, curly hair, and thick bones of the head and body. On the other hand, instances without number, among the blacks, occur, of thin lips and bones, or, of slender muscles and slender bones. In general, however, the size of the bones and muscles are bulkier in those of a clear African color, than in people of a white color. Hence, it may not be far from the truth to infer, aside from observation, that the blacks are, in general, superior to the whites in physical strength. The difference may not be great, but the balance inclines in their favor. Among the whites, great differences are visible in different nations, in the size of the bones and muscles which compose the body.

In the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal for October 23, 1844, Mr. G. F. Mellen, of Boston, offers some arguments in refutation of the principle which I have attempted to illustrate, and ascribes the cause of color to "the chemical action of the sun's rays." His theory is highly ingenious, but I think his reasoning wants the conclusiveness of experimental demonstration. Reasoning from final causes is a doubtful mode of proving any physical truth. To contend, as Mr. M. does, that the black man requires a black skin because he lives in a hot climate, and that nature gave him this skin to facilitate the transmission of heat from his body, is a postulate which puts to an end all further inquiry. It is true, that substances of a black color transmit heat more readily than those of a white color; and that the temperature of the human body is above the temperature of the air in the torrid zone, but the temperature of the air, in the shade, is not the temperature of the sun's rays, which, Mr. Mellen says, are the cause of the human color. If the skin of the African transmits the heat of his body more readily, it also transmits or absorbs the sun's rays more readily, and the heat of the sun's rays is greater than the heat of the body, so that the only advantage which such a color can enjoy, is when the person is in the shade.

South America is situated precisely like Africa with respect to the "chemical action" of the sun's rays, but the aborigines of South America are as much whiter than the Africans as the Europeans are whiter than the aborigines of South America. Is it not as necessary that the South American Indian should have as black a skin as the African to transmit the heat of his body, and to withstand the heat of the Equator? Africa is, by no means, so hot a place as authors would make it to be. In reasoning upon this question, a strip of the globe is selected to illustrate the effects of heat, extending from the cape of Good Hope to the north of Europe, and, in width, comprising not more than one-third of the landed portion of the earth. In all China and the southern portion of Asia, which are situated precisely like Europe, with respect to the action of the sun's

rays, and are precisely as cold and as temperate, not an aboriginal white man is to be found. In the continent of America, which stretches like the western continent, through the torrid, the temperate, and the frigid zones, not an aboriginal white man is to be found; nor a pure black man. Surely, the chemical action of the sun's rays, must operate divers effects, producing dark colored men where they should be white, and olive where they should be black. Turkey, in Asia, with respect to the action of the sun's rays, is in the same condition with the cape of Good Hope, and yet the people of the latter place are extremely black, while the Turks are white, or as white as the Spanish. The chemical action of the sun's rays, or of the heat and light of the sun, cannot be admitted as the cause of the darkness of the color, unless instances can be furnished of such an effect; or in other words, it must be proved by observation and experiment. Three hundred years have elapsed since white men have lived in the torrid zone, and black men in the temperate zone, without the slightest possible real change in the color of the one or of the other. The color changes by mixture of blood, but by no other cause. How unphilosophical then to assign the chemical action of the sun's rays, as a cause in the production of an effect which will not take place in the space of three hundred years.

In the assignment of this cause for the production of the color of the skin, writers have committed a very remarkable oversight. If the chemical agency of the sun is the cause of this color, why should the action of the sun be suspended in its effects upon the lower animals? Would not the animals and birds of the torrid zone become black as inevitably as the inhabitants? But there are not more black animals and birds in the torrid than in the temperate zone. How could the lower animals withstand the heat of the Equator or the cold of the North any better than man, without a color which might transmit more or less easily the heat of the body? Is it philosophical to limit the chemical action of the sun to one species of animals, although that species may be the highest in the chain of beings? Our domestic animals are indifferently, of a black, white, red; or, of divers colors, while the action of the sun's rays, is the same upon all. The hair of some people is red, and the skin freckled, with spots of the clearest and most transparent white; the hair of others, black, and the skin, brown; and the hair of others, again, of the color of flax, and the skin of a pearly white, while, the chemical action of the sun is the same upon all. In accounting for the physical differences of mankind we must search for causes which have an observable and experimental effect upon the animal world. The same laws which produce the lesser differences will be found to produce the greater. I think we can approximate the truth no nearer than to say that the different degrees of lightness and darkness of the human skin are owing to the physical latitude allowed by nature in the reproduction of the human species.

I am confident that we shall be amazed at our own stupidity in discerning the equality of the blacks with the whites, when we reflect, in how many ways, we acknowledge it unknowingly to ourselves. Every government that is instituted, every constitution that is framed, and every criminal law that is enacted, contains an explicit and full acknowledgement that men under every diversity of color are equal in their intellectual and moral powers. To be responsible to the same laws, to be subject to the same penal enactments, and to be tried by the same rules of equity and justice, are the strongest evidences which we can have, of human equality. It were folly, the plainest and the rankest, to require of an inferior race of beings, the duties, the obligations, and the conduct of a higher race. Can a being inferior to man, or if you

please, inferior to a white man, commit murder, robbery, piracy, arson, theft, rape, and perjury? Can he be placed in jail for the non-fulfilment of a contract, or in the States' prison for taking the property of the superior being? Can the inferior being understand the reason of his punishment, or comprehend the designs of the law? Is it right, or reasonable to take the life of a being, for murder, who cannot understand the value of human life in general, or the nature of the crime which he commits? Are the same government, constitution, and laws, which are adapted to the superior race, also fitted to the inferior race?

What injustice it must be to take the life of a white man for the murder of a black man, if the black man is an inferior being or destitute of the intellectual endowments of the white man! Yet this has often been done both in this and other countries. All our laws are enacted upon the common understanding that black men are as much deterred from crime by the fear of punishment as white men; but such laws are entirely irrational, if the black man is not equal in mental and moral capacity to the white man. Is the life of an inferior being of as much value as the life of the superior being? Is the property, and happiness of him who has only a moiety of the human understanding, as

sacred and inviolable as his who possesses all the attributes of man? The laws of the general government, and, of the free states, make no distinction between the crimes of the whites and the blacks. Neither color, nor race is recognized in the commission or punishment of crimes, in any of our penal codes in the free states, or in England. In the eye of the law, among us, all colors are equal, and alike responsible. A deed or a will, a contract or a bill of sale, a note of hand or an oath in court, are as valid, in the case of a black man as of a white man. The testimony of a black man, his character being equal, is as good as that of a white man, and has the same weight in the conviction or acquittal of the accused. Are not our lives, property, and happiness placed in the highest possible jeopardy by allowing the testimony of an inferior race an equal weight in courts of law?

Is it possible for a being inferior to us to feel the same degree of guilt in the commission of crime, which we feel? or can the fear of death, or any other punishment operate upon him with the same force as upon us? Observation and experience both show that black people have the same dread of death, and the same sensibility to punishment which the whites manifest, and the law, in this respect, is founded upon the right basis, and furnishes one of the strongest evidences that the distinction between the two colors has no foundation in reason and common sense, but on the contrary, is the result of ignorance and superstition. To make black people subject to the same legal requirements as the whites, is proof as strong as holy writ, that they are as able, as the whites, to perform these requirements.

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APPENDIX.

We know not the antiquity of this kingdom: but there can be no doubt of its having a just claim to a very high origin: and it is possible that, at the very period in which our own ancestors, as described by Julius Cæsar, were naked and smeared over with paint, or merely clothed with the skins of wild beasts, living in huts, and worshipping the mistletoe, the black kingdom of Bambarra, of which Timbuctoo is the capital, was as completely established and flourishing as at the present moment.

What has produced the difference we now behold? What has kept the Bambareens, like the Chinese, nearly in a stationary state for, perhaps, upwards of two thousand years, and has enabled the rude and painted Britons to become the first people in the world—the most renowned for arts and for arms—for the best virtues of the heart, and the best faculties of the understanding? Not a difference in the color of the skin;—but, first, the peculiar favour of the

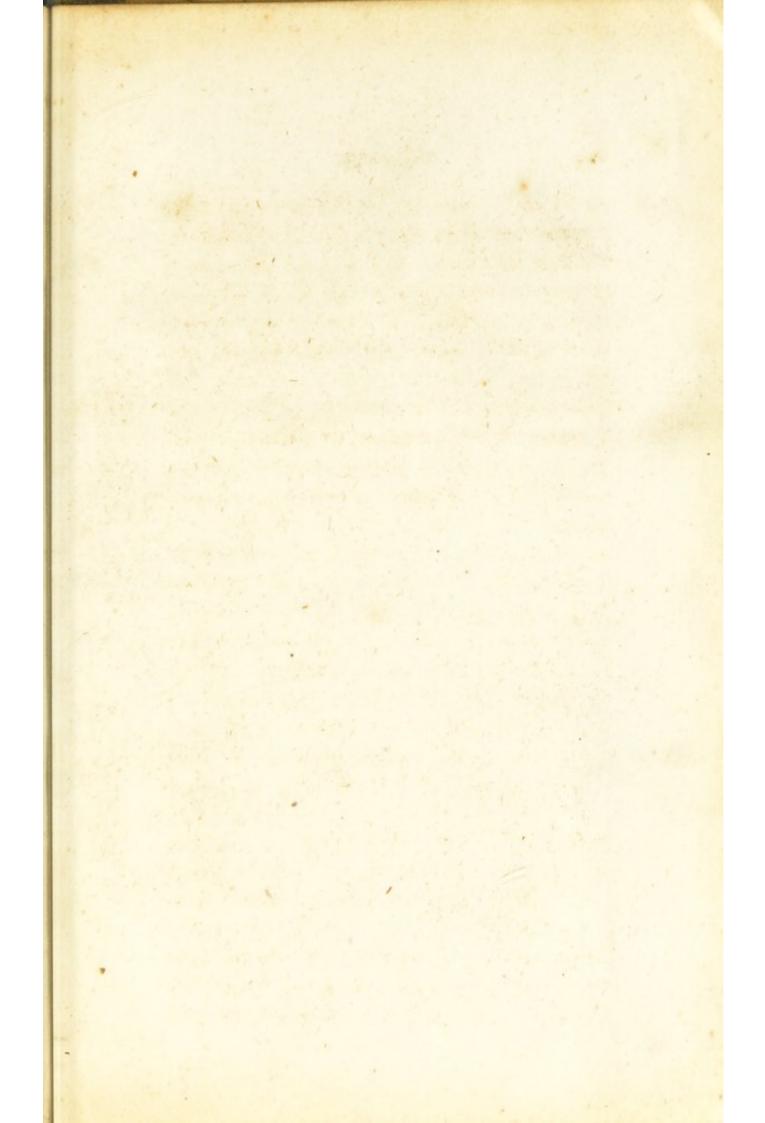
Almighty: next, a political constitution, which was sighed for, and in some degree prefigured by Plato and Tully, but regarded as a master-piece, beyond the power of human accomplishment: and, lastly, a fond and fostering cultivation of science, in every ramification and department.

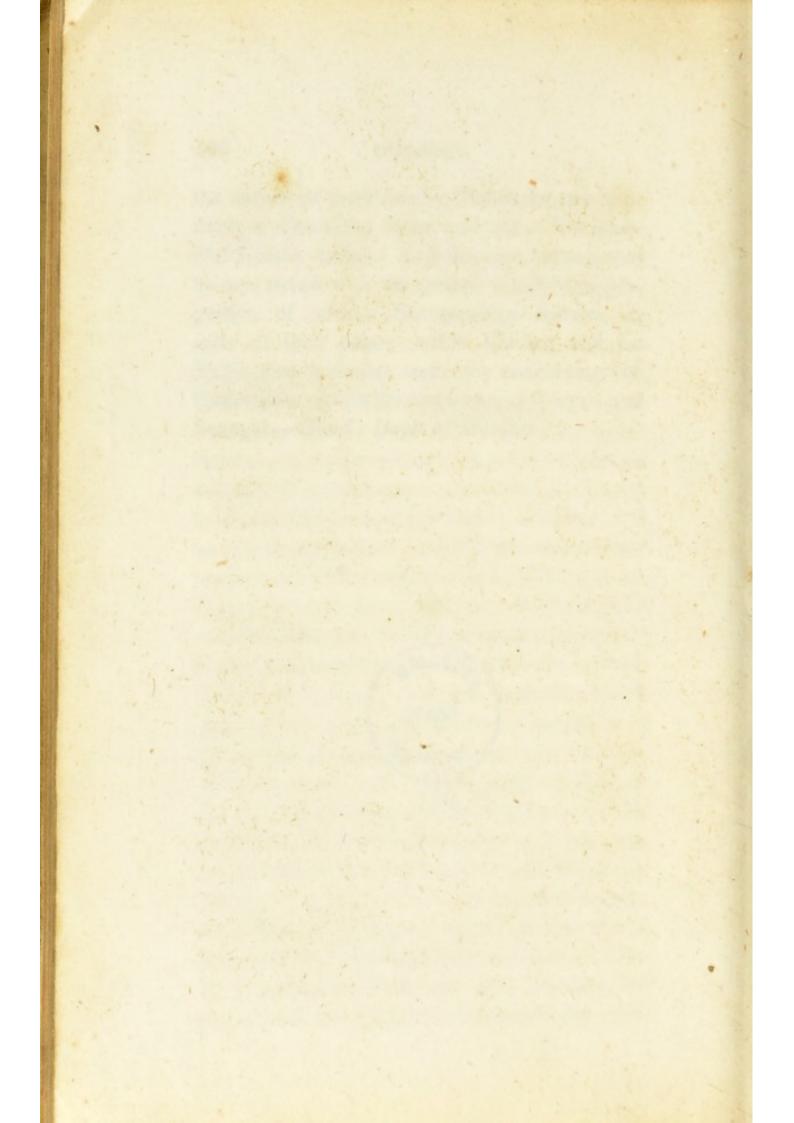
I follow Mr. Jackson's description, which is added to his "Account of the Empire of Morocco," as by far the most circumstantial and authoritative we have hitherto received. According to him, "the city is situated on a plain, surrounded by a sandy eminence, about twelve miles north of the Nile El Abeade, or Nile of the Blacks; and three days' journey (erbellat) from the confines of Sahara; about twelves miles in circumference, but without walls. The town of Kabra, situated on the banks of the river, is its commercial depot or port. The king is the sovereign of Bambarra: the name of this potentate, in 1800, was Woole: he is a black, and a native of the country he governs. His usual place of residence is Jiunie, though he has three palaces in Timbuctoo, which are said to contain an immense quantity of gold." The present military appointments are, it seems, entirely from the Negroes of Bambarra: the inhabitants are also, for the most part, Negroes, who possess much of the Arab hospitality, and pride themselves in being attentive to strangers. By means of a watercarriage, east and west of Kabra, great facility is given to the trade of Timbuctoo, which is very extensive, as well in European as in Barbary manufactures. The various costumes, indeed, exhibited in the market-places, and in the streets, sufficiently indicate this, each individual being habited in the dress of his respective country. There is a perfect toleration in matters of religion, except as to Jews. The police is extolled as surpassing anything of the kind on this side the Desert: robberies and housebreaking are scarcely known. The government of the city is entrusted to a divan of twelve slemma or magistrates; and the civil jurisprudence superintended by a learned Cadi .-Good's Book of Nature.

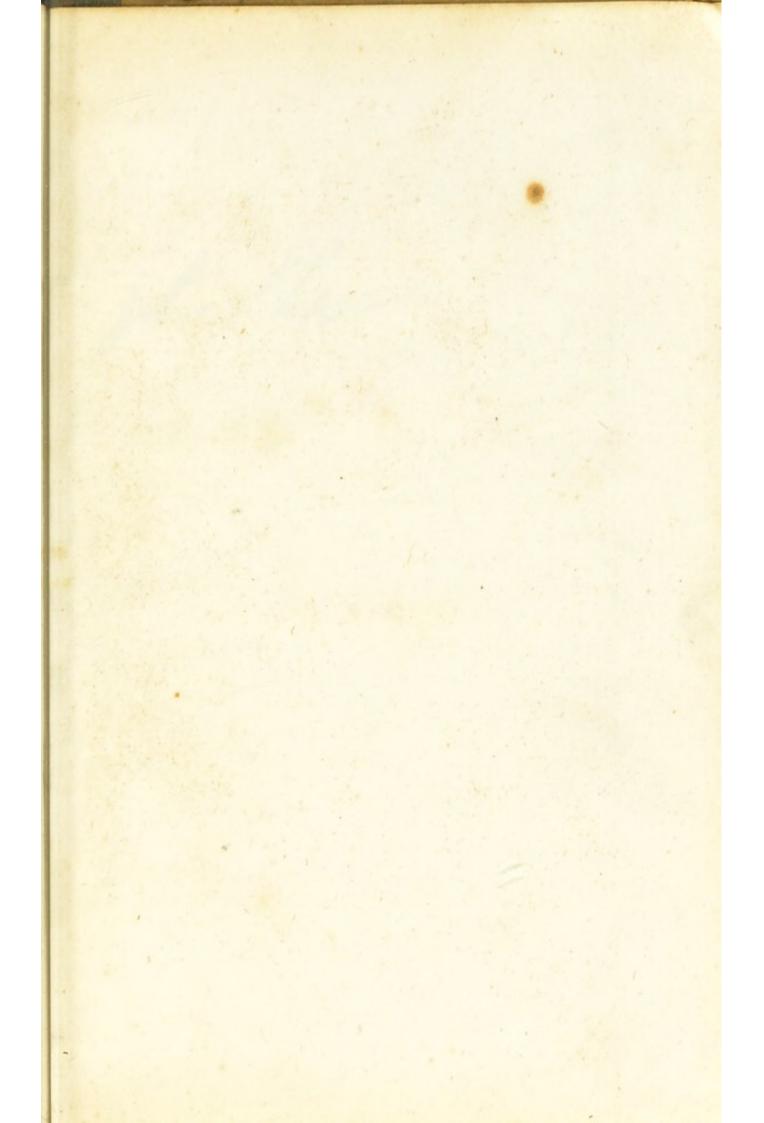
A perfect jet of the skin has never, perhaps, been found in our own country, in any person of genuine English race; but a dark, swarthy, and even copper-color, is by no means uncommon; and an equal difference is observable in the globularity of the head, and the flatness or sharpness of the face. In like manner the skin is occasionally found fair among the red tribes of America; and black among the tawny tribes of Australia, and even the olive nations of India. So Captain Cook informs us that, among

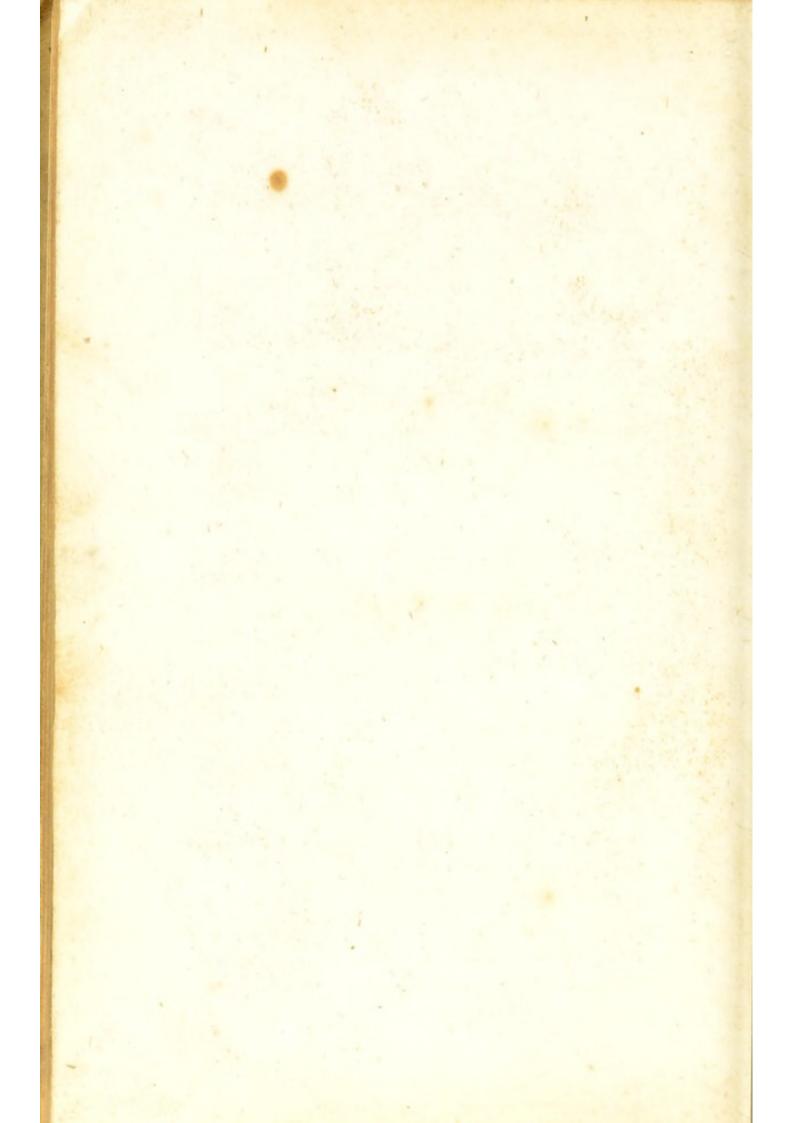
the natives of the Friendly Islands, he saw hundreds of European faces, and not a few genuine Roman noses. And Adanson asserts that he was struck with the general beauty and proportion of several Senegambian females, in spite of their color; while Vaillant and Le Maire give a similar testimony concerning the Caffre women, and the negresses of Gambia and Senegal.—Good's Book of Nature.











Johns Sheppard

