

GLIMPSES OF THE AGES

CHAMBERLAIN AND CHAMBERLAINISM

HIS FISCAL PROPOSALS AND
COLONIAL POLICY

BY

BARTHOLOMEW SMITH

(Theophilus E. Samuel Scholes, M.D., etc.)

Crown 8vo, paper cover. 1s. net

Daily News :—"In the Fiscal controversy Mr. Bartholomew Smith attacks the central figure. He argues that the remedy is not to be found in retaliation, but in the cultivation of trade relations with the three hundred and fifty millions of His Majesty's coloured subjects."

Literary World :—"Chamberlain and Chamberlainism' is the text for some destructive criticism by Mr. Bartholomew Smith. He regards Mr. Chamberlain's remedies as worse than the assumed disease. He has no faith in any Fiscal Federation of the Empire, and is particularly fierce against the treatment of coloured races within the British Empire. The way to increase the Colonial demand for our manufactures, in his view, is to deal justly by the races under our rule and to lead them by a wise and humane policy into a higher degree of civilisation. He charges Mr. Chamberlain with neglecting three hundred and fifty millions of people in order to bribe by Fiscal lollipops the few millions of people in our self-governing Colonies to increase the height of their tariff enclosures against our commercial rivals, while still keeping them high against ourselves."

JOHN LONG, PUBLISHER, LONDON

GLIMPSES OF THE AGES
OR THE "SUPERIOR" AND "INFERIOR"
RACES, SO-CALLED, DISCUSSED IN THE
LIGHT OF SCIENCE AND HISTORY

BY

THEOPHILUS E. SAMUEL SCHOLES, M.D., ETC.

FIAT JUSTITIA, RUAT CÆLUM



London

John Long

13 and 14 Norris Street, Haymarket

1905

CONTENTS

	PAGE ^s
I. INTRODUCTION	I
II. EVIDENCE OF INFERIORITY OF COLOURED RACES	5
III. VARIATION OF COLOUR AMONG RACES	13
IV. SEAT AND ORIGIN OF COLOUR	21
V. NATURE OF COLOUR AND TIME OF PRODUCTION	24
VI. PROBABLE FUNCTION OF COLOUR	34
VII. CRANIAL "VARIATION" AMONG RACES	39
MEASUREMENTS OF THE CRANIUM	39
THE CRANIUM AS A GUIDE TO RACE QUALITIES	42
VIII. THE QUALITY OF BEAUTY AMONG RACES	53
IX. THE REST OF THE ORGANISM, AS DETERMINING ORIGIN OF RACE	66
X. PROLIFICACY BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE	70
XI. EVOLUTION AS A CRITERION OF ORIGIN OF RACE	79
XII. NATURE AND GROWTH OF THE MORAL SENSE	95
XIII. MAN'S POSSESSION OF A RELIGIOUS FACULTY	114
XIV. MAN'S UNIVERSAL BELIEF IN GOD	126
XV. COMMON DESCENT SUPPORTED BY ANALOGY	144
XVI. FURTHER COMPARISON BETWEEN EVOLUTION AND MONO- GENESIS	154
XVII. GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	165
XVIII. GENERAL STATEMENT	173
EUROPE AS SEEN IN THE PRESENT	174
XIX. EUROPE AS SEEN IN THE PAST	178
XX. WHO WERE THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS?	191
XXI. CLASSIFICATION OF THE HAMITIC RACE	210
XXII. ARGUMENTS SUPPORTING RACE DIFFERENCES	216

GLIMPSSES OF THE AGES

	PAGE
XXIII. AFRICA AS SEEN IN THE PAST	221
ANCIENT RELIGION OF EGYPT	221
DYNASTIC HISTORY OF THE EGYPTIANS	223
ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE EGYPTIANS IN SCIENCE AND ART	230
XXIV. AFRICA AS SEEN IN THE PRESENT	236
THE NEGRO UNDER NATIVE AND MOHAMMEDAN CULTURE	236
THE NEGRO UNDER CHRISTIAN CULTURE	251
FOUR GREAT LEADERS OF THE NEGRO RACE	264
XXV. TO WHAT IS CIVILISATION PRIMARILY DUE?	283
XXVI. THE PRESENCE OF CIVILISATION AMONG THE RACES	312
XXVII. LESSONS TAUGHT BY THE TWO TYPES OF CIVILISATION	339
XXVIII. THE IMMEDIATE OR SECONDARY CAUSE OF CIVILISATION	346
XXIX. THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND COLOURED LABOUR	355
XXX. SOME FACTS CONCERNING MODERN CIVILISATION	374
XXXI. THE FUTURE OF MODERN CIVILISATION	384
INDEX	397

PREFACE

FROM the pulpit, as well as in general literature, the question is constantly being asked, whether the world is improving. Recently a well-known religious journal, in discussing this subject, referred to the views that had been expressed then by "two eminent teachers," one Scotch and the other American.

After the admission that great progress has been made in the material sciences, the Scotch divine, we are informed, adds: "But one may ask, Is it more likely now than it was many hundred years ago, that men themselves will henceforth be purer, better, nobler beings?" Then, replying to the question he had thus raised, he declared: "There is reason to fear that the answer would be in the negative."

The American teacher, we are also told, believes "that the world is growing better off; he thinks that perhaps its sense of justice, as embodied in law, shows improvement; and he is more certain of the increase of kindness"; but concerning what may be called the third factor, viz. self-restraint, "or the willingness to sacrifice one's own passion and pleasure for the good of others," he confesses himself as being both troubled and confused. He admits that from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century a great improvement has been visible in the self-restraint manifested, but he doubts whether that improvement is being maintained by the twentieth century. The answer given to the question by the second of these two authorities, is certainly that which is invariably made by the majority of persons who raise it; viz. that the world is growing better. This conclusion appears to rest upon two facts, one of which occurs in the remarks of the American divine now

noticed : the fact that a patent and even striking improvement, external and internal—I allude particularly to Europe—has been apparent in the later, as compared with the earlier relations and conditions of the various nations. The other fact upon which the continued improvement that is alleged of the world seems to be founded, is that summarised by the aphorism in which the ultimate victory of right is affirmed. However, it appears to me that to make either or both of these facts, as they are, the ground for concluding that the world's improvement is always continuous, is misleading and mischievous. With regard to the first of the two facts, Dr. Van Dyke, the American divine of whom we have been speaking, has avoided the assumption, that because there had been "vast improvement from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century," therefore now in the twentieth century there must also be improvement. This avoidance on the part of Dr. Van Dyke is eminently wise, for even if it could be proved that the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries are connected by an unbroken chain of improvement, such proof would not be an indication that that improvement is, by the present century, being advanced. On the contrary, since the improvement of the world is the work of changeable man, and not of changeless time, we should expect that its course would be irregular. And indeed this is the very picture that history supplies, for it represents the world's movement, in its relation to the condition of improvement or betterment, as that of progression and retrogression. Or to put the statement in one word, the world's movement, in its relation to betterment or improvement, is represented by history as that of oscillation. Further, according to this representation by history, the backward movement of the world is arrested and converted into a forward movement by certain forces, beneficent and maleficent, of which the revivals of religion, the revival of learning, war, and revolution, are examples.

With regard to the ultimate triumph of right over wrong, which constitutes the second fact that probably supports the belief that the world's improvement must be continuous, I take for an illustration the laws of health. We know that in

common with other natural laws, the destiny of the laws of health is that of final triumph. Yet, as we also know, it is no less true that, as has always been the case, these laws, whose destiny is ultimate triumph, are invariably broken by the majority of mankind. Similarly, although destined to ultimate triumph, the moral law, conformity to which comprises that improvement whereof we are speaking, may at any period, by few, by many, or by all communities, be habitually broken. Hence, in itself, the ultimate triumph of right affords no ground for the conclusion that the improvement of the world is always continuous. Therefore, neither the fact that the world has improved at any one, or during any series of periods, nor the belief that right will finally prevail, supplies a reason for the conclusion that the world's improvement is continuous throughout. And having, on the authority of history, asserted that, in its relation to improvement, the movement of the world has been that of oscillation, we proceed to inquire whether the movement of the present time is backward or forward.

No doubt, the following statements are used to uphold the view generally held, that the world's improvement is continuous, viz. :—

1. That between the leading nations a greater cordiality prevails.

2. That among the self-governing states, there exists a widespread desire for peace; a desire which finds expression, (*a*) in the constant discussion that is carried on in current literature, in the advocacy of peace; (*b*) in the international conferences held in the interest of peace; (*c*) in the efforts of the leading nations to lessen the chances of war, by the promoting of arbitration treaties; and (*d*) in the establishment of a permanent arbitration tribunal.

3. Lastly, that there is a greater recognition of the rights of all classes in the community than there was formerly.

I admit that in these statements, there may be found an element of truth, regarding the greater amity between the chief nations; the greater interest in the preservation of peace; and that as far as white communities, and the white sections of mixed

communities, are concerned, there is a readier acknowledgment, and a readier bestowal, of equal rights by the governing on behalf of the governed sections. And it is no less true that did these expressions really indicate the signs of the times, one would be compelled to admit that the present movement of the world is forward, or that it is one of improvement. But on closer examination of the subject, we perceive that they are simply fictions, not facts. We must therefore inquire what are the facts that lie behind these fictions.

• • Take that of the greater amity among the nations. What fact does it conceal? This, viz. a rapid and ceaseless increase of armaments. Of the fiction of speech in the advocacy of peace, speech, written as well as oral, that falls in conferences, congresses, and senate halls; that is embodied in treaties, and that established the Hague tribunal, the fact is, the recent Hispano-American, and present Russo-Japanese wars—the latter one of the bloodiest conflicts that ever stained the pages of history; it is the punitive expeditions by which England spreads periodically, among the tribes of India and Africa, the terrors of destruction and death; it is the pursuit wherein Germany, consonant with the well-recognised pastime of European colonisation, is at the present time decimating one of her African colonies. It is signalled in the reports concerning French Congo and Madagascar, and in those which represent the government of the Congo by the Belgians, as the sum of horrors, past and present, of European colonisation. Again, it is evidenced in the ceaseless buzz, suggesting the probability of war, and urging the preparation for war, with which, concurrently with the hum of peace, all literature is vocal. These, I repeat, are the facts whereof the widespread desire for peace among the leading nations is the fiction.

• Lastly, the fiction relating to the greater recognition of the rights of all the classes, composing the various communities, has as its fact the disorders that exhibit the Russian Empire as reeling about the edge of the precipice of a revolution; the present change of policy pursued toward the coloured races by England

and America, which among states of Caucasian origin have as constituents the largest section of the coloured races. Of these two nations, the change of policy referred to is that whereby the latter nation has practically disfranchised its coloured citizens, and it is that whereby the former nation renders unattainable the eligibility of its coloured subjects for exercising the franchise.

These, then—the appalling increase and crushing weight of armaments, with entreaties, notwithstanding, for a yet greater increase of land and sea forces; the war now drenching Manchuria with blood; the punitive expeditions which periodically devastate regions in Africa, on the Indian frontier, and elsewhere; in the Russian Empire, the refusal of equal rights, in the British Empire the preventing of equal rights, in the American Republic the ignoring of equal rights—these, as representing, on the one hand, the indications of the backward movement of the world's oscillation, or the movement of reality, and the greater amity among the nations, the greater advocacy of peace, the readier acknowledgment, orally, of the rights of all classes of the various communities, as representing, on the other hand, the indications of the world's forward oscillation, or the movement of ideality, which of the two, I would ask, possesses the greater momentum? If it is the set which represents the backward oscillation of the world (and I believe it is), then, taking its elements as also representing those of all the other institutions of civilised states, in their practice, as against their theory, one is compelled to admit that the present oscillation of the world is backward rather than forward. Improvement, or betterment, is the destiny of all things, and pre-eminently of man; yet in the case of man, owing to a bias of his nature, by which he is predisposed to retrogression, means of a special character have frequently to be employed, in order that, impelled from the retrogressive to the progressive movement, he may conform to one of the chief laws of his destiny.

Among the means thus employed, as I have already remarked, are the revival of learning, such as took place at

the Renaissance ; the revival of religion, of which the Reformation was a most remarkable example ; war, such as "the Thirty Years War," which by the Peace of Westphalia established in Europe the principle of religious toleration ; and the French Revolution, the herald of modern liberalism. Now, having concluded, from the evidence adduced, that the present oscillation of the world is that of backward, rather than of forward movement, the question that naturally suggests itself is this, viz. What means are likely to be employed for the purpose of impelling the world forward ?

Touching two of the four examples mentioned as being among the forces that have conduced to man's betterment, by projecting him forward, in the course of virtue, after the backward swing of his oscillation from that course, viz. learning and religion, I observe that, at the time of the Renaissance, the predominant institution of the European states was the Church, or clericalism ; that the attitude which the revival of learning and the revival of religion (the Reformation) maintained toward ecclesiasticism was that of hostility, and that the result of this hostility was the overthrow of ecclesiasticism. But whereas at the Renaissance it was ecclesiasticism that dominated all the other institutions of Christendom, at the present time it is politics ; and as ecclesiasticism, or clericalism, was in no small degree responsible for the backward oscillation of the world at the time preceding the Renaissance, so politics at the present time is chiefly responsible for the backward oscillation that prevails. But towards politics, the attitude of religion and learning, instead of being that of hostility, as was their attitude towards clericalism when, at the pre-Renaissance period, that institution exercised a like baneful influence, or instead of being even that of independence, is that of abject servility. Thus we cannot hope that as the revival of learning at the Renaissance, and the revival of religion at the Reformation, overthrew the usurpation of clericalism, so they will to-day overthrow the usurpation of politics. Thereby, as factors which are likely to contribute towards the projection of the world from its present retrograde position, these two forces may be elimi-

nated. We have, therefore, to consider only the two remaining forces—war and revolution.

I frankly confess that, taking into account the startling rapidity, and undeviating persistence, that characterise the growth of armaments, a growth rendered possible by an all but universal approval—national and international—a growth the product of the soil of misery, a growth forced in the hot-house of passion ; further, taking into account the curtailment of freedom, the ignoring of rights, the delaying of reforms, the wasting of treasure, and of life, and the moral insensibility gendered by, and associated with, this astounding growth of armaments, also the reprisals, which, as their corollary, must inevitably, sooner or later, follow these grave moral breaches—taking these things into account, I am constrained to believe that either war or revolution, or the two combined, will be the means employed to renew the movement of the world forward. And the increase of arms being regarded as the putting on by war, of its armour, the increase of socialism must similarly be regarded as the putting on by revolution of its armour.

But of these four forces—learning and religion, war and revolution—why are the two former passive, and the two latter active? Because of one thing. That one thing is, lack of truth. Christendom at the present time suffers from a plethora of lies. In the lack of truth, then, is the activity of the forces of war, and of revolution ; in it also is the passivity of the forces of learning and of religion. By lack of truth, it is not meant that truth is not spoken. Not at all. What is meant is, that truth is spoken only within the limitations prescribed by politics. Politics is the *summum genus* of the *species* civilised institutions—municipal administration, social life, education, law, commerce, religion, literature, science, philanthropy—all in practice, of course not in theory, end in, and are regulated by, political considerations. And as the “interests” of politics frequently demand the total suppression, or the partial statement only of truth, these institutions are found accordingly harmonising truth with the exigencies of politics. Let me

furnish a single example. Nearly fifty years ago certain ethnologists and anthropologists, upon the most ludicrously inadequate data, taught that, among the coloured races, there were certain anatomical peculiarities present, which not only distinguished these races from the white race, but made them physically, morally, and mentally the inferiors of the white race. For many years after its announcement, this theory, in almost every quarter, found little or no credence. But when some thirty years ago the Euro-American, desiring to retain in his own hands all political power, resolved to oust the Afro-American from politics, and later, when Englishmen followed more or less by others of the European colonising states, for the same reason as that which prompted the Euro-American, resolved, in like manner, to effectively bar the progress of their coloured fellow-subjects towards political enfranchisement, this theory was exhumed from the grave of its oblivion, was galvanised into life, and by religion, commerce, literature, and all the other institutions of civilisation, has since then been employed to hold in serfdom the larger section of mankind. It must be observed, that during the nearly fifty years that have intervened since these hypothetical anatomical peculiarities were published, a great accumulation of facts—the result of increased anatomical knowledge, of better acquaintance with the environments and habits of primitive peoples, and, most of all, the result of the progress of numerous coloured communities under Western culture—has been available.

These facts, as is shown in the present volume, are overwhelming in their disproof of the reported anatomical peculiarities of the coloured races. Yet how have such facts been received? They have been modified, repressed, or ignored, in order that the discredited assertions made forty or fifty years ago may be brought into harmony with the dictates of politics, and that in consequence, the coloured races may, with some show of reason, be held in the semi-bondage of pupilage. Thus as the evidence discrediting these archaic bizarres, of forty or fifty years ago, has increased in cogency, so the noise of men (men who, however, make no pretence to scientific knowledge,

but who, at the same time, regard themselves as guardians of the ark of truth and righteousness), has, in defence of them, increased in assurance and assertiveness, regarding their authenticity. And with respect to science, whereas in other departments, including religion, science demands for its researches, independence, and for its findings, free speech, here where the "interests" of politics are involved, worse even than being muzzled, science prevaricates. And this restriction, this suppression, this ignoring of truth, imposed by politics in the religious, no less than in the secular sphere, constitute that lack of truth, whose existence I affirmed. Further, as speaking the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, is the corrective of abuse, the prophylactic of wrongs, politics, by imposing upon religion and learning, limitations in their utterance of truth, induces their passivity, and, inducing their passivity, promotes thereby that activity of evil, whereof injustice, oppression, and armaments are the expression, and whereof war or revolution will be the corrective. Lack of truth, then, will be the primary cause of those disasters—a general conflagration or a great revolution—which these evils are germinating.

These remarks, being gathered up, resolve themselves into the three following propositions :—

- I. That the world is in the throes of a backward oscillation.
- II. That the cause is lack of truth.
- III. That, sooner or later, the result will be a great social upheaval.

In the work *Glimpses of the Ages*, consisting of two volumes, the present volume being the first of the two, these three propositions are, and will be, incidentally demonstrated. The object of the two volumes is to review the arguments adduced in support of the alleged superiority of the white race, and the alleged inferiority of the coloured races.

This review, which in the first volume deals with the physical and mental aspects of the subject, and which in the second volume will deal with the moral aspect, has shown, and will

show, the utter baselessness of the conclusions, that the white race is superior to the coloured races, and that the coloured races are inferior to the white race. And since the arguments supporting these groundless conclusions are tenaciously held, and eagerly followed by the majority of Christendom, as if valid, since also in their application they embrace a wide field, as well as represent those arguments by which commerce, religion, politics, etc., are in practice largely governed, then the conclusion is surely correct, that of the backward oscillation of the world, and the calamities concomitant therewith, lack of truth is primarily the cause.

Further, regarding these fossil arguments, founded on fallacies, inaccuracies, and inconsistencies, I feel that I owe it to the reader to explain the reason why, in the inquiry into the subject of the alleged differences between the coloured and colourless races, I have made them my text, instead of recent and established data. The reason is simply this, that notwithstanding the antiquity of these arguments, and the incongruity of their facts, as I have just noticed, and as will be seen from the examples from current literature, furnished in this work, they still constitute the chief pillars supporting "white superiority and coloured inferiority." Thus it became absolutely necessary that any attempt to examine the allegations should commence with these arguments.

And concerning the authorities who are mainly responsible for the arguments thus reviewed in this work, it is fitting that I should distinguish between them; for although I have ventured to differ from them on the points specified, I regard them as belonging to two separate classes. One class which pursues truth because of its love for truth, the other class which pursues truth, in order that, securing from it a badge, or symbol, it may with the same decorate some conventional prejudice, or political crime. With spirits so contrary animating these two classes, even though the first class, in its observations or inferences, falls, like the second class, into error, yet, from the latter, it will be still distinct. For whereas the latter class presents as its characteristics, narrowness, concealment, and

selfishness, the former presents as its characteristics, breadth, candour, and magnanimity.

Among the authorities comprising the first of these two classes, from some of whose opinions quoted in this work I have dissented, are Blumenbach, Prichard, Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Reich ; and among those comprising the second class are Heeren, Vogt, Nott and Gliddon, Buckle and Brinton. Thus, although differing on certain points from the authorities comprising the first of these two classes, yet the qualities of breadth of view, candour of utterance, and magnanimity of conception, apart altogether from their industry and erudition, compel me to entertain for them the highest admiration and the profoundest respect. Doubtless it will be thought presumptuous, and even impertinent, that one who is quite unknown should call in question the opinions of men, some of whom in the fields of knowledge are justly considered as guides. However, my reply would be, that throughout the present volume of this work, the chief motive by which I have been actuated is to present truth as I have perceived it.

At the outset, I had intended that the work should be in the form of a single volume of some three hundred pages, but as it was proceeded with, the accumulation of matter led to that modification, of which two volumes will be the outcome.

The first volume being now off my hands, I hope the second volume will appear within a year of the first.

In conclusion, I have to express my sincere thanks to Mr. W. W. Campbell, M.R.C.S., etc., who, on reading the manuscript through, made several very valuable suggestions.

GLIMPSES OF THE AGES

I

Introduction

THE human race may be roughly divided into two great classes, viz. the more advanced and the less advanced. Of course, as applied to the two classes, the terms can have only a relative bearing. For on examination it would be found that, beginning from the lowest plane of the aggregate mass, the less advanced rises to an altitude corresponding at least to the lower levels of the form of human progress called civilisation; whilst from the highest points attained by civilisation the more advanced class descends to the lower depths of the condition of life denominated as primitive, or savagery. The fact concerning both classes being, that in progressiveness and unprogressiveness neither is continuous throughout, but that the two classes, in an upward or downward direction, tend to displace each other.

Broadly speaking, the more advanced is represented by the white race, and the less advanced by the coloured races. Intercourse between these two great divisions of fair and dark races had doubtless existed during the earliest times; but as man began to spread over the face of the globe, as geographical knowledge was small, the art of navigation unknown, and barriers were thrown across the path of travel by hostile men, and climates still more hostile, intercourse dropped back within precincts of the narrowest range. The conquests by Greece under Alexander, by Rome under the Cæsars, and by Europe generally through the Crusaders, served somewhat to widen the area of intercourse—then so greatly restricted—between the

racés. But it was left for the Spaniards and Portuguese in modern times to inaugurate the present era, wherein by forces such as the mariner's compass, steam, electricity, and hygiene, distances have been abridged, highways marked out on the seas, hostile men subdued, hostile climates tempered, and the diverse and scattered races of men drawn and compacted into one vast community.

From the contiguity of the fair and dark races, various results have flowed. Of these one result, the most momentous, has been the introduction and inculcation of Christianity by the fair among the dark races. Other results have been the investment of the dark races with the panoply of Western culture, and their protection with the shield of Western laws. On the other hand, the lands of the aboriginal races, with their contents, both above and beneath the soil, have been appropriated by the fair race to all but their exclusive use. The inhabitants of some of those lands have been enslaved, slavery and the slave trade being introduced and for centuries maintained, and as in the case of certain islands in the West Indies, primarily under Spanish rule, and in North America and the South Pacific, as an outcome of British colonisation, the aboriginal peoples have been practically destroyed.

Happily, since those days of moral insensibility and legalised infamy, slavery and the slave trade have been abolished in the lands whose prosperity they had arrested, and whose good names they had dishonoured, and conditions more favourable to the outraged and oppressed peoples have been introduced and fostered. As the consequence of the new order, progress by the emancipated has been made in Christianity, education, and general culture, corresponding in quality with that of the other sections of the coloured races who had escaped the terrors of servitude; hence a great approximation between the sentiments and aspirations of these dark races and those of the fair race ensued. Still, no fair-minded person competent to judge would, I venture to think, affirm that in their relations to the colourless race the position of the coloured races is satisfactory, and that it is as it should be.

After the colourless race had imposed its rule upon the coloured races, it sought by means of its languages, its literatures, religion, philosophy, science, and its laws to consolidate the power which it had established by force. But, strange as the fact may appear, when those seeds of law, literature,

religion, etc., so industriously sown by the fair race, began to yield the fruits of uniformity, proximity, concord between it and its clients, the fair race, filled with alarm, strives to destroy the harvest. Here, then, is found, not the enemy sowing with tares the field of the slumbering husbandman, but the husbandman, himself awake, and professing great wisdom, sowing with tares his own field.

Nor is the psychological condition which has driven this mother—if I may change the metaphor—to attempt the life of her own offspring due to the sudden seizure of puerperal insanity, but rather to the mature conviction of serene deliberation. Thus the fair race alleges that its feeling of antipathy towards the dark races, and its endeavour to prevent them rising beyond a low stage, are justifiable on historic and scientific grounds. Science, it avers, by demonstrating the presence of certain peculiarities—physical, mental, and moral—as being common to all the coloured races, peculiarities accounting for the secondary rank, which instead of a primary rank they uniformly take in the march of the world's progress, not only proves the impracticability of those coloured races co-operating with the fair race, on terms of political and social equality, but proves also that such a co-operation, by exposing the fair race to deterioration, and thereby menacing the causes of order and of progress, would be destructive no less to the coloured races themselves than to the fair race.

Further, to the assertion that in all ages progress has uniformly remained with the colourless race, and inertia with the coloured races, history is reported to have affixed the seal of endorsement. Therefore it is deemed essential that co-operation as equals between the white race on the one hand, and the red, yellow, and black races on the other, should at all cost be rendered impossible. The execution of this policy of prevention appears in divers garbs, passes under various aliases, acts through many pretexts, yet it is in all the same subjection, the same suppression of the coloured races by the colourless race. But if it be true that the authoritative voice of science has declared that certain radical defects exist in the coloured races which are absent in the colourless race, defects whereof their backwardness is an expression, defects innate and irremediable, then of all mankind they—the coloured races—are most miserable. Still, if the Almighty has entrusted to them talents so few, they can hope for, and ought to expect no more re-

sponsible service than that of unskilled labourers, which in the erection and preservation of empires and states they now perform.

I repeat, that if it be true that by an inherent and irremediable bias the coloured races move on a plane morally, physically, and intellectually lower than that whereon the colourless race moves, then the present relation of perpetual wardship which they bear to the fair race, which has assumed the guardianship of their destiny, is correct, and the epithets, "subject races," "inferior races," "childlike races," etc., by which the wards are denominated by their guardians, are also correct. But should it be untrue that science and history have thus spoken, what then? Should the coloured races be satisfied with their present lot if these authorities have not so spoken? And should the colourless race expect them to be satisfied? For the purpose of attempting to answer these questions we shall inquire into the evidence upon which it is alleged that science and history have pronounced the coloured races to be the inferiors of the white race.

II

Evidence of Inferiority of Coloured Races

THE evidence upon which the inferiority of the coloured races is alleged, will be presented here in a series of extracts. As regards the origin of the human race, with which the radical distinctions asserted as existing between the races are intimately connected, there are three theories, representing three different schools of ethnology. Of these theories, the one designated polygenesis considers each of the races as a distinct species, having been created in the place of its original home. The other theory, which will be called evolution, represents the races as belonging to a common species, but as having sprung from separate stocks or centres of that species. While the third theory, which is known as monogenesis, derives the races, not from a common species only, but from a single human pair.

The schools of ethnology, advocating the theories of polygenesis and evolution, will be seen to agree in this, that they each derive man from a plurality of centres. Hence on the ground of their agreement or similarity, if the theory advocated by one of these schools be proved to be fallacious, then that also which is advocated by the other school must likewise be fallacious. With a view, therefore, of examining, in conjunction with the theory of monogenesis, that of evolution, which we shall regard as also representing the theory of polygenesis, and making one of the aspects of both these theories the basis of our inquiry, we proceed to the evidence adduced in support of the difference between the races, the superiority of the one section and the inferiority of the other.

The extracts which I am about to submit, setting forth the evidence, primarily uphold the theories of evolution and polygenesis as against the ordinarily accepted one of monogenesis. The works from which the extracts will be taken are, first,

Types of Mankind, the joint production of Dr. J. C. Nott, an American ethnologist, and Mr. George Gliddon. I may remark that in *Types of Mankind* the opinions of Dr. Samuel Morton, late President of the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia, a craniologist who is called the founder of the American school of craniotomy, hold an important place. Secondly, *Lectures on Man*, by Dr. Carl Vogt, a naturalist who was first Professor of Zoology at the University of Giessen, and afterwards Professor of Geology at the University of Geneva. And thirdly, an article in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, 1901, vol. iv. p. 439, by Professor A. H. Keane, author of *Man, Past and Present, Ethnology*, etc., etc., etc. Taking these works in the order given, we proceed with the extracts. The following by Nott are comments on Morton's table, which professes to give the cranial measurements of the different races. They proceed:—

“Some classification of races, however arbitrary, seems necessary, for the sake of conveying clear ideas to the general reader; yet the one here adopted by Dr. Morton, if accepted without proper allowance, is calculated to lead to grave error. Like Tiedemann, he has grouped together races which between themselves possess no affinity whatever—that present the most opposite cranial characters, and which are doubtless specifically different. In the ‘Caucasian’ group, for example, are placed among so-called *white* races, Hindoos, the ancient and modern Egyptians, etc., who are dark. Two important facts strike me in glancing over this table: First, that the ancient Pelasgic heads and the modern white races give the same size of brain, viz. 88 cubic inches. Second, the ancient Egyptians, and also their representatives, the modern Fellahs, yield the same mean, viz. 80 cubic inches, the difference between the two groups being 8 cubic inches. . . The Hindoos, likewise, it will be observed, present the same internal capacity as the Egyptians.

“Now, I repeat, that no historical or scientific reason can be alleged why these races should be grouped together under one appellative, if by such name it is understood to convey the idea that the human types can have any sanguineous affiliation. Again, in the Negro group, while it is absolutely shown that certain African races, whether born in Africa or America, give an internal capacity, almost identical, of 83 cubic inches, one sees, on the contrary, the Hottentot and Australian yielding a mean of but 75 cubic inches, thereby showing a like difference of 8 cubic inches. Indeed, in a Hottentot cranium (now at the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia), pertaining to a woman of about twenty years of age, the facial angle gives

75 degrees; but the internal capacity, or size of the brain, measures but 63 cubic inches, which Dr. Morton remarks was as small an adult brain (with one exception, and this also a native African) as he had ever met with, so that in reality the average Hottentot may be still lower.

“In the American group, also, the same parallel holds good. The Tottecan family, our most civilised race, exhibit a mean of but 77 cubic inches, while barbarous tribes give 84; that is, a difference of 7 cubic inches in favour of the savage. The contrast becomes still more pronounced when we compare the highest with the lowest races of mankind, viz. the Teutonic with the Hottentot and Australian. The former family shows a mean internal capacity of 92, while the two latter have yielded but 75 cubic inches, or a difference of 17 cubic inches between the skull of one type and those of others. Now, it is herein demonstrated, through monumental, cranial, and other testimonies, that the various types of mankind have been ever permanent; have been independent of all physical influences for thousands of years; and I would ask what more conclusive evidence could the naturalist demand to establish a specific difference between any species of a genus.

“The facts, too, determine clearly the arbitrary nature of all classification hitherto invented. What reason is there to suppose that the Hottentot has descended from the same stem as the African Mandingo, or Iolof, any more than from the Samoïdes of Northern Asia? or the Hindoo from the same stock as the Teuton? The Hindoo is almost as far removed in structure from the Teuton as is the Hottentot, and we might just as well classify the reindeer and gazelles together as the Teuton and Hindoo, the Negro and Hottentot.”¹

Further, under the head of “Hybridity of Animals,” referring to the suggestion, that in imitation of the laws regulating the breeding of animals when crossed, the “lower races should be crossed with the higher” race, for the improvement of the former, Nott declares:—

“It is mind, and mind alone, which constitutes the proudest prerogative of man, whose excellence should be measured by his intelligence and virtue. The Negro and other unintellectual types have been shown, in another chapter, to possess heads much smaller, by actual measurement in cubic inches, than the white races; and although a metaphysician may dispute about the causes which may have debased their intellects or precluded their expansion, it cannot be denied that these dark races are, in this particular, greatly inferior to the others of fairer complexion. Now, when the black and white races are crossed

¹ *Types of Mankind*, p. 451.

together, the offspring exhibits throughout a modified anatomical structure, associated with sundry characteristics of an intermediate type."¹

And as to the relative position which the three divisions of the human race are said to sustain to the lower animals, Nott quotes Dr. Jeffries Wyman, Anatomist of Harvard University, as saying :—

“The organisation of the anthropoid quadrumana justifies the naturalist in placing them at the head of the brute creation, and placing them in a position in which they, of all the animal series, shall be nearest to man. An anatomist, however, who will take the trouble to compare the skeletons of the Negro and Orang, cannot fail to be struck at sight with the wide gap which separates them. The difference between the cranium, the pelvis, and the conformation of the upper extremities in the Negro and Caucasian sinks into insignificance when compared with the vast difference which exists between the conformation of the same parts in the Negro and the Orang. Yet it cannot be denied, however wide the separation, that the Negro and Orang do afford the points where man and the brute, when the totality of their organisation is considered, most nearly approach each other.”²

The points of physical conformation between the Negro and the Orang referred to in this statement by Professor Jeffries Wyman, as showing “where man and the brute most nearly approach each other when the totality of their organisation is considered,” are given in his *Lectures on Man*, page 172, by Dr. Vogt, in a contrast drawn by him between the Negro and the German.

“The Negro,” observes Vogt, “is on an average shorter than the German, the mean length of his body being 64–66 inches. Six Negro skeletons yielded as their mean length 160 centimetres, while as many European skeletons gave about 172 centimetres. Cutaneous perspiration, like colour, has a peculiar character, which in certain races cannot be got rid of, even by the greatest cleanliness. These ethnic odours must not be confounded with such as are evidently the result of alimentation, and which vary in the same races. An Italian or Provencal, eating garlic, onions, celery, will, no doubt, emit an odour different from the Norwegian or Icelander, who lives on fish, etc. Still, the odour may be removed by a different mode of life. It is not so with the odour of the Negro, which persists, wash or feed the Negro as you like. . . .”³

¹ *Types of Mankind*, p. 403.

² *Lectures on Man*, p. 126.

³ *Ibid.*, 457.

“The Negro skull is the purest type of the long skull with the receding forehead. On further examining the proportion, the cerebral skull bears to the facial skull, simiousness in the Negro is exhibited by the greater development of what may be called apposition. The elongation of the skull, its narrowness in the interior part, the recession of the forehead, cause, as it were, the brain to slide back from the face, whence the roofs of the orbits appear more oblique than in the European, and resemble the form seen in most mammals. . . .

“The internal capacity is, despite its elongation, considerably smaller than in the German, the difference amounting to nearly 100 cubic centimetres or more, according to some measurements already given. On examining the other parts of the skeleton, we are at once struck by the fact that the S-shaped curve of the vertebral column is less distinct in the Negro than in the white, approaching in its arrangement that of the ape. The chest is narrow, the antero-posterior is almost equal to the transverse diameter. The pelvis of the Negro, compared with that of the white man, appears larger, the iliac bones not broad but key-shaped, and so are the upper parts of the sacrum, almost like the shoulder-blades on the superior extremities. The arm by itself is perhaps somewhat longer than that of the European; still there are many Negro tribes in which the proportion of the total length to that of the arm is nearly the same. But the proportion of the individual parts to each other varies: the humerus of the Negro is proportionally longer than in the German; the leg of the Negro is proportionally somewhat longer than that of the European—not the femur, but the tibia and the foot. The femoral bones, as well as the fibula, seem curved outwards, so that the knees are more apart from each other than in the white. This mainly arises from the narrowness of the pelvis, by which the articulating surfaces of the heads of the femoral bones approximate the central axis of the body. There is a peculiar arrangement in the muscles of the legs, which appear thin, calfless, and laterally compressed. The whole leg has the appearance of a wooden leg covered with skin, from the absence of fleshy muscle.”

Vogt next quotes Burmeister, who says:—

“The foot of the Negro produces a disagreeable impression: everything in it is ugly; the flatness, the projecting heel, the thick fatty cushion in the inner cavity, the spreading toes. . . . The whole middle-part of the foot does not touch ground. . . . The Negro is a decided flat-foot, which indeed may be seen also in the skeleton, but much more in the living man. . . . so that the ball and the heel do not exactly lie on the same plane with the pad. The Negro rarely stands quite upright, the knees are usually bent, and the legs frequently bandy.”

Concerning the internal organs, Vogt adds:—

“I shall chiefly quote the remarks of Pruner-Bey, who, as the physician of the Viceroy of Egypt, has ample opportunity for observations.” ‘Soemmering,’ “says Pruner,” ‘had already remarked that in the Negro the peripheral nerves are very thick in proportion to the volume of the brain. The narrow elongated brain always presents on the surface a brown coloration, resulting from a considerable injection of venous blood. Viewed in front, the brain presents a rounded apex; viewed from above, the parts seem coarser and less manifold than in the white. On tracing the convolutions backwards, we find fewer of the parietal folds which render the brain of the white a perfect labyrinth.’

We have now arrived at the last of the three authorities whom I stated that we should quote, viz. Professor A. H. Keane. In his article on “Ethnology,” in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, Professor Keane has set forth, in the following concise statement, the position of that section of the school of Anthropology with which he is identified, viz. the section that derives the races from a common species, but from different centres of that species. Nott and Vogt are representatives of the other section of the Anthropologic school which derives the races from different species. These two schools, however, as I said at the outset, agree in their repudiation of the doctrine that the human race descended from a single human pair.

“Basing their conclusions,” says Professor Keane, “on the comparative study of these ethnical criteria, the most eminent naturalists, from Linnæus and Blumenbach to Huxley, Virchow, Flower, Broca, and Topinard, mainly agree in classifying the whole human family in three or more fundamental divisions. From the foregoing expositions of the subject, it follows of itself that all classifications must be regarded not as *genetical*, *i.e.* divisions according to common descent, but rather as groupings according to the physical and mental resemblance. It also follows that the term fundamental is to be understood not absolutely, but only in a relative sense; for all races (this term being here taken as practically equivalent to ‘breeds,’ or varieties) are necessarily regarded as belonging to a common primeval stock, constituting a single species. At the same time, it does not follow that all must necessarily be supposed to have sprung from a single pair. On the contrary, the more natural assumption would seem to be a gradual upheaval, so to say, *i.e.* the slow evolution of a whole anthropoid group spread over more or less extensive geographical area, in a warm, genial

climate, where the disappearance of an original hairy coat would be rather an advantage than otherwise. This view of gradual ascent in a more or less homogeneous mass has the advantage of obviating the many difficulties connected with *unity of species* and *unity of descent*, which are now seen no longer to be identical expressions. It also allows for differences in the physical habitus *from the first*, these differences, however slight, helping, in combination with altered environments, to account for the divergencies that have in the course of ages resulted in the present fundamental human types. Thus we no longer require to ask ourselves, for instance, whether the black hue shaded into the yellow, the brown into the white; whether prognathism grew into orthognathism, brachycephalic or round into dolichocephalic or long heads, and so on."

Although cherishing a studious regard for brevity, I have felt it necessary, nevertheless, to give these extracts their present copiousness; in order that, as full a view as possible being given of the ground—professedly scientific—whereon the alleged differences between the races rest, the reader may be the better able to perceive the conclusions it affords.

From these extracts, then, which I shall take as my text, and which in relation to certain special points it will be necessary to supplement during our progress, I deduce the following assertions:—

I. That there are radical distinctions between the fair and dark races.

II. That these distinctions, on the part of the dark and fair races, indicate, in the case of each section, a difference in origin.

III. That these distinctions, in regard to the dark races, also indicate inferiority.

IV. That the proofs of the existence of these radical distinctions between the fair and dark races are to be found in certain physical, mental, and moral peculiarities which the dark races present.

V. That a tendency to sterility in the case of procreation between the dark and fair races, particularly between the Negro and Anglo-Saxon, furnishes additional proof of the existence in the dark races of these radical peculiarities.

VI. That the theories of polygenesis and evolution confirm and explain both the differences in origin of the dark and fair races, and of the physical, mental, and moral peculiarities of the dark races.

The three first assertions being but inferences from the last three, the discussion which follows shall be confined to the latter. And with a view to testing their accuracy, they will be examined scientifically and historically. The examination, conducted in three sections, shall deal in the first section with the subject from its physical side. In the second section the subject will be approached from its mental aspect; and in the third section it will be considered from its moral standpoint. Colour, as most obviously relating to the physical differences alleged as existing between the coloured and colourless races, shall at the outset, in the first section, engage our attention. Following colour, the cranium; then the quality of beauty among the races; next, the consideration of the rest of the organism, in regard to its variation among the races. Then the subject of prolificacy, as between the black and white races; and finally, an inquiry will be made respectively into the competence of evolution and monogenesis, to solve certain well-known problems relating particularly to the origin of the human race.

III

Variation of Colour among Races

THE term complexion is generally applied to the colour of the skin ; but as is well known, the colour of the skin consists of the same pigment as the eye and the hair ; thereby it is in that respect related to those parts. And in consequence of this relation we have in the eye and the hair the same varieties of colour that we have in the skin. We notice, then, the same cause, viz. pigment, producing in the skin, the hair, and the eye the same varieties of colour. Therefore, in order that our consideration of the subject of colour may be the more complete, it shall embrace these three relations. The object of the inquiry will be to find out whether the differences of colour, as they appear in the white, yellow, red, and black peoples, are such as to justify the inference that each of these peoples either belongs to a separate species or that each has sprung from a separate stock of the same species.

According to the colour of the eye, the hair, and the skin, mankind is usually divided into three varieties—the melanous, or melanocomous variety, the leucous, and the xanthous. The melanous comprises people with dark or black skins, black hair, and black eyes. Among Caucasian peoples this variety appears in the brunette. The xanthous pertains to peoples with yellow or yellowish hair, such as is found in the blond of the Teutonic and Scandinavian peoples. The leucous relates to persons who are abnormally white, of whom the albino is the type. The first of these three varieties—the melanous, with the exception of certain countries, particularly in the north of Europe and of Asia, comprises the largest section of the human family ; thus, it is the complexion that is most general. The hair in the different races of the melanous group, although varying in texture and in length from the lank filament of the American

to the fine and crisp strand of the African, is, among all, quite black. The eye in the melanous division bears the same characteristic colour as the hair. Of the black-haired races the hue of the skin begins with the deep black of certain African tribes, and passes into the lighter shades, wherein in one case black is tinged with red, in another it is tinged with yellow; the former representing the copper-coloured tribes of America, the latter the olive-coloured peoples of Asia. Thus, a regular gradation of colour may be traced from the ebony-coloured Negro of the Senegal, and the jet-black and deep olive of the Malabars, and other parts of India, to the light olive of the Hindoo. And from this point onward, among the Persians and other Asiatics, we may encounter ever-varying shades of complexion until we reach the swarthy Spaniard and other black-haired Europeans.

We have now come to the second of the three varieties into which mankind, by the colour of the hair, of the eye, and of the skin, is divided, viz. the leucous variety. The leucous variety, or albino, is found in all lands, as the following examples, taken from Prichard's *Physical History of Mankind*,¹ will show. After stating that in Europe albinos are by no means infrequent, and that Blumenbach had seen in Europe alone sixteen cases, Prichard gives the following general description of the European albino, and proceeds next to describe those of other races:—

“Their hair,” he begins, “is sometimes as white as old age, and not differing in texture from that of the ordinary kind; at other times it is of a pale yellowish white, or cream colour, flowing in long, straight bundles of soft, silky texture, which Blumenbach, with reason, compares to goat's wool. The skin also of the European albino is like that of very fair sanguine complexion.”

Prichard now gives Wafer's description of American albinos of the Isthmus of Darien:—

“These persons are white, and there are of them both sexes; yet there are but few of them in comparison of the copper-coloured. . . . They differ from the other Indians, chiefly in respect of colour. Their skins are not of such a white as those of fair Europeans, with some tincture of a blush or sanguine complexion; yet neither is it like that of our paler people, but it is rather a milk-white, lighter than the colour of any

¹ Vol. i. p. 221.

European and much like that of a white horse. . . . For there is this that is further remarkable in them, that their bodies are beset all over, more or less, with a fine short, milk-white down, but they are not thick-set with this down, especially on the cheeks and forehead; but the skin appears distinct from it. Their eyebrows are milk-white also, and so is the hair of their heads, and very fine withal. . . . They are not so big as other Indians, and their eyelids bend and open in oblong figure, pointing downwards at the corners and forming an arch, or figure of a crescent, with the points downwards. From hence, and from their seeing so clear as they do in a moonshiny night, we used to call them moon-eyed. For they see not well in the sun pouring in the clearest day, their eyes being weak and running with water if the sun shines towards them; so that in the daytime they care not to go abroad, unless it be a cloudy dark day. . . .”

So much for Wafer; now Prichard again:—

“Albinos have been observed in many islands of the Indian and great southern ocean. The following is the description of them in Otaheite, by Captain Cook.”

“During our stay on this island we saw about five or six persons whose skins were a dead white, like the nose of a white horse, with white hair, beard, eyebrows, eyelashes, red tender eyes, a short sight, and scruff skins, covered with a rind of white down. We found that two of these belonged to the same family.”

An individual of this class was seen on the island by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and described by them:—

“His skin was of a dead white, without the least appearance of what is called complexion, though some parts of his body were in a small degree less white than others. His hair, eyebrows, and beard were as white as his skin; his eyes appeared as if they were bloodshot, and he seemed to be very short-sighted.”

After stating that in Java, Ceylon, and other neighbouring islands, albinos are well known, and that in the Indian peninsula, as well as in the islands adjacent to it, they are called “Chakerals,” or cockroaches, Prichard quotes Dubois as having remarked about Hindoo albinos that—

“It is no uncommon thing to meet a class of persons among the Hindoos who are born with a skin much whiter even than that of Europeans. . . . But it is easy to perceive,” he continues, “that it is not a natural colour, because their hair is

altogether as white as their skin; and in general their whole exterior appearance is unnatural. They have this distinguishing peculiarity, that they cannot endure the light of broad day. . . . While the sun is up they cannot look steadily at any object, and during all that time they contract the eyelids so as apparently to exclude vision. But in return they are gifted with the faculty of seeing almost every object in the dark. By the Hindoos these 'Chakerals' are said to be looked upon with horror, and that their bodies, like those of persons who have suffered from cutaneous disease, are cast out, after death, upon the dunghill."

Among black peoples in Africa, white Negroes, as they are usually called, are often born. Of these white Negroes, Prichard rightly thinks that some only, not all, are albinos. The following cases, according to Prichard, are a description of African albinos, by Dr. Winterbottom. This authority, at Sierra Leone, and at other parts of the African coast, among black families, had met with several cases of albinos. The first of these cases relates to a girl, nine years of age, who was seen at Malacurry, in the Soosoo country, and whose parents were black. "Her skin," says Dr. Winterbottom, "was an unpleasant dead-looking white and pretty smooth, though beginning to assume a cracked appearance, owing to the action of the sun."

The next case is that of a young man at Wankapong, concerning whom Dr. Winterbottom writes:—

"I saw a young man about eighteen years of age, tall, and well-formed, whose father had been a white Negro. The young man's mother, three brothers, and two of his sisters were black, but one sister was white like himself. His skin, from exposure to the sun, had acquired a slight reddish tinge, and was covered with a great number of black or brown spots, like freckles, some of which were nearly as large as a sixpence. It was much rougher and harsher to the touch than the woman's, feeling almost like the skin of a lizard. . . . He complained very much of the action of the sun, which cracked his skin, and sometimes occasioned it to bleed. He was peculiarly sensible to the bites of insects. His hair was of a dirty white and woolly; the iris of the eye was of a reddish brown colour, and his sight very weak. . . . At Bottoe, on the Kroo coast," adds this same authority, "I saw another appearance of this kind in a man about twenty-five years of age. His parents were black, and had several black children, but they had two white ones, himself and a sister. The man was very tall, rather robust, but awkward in his gait. His skin was nearly

as a cream colour, and freckled from exposure, but so very much unlike that of European sailors who expose themselves without shirts to the sun, that the difference was very striking at some distance. His eyes were of a reddish colour and very weak, appearing red round the edges of the tarsi, and constantly winking in strong light. His skin was uncommonly coarse in texture, and the sebaceous glands were very large and numerous. He married to a black woman, but had no children."

This brings us to the xanthous, the last of the three varieties of colour. This variety of colour is meant to include those persons whose hair is light brown, auburn, yellow, or red. With hair of these colours is combined a fair complexion, a complexion which exposure to heat does not tend, as in the melanous variety, to render black or deep brown, but to render more or less red. This hue is believed to be caused by the presence of blood in the cutaneous vessels and by a peculiar secretion. The colour of the eye in this variety is a light grey, or, what is most common, an azure blue; but variations in shades of yellow or brown, and occasionally a tint of green-yellow, occur. However, the xanthous hue does not lie wholly within the limits of the description just given, but glides from it, on the one hand, into the melanous, and, on the other, into the leucous or albinous. The xanthous variety exists, too, in every melanous tribe or nation.

In this way it sometimes appears in the majority of the tribe or nation, though more frequently it is represented by the minority. The Jews, like the Arabs, are generally a black-haired people, but Prichard states that he had seen many Jews with light beards and blue eyes, and "that in some parts of Germany the Jews are remarkable for red bushy beards."

"The Greeks," he further notices, "were probably in Homer's time, as now in general, of the melanous variety; yet that it appears from the use of such epithets as *πυρρός* and *γλαυκῶπις* that the xanthous complexion was not infrequent.

"Among the Romans a grey-eyed child was considered as something disgusting, perhaps bordering on the monstrous, which indicates that it was rare. The German had generally blue eyes, red or yellow hair, at the time of Tacitus, but this is by no means the fact in the present day."

Among the genuine Celts there are at least some melanous tribes, as the Silures, "yet Strabo repeatedly assures us that the Celtic of the Continent, viz. the Gaul, was nearly yellow-haired

as the Germans." Many Russians are light-haired, though the mass of the Slavonian people is of the melanous hue. Among the ancient Scythians the tribe termed Budine, Herodotus informs us, was xanthous. The Laplanders are generally of a dark complexion, but the Finns, Mordonians, and Votiaks, to whom the Laplanders are allied in race, are xanthous. Many of the northern Tungusians, or Manchu-Tartars, are of the xanthous variety, though the majority are black-haired. Even among the Kalmuks and Bouriaats, as Pallas informs us, the xanthous colour appears. It is also present among the South Sea Islanders, the aborigines of America, and in many other peoples.

This xanthous variety of colour appears not only in the melanocomous peoples, which are of a less swarthy complexion, such as those already mentioned, but also in those whose colour is of a deeper dye. Thus, concerning the ancient Egyptians, Diodorus relates that red-haired persons were frequent in the native stock of Egypt; and hair of the same quality has also been found on Egyptian mummies. Among the Negro peoples, too, of Africa, as well as of other lands, the xanthous colour frequently appears. This fact requires some further detail. Reference has already been made to the presence of white Negroes in Africa; these, from the instances that have been noticed, it will be remembered, were of the leucous variety. The belief seems to be generally held that all white Negroes are albinos, but such a belief rests on no substantial ground. Prichard therefore is correct when he says:—

"I find a considerable proportion, perhaps the greater number of the individuals termed white Negroes, are either genuine examples of the xanthous variety, or in some respects resemble that variety, or that they exhibit gradations between the albinos and the xanthous, there being in some of these cases all the characteristics of the xanthous hue."

Dr. Winterbottom, referring to the presence of the xanthous complexion among the native African under what he regarded as an intermediate step between the common African complexion and that of the albino, supplies the following cases. The first is that of a man who, though born of Negro parents, was of mulatto complexion; besides, he was much freckled, and had strong red hair, disposed in very small wiry curls over

the whole of his head. On this Dr. Winterbottom remarks that when the head of a Negro has been exposed to the sun during the dry season, the ends of the hair frequently acquire a reddish or burnt appearance. "This is nothing extraordinary," he adds, but that sometimes this sunburnt hue is independent of exposure to the sun, it being the natural colour of the hair. In a family at Free Town, Sierra Leone, the children had red or copper-coloured skins and woolly hair of dirty red and singed colour. Prichard here observes that blue eyes, or brown eyes, as well as red or yellow hair, appear to be not uncommon in what are termed white Negroes. Dr. Winterbottom next describes a white Negro woman whom he had seen at Dumboya, near Warkapong, in the Soosoo country. Her parents, brothers, and sisters were all black. She had borne a black child to a black man, so that no doubt could be entertained that she was of the genuine Negro origin. Her skin was coarse, dry, and wrinkled; in parts exposed to the sun it was of a reddish tinge, or cream colour, but in parts less exposed it was of a dirty white. Large black spots, like freckles produced by the sun, were scattered over the skin, a common feature of the skin of the Negro when so affected. The hair of this woman was of a dirty yellowish white, but woolly and crisp; her eyes were of a light bluish colour, very weak, constantly twinkling. The eyebrows and eyelashes were nearly white. "I was informed," says Dr. Winterbottom, "that a boy of similar appearance resided in the neighbourhood." Besides these examples of the xanthous variety, Prichard has quoted Pellase's description of a white Negro whom he had seen in London; also Dr. Goldsmith's account of a white Negro who had been exhibited in London. And in another case which he describes Dr. Winterbottom alludes to the fact that, like all his previous examples, other white Negroes among the Kaffirs of South Africa and of the islands of the Pacific, were of the xanthous or sanguine class, as distinguished from the albinous or leucous. Prichard's concluding remarks on the subject are not less noteworthy. He says:—

"If the hair alone is found to vary in the Negro, this would amount only to a singular anomaly, and as such it seems to have been regarded by Blumenbach; but when we find this character combined with blue, grey, or brownish grey eyes and white ruddy skin, it must be allowed that the individuals presenting these appearances are examples of the xanthous

variety; and something approaching to the sanguine complexion, as it is termed, among Europeans, though springing up in the Negro race. It appears that some of these so-called white Negroes are of this description, while others are albinos, and in not a few the peculiarities seem intermixed between the two varieties."

IV

Seat and Origin of Colour

THE integument of the human body consists of what are called the epidermis or cuticle, and the dermis or true skin. The superficial layers of the dermis or true skin, like those of the epidermis, are in all the races the same; but in the coloured races the deepest layer of the epidermis, known as the *stratum malpighii*, contains pigment cells. Consequently it is in this layer that colour, which appears in the variety of complexions noticeable among the coloured races, and which distinguishes these races from the colourless race, has its seat. The substance constituting colour is called melanin; its nature is unknown, but it is described as black pigment granules, diffused in pigment cells or aggregated around the nucleus.¹ Melanin is supposed to be derived from the haemoglobin of the blood. The skin of the dark races, and the brunette of the white race, also the black and brown hair, as well as the black, brown, blue, or grey of the iris and retina of all the races, depend for their colour upon this pigment melanin. The hair, which forms another of the three great departments of colour, is a product of the skin, and is situated in pit-like depressions of the skin called hair-follicles. The principal structure of the hair is a horny and fibrous material, consisting of fibrillated cells. It is between these cells that the colouring of the hair is deposited. The surface of the hair is covered by a layer of scales named the cuticle, and in the centre of the straight, as distinguished from curly hair, is the medulla or marrow, formed of rounded cells. The root of the hair is in the form of a bulb, into which, from the true skin, the vascular papilla that nourishes the hair, projects. The hair-follicle consists of two parts, one of which is continuous with the epidermis, and the other with

¹ Landois, *Human Physiology*.

the dermis. The eye, which forms the third link in the chain of the three varieties of colour, derives its hue from the hexagonal cells, filled with crystalline pigment, lining the internal surface of the choroid tunic.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

I said at the beginning of this chapter that its object would be to inquire whether the differences of colour, as they appear in the yellow, white, red, and black peoples, are such as to justify the inference that each of these peoples belongs either to a separate species, or has sprung from a distinct stock of the same species. In the inquiry we have seen that colour is the product of a substance called melanin, or black pigment; that the chief seats of melanin are the skin, the hair of the head, and the eye; that according to the presence or absence of melanin in these organs, and to the degree of its deposition in them, there arise three varieties of complexion, known as the melanous, leucous, and xanthous. As to whether these three varieties are present in each of the three races, we have also seen that, although in different extent and degree, they are so present. Thus, in extent and degree, in the Hamitic race, we have the melanous variety, in the forms of the deep dull and shiny black, and the tawny or yellow complexions, predominating in the great bulk of Negro peoples. Next in extent to the melanous variety, although that extent in comparison to the melanous is very small, is the xanthous, found in one section of the so-called white Negroes, the leucous or albino—the least extensive of the three varieties of complexion—appearing in the other section of white Negroes. In the Semitic race, whilst the melanous deposition of pigment is less in degree than it is in the ebony-coloured Negro, for example, in extent, as constituting the complexion of the mass of the yellow Asiatics and the red aboriginal peoples of the American continent, it is, like that of the Hamitic race, the predominating variety. The xanthous and leucous varieties, corresponding again in extent with those of the Hamitic race, are sparsely represented among Semitic peoples. In the Japhetic race, pigment in its greatest degree appears in the jet-black and deep olive Hindoo of the Malabar district and other parts of India. Thus, in this area, the degree of pigment in the Japhetic race corresponds to the jet-black and tawny or olive deposition found in the Negro. That of the deep and lighter olive in the

Hindoo, Persian, Armenian, etc., corresponds to that in the yellow and red Semitics, and forms the lesser degree of deposition, whilst the brunette of the European represents the least degree of the deposition of pigment in the Japhetic race. It must be observed, however, that although in the xanthous skin melanin ceases to appear, yet in the red and brown hair, and in the blue eyes, etc., of those same peoples, it is still present. But whereas in both the Hamitic and Semitic races the melanous variety of colour is most extensive, in the Japhetic race it is otherwise; for in this race, as is shown in the Slavonic and Teutonic peoples, the xanthous variety of colour holds the place which the melanocomous variety occupies in the other two races. Now from these remarks it is obvious that in each of the three races—the Hamitic, Japhetic, and Semitic—the three varieties of colour, viz. the melanous, leucous, and xanthous, are found. Thus these three races of mankind, each presenting the identical varieties of colour, cannot on the ground of difference of colour belong to separate species, or have sprung from distinct stocks of the same species, but from one stock of one species.

V

Nature of Colour and Time of Production

IN order, if possible, to throw some farther light upon the subject of colour, having hitherto dealt with its variation, seat, and origin, I wish now to consider the time of its production.

We have observed that the chief ingredient of the colour of the more or less superficial structures of the body, such as the hair and coats of the eye in all races, the skin of the dark races, and among the white race the skin of the brunette, is melanin or black pigment. But melanin itself is only one of a group of colouring matter; the haemoglobin of the blood, of which melanin is believed to be a derivative, produces, in addition to melanin, six other substances at least. And concerning the nature of, the manner whereby, and the time when melanin or black pigment is produced, we have in his *Anthropological Treatises*, page 210, the following interesting opinion of Professor Blumenbach:—

“The proximate cause,” says Blumenbach, “of the adust or tawny colour of the external integuments of the skin, is to be looked for in the abundance of carbon in the human body, which, when it is excreted with the hydrogen of the corium, and precipitated by the contact of the atmospheric oxygen, becomes embedded in the malpighian mucus.”

With reference to this deposition of carbon, Blumenbach further states that in the secreting, as well as the storing, the sanguineous vessels of the corium are necessary; adding that the organs engaged in the production of carbon are the liver and the skin. But apart from the liver and the skin, there is another agent which Professor Blumenbach believes to be closely associated with these organs in the production of carbon: that agent is climate. And as the climate of no other land,

either in vehemence, duration of heat, or in the peculiar character of its atmosphere—evidenced by particular winds and rains—is comparable with that which the greater part of the African continent possesses, Blumenbach concludes that in Africa the climate, co-operating with the liver and skin during “many series of generations,” has produced that form of complexion that belongs to the Ethiopian race.

By Prichard and Waitz, as well as by Blumenbach, these statements, as we shall see, are supported by various arguments. Thus, Blumenbach remarks that the colour of the skin of the Ethiopian is not congenital, but follows access to the external air after birth. That according to the anti-phlogistic chemistry of the French, carbon belongs to the radical elements of the animal body, and is the cause of the dark colour, whether in the tawny, yellow, or blackish complexion. That the skin of persons suffering from jaundice is not unfrequently after the attack more coloured than before, and that in warmer latitudes, such as India, for example, the bilious constitution among children, as well as adults, becomes a concomitant of life.

On the subject of climate Blumenbach also remarks that the people inhabiting the northern bank of the Senegal are of an ashy colour and small body, whilst those who live beyond this zone are black. He quotes a learned Frenchman as having observed that on the Cordilleras the people who live immediately under the mountain towards the west, and who are exposed to the Pacific Ocean, seem to be almost as white as Europeans are; whereas, on the contrary, the inhabitants on the opposite side, who are exposed to constantly burning winds, are like the red American—copper-coloured. Blumenbach has likewise quoted Vitruvius and Pliny as having recorded that the northern nations are white, and he further calls attention to the fact how that the inhabitants of a single country differ in colour according to the kind of life they lead. He takes, as an example, the face of the working-man, or artisan, exposed to the sun and weather, and affirms that it differs from the cheeks of a delicate female as much as the man himself differs from the dark American, and the latter again differs from the Ethiopian. Prichard, after referring to Lieutenant Washington’s account of the difference in complexion noticed by him among the Shuluh, or Shelahs, a tribe of the Berber people, continues:—

“A similar difference of complexion in relation to temperature, or, at least, to elevation of ground, was observed by

Dr. Shaw among the Kabyles.¹ .” He says: “The Kabyles, in general, are of a swarthy colour, with dark hair; but those who inhabit the mountains of Auress, or Mons Aurasius, though they speak the same language, are of a fair, ruddy complexion, and their hair is of a deep yellow.”

Concerning the Kollouvy and Hhagara, two branches of the Tuaryk, who are also Berbers, Prichard now quotes Honeman. This authority he represents as having stated that the Western tribes, as far as their manner of life and their exposure to the sun will allow them to be, are white; that the Kollouvians, however, are of different colours, many of them being black, but that their features are unlike those of Negroes. The Hhagara and the Matkara are yellowish, like the Arabs.

Lastly, Waitz, on the subject of the influence which climate has in producing colour, thus sums up his conclusion:—

“From the preceding facts there seems to result that the colour of the skin, though not always in proportion to latitude and mean temperature, is essentially influenced by climate; that the extent and mode of this influence is chiefly regulated by habits and mode of life; that next to these, descent has the greatest influence, and that food, though in a subordinate degree, has also a share in the production of colour.”

It is further shown by Waitz that hot and damp countries, unprotected by forests, and a mode of life which exposes the organism to climatic influences, strongly favour the darkening of the skin. And that among every race, and in every climate, if the body be much exposed and unprotected, frequent and great alterations of temperature—especially sudden changes from wet to dry—brown the skin.

“We must not, however, expect,” this author continues, “that the European in America, or the Negro in America, should after a few centuries, or perhaps ever assume the type of the aborigines; for where diet and habits of life, and the whole care of body and soul differ so essentially between immigrants and aborigines, the former can only very gradually approach the latter, especially where there is constant influx of immigrants.”

The evidence supporting the assertion of the carboniferous nature of the substance melanin, that forms colour, appears to be well founded; hence I am indisposed to call it in question. The same, however, is not the case with the theory that the

¹ *Physical History of Mankind*, vol. ii. p. 29.

deposition of this carbon is post-natal, and that it is the result of climatic influence, etc. Therefore, when it is said that the carbon upon which the skin of the Ethiopian, for example, depends for its colour has been the accumulation of "many series of generations," and that it has required a like period of climatic stimulus for the accumulation, even though the declaration be supported by names so illustrious as those of Buffon and Blumenbach, yet I find myself at issue with it.

I have observed that in the body melanin is not the only colouring matter that is derived from the blood, but that it is one of a group, consisting of more than six substances. Now, the other members of this group, when are they deposited? Is it before or after birth? From observation it is known that they are deposited before birth. Seeing, then, that melanin is of the same nature as all the other members of this group of pigment, and that, like them, it also is derived from the blood, the logical conclusion would be, regarding the time of its deposition, that, like its homologues, it too has been deposited before birth, or is intra-uterine. But for a reason no more valid than that it is popular, and that it is of a venerable age, we are bidden to ignore this only logical conclusion, and to believe instead that unlike all the other members of this group of pigment, of which it is part, melanin has required for its deposition "many series of generations," and even "chiliads of years."

To the same purpose is the subject of the distribution of melanin, or black pigment. The fields of its distribution, as we have seen, are the skin, the hair of the head, and the eyes. Taking it for granted that both experiment and observation have failed to give any clue regarding the time whereat the black pigment melanin is deposited in the skin, we should, on the ground that this pigment is the same as that found in the hair of the head, and in the eye, naturally ask whether the time is known at which the pigment of the eye and of the hair of the head is deposited in those parts. And finding that it is known, and that according to that knowledge, the time of deposition is before birth, we should conclude that the deposition of the pigment of the skin must be before birth.

But here again, for the reasons already assigned, we are bidden to believe that, unlike the deposition of the pigment of the hair of the head and of the eye, that of the pigment of the skin, although this pigment is of the same nature as that of the hair of the head and of the eye, has required "many series of generations,"

and even "chiliads of years." But melanin being one of a series of pigment found in the blood, if we affirm that it is the result of climatic influence of "many series of generations," then, since it is of the same nature as the other members, we must affirm the same of them. That is to say, concerning the pigment of the blood, the bile, etc., we should likewise affirm that they too are the product of "many series of generations." But would such an affirmation be deemed tenable? I think not.

Again, seeing that the complexion of the skin is in its cause, viz. pigment, identical with that of the eye and of the hair of the head, if we should believe it to be formed through climatic influence of "many series of generations," then we must also, I presume, believe that the colour of the eye and of the hair of the head required for its production the same length of time.

At the outset, then, according to this view, there could have been present among the races neither the black-eyed, blue-eyed, black-haired, nor black-skinned varieties; and in the organism, neither the yellow colour of the bile, the red colour of the blood, nor other pigmented substances. But if it were possible to regard the pigment of all these structures and secretions as the product of warm climate, we should still have to confess that neither the appearance of the black, brown, and yellow hair, and the black, blue, and grey eyes, nor of the pigments of the blood, the bile, etc., found in cold latitudes, conform to the conditions by which climate is said to produce the dark complexion of the coloured races.

Further, seeing that in the hair of the head, the eye, and the skin, the diversity of colour is due to the same cause, viz. the varying deposition of pigment, then, if (as we are told by Blumenbach) the people of the Cordilleras, for instance, are white or copper-coloured, according as they have lived under the mountains towards the west, and have been exposed to the Pacific Ocean, or as they have lived on the opposite side and have been exposed to the burning winds, the same description being also applied to the Berber tribes and others living on plains or in mountainous tracts, I say that if these cutaneous variations be due to climate, then the variations in the colour of the hair of the head and eyes, among peoples in Europe, for example, who for ages have lived in the same localities, to what are they due? In the same way, we find horses, oxen, asses, sheep, dogs, fowls, cats, hogs, rabbits, etc., etc., in the

colour of their black hair, black wool, or black feathers, corresponding to the black-haired or melanous races of men.

We find another group of animals, consisting of the same kinds as those just mentioned, agreeing with the white-haired or leucous variety of the human race; and yet another group, answering in the hair, wool, feathers, etc., to the xanthous, or yellow or red-haired peoples. Now, if colour be due to climate, of which heat is a prime factor, then how should we account for the class of animals, for example the bear, which has brown or black hair, but whose habitat is the Polar Circles? And even if it were possible to reconcile the fact that these animals naturally prefer cold climates with the hypothesis that such colours were the result of heat or temperature, we should still have to account for the other fact, that other members of the same species have not black or brown, but white hair.

Continuing, I further observe that with regard to the different racial complexions being the result of insolation, Blumenbach, Prichard, and Waitz seem to consider the bronzing of the artisan through exposure to the sun as a step towards the production of the racial hues.

On my part, I should find no difficulty in so considering this bronzing, if I could conceive of the artisan, after abandoning his more exposed employment for one in which he would be protected from the severities of the elements, as still maintaining the bronzed complexion he acquired. Next, if I could conceive of the artisan transmitting to his son this acquired colour; and again, if I could conceive of the son taking on permanently, after being engaged in his father's earlier occupation, a deeper colour, which he like his father retains, and also transmits, and so on, and so on, until the colour of the blackest Ethiopian should be reached—if I could conceive all this as being possible, then I should believe in the relevancy of the comparison; but as instead I see the artisan—whose bronzing, moreover, is confined only to the uncovered parts of his body—as I see the tourist regaining his ordinary colour after withdrawing from solar exposure, or if he does not regain his ordinary complexion, transmitting to his progeny none of his acquired bronzing, I am unable to perceive a parallel between the permanent complexion of the races and the temporary bronzing of the individual.

Again, reverting to the subject of time, Prichard alleges in one of the volumes of his *History of Mankind* that the com-

plexion of the races has required "chiliads of years," whereas Blumenbach tells us, and Prichard corroborates the statement, that some Portuguese who were carried to West Africa in the fifteenth century could scarcely be distinguished afterwards from the aborigines. If this statement be true, then it would prove one thing, namely, that the dark complexion of the Ethiopian does not require for its production "chiliads of years."

But from such a statement the question also arises, viz. How is it that the same phenomenon does not appear in other parts of the torrid zone, where—as, for example, the West Indies—white people and their descendants in not inconsiderable numbers have for successive centuries dwelt; the period extending, with respect to the islands peopled by Spain, from the present century back to the fifteenth? Evidently the statement is in an hyperbolic dress.

But I have yet to learn that the different shades of colour among white communities, such as those which distinguish the southern and northern European, and those likewise which are said to characterise certain tribes of the Berbers, as quoted on page 28, were not synchronous with what may be called the formative stage of the races. For there seems to me to be a striking parallel between the development of the races and the development of the organism. Therefore, instead of peoples inhabiting low ground being burnt brown or black, and those occupying high ground being coated white, I should represent that, in accordance with its dermic idiosyncrasy, each community selects a valley, a plain, or a plateau.

Returning to the subject, it seems quite likely that the dark-coloured Portuguese, on settling in Africa, should have become a shade darker, in the same way as the artisan who is exposed to the sun; but it is most improbable that they became so black as to be indistinguishable from the black aborigines. But the crux of the argument appears to me to lie not so much in the question whether certain white individuals exposed to climatic influence became brown or black, but rather this, whether the children of those individuals, by white women, would for successive generations inherit the paternal brown or black complexion thus incidentally acquired; and whether, as a result, they would show any tendency to deviate from their physical race traits towards that of either one or other of the coloured races.

According to the experience that has been gained on this point from the descendants of the white families in the tropics, who have had no admixture of blood, and whose ancestral connection with those lands began some three or four centuries ago, we are permitted to say that the adventitious complexion of the father or mother, produced by climate, would not be inherited by their offspring. Admitting this, we are able to see how that if the same conditions should prevail for even "chiliads of years," the complexion of the white people would be maintained.

Finally, according to Waitz, as the quotation given on page 26 shows, the chief factors in the production of colour are, in their order of importance: first, climate, such as hot and damp countries, great alterations of temperature, etc., acting "where diet, and habits of life, and the whole care of body and soul," are after the mode of life of the aboriginal races; next, descent; and third, food. That is to say, the European in America or Africa would become a red man or a black man, if in addition to subjecting himself to the influence of the American or African climate, he should bring the whole care, "both of body and soul," "by diet and habits of life," into conformity with the mode of life of the natives of those continents. From this theory, then, we are to infer that if the black or white man who inhabits tropical America would only subject himself "in the whole care of body and soul," and in "diet and habits of life," to the regimen of the red man, he would become red. And that the red, yellow, or white man in Africa would become black, if in addition to taking up his residence in that land, he would, "in the whole care of body and soul," and in "diet and habits of life," submit himself to the regimen of the aboriginal race.

In the comments thus offered concerning the theory set forth in the excerpts submitted above, that the dark colour or complexion is due to the accumulation of carbon, produced by solar and climatic influence, during "many series of generations" or "chiliads of years," I venture to think that enough has been said to show that whereas the affirmation respecting the carboniferous nature of the substance constituting colour appears to be quite valid, those respecting the means by which, and the time at which, that substance has been produced, are untenable.

If, then, the arguments adduced in support of this theory have been shown to be untenable, it becomes clear that in order to

find a satisfactory answer to the inquiry, when colour or complexion is produced in the races, more especially in the coloured races, we must look in another direction. In that direction, therefore, we proceed now to look.

At the outset of this discussion we saw that the chief ingredient of colour in the skin of the dark races is melanin, black pigment or carbon ; we saw, further, that pigment in all races is found in the hair and eyes of the white and dark races alike, as well as in the skin of the dark races. And still further, we saw that the black pigment is only one of a group of pigments found in the human subject ; that the yellow pigment of the bile, for example, and the red pigment of the blood, are also members of the group.

Now, the question I would ask is, At what time does the development of the blood and bile pigments, the black pigment of the hair of the head, and of the eye, in all races take place? The answer is, during intra-uterine gestation. Anticipating some remarks that I shall make in this connection, I add that during intra-uterine gestation the yellow bile pigment and the red pigment of the blood are produced by the development of the mesoblast, and the black pigment of the eye and of the hair is produced by the development of the epiblast.¹ Now, then, if the yellow pigment of the bile, and the red blood pigment, are originally produced by the development of the mesoblast, and the black pigment of the hair and of the eye is originally produced by the development of the epiblast, then the black pigment of the skin must also be produced by the development of the epiblast. And since the two former are intra-uterine, the latter likewise must be intra-uterine. The difference, then, between the coloured and colourless races, as regards colour, is, that in the latter the deposition of pigment is principally confined to the hair of the head and the eye ; whereas in the coloured races, besides these parts, it extends in varying degree to envelop externally the entire surface of the organism. I have said principally confined, for in addition to the skin of the brunette, which is due to melanin, and which is found in some members of the white race, there are other portions of the body, among all the members of this race, where pigment is regularly deposited. On what ground should it be believed that in the hair of the body and in the eyes, of both the coloured and colourless races, the deposition of black pig-

¹ These terms will be explained later.

ment is pre-natal and essential, the result of embryonic development; but that in the skin of the coloured races it is post-natal and accidental, the result of solar stimulation?

But by way of adding yet another support to my argument, let me append the following:—

“Morrison’s investigations as to the Negroes’ skin show . . . that . . . pigment deposits are found several weeks or more before birth.’ ‘Thomson, quoted by Macleod, detected pigment granules in the skin of a negro fœtus as early as the fifth month.’”¹

Thus, from all these facts, I affirm that in all races colour or complexion is a congenital phenomenon, produced in the ordinary course of embryonic development; and that the diversity of colour as it appears among the races is probably synchronous with the differentiation of the races. The differentiation of the races I take to be analogous to the differentiation of the organs of the human body. But this subject will be treated in another chapter.

¹ See Stelwagon’s *Diseases of the Skin*, pp. 31, 32.

VI

Probable Function of Colour

THE question, What is the function of colour? would doubtless be answered in some quarters, that colour has no function except as a mark of inferiority, and especially as the sign of a curse upon the Ethiopian race, of which slavery is a corollary.

This doctrine, however, it seems hardly necessary to say, is a pure invention; an invention of the slavery that Europe had introduced into the Western Hemisphere, and that America had fostered there. Its craft, endangered by the ravages of its own excesses, the curse of the Ethiopian by the Almighty, was one of the devices resorted to by this slavery of the West, in order to prolong its existence by thriving on the prostitution of humanity. Happily its crimes had outgrown the shelter which even this popular sophistry was capable of affording the monster; and so, condemned by the nakedness of its enormities, it paid in blood the penalty of its infamies. Slavery is now dead; but, alas! the spirit that gave it birth, and which with maternal solicitude nourished and cherished it for centuries, has survived its fall. Hence it is that this doctrine, the shallowest of all falsehoods, instead of passing away into the grave of oblivion, enjoys the patronage of literature and of all the other great departmental lights of civilisation.

That such a doctrine should have gained credence among men of intelligence, is one of the most conclusive proofs of both the bias and the credulity of the age. For if the black skin of the Ethiopian were the expression of the servitude to which the Deity in a curse had condemned him, then what curse was there that consigned to the rigours of Egyptian bondage, for four hundred years, the Hebrews—the chosen people of God? And if a divine curse, were the Hebrews black?

Further, if, in addition to the black skin, the mental and moral degradation of the Ethiopian be also symptoms of this curse, then of what curse were the moral and mental degradation of the European, in former ages, the symptoms? The Greeks had their slaves, who probably were all white; the Romans had their slaves, who certainly were more white than black, as the following characteristics given of these slaves prove:—

“The Phrygian was timid, the African vain, the Cretan mendacious, the Dalmatian ferocious, the Briton stupid, the Scythian strong, the Ionian beautiful, the Alexandrian accomplished and luxurious.”

If slavery indicates a curse, then surely all the nations here represented have been cursed; but as they were not all black, nor were even the majority of them black, then the white skin and the yellow skin, which they also represented, must likewise have been cursed.

After a residence of several years in West and South-West Africa, careful and deliberate reflection has led me to the conclusion that one of the chief functions of colour is that of modifying adverse climatic conditions, and especially the heat of the sun. The severity of the African climate, from which Europeans suffer so acutely, I therefore, in the first place, attribute to the intensity of the sun's rays, and, in the next place, to the absence of the modifying influence of integumentary pigment. As affording some support to this view, let me cite the following facts. I have known of ten coloured missionaries engaged in mission work on the Congo; three of the ten were women, and the rest men. They all hailed from the Southern States of America and from the British West Indies. They all arrived on the Congo, at different times, during the same decade; and, if not all, certainly the majority of them spent on the field, each, five years before leaving for their first furlough.

Now, what I wish to point out from these statements is, that although all these ten coloured persons suffered, more or less, at intervals, from intermittent fever, none of them succumbed; also, that I am of opinion that, given the same time of arrival, the same conditions of living, and the same time of residence in the country, a like number of white men and women could not have yielded a similar result. But it may be answered that the ability of those ten persons to withstand the climate so well, may have been due, not so much to their colour as to the fact

that they were born and bred in hot countries. In answer, I would remark that two of the seven coloured men, one from Jamaica and the other from the State of Georgia, went out to Africa with two white missionaries, who also hailed from Jamaica and the Southern States; the two white missionaries, however, died either from direct or indirect climatic causes.

Taken by themselves these data do not warrant the opinion I have expressed as to the probable function of colour, but taken in conjunction with the following facts I believe they do. It is a well-known fact that whereas the fair-skinned race, as labourers, is unable to cope with the heat of the tropics, the races with dark skins, such as the Hindoo and Chinese, and best of all, the black-skinned Ethiopian, do so with ease and continuance. But the difference that is thus observable in the ability of dark-skinned peoples to endure tropical toil, and in the inability of white-skinned peoples to endure it, cannot be attributed, on the part of the latter, either to insufficient food, improper accommodation, or inferior physique, for in physique the white labourer is quite equal to his dark-skinned fellows, whilst his food and dwelling, in tropical countries, are always better than theirs.

The great difference, therefore, between these two sections being that of colour, it seems to me that it is to colour, to its absence in the one class, and its presence in the other, that the inability of the one to labour in the tropics, and the ability of the other to do so, must be attributed. And the assumption that colour is the determining point of difference seems to find, in the Southern States of the American Union, complete confirmation. For there we have two peoples, a white and a coloured, both natives of the same section, both living under the same climatic conditions, and both subsisting by the same regimen, yet the whites are unable, with their own hands, to cultivate the land, whereas the blacks can, and do, cultivate the land.

In our previous remarks upon the subject of variety of colour among the races we observed that the peculiarities evinced by the so-called white Negroes are cracking of the skin and fear of light. But this cracking of the skin, or blistering, also occurs in the case of white persons who for some time are exposed to the sun, whilst in all races the absence of pigment in the eye produces the same ocular irritation, called photophobia, noticeable in the white Negro. Now since the heat of the sun exercises a different effect upon the coloured Southerner, and

the white, on the white and the ordinary African, on the eyes of the albino and those of the ordinary individual, and since in all these cases the main and distinguishing feature is colour, it follows then that colour in some way or other modifies the intensity of the sun's rays. And as the example of the missionaries would seem to indicate, pigment, in addition to heat, modifies also other adverse climatic conditions.

On the supposition that pigment tempers adverse climatic conditions, and especially heat, I can understand how in climates where the sun acts with a less degree of vigour, as in the temperate zones, such as Northern Europe, for example, the protection of pigment for the skin would be unnecessary; and how that in latitudes where this power is put forth with a greater degree of vigour, as in sub-tropical lands, such as India, there would be a moderate deposit of pigment, whereas in regions such as are in the tropics, Africa, for instance, where he appears in the plenitude of his strength, the greatest amount of pigment would be demanded to limit or modify his intensity.

Instead of its being true therefore that the sun's heat produces colour, as Blumenbach, Waitz, Prichard, etc., affirm, it seems nearer the truth to say that colour modifies the sun's heat and tempers adverse climatic conditions. And as I have already hinted, each race, people, or tribe, according to its cutaneous equipment, would choose the climate that would harmonise with its idiosyncrasy. Thus at the migration of the races from their original home, the bulk of the darker Asiatics would not have gone to Northern Asia, Europe, or Africa; the Caucasian would not have gone to the plains of India or Africa, and the African would not have gone to the plains of India, Europe, or Northern Asia; but each, guided by its climatic or dermic instinct, would in the mass have been conducted to the continent which it has since inhabited. On this aspect of the subject the general conclusion would be that colour has ensured the distribution of the human race over the habitable globe. But in addition to warding off or minimising the sun's intensity, as well as modifying adverse climatic conditions, pigment in man appears to me to fulfil another and subsidiary function, viz. that of producing variety. For, indeed, if this were otherwise, then in nature's wide domain man had been the solitary exception.

With respect to colour limiting the permanent boundaries

of the different races, the coloured races to tropical and sub-tropical zones, and the colourless race to temperate climes, I am not forgetting coloured peoples, such as the Esquimaux, who inhabit Polar Circles; and I should account for their presence in those parts, on the supposition, that although being equipped for residence in the warmer or sub-tropical lands, circumstances of a political or economic nature, such as generally lead to migrations, may have forced them in the first instance beyond those dwelling-places into their present abodes. This deduction would seem also to warrant the belief concerning the ability of tropical races to withstand the asperities of temperate and polar regions.

Again, another conclusion to which this theory on colour would lead, is, that since pigment modifies heat and unfavourable climatic conditions, those of the white race who would be best fitted to reside in tropical lands are persons with black hair and black eyes.

VII

Cranial "Variation" among Races

MEASUREMENTS OF THE CRANIUM

MORE important than even complexion for demonstrating the "difference" between the coloured and colourless races, the "inferiority" of the former, the "superiority" of the latter—as the reader may have noticed from the excerpts supplied in a former chapter—is the anatomy of the osseous framework, and particularly the cranial vault. But in addition to the statements made by Nott, Vogt, and Keane about the cranium as a standard or gauge by which the races are classified, we have the following extract, taken from the *Official Guide to the Egyptian Galleries of the British Museum*, which shows, that besides professing to classify living races by means of their crania, ethnologists, by the same means also, profess to classify a nation extinct:—

"According to ancient writers," the extract points out, "the Egyptian race descended the Nile from Ethiopia. But modern science is satisfied that it is a member of the Caucasian family; anatomical examination, as well as the statues and drawings and sculptures on the monuments, proving that the ancient Egyptian differed entirely from the Negro and more nearly resembled the inhabitants of Europe and Western Asia. He was in general tall and square, the skin red, the hair dark, the head large, the forehead square, the nose short and round, the cheek full, the eyes large, the mouth wide, and the lips thick but not turned up, the shoulders square, the hand and feet long."

At present, all that I wish to repeat concerning this extract is, that it is to anatomy that the chief part of settling the question of the origin, etc., of the ancient Egyptians, is assigned. And with respect to the relative importance of the various parts

of the osseous system in investigating the origin, etc., of the races, the cranium ranks first. This importance is signified in Nott's remarks on page 6, where he informs us that the ancient Pelasgic and the modern white head give a corresponding measurement of 88 cubic inches; the ancient Egyptians and modern Fellahs give a mean measurement of 80 cubic inches; and that certain African peoples, whether in Africa or in America, yield 83 cubic inches.

The importance of the cranium for ascertaining racial proclivity and capacity is further emphasised by Vogt on page 9, where he says that "the Negro skull is the purest type of long skull. . . ."; and by Keane's remarks, in which, after alluding to the period of chaos that had overtaken ethnology, he says, in his article already quoted:—

"Order was at last restored by the craniological school, founded by the elder Retzius (1796-1860), which made the shape of the head the basis of all calculation, and thus introduced exact methods into this branch of the subject."

In the statements supporting the inferiority of the dark races (p. 11), of which this last excerpt forms part, we have the measurements of the cranium set forth, as "dolichocephalic," "brachycephalic"; "prognathous," "orthognathous." Hence, before passing on to discuss the importance of the skull as a test of the origin, etc., of races, I shall make some remarks explaining these terms.

The size of the skull is estimated by internal and external measurements. The internal measurement, or cranial capacity, is arrived at by filling the cranial cavity—the apertures being first of all closed—with substances such as shot, millet-seeds, wax, gypsum, glue, etc., and then by pouring out the substance from the cavity into a graduated vessel. The size of normal crania varies, it is said, from 60-110 cubic inches, the average in all races being 85 cubic inches. Of particular examples, we have the skull of the Esquimaux measuring 91·5 cubic inches; the European, 90·3; that of the Chinese and other Mongols, 87·3; the African Negro, 82·4; the native Australian, 79·3; and the Andaman Islanders, 78·1 cubic inches. The external measurement is considered under two aspects. In the first, a base line—the so-called Horizontal Circumference—is found by passing a tape round the skull over the supraorbital ridge above the glabella in front, and over the most prominent part of the occiput

behind, and the measurement consists in comparing the relative length,¹ breadth, and height of the cranium.

In the latter of these two computations, the standard of maximum length being taken as 100, we have in what is known as the index-breadth, or cephalic index, the following formula of

$\frac{B \times 100}{L}$; similarly, in the index-height, or height-index, we have the formula $\frac{H \times 100}{L}$. From the estimate of the cephalic

index, three forms of crania have been described; and according to Taylor they are Brachycephalic; that is, short heads = breadth index above 80; Mesaticephalic, or medium = breadth-index from 75–80; Dolichocephalic = breadth-index below 75.

We have now come to the second of the two aspects under which external cranial measurements may be considered. It is founded on the relative sizes and position of the skull and face in man and the lower animals. In man the head is normally the predominant part; the face an appendage. The head predominating it looks forwards, and the face is parallel with the body; but when there is more face than head, as in the lower animals, the head, instead of looking forwards, looks upwards; and the face, instead of occupying a parallel situation, is obliquely projected from the body, the jaws being thrown forwards. Now, then, as the head and face of an individual tend more towards the description given of the human subject, or more towards that of the brute, so it is classified. When it conforms to the human standard it is designated Orthognathous; when it conforms to the brute it is called Prognathous, and standing midway between the two, it is described as Mesognathous. The different measurements represented by these terms, and the amount of forward projection of the face and jaws, are said to indicate the characteristics of the different races.

Taking the size of the cranium first, the peoples who, according to Vogt, present the largest crania—the brachycephalic or shorthheads—are the Lapps, Macassars, Madurese, Esquimaux, Bashkirs, Turks, and New-Italian; those presenting the dolichocephalic, or longheads, are the Mukahivans, Hindoo, Negroes, Australians, Kaffirs, Bushmen, and Hottentots; and among

¹ Length of the cranium = distance between ophryon and occiput.
 Breadth ,, ,, = greatest parietal breadth.
 Height ,, ,, = distance between the basion and the bregma.

the representatives of the mesaticephalic, or medium heads, are the Germans, Russians, Bugese, Sumatrans, Colmucks, Javanese, French, Cossacks, Jews, Gipsies, Moluccans, Indians, Chinese, Finns, ancient Greeks, ancient Romans, Brazilians, Dutch.¹

With reference to the projection of the face, that of the European is said to be the smallest, hence it is regarded as nearest to the ideal human form; whilst the facial projection of the Australian is believed to be nearest to the animal type; accordingly it is represented as being furthest from the human standard. Between the two types, the extremely human and the extremely animal, it is said that we have the Negro. According to Taylor the European represents the orthognathous form of facial projection, the Australian the prognathous, and the Negro the mesognathous form.

"The degree of projection is expressed by the gnathic index of Flower, and is obtained by comparing the basi-alveolar length² with the basi-nasal³ length. When the gnathic index is below 98, skulls are said to be orthognathous; from 98 to 103, mesognathous; and above 103, prognathous."⁴

THE CRANIUM AS A GUIDE TO RACE QUALITIES

From the explanation thus given concerning the measurements of the cranium, concerning the terms representing the measurements, and concerning the application of those terms to the different races, we are now the better prepared to appreciate the remarks already made on the subject of the cranium, as well as such remarks as may yet be made.

As I have already observed, it is to anatomy that the chief honour is assigned of having proved the separate origin of the races; the superiority of one section, and the inferiority of the rest. And of anatomy, the structure upon which reliance is mainly placed for supplying these proofs, is the cranium. But examination into the measurements of the cranium has made it very apparent that the conclusions drawn from them can be valid only on two grounds, viz. that each type of skull is primarily or exclusively identified with one of the races, and

¹ *Lectures on Man*, p. 50.

² Basi-alveolar = a line from the anterior margin of the foramen magnum to the most distant part of anterior margin of the alveolar arch.

³ Basi-nasal = a line from the middle of the anterior margin of the foramen magnum to the nasal point.

⁴ *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, new ed., vol. ix. p. 493.

that the inquiry, by which these types have been specified, has been exhaustive. For if, on the one hand, dolichocephalic, mesaticephalic, and brachycephalic skulls are found in the Caucasian, or white race, in the Mongolian, or yellow race, and in the Ethiopian, or black race, and if, on the other hand, the examination has not been sufficiently exhaustive, as to decide which type of skull predominates in any particular race, then the practice of applying to the white race one class of crania as its distinguishing feature, and of applying to the coloured races another class of crania as their distinguishing feature, would necessarily be arbitrary and erroneous. And for this reason the whole cranial theory, as purporting to prove the difference in the origin of the coloured, and of the colourless races, the inferiority of the former, the superiority of the latter, would fall to the ground.

We proceed, therefore, to these two inquiries, viz. whether long heads, medium heads, and short heads, are found in each race; and whether any one type has been proved to predominate in any particular race. In answer to the first of these two questions, I shall quote the opinions of three authorities; authorities whose deliverances on this subject are all the more interesting since they themselves are polygenists and evolutionists. The first of the three is Professor Brinton, a leading American ethnologist. Speaking generally of the bones of the human skeleton, he continues thus:—

“Most important are the measurements of the skull, that science calls craniology, or craniometry. Ethnologists who are merely anatomists have made too much of this science. They have applied it to the exclusion of other elements, and have given it a prominence which it does not deserve. The shape of the head is no distinction of race in the individual; only in the mass, in the average of large numbers, has it importance. Even here its value is not racial. Within the limits of the same people, as among the Slavonians, for example, the most different skulls are found, and even the pure-blood natives of some small islands in the Pacific Ocean present widely various forms. The shape of the skull attains importance only when a mass of crania has been subject to examination; but the deduction afforded by examining even such a mass does not indicate distinction of race, for among the different peoples, as, for example, the Slavonians, skulls of the most diverse kinds are found. And this holds good among races that are unmixed, as well as among mixed races, such as the Slavs.”¹

¹ *Races and Peoples*, p. 19.

Such is the tenor of this extract.

The second is taken from Professor Keane's suggestive article, where, continuing the remarks with reference to the scientific value of cranial measurements, referred to on page 40, he says :—

“The result has shown that craniology alone cannot be depended upon to supply sufficient, or even altogether trustworthy materials for distinguishing the main divisions of mankind. Its chief elements, such as dolichocephaly, brachycephaly, orthognathism, and prognathism, are not constant in any given group, and in many cases the most surprising diversity prevails, where some degree of uniformity might be expected.”

This brings us to the third extract. In it, among other things, we are supplied with the history of the origin of cranial measurement.

“As Welcker observes,” says Vogt, the author of the extract, “Blumenbach designated the Negro and the Calmuck skull as the extremes of cranial form, and he added that a model made of wax . . . of the Caucasian would by lateral pressure assume a Negroid shape, whilst by antero-posterior pressure it would assume a shape like that of the Calmuck. Retzius made use of this character, and founded upon it his division of peoples into longheads and shortheads. This division was first founded upon an examination of Swedish and Slavonian skulls, and in these cases Retzius gave the proportion of the two diameters as follows : In the Swedes the greatest length to the greatest breadth as 1,000 : 733, that is, nearly as 9 : 7 ; in the Slavonians as 1,000 : 888, or nearly as 8 : 7. It must, however, be admitted that Retzius' measurements were confined to a few skulls which he selected as typical, and that he estimated the cranial shape rather from the general impression of the aspect of skulls than by exact measurements. It is also to be kept in view that, though Retzius only applied the various forms to distinguish different tribes, *e.g.* Swedes and Slavonians, Finns and Lapps, he expressly says that both these cranial forms are to be found in every one of the assumed chief races.”

Similarly we are told by Vogt that the examination by Broca, of skulls belonging to the upper classes, exhumed from one of the Parisian cemeteries, revealed the dolichocephalic, as well as the other two types.

In each of these three extracts, then, and particularly the last, we have it stated in unmistakable language that in every race the three types of skulls are found.

Concerning the second question, as to whether any one type

of cranium has been proved to prevail in any particular race, we have to inquire what number of skulls has been examined. Commencing with Retzius, the founder of these cranial distinctions as applied to race, Vogt, upon Retzius' admission, has informed us that the skulls which formed the basis of the founder's investigations, and upon which his conclusions rest, were "few." But what of Vogt himself, who has told us that the Negro's skull is "the purest type of dolichocephalic," or longhead, etc., and who on the methods by which investigation should be conducted lays down the following principle:—

"The greater the number of individual facts accumulated, and the more strictly they are defined, by selecting, for instance, cases of the same sex, age, and condition, the more exact will be the result."

Vogt next illustrates this principle by means of the system of conscription prevailing in Central Europe, where it is customary to measure all males, except cripples, at the time of their attaining the age of twenty-one, and where such as do not possess the prescribed military height are rejected. He believes that in this manner the average height of the male population of such countries could be ascertained. But he also adds, that if only a hundred persons were measured, and the average thus obtained were taken to be the average height of the male population, the result would probably be fallacious, inasmuch as those hundred individuals may have come from Alsace, Brittany, or Provence, places inhabited by three different stocks, varying in stature. He further adds that the average height of the male population of those countries would be nearer being obtained, if, instead of one hundred, one thousand recruits were measured. Vogt then observes that even by this number the investigation would not be carried very far on the way of accuracy; for the year wherein these thousand recruits were born may have been signalled by pestilence and famine, experience having shown that generally the births of such years are only partially developed. Hence, Vogt finally concludes that the nearest approach to absolute accuracy would be reached only by comparing the average heights taken over a wide area during a series of years.

Now, in his cranial investigation of the African race—numbering in Africa some 200 million of souls, in the United States some 11 millions, and in the West Indies about a million and

a half—has Professor Vogt applied this his very reasonable test? I do not demand of him, as the subject of his investigation, crania ranging through a series of years, but I do expect from him the comparing of averages taken from a large collection, or according to Brinton, taken from a “mass” of skulls, gathered from “a wide area.” But is not this Dr. Vogt’s procedure? No, it certainly is not. Thus, after the laying down of his elaborate rule, how astonishing it is to find that this author’s observations on the general anatomy of the Ethiopian, particularly his skull—reproduced on page 10 from his *Lectures on Man*—are founded not on the skeletons of 1,000 Ethiopians, gathered “from a wide area,” not even on 100 of such skeletons, although that number would have been meagre indeed, but on the stupendous and exceedingly striking array of six skeletons!¹ *Six crania!* Nor does the shock of amazement subside when the manner in which Dr. Vogt arrives at his conclusion regarding the inferiority of the Ethiopian’s brain, is taken into account. For this is the evidence of Pruner-Bey, the chief witness whom Vogt brings forward to prove the inferiority of the Negro’s brain. After alleging that between the convolutions of the coloured and colourless races a difference exists—the convolutions of the colourless race being more numerous than those of the coloured races—Pruner-Bey is forced to admit:—

“I myself have never been able to detect in this respect an essential difference between the brain of the Negro and that of the Ethiopian, though I have placed them side by side.”²

And Vogt himself, after his confident assertions (p. 9) concerning the brain peculiarities of the Ethiopian, descends to this humiliating confession:—

“I possess no Negro brain, and I must confess that I have no confidence in old representations, chiefly for the reason that the convolutions so important in our researches are in the figures of old authors, such as Tiedemann and Soemmering, not faithfully rendered. But on examining the brain of the Hottentot Venus, an excellent representation of which is given by Gratiolat, and which by breadth and shortness deviates from the Negro brain, but exhibits in other respects the same type; and comparing it with the brain of a German and that of an anthropoid ape, I find a remarkable resemblance between the ape and the lower human type” (the Negro), “specially with reference to the development of the temporal lobe.”³

¹ *Lectures on Man*, p. 172.

² *Ibid.*, p. 182.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

The brain of a solitary Hottentot female, and not even the brain, but only the model of that brain, is made to supply the facts for a generalisation concerning the brain structure and the brain capacity of some 212 millions of the human race. Is a greater travesty of scientific research possible? And yet, of this particular department, the sample now furnished represents—as will be seen during our progress—the quality of the facts habitually served up to the world by the wholesale and retail traffickers in the popular wares of Negro aspersion.

Professor Aeby, of Berne, the founder of a new system of cranial measurement, applied his system to the classifying of races into broad and narrow heads. But for this classification, that is to say, for the classification of all mankind, he had less than 600 skulls. Of these the greater number, it is to be presumed, belonged to European peoples. It is no wonder, then, that Professor Aeby should have prefaced his résumé with the qualifying remark—"If close examination of more than 500 skulls from all parts of the earth entitles one to express an opinion . . ."

This same insufficiency of cranial data, upon which I am commenting, also characterises the craniological researches and conclusions of Nott, as it characterises those of Morton, upon whose cranial theories, quoted on page 6, the theories of Nott are built. Nott thus refers to the insufficiency of the number of skulls which Morton examined:—

"Dr. Morton's collection of crania," he says, "though extraordinarily copious in some races, is very defective in others; and although his measurements doubtless approximate sufficiently to the truth to prove a wide difference in the form and size of crania, yet *they are too few* to afford perfectly adequate admeasurements. The first Teutonic group, for example, gives a mean of 92 cubic inches, and this average is based on the measurement of 30 skulls, whereas 300 might not suffice to evolve a fair average of Germanic cranial development."¹

"Three hundred crania might not suffice to evolve a fair average of Germanic cranial development," yet, according to Aeby's classification, less than 600 skulls are made sufficient "to evolve a fair average of the cranial development" of the human race. And according to Vogt's practice, a practice which his theory condemns, six skulls are sufficient to estimate the size and form of skull of a people numbering 212 millions,

¹ *Types of Mankind*, p. 452.

and one model is sufficient to estimate their cerebral capacity. Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon! One might go on multiplying these examples, but I deem it unnecessary to do so.

It will be remembered that the claim made for the cranium, as proving the separate origin of the races, the superiority of the colourless race, and the inferiority of the coloured races, was regarded as tenable only on the grounds, first, that one of the three types of skulls specified, was primarily or exclusively identified with one of the three races; and, secondly, that the inquiry by which that particular type has been assigned to one of the races, has been of an exhaustive character.

By the facts adduced from those by whom the cranium is set forth as the great indicator of the differences alleged as existing between the races—Retzius and Vogt, Aeby and Blumenbach, Nott, Keane, and Brinton—it will now be seen, first, that the dolichocephalic, mesaticephalic, or brachycephalic form of skulls is not found exclusively in any one of the three races, but in all three; and, secondly, that the extent to which cranial investigation within each race has been carried, has been of a character so limited as to make the conclusion impossible, that any one of the three forms of crania predominates in a single race. Hence I conclude, that, according to the researches made so far, there is no warrant whatever for applying to one race the epithet “dolichocephalic,” implying thereby that it represents a form of cranium peculiar to that race.

On the same ground I conclude, that there is no warrant for applying the term “mesaticephalic” to another race, on the supposition that it has the medium-shaped skull as its characteristic, or for applying the designation “brachycephalic” to the third race, because it is thought that in it the shorthead type of cranium prevails. And since there is no warrant for distributing one of the forms of skull to each race as its type, neither can there be any warrant on the ground of cranial peculiarity, for describing one race as “superior” and others as “inferior.”

But in addition to this conclusion, which is partly negative, we have from Brinton, whom I have already quoted, the following positive statement:—

“Experiments on the lower animals,” this author remarks, “prove that the skull is easily moulded by trifling causes.

Darwin found that he could produce long and short heads, or non-symmetrical head skulls in rabbits by training. The shape also bears a relation to the stature. As a general rule, short men have short or rounded heads, tall men have long heads. The largest-skulled nation in Europe are the Norwegians, who, of all the European whites, are the shortest."¹

We have seen that with minute circumstance, measurements have been supplied to us, purporting to give the average size of the skull that is typical of each race, and upon which the alleged "long head" of the Negro and of the coloured races in general with its small internal capacity, is professed to be founded. It is therefore necessary to add that by equally competent observers other cranial measurements have been made; that the verdict given by their results is, that in size, as well as in internal capacity, the skull of the Caucasian is not one whit larger than that of the coloured races. It is to this effect that Prichard gives from Tiedemann the following testimony. Tiedemann's evidence may be objected to, on the ground that the number of skulls examined by him was small; but the reply would be that it was no smaller than the collections by which other craniologists, such as those we have been considering, profess to have proved different origins, etc., of the races. So that in regard to the scope of its data, the evidence to which I am about to refer is in value commensurate with that given on the other side. Tiedemann, Prichard informs us, investigated the relative cranial capacity of the African and of other races: (1) by weighing the skull with and without the bone of the lower jaw; (2) by filling the cranial cavity with dry millet-seed through the foramen magnum; (3) by weighing the skull now filled, and then deducting the weight of the empty skull from that of the filled, the result being the measurement of the cranial capacity. Forty-one cases represented the cranial capacity of different Negro peoples. Seventy-seven similar measurements of male European skulls are added, twenty-four of male Asiatics of the so-called Caucasian race, two of female Europeans, and forty-three of the Malagar and Polynesian peoples.

"The general result of these comparisons," Prichard states, "is that the cavity of the skull in the Negro is generally in no degree smaller than in the European and other human races."

¹ *Races and Peoples*, p. 20.

Judging between the two sets of contrary assertions, from the facts already considered, we can have little difficulty in concluding, upon which side the truth is more likely to be found. For if, according to the abundant testimony of the opposite side, few skulls have been examined, and if these few skulls, owing to the smallness of their number, could not have yielded any valid conclusion for or against the theory that in each race a definite type of cranium predominates; if, also, notwithstanding their fewness, the skulls representing each race include the three types alleged to be peculiar, each to a different race, then it must be inferred that Tiedemann is more likely to be correct. And the following extract, taken from Dr. Deniker's work, *The Races of Man*, p. 98, published in 1900, is a further evidence in support of the sameness of the brain and the skull in each race:—

“The average weight of the brain among adult Europeans (twenty to sixty years) has been fixed by Topinard, from an examination of 11,000 specimens weighed, at 1,361 grammes for man, 1,290 grammes for woman. It has been asserted that the other races have a lighter brain, but the fact has not been established by a sufficient number of examples. In reality, all that can be put against the 11,000 brain-weighings mentioned above concerning the cerebral weights of non-European races amount to nothing. The fullest series that Topinard has succeeded in making, that of Negroes, comprises only 190 brains; that of Annamese, which comes immediately after, contains only 18 brains. And what do the figures of these series teach us? The first series, dealing with Negroes, gives a mean weight not much different from that of Europeans, 1,316 grammes for adult males of twenty to sixty years; and the second, dealing with the Annamese, a mean weight of 1,341 grammes, almost identical with that of Europeans. For other populations we have only the weight of isolated brains, or of series of three, four, or at most eleven specimens, absolutely insufficient for any conclusions whatever to be drawn, seeing that individual variations are as great in exotic races as among Europeans, to judge by Negroes (1,013 to 1,587 grammes) and by Annamese (from 1,145 to 1,450 grammes). Even in the great series of Europeans surprises await us in comparing the figures. Thus Peacock found an average of 1,388 grammes for the English from a series of 28 brains; whilst Boyd finds 1,354 grammes from a series of 425 brains. The difference (34 grammes) is greater here than that between the brains of Annamese and Europeans, and hardly less than that which we have just found between Negroes and Europeans (45 grammes).”

Seeing, therefore, that the holders of the polygenetic and evolutionary views—which successively derive man from a different species and from different stocks of one species, instead of from a common human pair—are unanimous in the statement that the cranium is no guide to the origin of the races; that the crania examined have been too few to establish any theory concerning the predominance of a certain cranial type in each race; that the three different types of crania are all three found in each race—I infer that no justification exists for attributing to the colourless race the term "shortheds." I further infer that on the ground of cranial peculiarity no justification exists for applying to one race the term "superior," and to the other races the term "inferior"; and that as far as cranial variation is concerned, there is nothing against the probability of there being to the three races a common origin.

After the conclusion we have thus arrived at concerning the assumed cranial differences between the coloured and colourless races, the following extracts, of which the first is taken from the *Referee*, and the other from the *Spectator*, as samples of the spurious logic that assigns to the colourless race the term "shortheds," and that assigns to the coloured races that of "longheads," are pertinent and significant. The article of the *Referee* is part of the comment made by that paper on the incident of the dining of Mr. Booker Washington at the White House with President Roosevelt two or three years ago. That of the *Spectator*, dated June 1st, 1901, appertains to the ethnological survey of India, about to be undertaken by the Indian Government.

About the cranium of the Ethiopian the first extract has this to say:—

"The Negro," it proceeds, "is not yet quite a man, and he is not yet a brother to the white . . . It will take generations—no man can say how many—to bring him to the level of the 'supreme Caucasian man.' He will have to redress the facial angle, and he will have to grow a more spacious cranium before he can come into brotherhood with the more advanced nations of mankind."

The second extract thus discourses about the crania of the coloured races:—

"In education in particular, and even in administration, we underrate the extreme variety of origin among the peoples of India . . . and are apt to proceed as if they were all Aryans,

that is, persons with receptive brains, instead of recognising that divisions of them, perhaps a fourth of the population, are Australoids or aboriginal 'Mongols,' whose brain need preparation before they can understand, much less assimilate, Western ideas. Suppose, however, that the inquiry revealed the substantial mental equality of all human beings . . . we believe nothing of the sort, but we frankly confess that the boundaries of divergence are hard to define. . ."

Alluding to the physical and mental differences that exist among mankind, the article adds:—

"They are, we are convinced, as serious and real as the differences between 'longheads' and 'shortheads,' or between 'whites' and 'blacks. . ."

No doubt, by those unacquainted with the ingredients—in the form of facts—of which these extracts are made up, they will have been imbibed, as other nostrums of the same class are being imbibed, as vintages of the choicest brand; thereby giving point to the maxim that "where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise." "Redressing the facial angle," "growing a more spacious cranium," "longheads," "shortheads." How imposing they look! How erudite they sound! But of the inhabitants of Central and Northern Europe, what was the character of their "facial angle" at the time of the Roman Conquest? And when was it redressed? In those days were there only "shortheads"? If there were not, what has become of the "longheads"? Such, then, is the manner wherein these fallacies of ethnology, introduced thirty or forty years ago, are to-day being masqueraded in our current literature.

VIII

The Quality of Beauty among Races

IN the remarks upon colour we noticed incidentally, the great variety of complexion exhibited by man. Similarly, when we pass to the study of the features, to which, in their general outline, colour as an index of race may perhaps be hardly said to be subordinate, we are likewise impressed by this same variety.

The family may be regarded as the narrowest limitation of facial variety, or the starting-point of racial differences. Two qualities, I think, constitute the law of facial variation; they are resemblance and difference. In the family, if the similarity or likeness between its members were complete, recourse to artificial means, in addition to that of names, for distinguishing one member from another, would be necessary. Thus, while there is a difference, by which we are able, merely through the features, to distinguish each member of the family, there is also a general likeness cementing the group into a unity.

The qualities of resemblance and difference vary in the degree in which they appear in the individuals of the family; the one being more conspicuous, the other less conspicuous, in each member of the group. But, on the other hand, the presence or absence, more or less, of these qualities in the members of the family, often rests, to no inconsiderable extent, upon the observer's keenness of perception. For some persons are more expert in detecting likeness than others are.

Passing from the narrower limitation of the family to the wider boundaries of the community or nation belonging to a common stock or race, we again encounter these same strange and subtle qualities. Like that of the family, the national likeness among its members may be much reduced; although, perhaps, never wholly absent. Its modification may be caused

by incidents, such as intermarriages, change of language, of religion, dress, diet, and the general habits of life, and may be more visible at certain points than at others, yet probably it is never entirely extinct. By it, the Englishman, for example, is recognised in a crowd on the Continent; the Frenchman in the places of public resort in New York; the German and Euro-American amid the throngs of the London streets. But when we proceed from the comparatively less accentuated international to the comparatively more accentuated inter-racial divisions, similarity or resemblance is perceived steadily to have declined, while dissimilarity or difference is perceived steadily to have advanced, until at the border of each racial unit similarity attains its minimal, and dissimilarity its maximal point. Thus, who anywhere, and under any circumstances whatever, would experience the slightest difficulty in distinguishing an African from a European, and either from a Mongolian? Therefore, between the races, the quality of resemblance, as regards the features, attains its minimum limit, and that of difference its maximum limit.

But to what is this dissimilarity due? The answer at once comes that it is due to the differences of colour. This answer, however, is true only in part, and perhaps not in the largest part, for I have not very rarely recognised the features of the Mongolian and of the African under the white skin of the Englishman. And doubtless the same holds good concerning the German, French, and Euro-American, as well as all other European peoples, or peoples of European descent. Further, in Africa, I did not very rarely come across the European type of features under the black skin of the Ethiopian, and this experience tallies with that of white men who have visited that continent; it tallies also with the experience of writers, of the eminence of Blumenbach, Prichard, and Waitz. And on this phase of the subject I would remark in passing that the presence of the types of features peculiar to each of any two of the races in the third race, establishes, amid the maximum of dissimilarity between the three, their essential identity.

But if it be not in the complexion, then wherein lie the chief features of dissimilarity between the African, Mongolian, and European? The features peculiar to each of the races have their centre partly in the bones of the face. One viewing the Mongolian type, as represented by a broadening or an expansion of the face outwards, and the Ethiopian peculiarity

as displayed in a forward projection, while the singular characteristics of the European come in between those of the Mongolian and Ethiopian, will observe that the outward or lateral expansion of the Mongolic features is due to the outward projection of the zygomatic arches, attended by large and deep orbits, flat nose—the nasal bones and the space between the eyebrows being nearly on the same plane as the cheek-bones. He will farther notice, as Prichard and others have noticed, the forward projection of the face of the Ethiopian, the cheek-bones forward instead of outward, its lengthened upper jaw also thrown forward, and the alveolar ridge with the teeth thereby assuming a similar projection. Lastly, the intermediate position of the European features will be perceived to be due to the cheek-bones projecting neither forwards nor outwards, while with the zygomatic arches they unite to give the face its oval aspect. Besides taking their origin partly from the bones of the face, the features peculiar to each of the three races originate also from the facial muscles.

These, then, according to their importance, viz. the bones of the face, the facial muscles, and, in a secondary degree, colour, are, so to say, the chief pegs upon which the typical differences between the three races hang. But these differences in the contour of the facial bones and of the facial muscles, giving rise in the Mongolian to the broad face and flat nose, in the Ethiopian to the full lips, flat nose, and somewhat projecting jaws, represent not what are the general, but what are the peculiar characteristics of these two races. They are the extreme development of the typical differences of each race. And so, just as the aquiline nose, which as the most striking facial peculiarity of the Aryan race is taken as its typical characteristic, so these facial peculiarities, as the highest peaks of difference in the racial mountain-chains of these two races, are naturally selected as their types. In a day's walk through any part of London, for instance, how many aquiline noses would one see? In the same way, the lips, nose, and jaws of the Ethiopian, and the face and nose of the Mongolian, as illustrating these extreme characteristics, represent not what is most common among these races, but what is most striking. Thus to describe these features as the characteristics of the majority of each of the three races is grossly incorrect.

Lastly, it should be observed that in these peculiarities of features, characterising each of the three great divisions of the

human race, there is nothing either novel or exceptional. For they are but the intensified display of one of those qualities which we have been observing in the family and the tribe or nation. Thus in the family unit we noticed among its members qualities of resemblance binding them into a common group. At the same time also we observed the qualities of difference dividing these very members into distinct entities. In like manner we perceived in the tribal or national unit these same qualities; but inasmuch as families are more numerous than tribes or nations, the qualities appearing in the tribe or nation are lesser in range than those of the family, but, at the same time, they are greater in distinctness; and it is by the greater distinctness of these qualities in the tribe and nation, than in the members of the family, that the task of identifying the individual by his tribal or national features, rather than his family features, is rendered the more easy.

Coming from the national or tribal to the racial units, inasmuch as races are less numerous than tribes or nations, the range of these qualities, resemblance and difference, becomes more restricted in the race than in the nation or tribe, but then that of difference becomes most distinct. And it is this superlative distinctness, rising above that by which the family and by which the nation or tribe is characterised, that causes the identification of an individual by his racial features to be the easiest of all.

Thus, rather than the quality of resemblance, as in the case of the family and the nation, etc., that which in the identification by race impresses the senses most is the quality of difference. In the family, then, which constitutes the first of this threefold series, we have a permanent type of features characterising its members. In the second division of the series, that is, the tribe or nation, we also have a permanent type of features, more pronounced, however, than that of the family characterising its members. And in the third division of the series, viz. the race, we likewise have a permanent type of features the most marked of all characterising its members.

It will be seen, therefore, as I said at the outset, that the differences of features in the races are neither novel nor exceptional, but only the accentuation in the race of one of the two qualities, viz. difference, which is found in the family and in the tribe or nation. The "facial angle," first described and employed by Professor Camper, Anatomist of Leyden, for de-

termining the mental capacity in man and the lower animals, and which the *Referee* sagely counsels the Negro to "redress," is found by the junction of two lines at the root of the nose. One of these lines is drawn from the most prominent part of the forehead; the other from the aperture of the external auditory meatus, the head being in profile. But fortunately for the Ethiopian, if unfortunately for the *Referee*, the "facial angle" as an instrument for estimating the mental powers is adjudged to be absolutely valueless. And thereby, as a gauge of racial distinctions, it is similarly valueless.¹

Now what we have been considering on this subject of the features of the races is a fitting prelude to the very few remarks which I must now make on the quality of beauty among the races.

Beauty is defined as "an assemblage of graces or properties pleasing to the eye, the intellect, the æsthetic faculty, or the moral faculty." By the Romans it was defined as a multitude in unity. While the eye, the intellect, the æsthetic, or the moral faculty are the parts in man to which beauty appeals, it is no less correct to say that these parts may themselves be centres, whence the radiance of beauty scintillates. But apart from the eye, in the physical structures, beauty may reside in other parts of the body, such, for example, as the head, the hand, the foot, the compactness and stateliness of the entire figure; however, the part of the body with which this quality is most frequently identified is the features.

From the definition given here of beauty, I make the statement that the sense of beauty is partly natural and partly artificial and accidental. What is meant by natural beauty is the presence of those properties, which, whether residing in the physical, mental, or moral constitution, are capable of awakening in persons of varying degrees of intelligence and culture, and of diverse habits and thought, the response of admiration and other pleasurable feelings of appreciation. Thus a character of great goodness or of great force of will, a majestic physique, an entrancing orator, an exquisite singer, would be admired by the rudest, as well as the most cultured of men. But beyond this type, found in every clime and by all mankind recognised and acclaimed, it will be perceived that beauty is merely conventional, the creation of association and familiarity.

¹ By consulting Prichard's *History of Mankind* this statement regarding the value of the facial angle may be verified.

Beauty in this aspect being conventional, is to some extent capricious. Thus among the civilised a painter of renown, a writer of eminence, a poet of distinction, or any other commanding genius, singly or jointly, may be the creator of the form of beauty recognised as its ideal by the community. The same principle also applies to the savage. But any other example, as well as any one of those mentioned already as representing natural beauty, may alone, or in combination, be transformed by the hand of genius into the conventional class. And now, taking as our illustration two of the races whose complexional distinctions present the widest contrast, how would these two forms of beauty work out among them? I refer, of course, to the Caucasian and Ethiopian races. In answer to the question asked, let me begin by quoting what the white man has said about the black man with respect to this quality of beauty. Of the Mandingoes, according to Prichard, M. Golberry, a French traveller, says: "Their features are regular, open; their character generous and open, and their manners gentle." Major Laing reports that "the appearance of the Mandingoes is engaging; their features regular and open; their persons well formed and comely, averaging a height rather above the common." With these descriptions given of the Mandingoes by Golberry and Laing that of M. Dourand fully coincides. Passing to the Fúláh nation, Golberry relates that "the tribe of Fúláh which . . . have peopled the borders of the Senegal, between Podhor and Galam, are black, with a tinge of red or copper colour; that they are in general handsome, but proud and indolent." Of the Iolofs, whose settlements are between the Senegal and Cape Palmas, M. Mollien writes that "this race of Negroes, the most handsome and the finest black of all those dependent upon the Government of the Senegal, shows that the deepest colour does not arise solely from the heat of the climate, nor the being more subjected to the vertical rays of the sun, but results from other causes." Golberry next describes the Bulloms, Tymaneys, and Ragoes—savage tribes dwelling on the Gambia—as being "handsome, and the females beautiful." Laing and Rankin also say of the Tymaneys, "The men are stout, able-bodied, and good-looking, capable of great fatigue, but timid and cowardly"; the women they describe to "be uncommonly handsome in their persons and pleasing in their address."

To these quotations, and in the same strain, I might continue

to add references concerning almost every tribe in Africa ; for the majority of them are portrayed by European travellers after the manner of the examples now given. However, let these examples suffice.

And, now, from the opposite standpoint, but upon the same subject, let me also give the white man's view. It is taken from an English journal of August, 1899, and runs thus :—

“One sometimes sees a white female walking through the streets of London with a Negro. We are all for freedom and emancipation of the Negroes, but there is something distinctly repulsive in the association of white and black. So with those ‘princes’ from India—law students, and the like, who swindle boarding-house keepers. English women must be intensely stupid, phenomenally morbid, who are ready to throw themselves upon anything that promises them the position of a man's mistress, according to the marriage laws, whence such events take place.”

Another writer announces :—

“The Negro may be a man and a brother in some secondary sense ; he is not a man and a brother in the same full sense in which every Western Aryan is a man and a brother. To me, at least, the Negro is repulsive.”

Having presented these two aspects of the white man's views on the subject of beauty in the Ethiopian, I pass on to notice the Ethiopian's views with respect to the quality of beauty in the white man. But at the outset we must differentiate between the average Europeanised and the non-Europeanised Ethiopian—savage or civilised, but particularly the civilised. As illustrating the attitude of the former of these two classes, I could not do better than refer to the following incident, which happened as late as 1901, in the city of Philadelphia, U.S.A.

In this city there was a certain coloured Church, which was being temporarily presided over by a white minister. This minister, who was said to have given his services to the Church free, had, notwithstanding, discharged his duties with zeal and fidelity towards the Church. As a result he won the confidence and esteem of the people, and on two separate occasions they signified this confidence and esteem by requesting that he would become their permanent pastor. Both invitations, however, were declined. Finally, the minister was removed by his vestry to another cure ; and so the question of a successor, who should have permanent charge of this coloured

Church, came up for consideration and for decision. It was said that a young coloured man, possessing all the qualifications required for the charge, was found ; but that when the matter came before the Church the candidature of the young coloured minister was, by a section of the Church, strongly opposed. The ground of the opposition was not that of physical, mental, or spiritual disqualification on the part of the candidate, but simply that he was a member of the same race as that to which the congregation belonged. The declaration of the opposing faction was, that they wanted as their minister a man who was "lily-white." Thus did these poor deluded people trumpet to an unfriendly world—that losing their last asset, their self-respect, they had been overwhelmed by the most disastrous of moral bankruptcies. Lily-white! What matters it whether the overseer of this, or of any other Church, be lily-white or lily-black, so long as there be in the lily the odour of sanctity and of a sound mind?

Such is the unenviable and despicable position of the average Europeanised Ethiopian. In the colleges he may have absorbed as much Latin, Greek, and Hebrew as, could they take on concrete form, would suffice, as cargo, the largest transatlantic liner. Yet before a human being with pale face, in abject servility, he will crouch and cower. Having, from the dawn of consciousness upwards, been taught to associate with the white skin everything possessing superior merit, he ends with the conviction that he himself is but a mass of demerit and inferiority ; and so, upbraiding his Maker for the "curse of a black skin," instead of the "blessing of a white skin," for the "curse of curly hair" instead of the "blessing of straight hair," for the "curse of black eyes" instead of the "blessing of blue eyes," he journeys through life, ashamed of himself and of every other member of his race. But this is an abnormal type of being ; every person who is normal, whether he be called a savage or whether he be a product of the schools, instinctively loves his race. To him that race is naturally the first of the races. I therefore exclude from the consideration this degenerate member of a noble race.

Now, what is the opinion held in the letter or in the spirit by the un-Europeanised Ethiopian, be he Mohammedan, Christian, or Pagan, concerning European beauty? From one point of view every noble quality, of mind, body, and character, which the European, in contact with the un-Europeanised Ethiopian,

exhibits; for example, a kind disposition, a perfectly modelled figure, extraordinary sagacity in business transactions, would evoke from the latter marked tokens of appreciation and admiration. But from another point of view the following may be taken as the normal estimate formed of European beauty by the class of Ethiopians named.

When in West Africa the writer was curious to know what the native African, uninfluenced by European teaching, thought of the European type of beauty. On inquiry he found that they were by no means enamoured of it. To them the blue eyes resembled only the eyes of a cat, the flowing locks found their counterpart in the hair of a goat. And the following incident may be regarded as their estimate of the white skin.

A well-known Scotch divine, whose field of labour is in South Africa, entering the kraal of a native woman during one of his itineraries, awakened in the mind of his quasi-hostess such trepidations that she implored the aid of a neighbour, that she might expel the visitor from her abode. Fear was not the dominant emotion, however, that gave rise to this woman's agitation, but rather it was disgust, for she was horrified at the close resemblance which she perceived between the integument of the reverend gentleman and that of a scalded pig.

Similarly the estimate which the uninfluenced coloured races have of the prominent nose of the European may be understood by the subjoined statement. Blumenbach relates that :—

“ In various barbarous nations also, such as the Ethiopians, the Brazilians, Caribs, the Sumatrans, and the inhabitants of the Society Islands and Southern Ocean, it is placed beyond all doubt, by the testimony of eye-witnesses most worthy of credit, that considerable force is used to depress, and as it were subdue into shape, the noses of the new-born infants.”¹

And in his *Descent of Man* Darwin says :—

“ With respect to colour, the Negroes railed on Mungo Park on account of the whiteness of his skin and the prominence of his nose; they considered these features as ‘ unsightly and unnatural conformations.’ Mungo Park in turn praised the glossy jet of their skins and the lovely depression of their noses; this they said was ‘ honeymouth ’; nevertheless they gave him food. The African Moors also ‘ knitted their brows and seemed to shudder ’ at the whiteness of Park's skin. On the eastern coast the Negro boys when they saw Burton cried out, ‘ Look at the

¹ Blumenbach's *Life and Works*, p. 233.

white man ; does he not look like a white ape ?' On the western coast, as Mr. Winwood Reade informs me, the Negroes admire a very black skin more than one of lighter tint. But this horror of whiteness may be attributed, according to this traveller, partly to the belief held by most Negroes, that demons and spirits are white, and partly to their thinking it a sign of ill-health."¹

Now, from one of the two standpoints of the European as shown in the remarks made above on the subject of the quality of beauty in the Ethiopian, it will have been noticed that the Ethiopian is described by the European as "handsome," whereas, from the other standpoint, he is also described by the European as "repulsive."

Passing to the standpoints of the Ethiopian, we have likewise noticed that whereas from one of these standpoints the physical forms of the European are pronounced by the Ethiopian as "handsome," from the other standpoint they are pronounced as "repulsive."

We have, then, in these pronouncements two sets of similarities ; one set illustrating what has already been described as natural beauty, and the other illustrating what I have called conventional beauty. Seeing that in the first of these two sets of similarities the white and black races discover in each other the physical qualities which are characterised as beautiful or handsome, and that the same would apply to the Semitic race, it is permissible from this standpoint to conclude that the attribute of beauty is found in each race. But side by side with natural beauty, by which the races have pronounced each other to be "handsome," is that other set of similarities by which, from the other standpoint, these same races have declared each other as being "repulsive."

I have called this latter class artificial or conventional because it rests on the artificial or unstable basis of familiarity or habitual association—association whose presence or absence is purely accidental.

Let me illustrate this. There is a certain form of attire which, having been in vogue, say, in the seventeenth century, is at the present time quite popular. It is conceivable that, owing to the great difference in style between this garment and those of present-day design, it would to many persons, at first at least, have appeared odd, and even grotesque. But the familiarity or

¹ *Descent of Man*, p. 579.

association of the senses with it, aided perhaps, in a subordinate degree, by the patronage it received from leaders of fashion, resulted by-and-by not only in the wearing down of the repugnance formerly entertained against it, but in the warm admiration now cherished for it.

So it is with the races; members of the white, yellow, or black race, accustomed from infancy to see one particular type of features and colour, when afterwards they come into contact with other types, there is a feeling of strangeness, and possibly even aversion. Let me repeat that such a feeling is not the monopoly of any one race. Thus, to the Ethiopian, the white skin, the thin, pointed or aquiline nose, the blue or brown eyes, the straight and lank hair, and the thin lips of the European are as repulsive as the black or brown skin, the short or flat nose, the curly or frizzy hair, and the full lips of the Ethiopian are to the European; although in the case of the Europeanised Ethiopian or Mongolian, by means of association and familiarity, begun for the most part from infancy, heightened by the efforts of poets, painters, sculptors—also by general literature and political domination—the feeling of strangeness, and even of repulsion, not only may not exist, but instead there may be for the artificial type of European beauty a feeling of admiration.

Nor is there reason to doubt that under these same conditions of association and the auxiliary forces of literature, etc., the European in like manner would admire the artificial beauty of the African or Mongolian. Through this same lack of familiarity on the part of the senses the white man would seem to be out of place in Africa, as the black man would seem to be out of place in Europe; with this difference, however, that whereas the Ethiopian in Europe retains his colour, the European in tropical Africa changes his to that of a dirty yellow—a tint usually still further exaggerated by the white garments he invariably adopts. Again, the feeling of strangeness, as the effect of a breach in the continuity of association, may be experienced after only a few years' absence from the accustomed scene. Thus, I well remember how ghastly pale and ill-looking the people of a certain important city appeared to me, on my return to it from Africa, after an absence of five years. And if my memory serves me rightly, Sir Henry Stanley, in one of his books, records a similar experience.

I do not doubt that the same disagreeable sensation is felt

by Europeans when they first arrive in Africa, for example, or on their return to that country after an interval of some duration. In places such as the United States, and particularly the South, where Afro-Americans are in constant association with the other section, the case is wholly different. Hence the feeling of aversion which the Euro-American professes to feel towards the Afro-American cannot be really due either to the features or to the colour of the latter; for such aversion is incompatible with the constant contact that there is between the two races. In a future chapter I shall again return to this subject.

On the topic of physical beauty in the human race, what I have been saying resolves itself into this, that in man the quality designated beauty exists in two forms; one of these forms I have called natural beauty, and the other artificial beauty. Natural beauty is, as I have said, distinguished from artificial beauty by the fact that all the races recognise its presence in one another. It is therefore universal, constant, and uniform. Artificial beauty, on the other hand, is the product of national or tribal idiosyncrasies; and is therefore secondary, arbitrary, and variable. But under the impulse of inter-racial association, and in submission to inter-racial obligations, artificial beauty, in its higher conceptions, tends towards uniformity and harmony. Artificial beauty, then, is a fluctuating quantity—the sport of many moods, the yield of many caprices. But artificial beauty was the standard by which the African woman, on account of his complexion, sought to expel from her house the Scottish divine. Hence, in this respect, the standard of the woman's conduct was arbitrary, variable, misleading. Artificial beauty is also the standard by which the extract quoted in this same connection denounces the action of a white female who walks with a man of colour. Therefore this denunciation also has as its basis that which is arbitrary, variable, and misleading.

But while everyone will allow that in the case of an ignorant "black" woman, the member of "an inferior race," a procedure evincing such a lack of good sense, good taste, and good manners ought to be overlooked, it cannot be admitted that, in the case of the "supreme" white man, the model of all excellence, the repository of all wisdom, the pattern of all propriety, a similar indulgence should be observed. Whiteness is the emblem of harmony; the gauge of congruity. Yet, after

declaring from the house-top the sacred duty of maintaining inviolable this harmony, the white man, besides harnessing to the same vehicle a black and a white horse, and submitting himself to the sight on the dinner-table of the hideous blend of dark-coloured violet and the immaculate lily-of-the-valley, further aggravates these acts of discord, by himself appearing, and not within doors only, but even abroad, in black shoes, black trousers, black waistcoat, black gloves, black coat, black cravat, and black hat, his pretty white skin being thereby almost completely hidden beneath this "repulsive" colour of *black*. Is the walking of a white woman abroad with a man of colour more "repulsive" than the walking abroad of a white man swathed in black?

IX

The Rest of the Organism, as determining Origin of Race

WHEN a man believes himself obliged to say something upon a subject about which he has nothing to say, he invariably says something. By this truism I am enabled to comprehend the statements of Professor Vogt, given in full from page 8, that there is a peculiar arrangement in the muscles of the Negro's legs ; that his legs are thin, calfless, and laterally compressed ; and that there is about him a disagreeable odour.

Concerning the first of these two statements, there is only one of three grounds on which I believe that this author could be excused for having made it. One of those grounds is, that in Germany neither kilts nor knickerbockers are worn. Secondly, that he had never been to Great Britain, where those garments are worn. Thirdly, that at the time of his visit to America the style of pantaloons, now in vogue there, was not patronised by Euro-Americans. For if the garments mentioned are worn in the Fatherland, if Professor Vogt had visited these shores previous to delivering his lectures on *man*, or if the style of trousers now fashionable in the United States was fashionable there at the time of his visit to that country, then by his reference to the calflessness of the Negro's legs as a feature peculiar to that race, Professor Vogt, as an observer, stands condemned.

As to the odour alleged, as marking another of those unenviable distinctions in which the Ethiopian is made to excel, I am reminded of a speech delivered in September, 1900, by Governor Hodge Taylor, of Virginia, U.S.A., before the National Baptist Convention (coloured), then in session at Richmond. Referring to the effort made by his black mammy, at the time of the emancipation, to induce those who had recently been his slaves to continue in his service, Governor Taylor said :—

“My old mammy, who nursed me when my mother died giving me birth, then threw her arms around them, and around me, endeavouring to bind us together; declaring that the separation should never be.

“When she died I buried her and erected a monument over her grave, and it may be seen from the front door to-day.”

Of the pathetic incidents crowded into this brief extract I wish to refer only to the opening clause of each of the first two sentences, and to restate the well-known truth, that the intimate relation indicated by the extract as existing during the time of slavery in the United States between the Euro- and Afro-American was as wide in area as it was close in character. As wet and dry nurses, chambermaids, cooks, coachmen, butlers, confidential friends, and relations even closer than these, the coloured were for centuries bound to the white American. Yet during all those centuries there was never heard a complaint of there being any offensive odour emanating from the Negro. We are left, therefore, to infer either that the pungent air of freedom had led to an abnormal growth of the sudoriferous glands, whose secretion, we are informed, is responsible for the odour in question, or that in the Euro-American, both the olfactory nerves and schneiderian membrane of his nasal organs, had, by means of this aërial stimulant, been chronically thrown into a state of hyperæsthesia.

The other allegations, that “the Negro is on an average shorter than the German,” that the length of his body is “64–66 inches,” that his trunk is “smaller in proportion to his extremities,” his “belly relaxed and pendulous,” his navel situated “nearer the symphysis pubis than the European’s,” “he rarely stands quite upright,” “his knees are usually bent and the legs frequently bandy,” “he is narrow-chested,” etc., etc., belong to the same brand as the calfless and malodorous pair, and they all exhibit to us a scientist metamorphosed into a poet. With the solitary exception of Dr. Vogt, all the world knows that but for his magnificent physique, equalled by few, if any, but surpassed by none, the Ethiopian could never have successfully encountered, and profitably survived, the rigour and ravages of a remorseless and relentless servitude.

As a further answer to the assertions, that between the other parts of the system of the Ethiopian and of the Caucasian there are radical differences—the cranium having been considered, is therefore now excluded—I shall again quote from

Dr. J. C. Prichard, an author to whose stupendous industry and scholarly erudition, equalled only by his candour, I am already so deeply indebted. In the fifth and last volume of his *Physical History of Mankind*, p. 547, Dr. Prichard thus remarks on the alleged anatomical differences between the races :—

“In the first volume of this work, but in the second book, I endeavoured to point out the peculiarities in organic structure which more or less generally characterise tribes of people, the most dissimilar to each other, or to describe the most strongly marked anatomical diversities of human races. The diversities were afterwards compared with the phenomena of variation which are known to take their rise in various tribes of the animal kingdom, and especially in the mammiferous species. From a consideration of the facts which belong to this department of inquiry, and a comparison of different tribes with each other, an inference appeared to result that all diversities of anatomical structures that are known to characterise the different tribes of men are mere varieties, and do not amount to specific differences.”

To the same purpose Blumenbach makes the following emphatic observation :—

“‘God’s image he too,’ as Fuller says, ‘although made out of ebony.’ This has been doubted sometimes, and on the contrary it has been asserted that the Negroes are specifically different in their bodily structure from other men, and must be placed considerably in the rear, from the condition of their obtuse mental capacities. Personal observation, combined with the accounts of trustworthy and unprejudiced witnesses, has, however, long since convinced me of the want of foundation in both these assertions. . . . I am acquainted with no single distinctive bodily character which is at once peculiar to the Negro and which cannot be found to exist in many other and distant nations; none which is in like way common to the Negro, and in which they do not again come into contact with other nations through imperceptible passages, just as every other variety of man runs into the neighbouring populations.”¹

Professor Vogt has endeavoured to support his assertions, relative to the organic differences between the Ethiopian and the Caucasian, by means of authorities such as Burmeister; but on this branch of the subject the trustworthiness of Burmeister’s conclusions may be estimated by statements such

¹ *Anthropological Treatises*, p. 305.

as these—that the Negro's "legs are bandy," that "he is narrow-chested," and that "he rarely stands upright." And as for Vogt's own personal observations, their value will be rightly understood when it is recalled to the reader that they are a generalisation concerning over 200 millions of people, but rest upon a data of only six skeletons.

In view, then, of the absurdly inadequate data from which Vogt has drawn his conclusions, in view also of the erroneous interpretation which he himself and the authorities whom he quotes have put upon these few data, as borne out by Prichard and Blumenbach, and as will be borne out by everyone who knows the Negro, and who faithfully sets forth that knowledge, I certainly am justified in denying the conclusion of Professor Vogt that between the Ethiopian and the Caucasian there are physical differences.

X

Prolificacy between Black and White

ACCORDING to the order of subjects, which, at the outset, I proposed to observe in this section, we have now to discuss in connection with evolution or polygenesis, or the plural origin of the races, the subject of prolificacy between the black and white races.

Nott, who, of course, regards the different races as distinct species instead of varieties of a single species with a common descent, describes the issues of their sexual interminglings as hybrids; and for the purpose of combating the views of those who justly regard prolificacy between the black and white races as a strong proof in favour of the hypothesis of their common origin, endeavours to show by a number of examples: (1) that among the lower animals there is prolificacy also between members of different species; (2) that one of the laws regulating hybridity, viz. impermanence of offspring, when the offspring copulate only among themselves, not with either of the parent stocks, is also a characteristic of the offspring of African and Caucasian parentage.

With the first of these two averments I am in accord; the evidence adduced, setting forth the resultant of prolificacy or interbreeding between different species, appears incontrovertible. This evidence, however, establishes hybridity as an exception, and not as a rule. So that the proposition that: "In the free state of perfect liberty and under normal conditions, animals of the same type not only pair, but usually select, by preference, such individuals of the same type as resemble them most, especially as regards colour," holds good.

Hence, when authors, such as Rudolphi, would have me believe that in the natural state prolificacy among animals of different species frequently occurs, I am constrained to ask,

Where are the hybrids? For whereas the mare would have to be blindfolded before she would submit to being covered by an ass, and whereas the latter must first be painted like a zebra before it could be coupled with that animal, I am, on the other hand, unaware of *frequent* unions in the free state between different species of mammals; such, for instance, as between sheep and goat, deer and sheep, dog and cat, buck and bitch, horse and cow. Neither am I aware that there are any breeds of animals representing such unions; and there would be animals of this class if, in the free state, connections of the kind were *frequent*.

But whilst, concerning the first averment, I admit hybridity within the limits of what is the exception, as against what is the rule, concerning the second assertion, I deny that impermanence of the offspring of hybrids, which is a law governing animals, applies to offspring, the issue of unions between the black and white races. Therefore I further deny that *difference of origin* of the black and white races is proved by the law of hybridity, according to which, mulattoes, the offspring of black and white parentage, breeding among themselves, tend to "run out," or to become extinct.

In proceeding to establish this denial, let me furnish Dr. Nott's own statement of the case. On page 397 of *Types of Mankind* he says:—

"When two *proximate* species of mankind, two races bearing a general resemblance to each other in type, are bred together, *e.g.* Teuton, Celts, Pelasgians, Iberians, or Jews, they produce offspring, perfectly prolific. . . . When, on the other hand, species the most widely separated, such as the Anglo-Saxon with the Negro, are crossed, a different result has course. Their mulatto offspring, if still prolific, are but partially so; and acquire an inherent tendency to run out, and become eventually extinct when kept apart from the parent stocks."

These opinions were embodied in seven propositions, which, however, owing to a modification of views, were subsequently recast, thus: That while the seven propositions relating to the infertility between the Anglo-Saxon and the Negro remain valid, as regards the Gulf States it was otherwise.

Thus "in Mobile, New Orleans, and Pensacola," continues Nott (p. 373), "many examples of great longevity among *mulattoes*, and sundry instances where their intermarriages

(contrary to my antecedent experiences in South Carolina) were attended with manifest prolificacy. Seeking for the reason of this positive, and at first thought, unaccountable difference between *mulattoes* of the Atlantic and those of the Gulf States, observation led me to a *rationale*, viz. that it arose from the diversity of *type* in the 'Caucasian' races of the two sections. In the Atlantic States the population is Teutonic and Celtic, whereas, in our own Gulf cities, there exists a preponderance of the blood of French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and other *dark-skinned* races. The reason is simple to the historian. Our States along the Gulf of Mexico were chiefly colonised by immigrants from Southern Europe. Such European colonists belonged to types genealogically distinct from those white-skinned 'Pilgrim Fathers' who landed north of Florida. Thus Spain, when her traditions begin, was peopled principally by Iberians. France received a considerable infusion of the same blood, now almost pure in her Basque provinces. Italy's origins are questions in dispute, but the Italians are a dark-skinned race. Such races, blended in America with the imported Negro, generally give birth to a hardier, and therefore, more prolific stock than white races, such as Anglo-Saxons, produce by intercourse with Negresses. Herein, it occurred to me, might be found a key to solve the enigma."

Owing to the modification of Nott's former opinions, the question, as we have seen from these extracts, is now reduced to this simple one, viz. whether mulattoes who are the offspring of the African and Caucasian—the latter being of Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon stock—intermarrying among themselves, tend to become sterile.

Dr. Nott has already admitted unlimited prolificacy between the Latin nations and the African. So that it is left for us to consider only that of the Teutonic and African races. We are informed by Nott that his residence among the black and white races covered a period of nearly fifty years; that these years, almost in equal proportion, had been spent in South Carolina and in Alabama, and that twenty-five of them had been devoted to the practice of his profession. In order to add to his already strong claim to be heard on the subject of mulattoes who spring from the Anglo-Saxon, Nott brings forward, both from among his own countrymen and from the British West Indies—not any statistics however—other authorities.

But bold though it may appear to impugn the conclusion of an observer whose experience has been so extensive, and whose

conclusion is sustained by other authorities of no less weight, in the interest of truth, as I conceive it, I find myself impelled to that course. And so, with reference to the American Republic, I state, in the first place, that the social conditions which have always prevailed there, with reference to the mulattoes, are of such a kind as to have rendered the study of their prolificacy, or their sterility, impossible. Whereas in the West Indies, as the following brief account of one of those islands (Jamaica) will prove, the conditions which have always prevailed among this class of persons are most favourable for such a study.

One possessing even a moderate knowledge of the history of Jamaica would be aware, that after the capture of that island from Spain in 1655 by the British, the white population that colonised it was drawn exclusively from the British Isles. Hence the mixed class that sprang up after slavery and the African slave-trade had been established, was, on its paternal side, Anglo-Saxon. Owing partly, no doubt, to the absence of that restraint which public sentiment imposes, as well as to the proscription of wedlock among minor officials—not that the concubinage practised by the whites was by any means confined to subordinates—on sugar estates in the British West Indies, there arose in course of time, from the irregular unions between white men of the Anglo-Saxon race and African women whom slavery had forced to the Antilles, that mixed population known as mulattoes.

The mulattoes of Jamaica were distinguished according to whether they were the children of mothers who had been free-born or whether their mothers had obtained their freedom by deed or will. Those of free-born mothers were allowed, in criminal cases, trial by jury; whereas those of mothers manumitted, like the common slave, were tried by three justices and three freeholders. Nor was this latter section, until the year 1748, admitted to give evidence against persons free-born. During that year both classes were put upon an equal footing. In all other respects there were no legal differences between mulattoes and the free-born blacks. But many of these mulattoes had been educated in England, and some of them possessed culture and ability of the highest order. Many, too, had succeeded to their fathers' estates. Thus, by an inquiry instituted by the Jamaica House of Assembly in 1763, it was ascertained that property, both real and personal, which was bequeathed to coloured children by their white fathers, amounted

to between two and three hundred thousand pounds. And, comparing the mulattoes of Jamaica with those of other islands of the British West Indies, I believe I am right in saying that the superior position enjoyed educationally and materially by this class in Jamaica, in contrast with the free blacks and with the slaves, was, in them all, the same. And the result of this comparison would be found, moreover, to be equally true in the case of all those other islands of the Antilles that were owned and governed by other nations of Europe.

The effect of this superior position of the mulattoes to that of the blacks, has been, on the one hand, the despising of the blacks by the mulattoes—a state of feeling which, much to the detriment of the two classes, is until now not a thing of the past—while, on the other hand, the mulattoes, in their turn, were as thoroughly despised by the whites, as they despised the blacks.

Hence the position of the mulatto in the West Indies, socially, has been that of comparative isolation from both white and black. And this isolation has confined marriages, among the mulatto class, almost entirely within itself. These are the conditions that I had in mind when I spoke of the favourable circumstances that exist in the West Indies for the study of prolificacy among mulattoes, as distinct from prolificacy between mulatto and black or mulatto and white.

Turning now to the mulatto of the slave States of the American Union, under the régime of slavery, we find them, as a class, enjoying neither legal exemptions forbidden to the blacks, succeeding to the estates of their white fathers, nor, at the expense of their fathers, receiving education either at home or abroad. In other words, their position was the same as that of their fellow-bondmen of pure blood. Broadly speaking, the result has been, that no dividing wall separating the two classes has been reared; hence the intermarriages between the blacks and mulattoes in the States, have been on so enormous a scale, that the study of the subject of prolificacy of mulattoes *among themselves*, at the time that Nott wrote his book, was quite impossible.

The unrestrained intermarriages, then, between the blacks and mulattoes in the United States, constitute those other conditions to which I referred as rendering the study of prolificacy among mulattoes there impracticable. And it is the presence of these same conditions which makes me affirm that neither

Nott nor his countrymen whom he quotes, were able to prove sterility among the mulattoes of the United States, breeding *among themselves*.

Now, having seen that whereas the investigation of prolificacy among mulattoes of the American Union has been impracticable, while in the West Indies the conditions for such a study have been most favourable, I pass on to notice the result, in the West Indies, of such an investigation.

We find that at the time of the emancipation in Jamaica (1834), whereas the number of people of mixed blood was only 40,000, forty-seven years after, or in 1881, they had increased to 109,946.¹ The significance of these figures may be better appreciated when it is mentioned, that the population, which in England and Wales at the time of the emancipation in Jamaica, was 13,896,797, had increased up to the year 1881 to 25,974,439.² Representing these figures in percentages, we have in round numbers for England and Wales an increase of 49 per cent., whereas for Jamaica the increase among the mulatto population during the same period was 63 per cent. That is to say, during forty-seven years the prolificacy of mulattoes of Anglo-African descent in Jamaica, among themselves, was 14 per cent. more than that of the population of England and Wales for the same number of years. Now, if, on examination, it be found that during a series of years the rate of increase among the mulatto population of the other islands of the West Indies had been also greater than that of both the European and African elements, then the question would arise whether prolificacy of a people of mixed blood is not greater than that of a people of pure blood.

Nevertheless, the facts just considered certainly disprove the assertion made by Nott—an assertion unsupported by a single figure—that breeding among themselves mulattoes of Anglo-African parentage become sterile. And so, the attempt, by means of the assumed infertility among offspring of Anglo-African parentage, to prove the difference of origin of the races, has also failed.

A parallel case to this endeavour of Nott to establish sterility among mulattoes of Anglo-African lineage, is that which is being constantly alleged, that the offspring of black and white parentage generally partake of the bad qualities of the parent races.

¹ *Parliamentary Papers*, vol. 50.

² *Statesman's Year Book*.

Such a statement proceeds upon the assumption that each of the three races—the Semitic, Japhetic, and Hamitic—has a single set of peculiarities, or traits, running through all the parts of which it is composed. So that all the nations and tribes that form the parts, of which each of these races is made up, have one set of characteristics which in the aggregate mass is termed racial.

Students of ethnology, therefore, who have examined these races would in their description of the peoples constituting each, be concerned with three distinct sets of racial characteristics only, as being those which these elements or peoples possess. The principle upon which such a proposition is founded is that "What may be said of all things of any sort or kind may be said of any one or any part of those things." Thus, taking, for example, the Japhetic or Indo-Germanic race, we must conclude, according to this proposition, which states that the offspring of black and white parentage generally partake of the bad qualities of the parent races, that the qualities or characteristics of the Persian, Hindoo, German, French, English, Scotch, Irish, etc., are alike. For it is upon this ground or assumption that the proposition rests, viz. that all the peoples which form a race have characteristics common to all, and if this assumption or ground be found to be fallacious, then the proposition itself must also be fallacious. So that, according to this proposition, what is usually described as a national trait is a delusion, while racial trait, peculiarity, or characteristic, is a reality.

But is it according to observation and according to facts that a single set of characteristics is common to the Hindoo, the Persian, the English, the German, the French, the Irish, and the Scotch, as well as to other members of the Indo-Germanic race? So that, leaving any one of these communities and visiting any other belonging to the same racial division, the visitor would encounter precisely the same tastes, the same modes of thought, the same desires, endowments, ambitions, aspirations, prejudices, and antipathies, that he found in the state whence he came? That between the Englishman and the Hindoo the only differences are those of colour, language, religion, physique, and general appearance? That national characteristics are but figments, and a dream? Are these statements according to experience, and to facts? I have no hesitation in saying in reply, that these statements are flagrantly opposed to

facts. That there exist in the nations and tribes of the same race distinct and pronounced characteristics or peculiarities of which none is common to all, and therefore to the race. If this is so, then the idea of racial characteristic, as opposed to national characteristics, since the former is one variety, but the latter many varieties, must be incorrect and non-existent. And so the proposition that the offspring of black and white parentage inherit the bad qualities or characteristics of the parent races cannot be true, as they cannot inherit what is non-existent.

But as an example of the high patronage that this proposition enjoys, as well as demonstrating the gossamer of proof by which it is upheld, let me refer to a leading article that appeared in the columns of the *Daily News* of July 4th, 1902. The subject of the leader is the centenary of Dumas. It begins:—

“To-day is the centenary of the birth of the most striking and graphic writer of prose fiction which the whole range of literature presents—Alexander Dumas père, who, July 4th, 1802, began a stormful life of brilliant genius and ungovernable propensities. His father was Creole.”

Added to this piece of history are the following reflections on heredity:—

“And the son exhibited some but not all of the characteristics which usually result from the blending of the blood of the white man with that of the Negro. Often, if not generally, that result is a union of the worst qualities of both races, or descendants in whom the quicker intelligence of the white race seems only to animate and excite the lower propensities of the Negro. Why this happens it is impossible to explain exactly, but evolution suggests one, perhaps more than one, plausible hypothesis. As the lower faculties have held the field for a much longer period than the higher ones, they are stronger, more persistent, and therefore in any competition for the mastery in any individual are calculated to gain the upper hand. The offspring of such unions often prove what are called ‘sports,’ and there is a chance of such being a genius, as Dumas undoubtedly was.”

From this point the leader proceeds to discuss the works of Dumas; however, for our purpose we need not follow it thither, but rather pass on towards the end of the article, where it is said:—

“He (Dumas) lived his life furiously and recklessly, squandering his amazing gifts on husks of literature and the world. He was without principle and without self-respect.”

Abandoning this vein for the commiserative mood, the writer further observes:—

“But what use is there in preachy commonplace reflections when genius is so often associated with, perhaps, the product of an unstable nervous system, a temperament in which the soul, like a pendulum, swings, or seems to swing, between the highest empyrean of the gods and the lowest Tartarean depths?”

It will be noticed that the interrogative sentence with which the last of these two extracts closes, contains the theory that genius is often associated with “an unstable nervous system, a temperament in which . . . the soul swings . . . between the highest empyrean . . . and the lowest Tartarean depths.”

It will be noticed further that, according to the two extracts, the inference is suggested that the geniuses, whose temperaments so often swing between the highest empyrean and the lowest Tartarean depths, are persons of mixed parentage. For this is the subject of the article comprised in the general statement, that “often” the “blending of the blood of the white man with that of the Negro” results in their descendants in “a union of the worst qualities of both races.” Adding that “the offspring of such unions often prove what are called ‘sports,’” that “there is a chance of such being a genius,” and that Dumas, who was of mixed parentage, was undoubtedly a genius. Thus, seeing that Oliver Goldsmith, Robert Burns, and Lord Byron, who, like Dumas, were geniuses, and who also, like him, suffered from laxity of morals, we must conclude that they too had Negro blood in their veins, which was accountable for their moral obliquity.

But if these three men had not Negro blood in their veins, and yet were geniuses and at the same time transgressors in morals, then there is no ground for attributing Dumas’ moral transgression to his mixed parentage. Again, if these three men had no mixed blood and yet were moral delinquents, then the *Daily News*, in attributing Dumas’ irregularities to his African blood, is guilty of the logical fallacy of irrelevant conclusion. Such, then, is another of the proofs by which the statement, that the children of mixed unions inherit the bad qualities of both races, is supported.

Besides, the propagators of this theory lay themselves under the obligation of accounting for the bad qualities of the criminal classes of Europe and America; for the criminal classes of the latter place, who are not mulattoes.

XI

Evolution as a Criterion of Origin of Race

OF the proofs supporting the theories of polygenesis and evolution, the one affirming that the races have sprung from different centres of the same species, the other that they have sprung from different centres of different species, we have examined two. One, the human organism, which, in the white and non-white races, is said to possess structural differences, and the other, prolificacy, by which it is further declared that, breeding among themselves, the progeny of Anglo-Saxon and African parentage become sterile.

We have now come to the third proof, viz. that by which the theories of polygenesis and evolution profess to account for the alleged differences between the races in physical structure, in colour, and in origin. The proposition, then, that is thus being reviewed, embraces three points: (1) Physical differences between the races; (2) The question of prolificacy; (3) The theories of polygenesis and evolution. Of evolution, Professor Keane, in the quotation given upon page 11, mentions this, as his reason for preferring to account for human origin by evolution rather than by a specific creation, viz. that evolution "allows for differences in the physical *habitus* from the first." These differences, he continues, "however slight, helping in combination with altered environments to account for the divergencies that have in the course of ages resulted in the present fundamental human types." "Thus," he adds, "we no longer require to ask ourselves . . . whether the black hue shaded into the yellow, the brown into the white, whether prognathism grew into orthognathism, brachycephalic, or round, into dolichocephalic, or long heads, and so on." And of the actual course by which evolution arrived at these racial results claimed for it, we have from Darwin, whose patient, laborious, and conscientious researches have won for the evolution theory its present eminence,

the following declaration. In his *Descent of Man*, vol. ii. p. 24, Darwin says:—

“By considering the embryological structure of man, the homologies which he presents with the lower animals—the rudiments which he retains—the reversions to which he is liable, we can partly recall, in imagination, the former condition of our early progenitors; and can approximately place them in their proper place in the zoological series. We thus learn that man descended from a hairy quadruped furnished with a tail and pointed ears, probably arboreal in its habits, and an inhabitant of the Old World. The creature, if its whole structure had been examined by a naturalist, would have been classed among the quadrumana, as surely as the still more ancient progenitor of the Old and New World monkey. The quadrumana and all the higher mammals are probably derived from an ancient marsupial animal, and this, through a long line of diversified forms, from some amphibian-like creature, and this again from some fish-like animal. In the dim obscurity of the past we can see that the early progenitor of all vertebrata must have been an aquatic animal, provided with branchiæ, with the two sexes united in the same individual, and with the most important organs of the body (such as the brain and heart) imperfectly, or not at all, developed. The animal seems to have been more like the larvæ of the existing marine Ascidians than any other known form.”

The statements are said to be borne out by the embryological structure of man, by the homologies common to him and the lower animals, the rudiments which he retains, and the reversions to which he is liable. Examples of the homologies and rudiments are given us, and the following are selections from them:—

“That man is constructed on the same general type or model as other animals. . . . All the bones in his skeleton can be compared with the corresponding bones in the monkey, bat, or seal. . . . So it is with his muscles, nerves, blood-vessels, and internal viscera. The brain, most important of all the organs, follows the same law. . . . Man is liable to receive from the lower animals, and to communicate to them, certain diseases, as hydrophobia, variola, the glanders, syphilis, cholera, herpes,” etc.

These facts are said to prove the close similarity between the tissues and blood of man and of the lower animals, both in minute structure, and in composition, far more plainly than does comparison under the microscope.

“Monkeys, as observed by Rengger, suffered from apoplexy, inflammation of the bowels, and cataract in the eye.” That “man is developed from an ovule, about 125th of an inch diameter, which differs in no respect from the ovules of other animals. The embryo itself, at a very early period, can hardly be distinguished from that of other members of the vertebrate kingdom. At this period the arteries run in arch-like branches, as if to carry the blood to the branchiæ, which are not present in the higher vertebrata, though the slits on the sides of the neck still remain, marking their former position. At a somewhat later period, when the extremities are developed, ‘the lizards and mammals.’ . . . the wings of birds, no less than the hands and feet of man, all arise from the same fundamental form.”¹ That “not one of the higher animals can be named which does not bear some part in a rudimentary condition; and man forms no exception to the rule. Rudimentary organs must be distinguished from those that are nascent, though in some cases the distinction is not easy. The former are either absolutely useless, such as the mammæ of male quadrupeds, . . . or they are of such slight service to their possessors as that it can hardly be supposed that they were developed under the conditions that now exist. . . . Nascent organs, on the other hand, though not fully developed, are of high service to their possessors, and are capable of further development.”² Rudiments of various muscles have been observed in many parts of the human body; and not a few muscles, which are regularly present in some of the lower animals, can occasionally be detected in man in a greatly reduced condition. Everyone must have noticed the power which many animals, especially horses, possess, of moving or twitching their skin; and this is effected by the panniculus carnosus. Remnants of this muscle, in an efficient state, are found in various parts of our bodies; for instance, the muscle of the forehead by which the eyebrows are raised. The platysma myoides, which is well developed on the neck, belongs to this system.³ The extrinsic muscles, which serve to move the external ear, and the intrinsic muscles, which move the different parts, are in a rudimentary condition in man; and they all belong to the system of panniculus. . . . It appears as if the posterior molar, or wisdom teeth, were tending to become rudimentary in the more civilised races.⁴ These teeth are rather smaller than the other molars, as is likewise the case with the corresponding teeth of the chimpanzee and orang; and they have only two separate fangs. With respect to the alimentary canal, I have met with an account of only a single rudiment, namely, the vermiform appendix of the cæcum.”

¹ *Descent of Man*, 2nd ed., vol. i. p. 12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

The cæcum is a branch or diverticulum of the intestine ending in a cul-de-sac, and is extremely long in many of the lower vegetable-feeding animals.¹

This concludes the selection of examples illustrating the homologies and rudiments given in support of the evolution theory as it relates to man. As is plainly demonstrated by these extracts, Darwin's theory professes to have established the identity of man and the brute. The means by which this identity is claimed to have been established are those of homologies and rudiments. Under homologies illustrations of the identity of the structures of man and the lower animals, and of the susceptibility of man and the lower animals to certain diseases, are supplied. The following are among the illustrations. Both man and the lower animals are "constructed on the same general model." "All the bones in the human skeleton can be compared with the corresponding bones of the monkey, bat, or seal." "So it is with the muscles, nerves, blood-vessels, and internal viscera." "The brain, the most important of all the organs, follows the same law. . . ." "Man is liable to receive from the lower animals, and to communicate to them, certain diseases, as hydrophobia, variola, glanders, syphilis, cholera," etc. "Man is developed from one ovule . . . which differs in no respect from the ovule of other animals." Similarly, under rudiments, allusion is made to the presence of certain structural remains in man, corresponding to specific structures in the lower creatures. Thus Darwin says: "Rudiments of various muscles have been observed in many parts of the human body; not a few muscles which are regularly present in some of the lower animals can occasionally be detected in man in a greatly reduced condition." "The *platysma myoides* . . . belongs to this system." "With respect to the alimentary canal, I have met with an account of only a single rudiment, namely the vermiform appendix of the cæcum," etc.

The identity of man and the lower animals being established by examples of sameness existing in the members, Darwin, in the following manner, proceeds to develop his theory. Man, he avers, has descended from the quadrumana, and all the higher mammals have descended from the marsupial, the marsupial from some amphibian-like creature, and that this amphibian-like creature has descended from some fish-like

¹ *Descent of Man*, 2nd ed., vol. i. p. 28.

animal. This theory of Darwin's may be stated in a proposition such as the following: That throughout the whole economy of nature, wherever substances exist, which in form, structural or chemical composition, are identical, or are the same as the substances or structures or elements forming the human body, those substances, structures, or organisms must be regarded as having shared in the evolution of the human system. Now, if it be granted that Darwin's view on the evolution of man from lower forms, as contained in the extracts I have presented from his *Descent of Man*, is based solely on the identity or sameness between the structural forms and compositions of the human body, and those of the bodies of certain lower species, then the proposition that I have just stated should also be granted. And if our proposition be granted, then inasmuch as that in the vegetable and mineral worlds there are substances that are identical with those composing the human system, Darwin is bound logically to pass down the entire line of the animal kingdom—from man to the lowest form of animal life—thence to the vegetable kingdom, and finally to the great inanimate division of matter. If this contention be objected to, then it would have to be shown why Darwin's "fish-like creature" is to be considered as the starting-point in the evolution of man.

For the purpose of observing some of the points of likeness between the two departments—zoological and botanical—into which organic life is divided, let man be selected as representing the most highly organised type of the former, and a plant as representing the most highly organised type of the latter. Tracing both these specimens to their minutest constituent parts, we alight upon what in each is called, the cell. The cell, which in both the animal and vegetable worlds forms the basis of life, is a mass of protoplasm or bioplasm, which, as regards its chemical nature, belongs to the two groups of substances respectively known as albuminoids or proteids, and colloids. The first of the two groups, of which albumen or the white of an egg may be taken as a typical representation, is composed of the four elements, carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen. In its living condition, bioplasm exhibits some of those phenomena which characterise living beings. Thus, in its most elementary forms, it breathes, assimilates foreign matter, by which it is nourished, it grows, it is capable of movement, gives off portions of its substance, or, in other words, it possesses the power of re-

production. A bioplasmic cell is generally enclosed in an envelope or cell-wall, and within the substance of the cell there is usually a solid body, variable in form, called the nucleus. In an aggregation of cells each member, as has been shown, is endowed with all the functions necessary for a separate existence. But as a result of cellular aggregation, each cell tends to lose its original simplicity and to become, in different regions of the body, variously modified. In their modified forms the cells now receive the name of "tissues," of which in the body of man, for instance, the chief groups are connective tissue, cartilage, bone, etc., the epithelial tissues—epithelium, epidermis; the muscular tissues—voluntary and involuntary muscles; and the nervous tissues—nerve cells and nerve fibres. Each tissue in the economy discharges its own functions, and they are usually so combined with one another, as in the higher animals and plants, to give rise to those definite parts or structures known as organs.

In the animal, such organs are the heart, the brain, etc.; in the plant, they are root, stem, foliage, etc. Starting with animal and vegetable life at their common base, namely, the *ultimate cell*, after examining that cell-life, first of all, as to its structure, its growth, and its habits, we have followed it to its aggregation as a group of cells, then to its modification into tissues and structures of the organism both of the plant and of the human subject. Now, what has our examination revealed to us? It has revealed a complete identity between the animal and the vegetable organisms. Indeed, so complete is the identity, that, whereas in their more complex development animals are easily distinguished from plants, in their simplest form such distinction is not always easy. This fact is borne out in the following statement by Professor Nicholson, in which he says:—

“In individual cases it is often extremely difficult to come to any decisions as to the reference of a given organism to the animal or vegetable kingdoms, and there are numerous instances in which the determination of this point is, with our present knowledge, largely arbitrary. So strongly, in fact, has this difficulty been felt that some observers have established an intermediate kingdom . . . a sort of no-man’s-land, for the reception of those debateable organisms which cannot be definitely and positively classed either among vegetables or among animals.”

But this identity, besides binding together the animal and vegetable worlds, binds these also to the mineral or inorganic kingdom. This fact will be at once perceived, I think, when it is remembered that of the seventy-two elements to which all matter has so far been reduced, no less than sixteen are found, either in the free state or in combination, taking part in the structural formation, as well as in the maintenance, of the human and the vegetable organisms.¹ These substances are carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen, oxygen, sulphur, phosphorus, fluorine, chlorine, iodine, silicon, sodium, potassium, calcium, magnesium, lithium, iron, and occasionally traces of magnesium, copper, and lead.²

Having now, I think, established the identity existing between the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms, I repeat that as these great departments in their organic or chemical composition are bound to each other by an identity that is incontrovertible and unmistakable, and as Darwin's theory of man's ascent from certain lower species of the animal kingdom is founded on the identity of man with those species, then of necessity the evolution of man must be traced not only through the animal kingdom, but also through the vegetable to the mineral kingdom. The process, I should imagine, would be something after this sort. Those elements of inorganic matter which enter into the formation of organic life, and of which the earth's crust is composed, became, under favourable conditions, charged with life, and appeared as a mass of bioplasm. This mass then became the source, so to speak, of two divisions of life, of which the one widens into the vegetable kingdom and the other, whose constituents are distinguished by the power of locomotion and sensation, broadens into the animal kingdom. Either such a theory as this, I apprehend, or one which supposes that some elements of the inorganic world becoming charged with life, appeared, in the first instance, as a mass of vegetable protoplasm. This mass bifurcates into two divisions, of which one develops animal life and the other vegetable life. But whichever of these two theories be accepted, we should thereby be forced to conclude that all living matter has been evolved from dead matter. In other words, we should be compelled to adopt the doctrine of "Abiogenesis," or "spontaneous generation," this being the logical outcome of Darwin's

¹ Balfour's *Class-book of Botany*, pp. 371, 382.

² Kirk's *Handbook of Physiology*, 16th ed., p. 373.

teaching of the evolution of man from the lower species. But "spontaneous generation," or the derivation of the living from the non-living, or of the existing from the non-existing, although once believed in, has, since the seventeenth century, through the experiments of Redi, been discredited; and, notwithstanding the persistent attempts made at intervals since then, for its resuscitation and rehabilitation, it was finally extinguished in 1869 by the decisive experiments of Tyndall, the issue having received the unanimous acceptance of the scientific world. For the reasons, then, that the evolution of man from the lower species implies the derivation of animate from inanimate matter, and that the doctrine of life from non-life is contrary both to experiment and to experience, I am unable to accept the statement that evolution accounts for, explains, or demonstrates the plural origin of the races.

That there are structural resemblances between man and the lower animals, such resemblances as the terms "homologies," "rudiments," and "reversions," import, there can be no doubt. But before the sum of these resemblances can be rightly estimated, account must also be taken of the sum of the differences that there are between the two types of beings. Consequently, in order to establish the identity of man with the lower animals by the reasoning of analogy employed by Darwin, it is not enough to show that between the two great classes there are many points of resemblance; but it is also incumbent to show that those points of resemblance or similarity outweigh those of dissimilarity. Were this otherwise, one by simply furnishing a few points of homogeneity or likeness between objects or phenomena, would be able to prove almost anything. Thus by establishing an identity between the sun and the earth one could thereby furnish a probable proof that the former is inhabited. Or by establishing the identity of a human being and a tree, one could prove the two to be members of a common species. By means of this last, let me verify these two statements.

We saw before that between the human organism and that of a tree there are many points that are identical. Thus, as we saw, they have each one, as the basis of life, a cell. The two cells, representing the two divisions of life, are each enclosed in a cell wall; each cell has a nucleus; each cell, moreover, consists of a substance called bioplasm. Bioplasm belongs to two well-known groups of matter called albuminoids and colloids. Of

albuminoids the chemical elements are carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen. And besides these points of structural identity between the human cell and that of the tree, we further saw that, possessing physiological identity also, these cells breathe, assimilate food, grow, and are capable of movement and of reproduction; being furnished in this manner for separate existence. And still further we observed that each of these two representative cells, forming groups with its kind, becomes variously modified; that becoming modified in man under the designation of tissue, they enter into the formation of organs—the heart, the lung, the brain, the liver, etc., whilst in the tree they form themselves into root, trunk, branch, stem, etc.

Such are the numerous points of likeness by which the identity of a man and a tree may be established. But although so numerous in extent and so complete in their harmony, should we, by the cumulative consideration of the harmony of these points, be justified in concluding that a man and a tree are one, that they belong to the same species? Not at all! For in addition to the points of similarity we should have also to consider those of dissimilarity. But concerning this latter consideration, we should perceive with regard to the tree, that it is devoid of sensation and of voluntary motion; that it produces carboniferous tissue, absorbs carbonic acid, evolves oxygen, is without a stomach, produces starch. Whereas concerning man, we should perceive that he is capable of sensation, of voluntary motion, that he consumes carboniferous food, evolves carbonic acid, absorbs oxygen, possesses a stomach, and produces fat. And the points of difference or dissimilarity now perceived to exist between the man and the tree outweighing the points of identity previously noticed, we should have accordingly to conclude, that the man and the tree are not the same, but that they belong to categories of organised life that are entirely distinct. In the same way the identity which Darwin has established between man and the lower animals through the numerous points of likeness existing between the two divisions, cannot be regarded as final, until the points of difference be considered.

Guided, therefore, by this principle, we pass on in order to contrast the similarities and dissimilarities that exist between man and the brute. Such a contrast will embrace the physical, mental, and moral aspects of the two sets of subjects. For the

comparison, selecting from among the lower animals the simian, which in likeness is nearest to man, we get the following facts authenticated and authorised by naturalists of varying shades of belief. The brain of the ape is in development inferior, and in volume considerably smaller than the brain of man. The face is characterised by a flattened nose, projecting lower jaw, small receding chin, lips deficient in fulness. Compared with man the ears of the simian are of a very rudimentary formation and are destitute of lobule. The teeth are unequal in size and in situation, are distinct from one another. Compared with the rest the canine teeth are considerable, while the premolar is conical in shape and larger than the second premolar tooth. The ape has an intermaxillary bone, which, however, is not present in all species; the occipital foramen is situated very far back. The pelvis differs in size and shape from that of man; its transverse diameter being smaller than its antero-posterior. The vertebral column has a single curve, which towards the abdomen is concave. The upper extremities and hands are longer than those of the human subject; the foot is practically a large curved hand with four opposable thumbs, those of the fore hands being small and capable of motion only in concert with other fingers. The thighs also are curved; the heelbone being directed upwards, renders progression upon the sole of the foot a matter of difficulty. The ape, by the structural formation of its body, united with the position of the foramen magnum, is fitted to climb; whereas man, by his anatomical build, is equipped for the upright gait. The hair, length of body, limitation of climate, food, duration of life, form also between man and the simian, pronounced distinctions. Added to these are the slow growth of the ape, its protracted childhood, late appearance of puberty, special diseases, deficiency in instinct, in menstruation, in the power of laughing, and in that of crying.

I now pause to inquire whether these physical differences, not between man and the lower animals generally, but between man and that class of those animals, viz. the ape, which approaches nearest to him, do not outweigh the points of resemblance noticed by us as constituting the chief proof of Darwin's theory of the evolution of man from the lower animals?

We proceed a step higher; from the physical sphere we now press the comparison to the intellectual sphere. It must be

admitted that the chief characteristics of mind are exhibited by the lower animals. Thus, taking the emotion, or feeling, we have in the joy which the dog manifests at the sound of his master's voice, or at his appearance, the hatred which animals sometimes betray towards each other, as well as the affection of the dam for her offspring, evidence of the presence of the emotional faculty in the lower species. Yet how wide is the difference between the extent to which this faculty is exhibited by the brute and that to which it is exhibited by man! Unlike the lower species, man evinces passion in the smile, the tear, and in oral language; or in song, poetry, music, painting, sculpture; in each of which there may be the sublimity of the hurricane, or the pathos of the zephyr. Nor is the discharge of these batteries of emotion, evanescent, but may pass from generation to generation indefinitely, evoking in each the same kind and, perhaps, the same degree of feeling. Thus, the Greek dramatists, after more than 2,000 years, still continue to arouse in the hearts of men, those same emotions, which they themselves experienced, and which they transferred to their immortal works. Who, therefore, would say that the emotion displayed by the brute is comparable either in intensity, variety, or duration, to that displayed by man?

In the sphere of volition, too, both man and the brute, responding in their activities to the stimulus of the emotion, for the continuance, increase, or renewal of pleasure, the cessation, abatement, or prevention of pain, are prompted to action. But how inconceivably different is the range within which the feeling-prompted action of man and of the brute, respectively, operates! Prompted by feeling, the brute flees danger, protects its young, hunts the prey. Whereas man, beyond this narrow orbit, is impelled by the emotional faculty to acts, occult, complex, vast; he kindles the fire, tills the ground, builds a house, a city, a state; journeys over tractless seas, interprets the whispers, the enigmas, and conundrums of nature. Further, on entering the realm of intellect, or thought, man once more is found beside the brute; but here, as heretofore, the comradeship soon ceases. Like man, the brute discriminates; the dog, for example, distinguishes between the voice of his master and that of the stranger, between heat and cold, danger and safety, friend and foe.

But this lower boundary-line of reason, judgment, and memory is in man the starting-point only, to achievements,

which are daring in conception, and brilliant in execution. In addition to exercising his intellect after the manner of the brute, man distinguishes between the stars, calling some suns, others planets. He ascertains their motions, their sizes, their distances, their relations, and even their substance. The earth he separates into animate and inanimate matter; classifies the animate into animal and vegetable kingdoms, divides the kingdoms into genera, the genera into species, species into races, races into peoples and tribes, peoples and tribes into organisms, organisms into parts, and parts into the ultimate cells. Nor is man's inordinate curiosity thereby exhausted, for the basic cell itself is made to give up to his inquiry the secret of its composition. And like as the animate, so is inanimate matter prostrated before the scrutinising analysis of man's intellect. The structures and relations from the cellular elements to the organism, both of the animal and the plant, have been traced; the relations also between the organism and the community, the community and the race, the race and the species, the species and the genus, the genus and the kingdom; the further relations between the three kingdoms have been noticed, and finally, those of the entire globe to the solar system.

Each subject of inquiry is found to conform to certain constant and uniform laws; of these laws the historical development and the application to human needs are after this fashion. From the earliest times, peoples, such as the Egyptians and Babylonians, began to study natural phenomena. Observing, in particular departments of nature, certain constant and invariable facts, as for example, facts of astronomy, they deduced from them certain principles. These principles they employed—as for instance, the application of the principles of astronomy and mathematics to the division of time, and to land surveying by the Egyptians—for the elevation and facilitation of human existence. Modern science, however, has applied to phenomena, not only the method of observation, but also, those of ratiocination and verification. The scientific facts which one generation in this manner gathers, using them for the furtherance of human progress, it afterwards bequeaths to the next generation, to another people, or to another race. The legatee in turn, by further discovery, adds to the bequest, and applies the result to the further enlarging of the area of life's facilitation, and to the further increase of its elevation. This process of

inheritance, addition, benefaction, and transmission, repeated from age to age, more or less irregularly, has gone on until the present highly organised system called civilisation has been attained. But as the counterpart of these stupendous feats of observation, hypothesis, verification, recordation, accumulation, and of transmission, involved in this progress of man, where are those of the brute ?

And now, comparing the structural differences which we have noticed between man and the brute, the latter represented by the ape ; comparing the difference in their manifestation of passion, as regards duration, variety, and intensity, the difference in their movements of volition and sweep of intellect, as regards the scope and complexity of the subjects of inquiry, and the discrimination, penetration, and generalisation exercised and pursued ; comparing these points of difference, on the one hand, with the points of resemblance on the other hand, as existing between man and the brute—I feel confident that the conclusion at which the reader will arrive, will be, that the sum of the points of difference very far outweighs the sum of the points of resemblance.

But we have yet a step further to go, viz. to the religious instinct. I should have been content to state the belief that no good ground exists for accrediting the lower species with the possession of this faculty ; but Professor Vogt assures us that they too share it. And the following observations show the line of his argument in support of the contention. After remarking that R. Wagner even thought that there was an organ of faith in man, Vogt continues :—

“The germ at least of a belief in some mysterious high power exists also in animals. The dog is evidently afraid of spectres, quite as much as the Breton or Basque ; every out-of-the-way place not explained to it by its nose renders even the most courageous dog a coward. I know a grove which the peasants firmly believe to be haunted by fiery spectres, and prove it by the alleged fact that dogs which have passed the night in it will not re-enter it. It is the fear of the apparently supernatural which is the germ of religious ideas ; and this fear is developed in a high degree in our domestic animals, the dog and the horse. The germ of these ideas, as well as others allied with it, being by man developed into a system, becomes a faith.”

For the sake of argument I accept the night-bark of Dr. Vogt's

dog as an expression of the religious instinct which is present in the lower animals.

In every age of the world's history the religious instinct, to depths which no other force could reach, has stirred the human heart. An abettor of the grossest barbarities, a fosterer of the baldest superstitions, lighting fires of the deadliest animosities or appearing in forms less reprehensible, the religious instinct, still the salt of the earth, has arrested the world from decay and putrescence. Yielding to the religious instinct, the African having slain the slaves of the chieftain, deceased, casts the corpses into the same grave, with the belief, that in the next world, the slaves will attend their lord now dead. The Hindoo holds his hand outstretched, till, circulation entirely arrested, the member atrophies. Or, plunging into his flesh a hook suspended from a height, he poises himself thereon. Or, again, though burning to avenge some tribal affront, or to gratify his cupidity, the savage warrior, in deference to the oracular mandate of the village deity, abandons the projected raid. Some of the greatest and some of the noblest characters that have adorned humanity, have been products of the religious instinct. Moses, Socrates, Confucius, Buddha, St. Paul, Mohammed, Zoroaster, are among its fruits. By the learning preserved by the Egyptian hierarchy, and, in later times, by that preserved by a similar body in Europe, and by it diffused throughout that continent, the religious sentiment has also vindicated its power, as an inspirer, a conservator, and a propagator of the gift of knowledge. The venerable minsters, and other sacred edifices, hospitals, mosques, temples, shrines, existing in different lands, according to the prevailing beliefs of each, are the visible manifestations of the religious feeling.

Now, gathering up these symbols of the religious instinct, which appear among civilised and uncivilised men, symbols representing alloys of faith and superstition, of love and hate, peace and strife, obedience and rebellion, sacrifice and cruelty, malevolence, benevolence, munificence—gathering up these concrete symbols, and comparing them with the inarticulate mutterings of the brute, the dog, as interpreted by Vogt, what do we perceive? We perceive a great difference; a difference, at any rate, in degree, if not in kind. For admitting, as we have done, the presence in the brute of a religious instinct, there the resemblance ends between man and the brute. All

else is divergence, all else is difference. In the case of those physical and intellectual comparisons between man and the brute, wherein we noticed a minimum of resemblance and a maximum of difference, so here, the comparison between the religious sense of man, and the religious sense of the brute, is perceived to be attended by a minimum—at most—of resemblance, and a maximum of difference. Thus, whereas the religious instinct exhibits itself, in the African savage, by an act so definite, if esoteric, as the slaying of a slave, in order that, in the next world, he may attend upon his master, lately dead; whereas, in the idolatrous Hindoo, it exhibits itself in acts of self-mutilation; whereas it impels the Mohammedan to build a mosque, the Christian a cathedral, and in all ages, in works of painting, sculpture, architecture, music, and poetry, it has drawn from the human mind some of its sublimest conceptions, some of its noblest productions; whereas in man there are these highly tangible, highly complex, highly intelligible, and age-enduring manifestations of the religious instinct—in the brute, according to Professor Vogt, their most intrepid exponent, these manifestations are represented by the incoherent and unintelligible bark of a dog.

Between the physical, intellectual, and moral conditions of man and the brute, we have therefore recognised, in the first place, the double relations of resemblances and differences. And we have recognised, in the next place, that the relation of resemblance is outweighed by that of difference. Thus, going back to our earlier illustration, dealing with the points of resemblance and of difference between a man and a tree, with which points of resemblance and of difference, those, physical, mental, and moral, between man and the brute, are parallel, I notice that as the points of difference between the man and the tree, outweighing those of resemblance, compelled us to conclude that between the two there is no specific relation, so here, the physical, intellectual, and moral resemblance between man and the brute being outweighed by the physical, intellectual, and moral difference between them, we must similarly conclude, that between man and the brute no specific relation exists. Hence, since it can be only on the ground—implied or declared—that the physical, mental, and moral differences between man and the brute—the ape—are outweighed by the resemblances, upon which Darwin and Keane have based their conclusion of man's descent from the lower

animals or from "a whole anthropoid group," rather than from "a single human pair," then the proof that these differences outweigh the resemblances must invalidate the assertion of man's simian descent. Thereby it must also negative the further assertion that differences between the races are explained or are accounted for by evolution.

XII

Nature and Growth of the Moral Sense

IN the preceding chapter my chief endeavour has been primarily to show, that in predicating human origin from the lower animals, on the ground of the points of resemblance that exist between man and the lower species, Darwin's theory necessarily takes it for granted, that these points of resemblance which join together the two great fields of sentient life, are greater than the points of difference separating them. But, that in reality, the points of difference separating these two fields are greater than the points of resemblance. That hence, while the preponderance of resemblance between the two fields would have confirmed the theory in favour of a common origin to both, the preponderance of difference between them proves the theory, in favour of a separate origin to each. Thus, that the physical, mental, and moral constitution of man and of the brute (for I am still accepting Vogt's assertion that the brute is endowed with a moral sense) are shown by the chapter, to be divided by the great gulf of difference into two distinct planes, a higher plane occupied by man, and a lower plane occupied by the brute.

Now, it having been demonstrated that man and the lower species move in spheres which are distinct the one from the other, spheres which shut out the notion of a specific relation between the two great groups inhabiting them, we shall confine ourselves for a little, to the higher of these two spheres. In this higher realm, the physical, mental, and moral parts of man are perceived to flow out in activity, into two separate channels, the terrestrial and the celestial; or the world of sense and the world of faith. The forces of this activity dominating the former of these two worlds are the physical and intellectual, while those

dominating the latter, are the moral, and religious. We shall restrict our remarks that follow, to considering two or three features of this moral sense in man.

In the two preceding chapters the derivation of man from the lower species having been shown to be impossible, since by such a derivation spontaneous generation is implied—that is, the origin of living from dead matter—and since by such a derivation it is further implied that between the lower species and man the links of dissimilarity are outweighed by those of similarity, which is not the case, the demonstration applying to the physical constitution of man, also applies to man's mental and moral constitution. Thereby the arguments disproving the assertion that the physical faculties of man are evolved from the brute, also disprove the assertion that man's mental and moral faculties are evolved from the brute. Thus, logically, I do not apprehend that I am under further obligation to offer any additional argument against either the physical, mental, or moral origin of man from the lower animals. But I have chosen to particularise this moral feature of the subject, first, in order to furnish a reference for a future chapter, and secondly, in order that, dealing in detail with certain statements made by Darwin on the subject of man's moral nature, the unsubstantial character of the evolutionary theory may be further illustrated. On the origin of the moral instinct in man, Darwin says:—

“ At a moment of action man will, no doubt, be apt to follow the stronger impulse, and though this may occasionally prompt him to the noblest deeds, it will more commonly lead him to gratify his own desires at the expense of other men. But after their gratification, when past, and weaker impressions are judged by the ever-enduring social instinct, and by his deep regard for the good opinion of his fellows, retribution will surely come. He will then feel remorse, repentance, regret, or shame; this latter feeling, however, relates almost exclusively to the judgment of others. He will consequently resolve more or less firmly to act differently for the future, and this is conscience. The nature and strength of the feelings which we call regret, shame, repentance, or remorse, depend apparently not only on the strength of the violated instinct, but partly on the strength of the temptation, and often still more on the judgment of our fellows. How far each man values the appreciation of others depends on the strength of his innate or acquired feeling of sympathy, and on his own capacity for reasoning out the remote

consequences of his acts. Another element is most important, although not necessary, the reverence, or fear of the gods, or spirits believed in by each man, and this applies especially in cases of remorse."

As illustrating the place and nature of this *conscience*, which he has defined as "the ever-enduring social instinct" (*i.e.* the ever-enduring sympathy for one's fellows) and a deep regard for their good opinion," Darwin instances the agony of shame that would be experienced by many men who, through fear, had refused to fight duels; also the fact that "many a Hindoo had been stirred to the bottom of his soul by having partaken of unclean food"; and the following account concerning a West Australian native:—

"Dr. Landor acted as magistrate in West Australia, and relates that a native on his farm, after losing one of his wives from disease, came and said that he was going to a distant tribe to spear a woman, to satisfy his sense of duty to his dead wife. 'I told him that if he did so I would send him to prison for life. He remained about the farm for some months, but got exceedingly thin, and complained that he could not rest, that his wife's spirit was haunting him, because he had not taken a life for hers. I was inexorable, and assured him that nothing should save him if he did.' Nevertheless, the man disappeared for more than a year, and then returned in high condition; and his other wife told Dr. Landor that her husband had taken the life of a woman belonging to a distant tribe, 'but it was impossible to obtain legal evidence of the act.'"

"The breach of a rule held sacred by a tribe," Darwin comments, "will thus, as it seems, give rise to the deepest feelings, and this is quite apart from the social instinct, excepting in so far as the rule is grounded on the judgment of the community."¹

We must similarly infer that the cause of remorse felt by the men who, on account of fear, refused to fight duels, and by the Hindoos who had partaken of unclean food, was this same "breach of a rule held sacred by" their several communities. Such a rule being dependent upon the social instincts, to the extent which the social instincts are "grounded on the judgment of the community," constitutes with them, according to Darwin, conscience.

Passing to what may be described as the growth of this

¹ *Descent of Man*, 2nd ed., p. 176.

conscience or of virtue, discovered by Darwin, the discoverer proceeds thus :—

“Finally, social instincts which, no doubt, were acquired by man as by the lower animals for the good of the community, will from the first have given to him some wish to aid his fellows, some feeling of sympathy, and have compelled him to regard their approbation and disapprobation. Such impulses will have served him at a very early period as a rule of right and wrong. But as man gradually advanced in intellectual power, and would be enabled to trace the more remote consequences of his own actions; as he acquired sufficient knowledge to reject baneful customs and superstitions; and as he regarded more and more, not only the welfare, but the happiness of his fellow-men; as from habit, following on beneficial experience, instruction, and example, his sympathies became more and more widely diffused, extending to men of all races, to the imbecile, maimed, and other useless members of society, and finally to the lower animals—so would the standard of his morality rise higher and higher.”

In the extracts thus culled from Darwin's *Descent of Man*¹ we have touched upon what may be called (1) the nature or place of conscience, and (2) the growth of virtue. *This moral sense applies to man in relation to himself and to his fellows.* Of the moral sense, in relation to the higher powers, or, in a word, religion, Darwin says :—

“The ennobling belief in God is not universal with men, and the belief in spiritual agencies naturally follows from other mental powers.”

It must be borne in mind that the object which Darwin had in view, when he penned these last as well as the preceding remarks quoted, was to show that man's moral nature, as well as his physical and intellectual powers, can be accounted for by evolution, the procedure of evolution being to select for survival or preservation, the fittest qualities or objects.

Now let us proceed to inquire whether Darwin has succeeded in his object. The inquiry will be conducted under the heads already indicated, viz. (1) The nature and place of conscience. (2) The growth of the moral sense or virtue. (3) The scope of man's religious faculty.

As we have recently noticed, conscience, the first of these three points as it is defined by Darwin, is a rule held sacred by a

¹ *Descent of Man*, 2nd ed., p. 191.

community and founded upon the social instincts, or it is a rule held sacred by a tribe which when broken gives rise in the delinquent to feelings of the deepest remorse. The proposition thus given rise to by this definition of conscience is supported by examples, of which it will be remembered that the first given, relates to the agony of shame, which they who had refused to fight duels would suffer on account of the knowledge that their cowardice will cause them to be despised; that the second relates to the remorse that would be felt by Hindoos who had eaten unclean food; and that the third alludes to the Western Australian native, who could secure no respite from conscience, viz. the rule of the community, until, in accordance with that rule, he had satisfied his sense of duty to his dead wife. But in carefully examining these proofs or examples it will be seen that in making conscience synonymous with the rule of a community, Darwin really confounds it with the rule that it merely sanctioned.

Let me give a case to which that of the West Australian native conceivably conforms. When I went to West Africa, in 1894, to superintend an industrial mission at New Calabar, the young man who had been temporarily in charge, furnished me with the following facts, regarding one of the most prominent of the native Christians there. Although trading successfully on his own account, this native Christian was a slave of the most powerful chief of the district, a man of giant stature, said to have been himself a slave, but who, through his great force of character and striking business qualities, had become—not excluding even the king—the most powerful as well as the wealthiest native of New Calabar. Well, this great chief, whose influence dominated the politics and the commerce of New Calabar, had sent this native Christian, when a boy, to a mission school in the neighbourhood, founded and conducted by native agents of the Church Missionary Society. The lad during his training embraced the truths of Christianity. After he had left school and returned home, commanded one day by his master to offer sacrifice to an idol, the lad respectfully but resolutely refused to comply.

It need hardly be said that this lad's conduct is not exceptional; that thousands have, like him, even at the cost of their lives, refused after they had accepted Christianity to offer sacrifice to idols. Nor is it improbable that the West Australian native, if influenced by such a power, would have done as this

West African did, and as those thousands of other transformed idolaters have done. But what caused this West African native Christian now to refuse to sacrifice to idols as he had been wont to do? The cause was certainly not pride urging him to seek notoriety; for the Christian community of which he was a unit, being small, poor, obscure, composed chiefly of slaves, and being by the great bulk of the populace despised, the lad would have known that the only notoriety which his flagrant breach of a national rule could excite would be that by which he would be exposed to the perilous hostility of his townsmen. Neither could the cause that bore the lad on to the committal of this act, an act which, in the native eye, was infidelity, if not atheism against the gods of their fathers, have been the dreams of ambition, the stimulants of self-interest, nor the waves of antagonism, for as the slave of the most powerful chief of the country, the slave of one of the sternest of disciplinarians, the slave of one of the most unscrupulous of masters, of one who wielded over him the power of life and death, the young man would have known full well that to enter upon a struggle so unequal would be the surest way to secure his own annihilation. Besides, what cause would this slave have had for raising against his master the standard of a perverse antagonism? His master, who had sent him to school, who, after that he had arrived at the age of discretion, gave him a wife, supplied him with the capital—the canoe, and the boys for rowing it, the goods for barter, etc.—that started him in life, what cause had he given for antagonism? Nay! the gratification of his self-interest, and his ambition, as well as the motion of his gratitude, would have impelled this young slave to the most enthusiastic fulfilment of the command of the master, by whom his future was being so largely controlled.

Then what was it that led this slave to refuse to offer sacrifice to idols? Ah! it was the fact that the command given him by his master had clashed with his most sacred convictions, that it had clashed with the dictates of his conscience. Darwin has observed that “. . . the moral sense . . . tells us what we ought to do, and . . . conscience . . . reproves us if we disobey it” The plea of this slave for disobeying his master's command would have been that his moral sense told him that, having become a Christian, he ought not to sacrifice to idols; and lest disobeying that counsel he bring down upon himself the reproach of his conscience, he felt it his bounden duty to

refuse. And this is precisely the plea that those thousands who formerly sacrificed to idols, but afterwards refused to do so, would have put forward in their own defence.

But in speaking of his conscience, the West African Christian native, and also the thousands of idolaters transformed, refer to something that is within, to something that is individual; whereas Darwin represents conscience as something that is without, something that is the collective possession of a community. He represents it as a rule that may be transferred to a statute-book. Here, then, is a serious discrepancy! Which of these two views is right? I have a test which I think will lead to a solution of the difficulty. As we know, there are many communities in pagan lands, consisting of large sections of Christians and large sections of heathen. Let us take one of these communities. What should we probably find, with regard to its religious history? This, that from a very early time of its existence, according to the conception of its needs, and to the ideas of the manner whereby those needs should be met, such a community has had a rule by which the religious or moral conduct of its people has been regulated. We should find, further, that one of the obligations laid down by this rule is, that sacrificial offerings shall be made to idols. Now, a rule of this kind, as we have seen, is called by Darwin conscience; and the pain or remorse which anyone violating it would suffer from the consciousness of having incurred public censure, is designated by him the remorse of conscience.

Well, after a time, perhaps ages after its birth, there arrive in this community missionaries who found settlements in it; as a result of the teaching of the missionaries an important section of the community sooner or later becomes Christians. Now, it is hardly necessary to observe that the religious or moral conduct of this Christian section will also be regulated by a rule, and that that rule, as regards sacrifice made to idols, would be opposed to the rule of the heathen section. But having called the rule which regulates the conduct of the heathen section of this community conscience, we must likewise call that which regulates the conduct of the Christian section conscience. In this manner the community will have two consciences. Nay! there would be even a danger of its having three, four, or more consciences, according to the possibility or probability of the propagandists of differing creeds settling in its midst.

This, then, is the outcome of the view of conscience, as it

is set forth by Darwin—the view which holds out the possibility of one conscience by accretive increase becoming a diversity of consciences. Ultimately, therefore, the necessity for determining which of the claimants is authoritative will have arisen. But can this view of conscience be regarded as tenable? Obviously not.

Let us, then, pass to the alternative view—the view by which conscience is set forth as an inherent faculty of the soul. Accepting this view, we have the explanation of the conduct of the West Australian native, that explanation being that this man, born with an intellect no more penetrating than that of the average member of his countrymen, and born in a state in which a custom prevails that a wife having died, respect for her memory shall compel the husband to slay some woman, his conscience, unenlightened by any higher knowledge than that which produced this law, not only sanctioned, but would have rebuked and accused him had he failed to keep the law. The man, who had been predisposed to observe the law of his tribe, and thereby anxious to stand well with the tribe, thus had his conscience—which otherwise had been his accuser—as his inspirer. This man's conscience being blended, as it were, with the rule of the tribe by his lack of knowledge—a rule the outcome of a similar lack of knowledge—Darwin, confounding the rule with conscience, calls the two conscience. Up to this point the description given of this native Australian agrees with the conduct of the Hindoos who had been stricken with remorse for having eaten unclean food. It agrees also with the conduct of the men who had been similarly afflicted for refusing to fight duels. Finally, the description up to the point noticed agrees with the conduct of the young West African slave when he too sacrificed to idols. But beyond this point, in the case of the West African, the divergence from the others just now referred to, and from his own past, begins. The cause of that divergence is, that his unenlightened conscience had become, through the possession of additional knowledge, enlightened. Hence what he formerly saw to be right—such as sacrificing to idols—he subsequently saw to be wrong; and so, in obedience to his enlightened conscience, he now refused to sacrifice to idols. This sequence of ignorance, with its procedure upon a certain line of conduct, and of enlightenment, with its abjuration of that certain line of conduct, is the same phenomenon which the thousands of idolaters referred to as transformed,

have exhibited. Thus, in the first of these two stages, are the Hindoo overwhelmed with remorse because he had partaken of food that was unclean, the would-be duellists tormented by the dread of being reckoned as cowards because of their refusal to fight duels, and the Australian savage consumed with reproach because he had not found a victim to propitiate the spirit of his dead wife. Had they by an enlightened conscience reached the second stage, they would most probably have assumed the attitude assumed by the West African native Christian, viz. that of hostility towards a former mode of conduct, and indifference to the consequences of its rejection. Thus, unlike the external or collective theory of conscience, which evolution seeks to inculcate, the internal or individual theory we have now considered, is not only free from the absurd possibility of one conscience becoming a diversity of consciences, but it also harmonises the acts reviewed in connection with the examples cited. Setting aside, therefore, the external or collective theory of conscience as untenable, I accept as tenable the internal or individual theory of conscience, by which conscience is regarded as a personal and inherent faculty of the soul.

Our second point of inquiry, as has been already announced, is the growth of virtue. The words of the extracts quoted above from Darwin, and that relate to this point, are these:—

“ . . . as he gradually advanced in intellectual power, and would be enabled to trace the more remote consequences of his own actions and superstitions, and as he regarded more and more not only the welfare, but the happiness of his fellow-men, and from habit following on beneficial experience, instruction, and example, his sympathies become more and more widely diffused to men of all races, to the imbecile, maimed, and other useless members of society, and finally to the lower animals, so would the standard of morality rise higher and higher.”

Progress in virtue, as revealed by this portrayal, is in its first stage a passage of the individual or community from egoism to altruism. The altruism now reached develops by the process of expansion until it embraces the race with which the community is identified. Thence continuing the career of expansion, it subsequently encircles all the races, including among them the good and the bad, the strong and the weak, the profitable and the useless. Nor do these enormous efforts exhaust the might of its energies; on the contrary, they seem only to have

enhanced them ; for now, beyond mankind, altruism extends to the brute the hand of friendship and sympathy. These feats of altruistic magnanimity, as will be perceived from the excerpt just quoted, are traced to the intellectual development of the community. Such development, starting at the social instincts, has afterwards and by means of the intellect enabled each member of the community "to trace the remote consequences of his own actions and superstitions." So, then, the proposition which this extract propounds is this, that the growth of virtue in the individual or the society is caused by the growth of the intellect. *Accordingly, there will be a correspondence between the intellectual growth and the moral growth of the community ; thereby a community that is supremely intellectual will also be supremely or highly virtuous.*

Now I deny that this proposition is borne out by facts ; I deny that any people of antiquity or of modern times has evinced, as the result of its intellectual ascent, virtues of a corresponding altitude, such virtues being evidenced by that people, as Darwin declares, in its regard "more and more, not only" for "the welfare, but" for "the happiness of" its "fellow-men, and from habit following on beneficial experience, instruction and example," its "sympathy becomes more widely diffused to men of all races . . . and finally to the lower animals," etc.

To make good my denial I will take the Roman people as an example. Taking this people at the dawn of their history, they will be found intellectually to be very low, to be without a literature, without an alphabet, to be without even a system of numerals. They use the bow and arrow and the war chariot, women are disqualified to own property, wives are acquired by purchase, and there are other forms of practice, such as "the primitive form of burial, blood revenge, the clan constitution, with the authority of the community." According to Darwin's proposition, there should be with the low forms of intellectual life now possessed by the Latins a corresponding low form of morals. Well, from this lower province of mental culture we ascend to a higher, of which the Romans are again the inhabitants. Here we find this people, however, no longer as jarring elements, but a compact nation ; no longer without an alphabet, but with a literature. In history, besides a work on rural economy, and others containing his letters and his speeches, etc., Cato (234-149 B.C.), the first great prose writer

in Roman literature, had written his history of Rome. On jurisprudence Sextus Ælius Pactus had written his treatise, *The Tripartita*, a work on the Twelve Tables. In physical science Gaius Sulpicius Gallus had so successfully studied astronomy and mathematics that, in addition to predicting an eclipse of the moon, he had calculated the distance of the moon from the earth and written a work on astronomy. Archgathus, a distinguished physician, had achieved fame in his practice of the art of healing. Poetry had begun its song, and the plastic art its life. But as compared with her former low intellectual level, nothing furnishes a better index of the height now reached in mental attainment by Rome than the syllabus of subjects prescribed at this time for the training of her youths. These subjects were grammar, logic or dialectics, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music, and architecture.

Now, according to Darwin's proposition, *that high moral attainment is the equivalent of high intellectual development, we must expect to see the mental elevation attained to at this period by Rome, poised by a corresponding moral elevation.* To such a spectacle we proceed. In order that the spectacle may be made sufficiently complete for observation and examination, an aspect of it that is now wanting must be supplied. It will be presented under the heads of wealth, extravagance, immorality, and slavery.

Tusculum and Tibur, for example—Roman summer resorts—formerly apportioned to husbandry, are now appropriated by the palatial villas of Roman nobles. With the appurtenances of lands for gardening, of aqueducts, fresh and salt water lakes for the preservation and the breeding of river and marine fishes, of nurseries for snails and slugs, of game preserves for hares, rabbits, stags, roes, and wild boars, and of aviaries wherein birds, including the crane and the peacock, were kept, these villa-establishments equalled in area moderate-sized towns. In Rome itself rents had risen on an average to four times their value in country towns. A house was once sold in Rome for £150,000; and the house of Marcus Lepidus (Consul in 46 B.C.), which at the time of the death of Sulla (78 B.C.) was the finest in Rome, a generation after did not rank as even the hundredth among Roman palaces. In the case of a very fashionable grandee, custom now demanded that he should possess at least two villas—one at the Sabine or Alban Mountains, near the capital, and a second in the vicinity of the Campagna baths.

In addition, he should own, if possible, a garden immediately outside Rome.

To even a more ludicrous pitch than this insane display of wealth upon the tenement he occupied here, did the rich Roman carry the furnishing of the tenement he would occupy hereafter. The interior of his dwelling was decorated by the rich Roman no less lavishly than the exterior. Thus, for a table of African cypress, a price of £10,000 was once paid. But the luxuries of the table were the great charm of villa-life; not only were there different dining-rooms for winter and summer, but dinner was also served in the picture gallery, in the fruit chamber, the aviary, or on a platform erected in the deer park. Around this platform "Orpheus" bespoke, appearing in theatrical costume, blew his flourish, whereat the trained roes and wild boars congregated. Cooks, who themselves were expert in the culinary art, were further instructed by their masters. Fishes of marine origin, as well as oysters, had almost displaced the joint, whilst foreign wines had superseded those made at home; indeed, no antiquarian, zoologist, or botanist in his search for specimens could be the victim of a zeal more consuming, than that by which these epicures, in their search for the delicacies of the table, were overpowered. Fanciers of dogs and horses were also to be found among Romans of quality, and for a steed with mettle, a price such as £240 was not uncommon. But by the fury of this mad extravagance many of the huge fortunes of the period became huge liabilities; thus, the debts of Julius Cæsar (62 B.C.) amounted to £250,000, those of Curios to £600,000, and of Milo to £700,000.

Insolvency, however, instead of bringing about a meeting between debtor and creditor, or of leading to liquidation, by which the affairs of the debtor would be placed at least in clear light, was prolonged by the debtor as long as possible, while he, at the same time, continued to secure advances on his property. Of these startling transitions from solvency to bankruptcy, one of the consequences was systematic swindling; another, the subserviency of the debtor to the creditor, which, in the case of those of senatorial rank, often resulted in the debtor being used in the senate to further the interests of his creditor. Poverty was not *a* crime, but *the* crime. The statesman sold the state; the burgess his freedom; documents were falsified; whilst perjury had become so common that, in the language of a poet of this age, it was "the plaster for debts." He who refused

a bribe was regarded not as an upright man, but as a foe. Of a truth, men had forgotten the meaning of honesty. "The criminal statistics of all times and countries," as Mommsen declares, "will hardly furnish a parallel to the dreadful picture of crimes—so varied, so horrible, and so unnatural—which the trial of Aulus Cluentius unrolls before us in the bosom of one of the most respected families of an Italian country-town."

This was the age, too, in which women were emancipated; that is to say, when women, if married, released themselves from marital control, and, if single, threw off the guardianship of the male relative. In the state of things thus brought about there were solicitors who acted especially for women; their clients being those ladies who, lending their services to single women in the management of their property or in their lawsuits, thereby acquiring a reputation for legal acumen and business ability, succeeded in enhancing their income. Women having taken up this position in the world of business and of law, we may be sure that in their own sphere, viz. the social sphere, they would not be found in the rear. Thus, in the spring (April), after the suspension of political business in the capital, and society had migrated to the watering-places, to Baia and Puteoli, at the music and the dance, the excellent breakfasts aboard and ashore, the gondola voyages, and other festive pursuits, licit and illicit, the ladies held absolute sway. Nor did the conquests already won in the fields of jurisprudence and economics by dames and damsels, in addition to their own inheritance, appease their ambition, for at the convivial gatherings of the holiday resorts politics also was annexed.

In the party conferences of the day, the stateswomen, equipped with gold and intrigue, are found well to the front. And while these ladies, as pillars of the state, are employing on its behalf their wit and wile, about their skirts, invertebrate youths—as if an exchange between the sexes had transpired—with smooth chin, delicate voice, mincing gait, dressed with head-dress, neckerchief, frilled robe, and women's sandals (in imitation of the courtesan), pined and whined. For money the woman of rank surrendered her person. Liaison in the first houses had become so common that only a scandal of unwonted magnitude could have excited public comment. Judicial separation was almost regarded as a ridiculous farce. A scandal so unparalleled as that of which Publius Clodius was the cause

(61 B.C.) at the women's festival in the house of the Pontifex Maximus, although many times worse than the series which fifty years before had brought upon the perpetrators capital punishment, passed almost without investigation, and entirely without punishment. The estimate that was put upon divorce may be conceived by the conduct of Marcus Cato, one of the most moral of Romans, who, to please a friend who desired to marry his wife, did not scruple to separate from her, and to remarry her after his friend had died. Of this pestilence of immorality the gravest issues were celibacy and sterility, and the stratum of society where its symptoms were most visible was the upper classes. Marriage had long since been considered as a burden, which, in the interest of the state, people took upon themselves. Even Cato and his congeners entertained this sentiment; a sentiment to which Polybius a century before had attributed the decay of Hellas, the sentiment that it was the duty of a citizen to keep together his wealth, and that therefore he should not beget too many children.

Slavery, as is well known, was one of the institutions of the Romans, and the principle involved in the nature of the system, of completely depriving the slave of legal rights, was maintained and carried out by the Romans with merciless severity and exceptional harshness. At first moderate in dimension, the system afterwards, in Rome itself, as the following excerpt certifies, attained perilous proportions.

"The injurious consequences of the radical evil pervading the politics of antiquity in general—the slave-system—were more conspicuous in the capital (Rome) than elsewhere. Nowhere were such masses of slaves accumulated as in the city palaces of the great families or of wealthy upstarts. Nowhere were the nations of the three continents mingled as in the slave population of the capital—Syrians, Phrygians, and other half-Hellenes, with Libyans and Moors, Getæ and Iberians, with the daily increasing influx of Celts and Germans."

As furnishing a detailed description of the later form of Roman slavery, I append the subjoined paragraphs, taken also from Mommsen's *History of Rome*:—

"We have not now to do with the old, in some measure innocent, rural slavery under which the farmer either tilled the field along with his slave, or, if he possessed more land than he could

manage, placed the slave—either as steward or as a sort of lessee obliged to render up a portion of the produce—over a detached farm. Such relations no doubt existed at all times—around Comum, for instance, they were still the rule in the time of the empire—but as exceptional features in privileged districts and on humanely managed estates. What we now refer to is a system of slavery on a great scale, which in the Roman state, as formerly in the Carthaginian, grew out of the ascendancy of capital. While the captives taken in war and the hereditary transmission of slavery sufficed to keep up the stock of slaves during the earlier period, this system of slavery was just like that of America, based on the methodically prosecuted hunting of men; for, owing to the manner in which slaves were used with little regard to their life or propagation, the slave population was constantly on the wane, and even the wars, which were always furnishing fresh masses to the slave-market, were not sufficient to cover the deficit. No country where this species of game could be hunted remained exempt from visitation; even in Italy it was a thing by no means unheard of, that the poor freeman was placed by his employer among the slaves. But the Negroland of that period was western Asia, where the Cretan and Cilician corsairs, the real professional slave-hunters and slave-dealers, robbed the coasts of Syria and the Greek islands; and where, emulating their feats, the Roman revenue-farmers instituted human hunts in the client states and incorporated those whom they captured among their slaves. This was done to such an extent that about 650 (100) the King of Bithynia declared himself unable to furnish the required contingent, because all the people capable of labour had been dragged off from his kingdom by the revenue-farmers. At the great slave-market at Delos, where the slave-dealers of Asia Minor disposed of their wares to Italian speculators, on one day as many as 10,000 slaves are said to have disembarked in the morning and to have been all sold before evening—a proof at once how enormous was the number of slaves delivered, and how, notwithstanding, the demand still exceeded the supply. It was no wonder. Already in describing the Roman economy of the sixth century we have explained that it was based, like all the large undertakings of antiquity generally, on the employment of slaves. In whatever direction speculation applied itself, its instrument was without exception man reduced in law to a beast of burden. Trades were in a great part carried on by slaves, so that the proceeds fell to the master. The levying of the public revenues in the lower grades was regularly conducted by slaves of the associations that leased them. Servile hands performed the operation of mining, making pitch, and others of a similar kind; it became early the custom to send herds of slaves to the Spanish mines, whose superintendents readily

received them and paid a high rent for them. The vine and olive harvest of Italy was not conducted by the people on the estate, but was contracted for by a slave-owner. The tending of the cattle was universally performed by slaves. We have already mentioned the armed, and frequently mounted, slave-herdsmen in the great pastoral ranges of Italy; and the same sort of pastoral husbandry soon became in the provinces also a favourite object of Roman speculation—Dalmatia, for instance, was hardly acquired 599 (155) when the Roman capitalists began to prosecute the rearing of cattle there on a great scale after the Italian fashion. But far worse in every respect was the plantation system proper—the cultivation of the fields by a band of slaves not unfrequently branded with iron, who, with shackles on their legs, performed the labours of the field under overseers during the day, and were locked up together by night in the common, frequently subterranean labourers' prison. The plantation system had migrated from the east to Carthage, and seems to have been brought by the Carthaginians to Sicily, where probably for this reason it appears developed earlier and more completely than in any other part of the Roman dominions. We find the territory of Leontini, about 30,000 *jugera* of arable land, which was let on lease as Roman domain by the censors, divided some decades after the time of the Gracchi among not more than eighty-four lessees, to each of whom there thus fell on an average 360 *jugera*, and among whom only one was a Leontine; the rest were foreign, mostly Roman speculators. We see from this instance with what zeal the Roman speculators there walked in the footsteps of their predecessors, and what extensive dealing in Sicilian cattle and Sicilian slave-corn must have been carried on by the Roman and non-Roman speculators who covered the fair island with their pastures and plantations. Although in Etruria, where the plantation system seemed to have first emerged in Italy, and where it existed most extensively at least forty years afterwards, it is extremely probable that even now *ergastula* were not wanting; yet Italian agriculture at this epoch was still chiefly carried on by free persons or at any rate by non-fettered slaves, while the greater tasks were frequently let out to contractors. The difference between Italian and Sicilian slavery is very clearly apparent from the fact that the slaves of the Mamertine community, which lived after the Italian fashion, were the only slaves who did not take part in the Sicilian servile revolt (135–132 B.C.). The abyss of misery and woe which opens before our eyes in this most miserable of all proletariat may be fathomed by those who venture to gaze into such depths; it is very possible that, compared with the sufferings of the Roman slaves, the sum of all Negro sufferings is but a drop."

Now, then, the spectacle before the reviewer is complete. In the first of the two parts of which it consists, we present to view a community, which originally a loose confederation of immature tribes, without a literature, without an alphabet, without even a system of numerals, has developed into a highly organised state, a state that does not only possess an alphabet and a system of numerals, but possesses a literature; that literature embracing works of poetry and history, works on agriculture, astronomy, mathematics, jurisprudence, medicine, etc.; a state that prescribes for the training of its youths this curriculum—grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music, and architecture. The intellectual growth, therefore, of this community during the stage of its career embraced by the first part of the spectacle, is evident and unmistakable.

But Darwin has told us that the growth of virtue in an individual or a community is caused by the growth of the intellect of that individual or community. Hence, having noticed this decided intellectual increase in the Roman people, we are similarly to expect in them a corresponding increase of virtue. Well, for the purpose of testing this statement of Darwin, we have, in the second part of the spectacle, presented to view a few of the outstanding moral characteristics of the Roman people during the period of their higher intellectual standing. And what are those outstanding Roman characteristics here presented? They are a brazen extravagance, an unblushing and monstrous sexual immorality, and a merciless and abominable human slavery.

Well, if these moral characteristics can be regarded as, in nature, the increase of virtue which should complement the increase in intellectuality which we have been observing, then Darwin's proposition, that high moral attainment is the equivalent of high intellectual development, would be true. But can these features of brazen extravagance, unblushing and monstrous immorality, merciless and abominable human slavery, be regarded as an increase of virtue? Most certainly not. They indicate rather a decrease of virtue than an increase. Then Darwin's proposition is wrong. This case of decrease rather than increase in the morals of the Romans, concurrently with their marked intellectual advance, would be sufficient, logically, to make good my denial of Darwin's proposition.

But as still further supporting that denial I will allude to three other facts. One of these facts, the first to which we shall allude, has already been dealt with by us in a general way. Darwin has laid down, as we have noticed, that as "man gradually advanced in intellectual power, and would be enabled to trace the more remote consequences of his own actions . . . as he more and more regarded, not only the welfare, but the happiness of his fellow-men . . . his sympathies become more and more widely diffused to all races. . . ." But the fact that the Romans in the plenitude of their intellectual manhood fostered that most reprehensible type of slavery sketched for us by Mommsen contravenes this assertion of Darwin, that the humane sentiment is produced by intellectualism.

The second fact that I am to mention is that the example supplied by the Romans of intellectual advance with simultaneous moral decline forms not an absolute historical phenomenon, but a relative historical integer. Thus I believe that, with very few exceptions, if any, it would be found in the history of the nations of antiquity who have reached a high intellectual development, that their occupancy of that higher plane of intellect has been sullied by a decline in morals. That owing to an increase in intelligence, the defects and limitations of the religions of these nations, which religions had to some extent safeguarded morals, being more clearly perceived, reverence for those religions waned and perished. And with the disappearance of the only partition, frail though it was, which restrained them from the more outrageous moral excesses, they now, with greater boldness and to a greater depth than had been their wont, plunge into the morass.

The last of the three facts is this, that the inculcation of virtue among the nations of antiquity, as well as among modern nations, instead of being the result of their intellectual progress, has been the result generally and primarily of individual effort, the agents of this effort being the teachers whom those nations have produced. Illustrious men such as Buddha, Lao-tze, Confucius, Zoroaster, the Hebrew prophets, Socrates, the Apostles, Marcus Aurelius, Seneca, Mohammed, etc., and as the sun, in whose effulgence the light of these stars are merged, is Jesus of Nazareth. So then, Rome having illustrated what has been the rule of perhaps all the nations of antiquity, if not also of all modern nations, viz. the concurrent existence of moral declension with intellectual ascension, and

history having shown that the growth of virtue among nations, ancient and modern, has been due to the efforts of the great prophets produced by those nations, both facts support my denial of Darwin's proposition that high moral attainment is the equivalent of high intellectual development, or that morals are the result of the intellect.

This, then, concludes our examination of two of the pillars supporting the evolutionary theory, or the descent of man from the brute, viz. that conscience is a rule made by a community for its government, and that virtue is the product of intellectual growth. Our examination has led us to condemn both supports as utterly unsound. We now proceed to the examination of another.

XIII

Man's Possession of a Religious Faculty

THE subject of this chapter—"That man has a religious faculty"—is given rise to by the attitude assumed towards it by Darwin. In relation to his evolution theory, Darwin's object being to prove that evolution accounts for the presence of the moral sense in man, he, on the one hand, by arguments such as those we reviewed under "The Nature and Place of Conscience" and "The Growth of Virtue," has tried to fulfil that object, while, to the same end, on the other hand, by the statements that "the ennobling belief in God is not universal with man," and "that the belief in spiritual agencies naturally follows from other mental powers," he has denied in man the existence of the religious faculty.

Having, therefore, reviewed the arguments by which Darwin has sought to show that evolution explains the presence of the moral sense in man, we will now review those arguments by which he denies to man the existence of the religious faculty. Accordingly, the subject which we set ourselves to discuss is, Man's religious faculty. I may observe that in my remarks in the latter part of a preceding chapter (p. 92) on the religious feeling in man I assumed that man has a religious faculty; but here, in response to Darwin's direct challenge, I undertake to prove the existence of that faculty.

Before proceeding with our task it seems to me desirable that the terms "faculty" and "religion" be first defined. By faculty is meant—

"Any special power of mind or body, any capability that can be employed in intentional doing, as distinguished from the simple power to do, as the faculties of seeing, feeling, reasoning. A natural power of the mind, by which it acts uniformly and with facility in some special way. . . ."

Concerning religion, Lubbock (now Lord Avebury) remarks, in the fifth edition of his *Origin of Civilization*¹—

“The question as to the general existence of religion among men is, indeed, to a great extent, a matter of definition. If the mere sensation of fear and the recognition that there are probably other beings more powerful than oneself are sufficient alone to constitute a religion, then we must, I think, admit that religion is general to the human race. But when a child dreads the darkness, and shrinks from a lightless room, we never regard that as an evidence of religion. Moreover, if this definition be adopted, we can no longer regard religion as peculiar to man. We must admit that the feeling of a dog or a horse towards its master is one of the same character; and the baying of a dog to the moon is as much an act of worship as some ceremonies which have been described by travellers.”

I certainly do not believe that the sensation of mere fear, and the recognition that there are probably other beings more powerful than oneself, are sufficient to constitute religion. Fear and the conscious presence of superior power are elements of religion, but they alone, in my opinion, do not constitute a religion. It seems to me that to constitute a religion, in addition to the feeling of fear and the consciousness of superior power, inspired in an individual by some particular object or objects, there must also be on the part of the individual a sense of dependence, and a belief in the ability and the disposition of the particular object or objects to afford him succour. Further, this sense of need, and this belief in the ability and disposition of the object to afford him succour, must cause the individual to render to the object, or objects, worship. Now, there being in religion so indicated these marks of conscious dependence, belief in some power or powers who are able and willing to give to the dependent one succour, together with worship as their corollary, and there being at the same time in the act of the child, who, through dread, “shrinks from the lightless room,” in the feeling of the dog or horse towards its master, and in “the baying of a dog to the moon,” an absence of these marks, I deny that the definition of religion that Sir John Lubbock suggests can, under the circumstances, be considered as adequate.

But it will be noticed that the consciousness of an ever-present need, producing in the individual a sense of dependence,

¹ p. 212.

the consciousness of the existence of beings more powerful than himself, producing in him fear, and the knowledge and belief that these powerful beings or being can and will relieve his needs, producing trust, are each of them a motive force converging at a single point—that point being, worship. Religion, then, is the heart of which worship is the pulse. To know the condition of the pulse is to know the condition of the heart; therefore the knowledge of worship is the knowledge of religion.

The subject to which we have addressed ourselves in this chapter, as I have said, is that there is in man a religious faculty. We defined faculty as a natural power of the mind, by which it acts uniformly and with facility in some special way. Thus the question that arises is, whether that sense of an ever-present need within, that begets dependence, whether that conception of powerful beings or being without, which begets fear, and whether that knowledge and belief that those powerful beings or being are able and disposed to afford succour—whether these, as the elements of what has been defined as religion, are acts of the mind performed uniformly and with facility. If they are, then it will prove that man has a religious faculty. But by what gauge shall the uniformity of the elements of religion be determined? By worship. Then to the subject of worship we betake ourselves. Worship is defined as “the feeling or the act of religious homage toward a deity, especially a Supreme God; an act or the acts collectively of such homage at a given time and place, such as adoration, thanksgiving, prayer, praise, and offerings.” Homage, in the form of offerings, prayer, and praise, etc., rendered to a deity, especially a Supreme Being. . . . Thus an object of worship may be any material or immaterial thing, extending in the illimitable range up to the Almighty. This being the case, objects of worship will include spirits; Darwin’s contention, then, that the worship of spiritual agencies is no proof that man has a religious faculty, cannot be allowed.

Again, it being true according to our definition that the Deity is one, therefore not the only object worshipped, then even if it were conclusively shown by Darwin that the “belief in God is not universal with man,” such a proof would not carry with it the disproof, as Darwin also thinks it does, that man possesses a religious faculty.

We now proceed to the inquiry concerning the uniformity of worship. The central object to which religious homage or

worship by mankind, civilised and barbarous, ancient and modern, Jew, Christian, Mohammedan, and Pagan, is paid, is a spirit or spirits: in both cases worship is spiritual. Spirit, therefore, is the core of the perplexing maze of human worship. And according to this spiritual essence, putting aside for the time being the great monotheistic systems of religion, we divide the worship of all the other systems into two classes. (1) That of embodied spirits; (2) that of disembodied spirits. We subdivide the worship of embodied spirits into (a) Naturism, (b) Idolatry, (c) Fetishism; and that of disembodied spirits, or animism, we subdivide into (a) the spirits of the dead, which give rise to ancestor-worship, and (b) the good and bad spirits, whose existence is believed to be independent.

Commenting briefly upon each of these subdivisions in the order given, we begin with Naturism. Naturism is the worship of objects personified, the adoration of the powers of nature. I start with the statement that at the beginning of his career upon the earth man possessed a rudimentary knowledge of God. A rudimentary knowledge, I repeat. And my reason for starting with this postulate is that it is by it alone that I am able to reconcile certain phenomena to which, during the progress of this discussion, I shall allude. Starting with this rudimentary knowledge of his Creator, man was further influenced by two forces—one internal and the other external. At that early stage of his earthly pilgrimage man's intellectual faculty must necessarily have been at the dawn only of its activities. Consequently, in agreement with that law by which nature's abhorrence of a vacuum is signified, his emotional faculty must have filled the void caused by his slumbering intellect. This domination of the emotional faculty within I take to represent the internal force. But corresponding with the reign of man's emotional faculty within was the reign of nature without; and this reign of nature I again take to represent the external force. The relation which man sustained to the laws of nature around him was that of ignorance, with the result that, whereas now, by his knowledge of the laws of nature, man is nature's master, then, by his ignorance of the laws of nature, man was nature's slave.

Thus, servilely beholding the splendour and magnificence of the sun, the serenity and beauty of the moon, the height and expanse of the sky, the invincible might of the ocean, the stately composure of the mountain, the bloom and vigour of

spring, the gaiety and brilliance of summer, the wealth and beneficence of autumn, the sternness and barrenness of winter, primitive man regards them with mingled feelings of wonder, trust, and awe. And so by that instinct with which the child applies to its doll personality, he to these powers, for what his unbridled senses perceive that they are in themselves, and are to himself, applies personality, and worships them. Impelled also by feelings either of wonder, trust, or awe, primitive man further selects as objects of divine worship the tree, the river, the stone, the lake, the grove, the serpent, the ox, etc.

Idolatry is the worship of an image that is believed to be the abode of a superhuman being or spirit. Although occupying a prominent place in the religious worship of primitive peoples, idolatry is not practised by all primitive peoples; thus from the religious observance of the Bushman, Hottentot, Fuegian, Veddah, and Esquimaux it is absent. On the other hand, idolatry has not been confined to uncivilised man, for it has formed the bulwark of the religious practices of great civilisations, such as those of Egypt, Chaldæa, India, Greece, Rome, Mexico, and Peru.

With respect to the relation that exists between Naturism, Idolatry, and Fetishism, among the authorities whom I have consulted on the subject there appears to be a vague and somewhat confused idea. Thus one author writes:—

“The early world has still another kind of deity. In the case of all those we have considered, the god stands in some respect above the worshipper; man reverences the sun, spirit, or animal for some quality in them that is admirable or that gives them a hold over him; they are in some way beyond him. Among certain savages, however . . . this feature disappears, and objects are revered not for any intrinsic quality in them that makes them worthy of regard, but because of a spirit which is supposed to be connected with them.”

This statement suggests two things: that the objects generally worshipped are revered because of some physical “quality in them that is admirable,” that is to say, in virtue of their admirable qualities the objects themselves are worshipped; and that fetishism, by restricting its worship to the spirits possessed by its objects, is on that account an exceptional religious system.

The reasons enumerated above, under Naturism, as those that probably led man, in the first instance, to nature-worship, may be summarised into three, viz. attractiveness, utility, and fear. And

under one or other of these three reasons are to be placed all the objects worshipped by man and embraced by nature-worship, idolatry, fetishism, ancestor-worship, and animism. As an illustration of objects whose attractiveness may have led to their being worshipped as divinities, I may instance the sun. What student of nature is there to-day who, with his intellect disciplined by physical facts, the accumulation of ages, yielding himself up to contemplation, would not, with feelings akin to reverence, be thrilled at the transcendent glory of the great orb of day? But how much more overpowering must these feelings have been, when man, entirely ignorant of natural laws, was dominated not by his intellect, but by his emotion! Individual objects, however, may unite in themselves both the qualities of utility and attractiveness. And the sun, again, is one of that class. Hence I can imagine how primitive man, as he feels in his own person the genial warmth of the great thermic centre, and learns that from it too comes the heat that ripens the grain, the fruit, and the root upon which he subsists, as well as the rays that flood the earth with light, impressed by these acts of utility, would, in adoring gratitude to the source, prostrate himself. Thus, as the indirect causes that probably led to the different forms of heathen worship referred to by us, we have these two qualities, utility and attractiveness, represented by the sun.

We have now arrived at the points to which I desire to draw attention. First, that the act of the worshipper who appears to worship the sun, because of its attractiveness, or utility, or because of both these qualities combined in it, consists not in homage paid to the sun, as the extract quoted above teaches, but in homage paid to the spirit or personality with which the quality or qualities are identified, the worshipper believing these qualities to be a spirit.

The second point to which I desire to draw attention is that in naturism and idolatry, the subject of worship being the spirit, with which the qualities of the object are identified, fetish-worship presenting this same characteristic, cannot, as the extract quoted above also teaches, be regarded as an exceptional system. In having, then, a spirit that is worshipped, fetishism forms not an exception in nature-worship, but an extension of nature-worship. In it, nature-worship is simply extended to a class of objects comprising such substances as the skins and tails of animals, wild cats, antelope's horns, snail-

shells, nut-shells, the bones of animals, especially those of man, human skulls, teeth, leopard's claws, etc., etc.

This concluding our remarks on embodied spirits, we pass next to offer a few observations on disembodied spirits. These we divided into (*a*) the spirits of the dead, from which ancestor-worship is derived; and (*b*) good and bad spirits that are supposed to exist independently. Ancestor-worship being now one of the chief characteristics of savage man, ignorance of natural phenomena must also have been a chief characteristic in the infancy of the race. Thereby man could not at that early period have escaped being impressed by events such as dreams, visions, and death. Consequently, he might have interpreted his dreams as the journeying of his spirit to a distant place, whence it afterwards returns to the body.

In like manner he might have conceived the vision of his friend as the visit to him of his friend's spirit. Further, perceiving a likeness between the state that the unconscious body reveals during such occurrences as those just named and that which death creates, he would naturally infer that death too is a journeying of the spirit, the difference between it and sleep being, that in death the absent spirit does not return. But the subject of this philosophy thus weaved by primitive man would be the spirit of a human being—the spirit of a relative or a hero, of one whom he loved or revered, of one whose name he has enshrined with the most loyal attachment. Therefore, worshipping other spirits, why should he not also worship this one? And so, as I apprehend, ancestor-worship had its origin.

The spirits of which we have been speaking as having given rise to the diverse forms of nature-worship and to idolatry, fetishism, etc., are, according to Mr. Herbert Spencer, those of the dead. On page 675 of his *Ecclesiastical Institutes*, with reference to the deification of departed spirits, Spencer observes that there is "strong warrant for the inference that ghost-propitiation is the origin of all religions." And again: ". . . the hypothesis that religion in general is derived from ancestor-worship finds proofs among all races and in every country." Thus, as gods, the sun, Jupiter, and Mercury represented, according to this theory, the spirits of departed souls. But I do not think that history supports this belief, that the gods of the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and other nations, both of times remote and times proximate, were believed by them to have been the spirits of their ancestors. There is one place in

Africa, which, of my own knowledge I know, disproves these statements. For there the periodic feasts made to dead ancestors have no relation whatever to the number of gods worshipped, but are entirely separate from them. No; what history teaches, and what present observation confirms, is that the spirits of dead ancestors have formed by themselves a class of divinities. On the subject of the other disembodied spirits, bad and good, it is unnecessary to offer any remarks. As to the place or priority which the different gods that are worshipped occupy, opinions have been almost as numerous as the systems themselves. Thus fetishism, animism, or spirit-worship, has each had its advocates as being the earliest, and therefore the lowest form of religious worship. Idolatry and naturism, thereby, are believed to be higher forms of worship. Assuming, however, the correctness of the view which I have ventured to advance, that man started his career upon earth with a rudimentary knowledge of a Creator who is a spirit, whilst I regard spirit-worship as the earliest form of primitive worship, I do not regard it as the lowest, but as the highest form of that worship, and idolatry and nature-worship I regard as degenerate forms of spirit-worship.

Most intimately associated with the view propounded, that an elementary knowledge of the Creator as a spirit was for man the starting-point of the vast scheme of spiritualisation which he, as we have seen, has carried into every field of nature, is the question raised by Darwin, that "the ennobling belief in God is not universal with man." Let us, then, see how far this statement is true. For the purpose we will take an example, an example containing what may be called a declaration of faith made to me some years ago by an old man, the heir-apparent to the throne of the native kingdom of his country on the Lower Congo. This example will be applied, in the first place, to confirm the assertion which the heading of this chapter makes. It is needless to say that this man and his tribe at the time that he made the declaration were heathen.

Assuring me, as had often been done by others of this people, of the belief of himself and his fellow-tribesmen in God, he accounted for their practice of idolatry, when asked why they worshipped idols instead of God, if they believed in Him, thus: God, he said, who made us all, who kept us, and gave us food to eat, had also, for the supply of our other necessities, given power to the "ngangas," or native priests, who in turn

transmitted this divine power to their minkissies, or idols, etc. So that it is by virtue of this divine power entrusted to the priests, and communicated to their idols by the priests, as they believe, that these idols are able to protect them when well, restore them when ill, as well as minister to their other necessities. The fact that idols are considered as divinities only after some divine attribute had been communicated to them by the native priest is borne out by the following occurrence.

Seeing an artificer one day with a bundle of newly made idols, of which the navels were open, and the abdominal cavities empty, I inquired of him what the idols were capable of doing. He informed me that in their present form the idols had no more power than any other piece of wood, and that it was only after they had been charged with God-like qualities by the priest—of which qualities the concrete representations are substances such as old nails and wood ash, deposited in the abdominal cavities of the idols—that their sacred functions would begin. In the same way as among civilised peoples the brain is believed to be the seat of the human soul, so is the substance deposited believed to be that in which the spirit of the idol resides.

As further confirming the fact first stated, when I spoke of the relation existing between fetishism and nature-worship, and that is again dealt with here, that the Pagan worshipper worships the spirit that is supposed to reside in his deity, and not the material form of the deity, I add the subjoined extract, taken from an article entitled the "Philosophy of Fetishism," that appeared in the journal of the African Society of April, 1904.

"It is not true, as is asserted by some in regard to these African tribes and their degraded religion, that they worship the actual material objects in which the spirits are supposed to be confined."

Now, upon this added basis, supplied by the declaration of faith which the heathen chieftain made, let us proceed with the endeavour to complete the hypothetical development of the pagan systems of worship.

Man, from his elementary knowledge of God, possessed by him at the beginning of his existence on earth, learned the idea of spirit; God being a Spirit. But he regards God to be in

a large measure indifferent to human affairs; at the same time he perceives among his fellows, concerning the different relations of life, ingenuity and skill, evincing what seems to him to be God-like qualities; men who by their superior powers are able, to a considerable degree, to ease the strain of his life. He therefore concludes that for his benefit God has delegated His power to these wise men, who henceforth become His priests. But he wishes to have these divine powers, given by God to the priests for his welfare, always available. The qualities, however, are spirits. Can they be transmitted? And in what vessel should they be preserved? He finds from the priest that they can be transmitted. And what vessel is more appropriate for the embodiment of these spirits than the image of man himself? Consequently the idol is made to which the priest, for the well-being of his fellows, transmits a portion of the God-given power. Thus idolatry would be instituted; but above him, around him, and below him, primitive man beholds various objects which may either excite his fear, or be in themselves attractive, or useful, or be both attractive and useful. Accordingly, attaching personality to the useful, attractive, or fear-producing qualities of these objects, he annexes and worships them as gods; and so, in addition to spirit-worship and ancestor-worship, we should have introduced idolatry, naturism, and fetishism.

This, then, is the complete picture, formed out of the filled-up outlines, of the confession of faith declared by the African chief. What are its leading features? First, the acknowledgment of God. Secondly, the worship of a series of divinities, classed respectively under nature-worship, idolatry, fetish-worship, ancestor-worship, and the worship of disembodied spirits, by means of prayers and sacrifice, etc. Now, in what relation do these systems stand to those possessed by other peoples; peoples other than those of monotheistic faith; peoples of the past as well as of the present, peoples of culture and of rude estate? Excluding the Esquimaux, the Bushman, the Hottentot, the Veddah, and the Fuegian, who, as we have observed, are said not to practise idolatry, I observe that the relation in which the religious system of this African people stands to those of the Egyptians, Chaldæans, Assyrians, Indians, Chinese, Greeks, Romans, Incas, and of all other peoples of antiquity and of recent times, savage and civilised, in the belief in God, in nature-worship—of which fetish-worship, as we have said, is but an extension—in idolatry, ancestor-worship, and animism,

is that of essential identity. And bringing the great monotheistic systems, Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, in line with these lower forms of belief, and pressing our examination to the heart of each, what do they, as a common cause, and as a common effect, severally reveal? As a common cause they reveal spirit, and as a common effect they reveal worship.

These two points, then, spirit and worship, constitute the last analysis of the diverse religious systems of man in every age, in every clime, and in every degree of culture. But what was our definition of worship, which we called the pulse of religion? We defined it as "the feeling or the act of religious homage toward a deity, especially the Supreme God," etc. And what was our definition of "faculty"? "A natural power of the mind by which it acts uniformly and with facility in some specific way," etc. In accordance with these definitions, the question arising in the first place is, whether we have homage or worship paid to a deity. If we have, then such an act is religious. The question, in the second place, is, whether such an act of worship, rendered to a deity, be uniform and specific. If it be, then the act is the product of a faculty.

Concerning the first of these questions, I reply that on the ground furnished by the evidence we have been examining, homage or worship is rendered to a deity. And with regard to the second question, the answer is, that inasmuch as man in every age, and universally, has worshipped as his deity only a spirit or spirits, and inasmuch as his worship has always consisted of such acts as prayers and sacrifice rendered to none other than to spirits, we have in the objects worshipped, and in the acts of worship, "uniformity" and "the specific way" which our definition characterises as due to a "faculty." Therefore, in the same manner as man, exhibiting in all ages towards sound a natural power of the mind which we call his faculty of hearing, in the same way as towards language he exhibits a natural power of the mind which we call his faculty of speech, so here, man exhibiting in all climes and in all ages towards a spirit or spirits, a natural disposition of the mind, namely homage or worship, we must likewise allude to it as his faculty of religion. Thus I conclude that man possesses a religious faculty.

I have mentioned the Bushman, Hottentot, Fuegian, Veddah—a semi-savage central-Ceylonese people, said to number some four hundred souls—and the Esquimaux, as Pagans who

are non-idolaters. As to whether these peoples worship spirits, Featherman, who on the subject had consulted a number of authorities, declares concerning the Esquimaux, whose religious notions, however, he thinks to be exotic and not indigenous, that they believe in a "great spirit," who has as his assistant a daughter, believed to be the mother of all living things. From this same authority we learn that the religion of the Hottentot consists of the belief in two natural agencies, of whom one is good and the other evil. The ideas entertained regarding the good are confused, but the evil agency, although no regular worship is rendered to it—except after some calamitous visitation the slaying of an ox to appease its wrath—is personified. The Bushman is said to be entirely without any religious belief. The Fuegians also are believed to be without religious impulses. The religion of the Veddahs is spirit-worship. Lubbock, although admitting "that in some cases travellers denied the existence of religion merely because the tenets were unlike our own," and although stating, as I have quoted before, that "the question as to the general existence of religion among men is indeed to a great extent a mere matter of definition," has supplied a long list of names, including those of "sailors," "traders," "philosophers," "Roman Catholic priests," and "Protestant missionaries," of earlier and later times, who, concerning every region of the globe, have mentioned whole races of men as being without religion. However, even if it were put beyond the limits of doubt—which, according to Lubbock's own confession, it is not—that all the peoples mentioned by him were really without the religious sentiment, the evidence furnished by objects such as we have been considering—objects worshipped by the majority of mankind, worshipped in every period of human history—is so overwhelming, that the validity of the conclusion we have reached with regard to man's religious faculty remains unimpaired; for as the presence of millions of persons in the world who are dumb or deaf does not invalidate the assertion that man possesses the faculties of speech and of hearing, so the presence of peoples in whom the religious faculty appears to be or may really be absent, would not and could not invalidate the general statement, that man possesses a religious faculty.

XIV

Man's Universal Belief in God

THE confession of faith, as I termed the affirmation made by the African chief concerning his own and his people's belief in God, has enabled us to add to the structure of the religious system of Paganism an important wing, viz. the development of idolatry. And by the aid of the Pagan systems of religion which this addition thus completes, we have been further enabled to answer the question whether there be in man a religious faculty. But it will be recalled that my chief reason for introducing that confession was to deny the statement, that the belief in God is not universal.

In the present chapter we will inquire more fully into the assertion made by Darwin that "the ennobling belief in God is not universal with man." Accordingly I reintroduce here the subject of this chieftain's confession, and by it observe the attestation of belief in a Supreme Being by an illiterate and heathen people. That they and other peoples of West and South-West Africa—I thus specifically allude to these regions, having personal knowledge of them both—believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, in God, is borne out by such an accurate observer as the late Miss Mary Kingsley. In her *West African Studies* this late intrepid traveller records:—

"The African has a great over-God, and below him lesser spirits, including man; but the African has not in West Africa, nor, so far as I have been able to ascertain, elsewhere in the whole continent, a God-man, a thing that directly connects man with the over-God."

To the same effect is the following, from the article already quoted entitled "Philosophy of Fetishism." Referring to the fetish-worshipper, the writer, Dr. Nassau, remarks:—

“The Being to whom he appeals is not God. True, he does not deny that He is. If asked, he will acknowledge His existence. But that is all.”

Again, in his *Western Africa* (p. 209), Rev. J. L. Wilson, who had spent eighteen years in Africa, and afterwards was one of the secretaries of the American Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, makes concerning West Africa the following emphatic and authoritative statement :—

“The belief in one Supreme Being, who made and upholds all things, is universal. Nor is this idea imperfectly or obscurely developed in their minds. The impression is so deeply engraved upon their moral and mental nature, that any system of atheism strikes them as too absurd and preposterous to require a denial. Everything which transpires in the natural world, beyond the power of man, or of spirits, who are supposed to occupy a place somewhat higher than man, is at once spontaneously ascribed to the agency of God. All of the tribes in the country with which the writer has become acquainted (and they are not few) have a name for God. And many of them have two or more, significant of his character as Maker, Preserver, and Benefactor. In the Grebo country, *Nyiswa* is the common name for God ; but he is sometimes called *Geyi*, indicative of his character as a Maker. In Ashanti he has two names, viz. *Yaukumpon*, which signifies ‘my Great Friend,’ and *Yemi*, ‘my Maker.’ The people, however, have no correct idea of the character or attributes of the Deity.”

Mr. Wilson has given us the names by which God is known among two African peoples. I may also give the names by which He is known among two other African tribes. On the Lower Congo He is called Nzambi, or Nzambi Ampungu, whereas at Lower Nigeria (New Calabar) His name is Tamuno. How often would members of this people of the Lower Congo, the Asorongos, in reply to my accusation that they did not love God, stand with hands outstretched, and eyes upturned to heaven, and exclaim in suppliant tones “Nzambi, otuavanga, outu keba, outu vana dia, tuno ozolele, wévi?” (“God, who made us, who keeps us, who gives us food, why should we not love Him?”)

Now with this evidence of four witnesses testifying to the heathen African's belief in God we proceed to the antipodes to observe the attitude of the aborigines there in the same respect. In a lucid account of the initiatory rites submitted

to by youths of the aborigines of Australia at the time when the beliefs of their ancestors are committed to them, Mr. A. W. Howitt, F.G.S., in the *Anthropological Journal* of 1884, gives of those beliefs the following summary :—

“Long ago there was a great Being, called Mūngau-ngaur, who lived on the earth and who taught the Kurnai” (the tribe of which we are now particularly speaking) “of that time to make implements, nets, canoes, weapons—in fact, all the arts they know. He also gave them the names they bear. Mūngau-ngaur had a son named Tundun, who was married, and who is the direct ancestor—the Weintwin, or father’s father—of the Kurnai. Mūngau-ngaur instituted the Jeraeil” (the ceremony that accompanies the transmission of the beliefs), “which was conducted by Tundun, who made the instruments which bear the names of himself and of his wife.

“Some tribal traitor impiously revealed the secrets of the Jeraeil to women, and thereby brought the anger of Mūngau upon the Kurnai. He sent fire, which filled the whole space between earth and sky. Men went mad with fear, and speared one another, fathers killing their children, husbands their wives, and brethren each other. Then the sea rushed over the land, and nearly all mankind were drowned. Those who survived became the ancestors of Kurnai. Some of them turned into animals, birds, reptiles, and fishes; and Tundun and his wife became porpoises. Mūngau left the earth and ascended to the sky, where he still remains.”

In a note at the foot of the page, Mr. Howitt tells us that *Mūngau* means “father” and *ngaur* “our,” adding :—

“He has no other name among the Kurnai. In other tribes, for instance, the Dievi, the Woiworung, and the Murring, the Supreme Being is said to have given them, or ordered them to assume, their ‘animal names’ (totem).”

In one of these tribes just now mentioned, the Murring, “Tharamūlum, or Tharūmūlūm,” etc., as the word is variously pronounced in the different languages, was, Mr. Howitt says, “the Supreme Spirit believed in from the sea-coast to the northern boundary claimed by the Wolgal, about Yass and Gundagai, and from Omeo to at least as far as the Shoalhaven River, in a line approximately east and west. He was not, it seems to me, everywhere thought to be a malevolent being, but he was dreaded as one who could punish the trespasses committed against those tribal ordinances and customs, whose first institution is ascribed to him. He, it is said, taught the

Murring all the arts they knew; he instituted the ceremonies of Initiation of Youths," etc.

We have, then, in these extracts undeniable proofs that sections of two different races, inhabiting regions of the globe widely sundered, believe in God. For besides avowing their belief in the Supreme Being, there are in the various dialects of these sections names by which the Deity is designated. I am not oblivious of the fact that one of the chief grounds upon which those who deny to savage peoples the knowledge of God, base their contention, is, that these native names by which the Deity is designated are the result of missionary and other European influence. However, close observation will show that this statement does not accord with the circumstances of the case. What are these circumstances? One is, that if the knowledge of God had come to these native communities through foreign sources, rendering thereby the application to Him of names from the various dialects of the communities, such names, although, in the new relation, they would be known to the younger members of the communities, and perhaps to a few of the older members also, would not, as is the case, have been generally known among the older heathen members. The fact, therefore, that these names and their meaning have been universally known to the older heathen peoples of these communities renders nugatory the statement, that the native names by which the Deity is known, have been given Him as a result of foreign influence.

The second of these circumstances to which I have alluded is, that if these names by which God is known to these savage communities had been due to foreign influence, the knowledge of them in that relation would have been confined to such of those communities as have been subject to foreign influence. Thus, the savage communities in which foreign influence had been nil would have been ignorant of these names as relating to the Deity. Hence the fact that these names and their meaning are known not only to the communities that have been directly or indirectly influenced by the foreigner, but likewise to those communities that have escaped his influence, affords the strongest probability that the names given to the Deity are purely native.

The third circumstance in favour of the native origin and signification of these names is the testimony of the native him-

self. I have already instanced the reiterated affirmation of the Asorungos, concerning their belief in the Supreme Being. Let me also add here Mr. Howitt's interesting testimony. Referring to the Murring tribe, Mr. Howitt observes:—

“The knowledge of *Tharamūlūm*, and his attributes and powers, was only communicated to the youths at their initiation, and was regarded as something eminently secret, and not on any account to be divulged to women or children. It is said that the women among the Ngarego and Wolgal tribes knew only that a great being lived beyond the sky, and that he was spoken of by them as *Papany* (father). This seemed to me, when I first heard it, to bear so suspicious a resemblance to a belief derived from the white man that I thought it necessary to make careful and repeated inquiries. My Ngarego and Wolgal informants, two of them old men, strenuously maintained that it was so before the white man came. They said that the knowledge of the name of *Tharamūlūm* was imparted to themselves only at their initiation by the old men, and that the women then, as now, only knew of *Tharamūlūm* by the name of *Papany*. This name of *Tharamūlūm*,” continues Mr. Howitt, “is so sacred that even in speaking to me of it, when no one else was present but ourselves, the old men have done so in whispers, and have used elliptical expressions to avoid the word itself, such as, ‘He,’ ‘the man, or ‘the name I told you of.’”

Thus we have the natives' own unequivocal avowals that their belief in God has not been derived from the white man. Are we, then, to set aside these positive and circumstantial avowals in favour of the authorities, eminent though they may be in other spheres, who to the contrary maintain the foreign origin of these peoples' belief in God? Especially as we have seen that the alleged foreign origin of the belief in God by these heathen peoples is palpably contradicted by the universal manner in which the older peoples of these communities have always believed in the Creator; and from the fact that this belief in the Creator has existed not only in places that have been influenced by the teaching of a higher faith, but in those as well that have wholly escaped such external influence?

But in connection with this subject there is one other point to which, ere we proceed further, attention must be called. It is this, viz. that the places in West Africa and Australia about which we have been speaking, are among those described by Sir John Lubbock as places where God to the native was originally unknown. The authorities upon whose evidence

Sir John Lubbock bases this conclusion, that heathen peoples are without a knowledge of God, may be divided into two classes—those whose visits among these savage peoples have been of a passing character, as, for example, travellers; and those, again, who for a shorter or longer period have lived among these savage peoples, as, for example, missionaries. The difficulty, amounting almost to impossibility, which the average and transient visitor among savage peoples encounters in the effort to arrive at a correct knowledge of their religious beliefs, will perhaps be more readily appreciated by the following remarks of Wilson and Howitt. After referring to the vitiating influence which the imagination of the heathen African exercises over the recital of his religious beliefs, Wilson adds this significant statement: "Another difficulty arises from the extreme reluctance of the people to make known their superstition." And Howitt, in addition to his remarks about the extreme secrecy with which the Murring tribe preserved their knowledge of God, communicating it to the youths only at the time of their initiation, and carefully concealing it from the women and children, thus alludes to an occurrence that transpired at an initiation ceremony which he attended among the Kurnai:—

"During the morning an incident occurred which was very significant of the profound feeling of secrecy in regard to the central mysteries which is felt by the Kurnai. One of the headmen came to me and intimated that the old men, before proceeding further, desired to be satisfied that I had in very deed been fully initiated by the Brājerak black fellows in their Kūringal. I caused them all to come to me in the recesses of a thick scrub, far from the possibility of a woman's presence, and I there exhibited to them the bull-roarer which had been used at the Brājerak initiations, previously attended by me, and which I had brought back with me. I also fully satisfied them that I had witnessed all the ceremonies of the Kūringal. It was remarkable that long as the Kurnai had known me, and intimately as I had known some of them, especially the headman Tūlaba, these special secrets of the tribe had been carefully concealed from me by all but two, one of whom was now dead, and the other absent from the Jeraeil ostensibly through sickness, but really by reason of his consciousness of tribal treachery and fear of the consequences if it were brought home to him. The old men were very urgent to know what 'wicked man' had betrayed to me the secrets of the Jeraeil, and especially of the Tundun, but they were silenced, if not satisfied, when I said that the man who first told me was dead."

From these remarks, both of Wilson and of Howitt, relative to the extreme reserve with which savage man treats his sacred beliefs, we can understand how almost impossible it must be for the average traveller to obtain from him, regarding these beliefs, accurate information.

Such, then, is the difficulty that has beset one class of Sir John Lubbock's informants in the getting of reliable information. The information supplied by the other class is given by Sir John Lubbock in the following summary: "Canon Callaway, speaking of the Kaffirs, after quoting similar opinions from Moffat, Vanderkemp, Casalis, and Arbousset, expresses his own conviction that 'in the native mind there is scarcely any notion of deity, if any.'"¹ This statement, in which Canon Callaway summarises the opinion of a singularly distinguished group of authorities, is perfectly true. It relates to South Africa, and in the same respect Wilson observes about West Africa that the difficulty in understanding the beliefs of the natives

"arises from a variety of causes, one of the principal of which, undoubtedly, is that there is no well-defined system of false religion which is generally received by the people. There are a few leading notions or outlines of a system that prevails in all parts of the country, but all the details necessary to fill up these outlines are left to each man's fancy, and the answers given to inquirers on the subject are almost as various as the characters of the persons to whom they are submitted."

All these authorities, then, representing the second class of Sir John Lubbock's informants, agree concerning the extreme fewness of the ideas constituting the religious faith of these barbarous tribes. But it must be especially observed that these authorities do not say that the native has no religious ideas. They only say that these ideas are very few; some even doubt the existence of these ideas, but none of them have positively declared that the native is without religious ideas. On the other hand, what conclusion has Sir John Lubbock drawn from this statement supplied by the second class of his informants? They say that the native has very few religious ideas. Sir John Lubbock has concluded from that that the native has no religious ideas. Thus in the nomenclature of logic Sir John Lubbock, from a particular premise, has drawn a universal conclusion. But all the world knows that such a procedure contravenes one of the laws of logic.

¹ *History of Civilization*, p. 227.

Therefore Sir John Lubbock's universal conclusion, that the savage is without religious ideas, being inferred from a particular premise, is wrong.

So much for Sir John Lubbock's conclusion, drawn from the information supplied by the second class of his informants. The information supplied by the first class of his informants resolves itself either into the statement that the native has very few religious ideas or that the native has no religious ideas. If it be the former of these statements, then to draw from it the universal conclusion that the native has no religious ideas would be still a contravention of logical law. And if it be the latter statement, then, from the great danger that there is of travellers obtaining wrong information about the beliefs of the savage, it is probably inaccurate, and ought rather to be put into the particular, or the form of the first statement, which those sanction who for some time have lived among the natives, than in the universal form given to it by the transient traveller. But this particular form again would yet be opposed to Sir John Lubbock's universal conclusion that savage man is without religious beliefs. Therefore, from neither of the informations supplied by the two classes of his informants is Sir John Lubbock at liberty to draw the conclusion that savage peoples are destitute of religious beliefs.

Finally, then, respecting Sir John Lubbock's conclusion that savage peoples do not believe in the Creator or have no religious ideas, one fact is that his premises do not justify the conclusion. And the other fact is, that before the validity of such a conclusion can be established he will be bound logically first of all to dispose of the two exceptions adduced, viz. the West African and Australian aborigines' belief in the Creator.

Now, leaving the African and Australian here for the moment, we pass on to speak of another group of peoples who in culture and general progress differed very widely from either of these two sections. I refer to the ancient Egyptians, and allege concerning them that they believed in the Supreme Being. I make the same declaration concerning the Incas, the Persians, the great Semitic nations of antiquity, the Hindoos, and the Greeks. But as an example let us take the Egyptians. Referring to one of a number of passages quoted from Egyptian papyri by Le Page Renouf, in which words are put into the mouth of the "Almighty God, the self-existent One, who made heaven and earth, the waters, the breaths of life, fire, the gods, man, animals,

cattle, reptiles, birds, etc., saying, I am the maker of the heaven and the earth. . . . It is I who have given to all the gods the soul which is within them. When I open my eyes there is light, when I close them there is darkness. I am Chepera in the morning, Ræ at noon, Tum in the evening,"

Dr. Menzies, in his *History of Religion*, after mentioning that M. de la Rougé maintains that Egyptian religion was at first monotheistic, "with a noble belief in the unity of the Supreme God," from which they afterwards fell away into polytheism, and after implying his accord with Renouf, in his affirmation that the sublimer part of Egyptian religion is demonstrably ancient, proceeds to say:—

"Yet we are not shut up to the conclusion that Egyptian religion, as a whole, is nothing but a backsliding and a failure. If we were obliged to regard that monotheism which Egypt had at first, but failed to maintain, as a gift conferred from above, then the opening history of this religion would be, indeed, most melancholy. But though monotheism appeared in Egypt so early, there is no necessity to think that it was not attained by human powers. *For all we know, it was not an early, but a mature, product of thought, and was reached after long development.* It is not impossible for the human mind, starting from the works of God, to rise, by its own efforts, to the belief in His universal Godhead. The beginnings of this rise of thought may be witnessed among savages. . . ."

As illustrating the nations who have risen to a knowledge of God through His works, Professor Menzies alludes to the educated Greeks of the fifth century, whose faith in the old religion had passed away, adding that "with unexampled rapidity had the journey been traced, which India made more slowly, which Egypt made at a very early period, but was not able to maintain, and which every people starting from polytheism must make if their religion is to prosper."

The following is the analogy whereupon Dr. Menzies bases his conclusion, that it was after prolonged development, and by way of polytheism, that the Egyptians, Persians, Indians, etc., reached monotheism.

"*It was from the savage state that civilisation was, by degrees, produced.* The theory that man was originally civilised and humane, and that it was by a fall, by a degeneration from that earliest condition, that the state of savagery made its appearance, is now abandoned. There may be instances

of such degeneration having taken place; but on the whole, the conviction now obtains that civilisation is the result of progressive development, and was the result man conquered for himself by his age-long struggles with his environment. . . Now, what is true of civilisation generally will be true also of religion, which is *one* of its principal elements."

With the statement that all peoples started their existence from a state of savagery, I do not find myself in accord; however, as that subject will be treated later, we need not go into it here.

From what is also said on the subject in the preceding chapter, it will be understood that I view religion, not as having at the outset developed from a lower to a higher form, but rather, as de la Rougé and Le Page Renouf with respect to the religion of the Egyptians have announced, as the degeneration of a higher type. From the high degree of culture which peoples such as the Assyrians, Chaldæans, Egyptians, Persians, Incas, Indians, Greeks, etc., had reached, it seems to me quite conceivable that, unaided by any higher revelation, they might, from nature alone, have attained to that knowledge of the Creator which they severally possessed. The same, however, cannot by any means be said of the savage West African and Australian, in either their past or present mental condition.

Dr. Menzies has, indeed, alluded to savages who, through their own intellectual efforts, have arrived at the knowledge of the Deity; but he has not named any of these savages, and I am of opinion that he would have had insurmountable difficulty in doing so. No! the abstract reasoning and comprehensive generalisation involved in such inquiry, are so very far beyond the mind of the savage, that the idea of his, *a posteriori*, discovering the *First Cause*, may be at once dismissed. Then, since the savage could not, by his own intellectual effort, have discovered the Creator, by what means could he have known him? By revelation; this, according with the statement made in the preceding chapter concerning my belief that man began his earthly career with this knowledge: it is on such an hypothesis alone, it appears to me, that the knowledge of God by the savage can be explained. But if the savage had had such a revelation, is it conceivable that the rest of mankind had not had it too? Consequently the knowledge of the Deity must have been universal.

Dr. Menzies, as the last extracts quoted show, believes Pagan deism—in the sense of the Deity being supreme—at which the Babylonians, Egyptians, Persians, and others of the earliest nations arrived, to have been the result of an intellectual process; a process beginning at the lowest stratum of polytheism. The theory which this process involves, being that of the development of a higher form of religion from a lower form, Dr. Menzies has sought to establish it, by the analogy which he perceives to exist between such a development of Pagan deism and that of civilisation. And the different stages occupied during the process of development of Pagan deism he has represented under the four following headings:—

1. Parts of nature; (*a*) great, (*b*) small.
2. Spirits of ancestors and other spirits.
3. Objects supposed to be haunted (fetish-worship).
4. Supreme Being.

Now, at this point, in connection with these four stages of Pagan religious evolution, one thing I wish particularly to observe is the relation in which the fourth stands to the other three—that relation being one not of cohesion, but of adhesion. Hence, in its nature, its power, and its operation, each system has remained just what it had been before the monotheistic idea was added to the chain, the addition of this monotheistic idea having in no way illuminated the ignorance, restrained the excesses, purified the irregularities, or ennobled the ideals of the polytheistic systems, through each of which it is said to have consecutively passed in order to reach its fourth place. So that in its relation to the great concourse of deities contained in the other three systems, the office of the Deity who occupies the fourth system is that simply of a sinecure.

Dr. Menzies, as we have noticed, has made this statement: “. . . The conviction obtains that civilisation is the result of progressive development.” But in what does progressive development consist? Here is a sailor with a mariner’s compass, with whose use he is fully acquainted, yet unwilling to put out far to sea, he constantly hugs the coast. I see, too, a people using the bow and arrow who are perfectly acquainted with the use of gunpowder. Further, on land they employ the mail-coach, and on sea the sailing-ship, although skilled in the knowledge of steam and the steam-engine. These people,

again, have a thorough mastery of astronomy, yet they count time by the moon. And still another peculiarity is, that, notwithstanding their knowledge of the spinning-jenny, these same people use the spindle and distaff.

Now, I again ask the question, What constitutes progress? Is it the fact that this sailor possesses a mariner's compass and that he knows its use? The fact that the people who use the bow know the use of and how to manufacture gunpowder? The fact that although using the mail-coach and the sailing-ship, the people employing them know all that pertains to the use of steam and the steam-engine? The fact that the people who count time by the moon understand astronomy? Lastly, is it the fact that the people who use the spindle and distaff have a thorough knowledge of the spinning-jenny? Is it these facts that constitute progress? That is to say, is it the mere possession of these mechanical appliances, with the knowledge of their principles and uses, together with the knowledge of other physical laws, that constitute progress? Or, is it rather the application of those mechanical contrivances and other physical laws to human benefit, resulting in the supersession of other contrivances and laws of lesser benefit? If, then, it is not the mere knowledge of higher and more useful physical laws that comprises civilised progress, but the employment of those laws for human welfare, then, on the ground of the analogy that is said to exist between the development of Pagan deism and the development of civilisation, the mere fact that the knowledge of the Deity is higher than the knowledge which the other Pagan systems of religion possess cannot, since it confers no human benefits, be regarded as progress. Thereby, although Dr. Menzies alleges that there is, there is no analogy between the development of civilisation and the so-called development of Pagan deism. But let us consider, in a more detailed form, the arguments which lead to this conclusion. To that end, let us test the development of civilisation, that also of the three great systems of Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan monotheism, and, again, Pagan deism, by what may be termed the law of progress. Revelation and supersession are the elements of this great law of progress.

According to our recent illustration, we saw that, in order to constitute progress, the revelation of the knowledge of astronomy should lead to the supersession of the lunar measurement of time. That the revelation of the knowledge of the mariner's

compass should lead to the supersession of coastal, as against oversea voyages. The revelation of the knowledge of mechanical laws should lead to the supersession of the stage-coach and sailing-ship. The revelation of the knowledge and use of gunpowder should lead to the supersession of the bow and arrow. Similarly, the revelation of knowledge in the systems of Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan monotheism, should lead to the supersession and suppression of polytheism within the borders of those systems; such a revelation disclosing not only the regal character of the Creator, as in the case of the original revelation, but also His moral character, thereby contributing to the supersession and suppression of polytheism.

These, then, are a few examples of revelation and supersession which the law of progress, alike in the development of civilisation and of the great monotheistic systems of Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan religions, unfolds. Now, if in its development Pagan deism be analogous to civilisation, as Dr. Menzies affirms, then it, too, must have conformed to the law of progress, thereby exhibiting, in harmony with that law, the elements of higher revelation and of supersession. If, then, it does exhibit these elements, the analogy between it and civilisation will have been established; but if it does not exhibit these elements, then the analogy which in its development it is said to bear to the development of civilisation will not have been sustained. And Dr. Menzies' assertion that Pagan deism is an intellectual process, which beginning at the lowest form of polytheism, and passing through its various stages, arrives finally at the monotheistic goal, will not have been proved. Well, then, let us inquire whether Pagan deism conforms to the law of progress by possessing its elements.

Concerning revelation, one of the two elements of progress that we have just now observed is that whereas Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism have each had revealed in it, in addition to the regal character of the Deity, His moral character also, Pagan deism, as shown by the attributes which the ancient Egyptians, for example, attached to the Supreme Being, and by the aspects of His character, perceived by the African chieftain and Australian aborigines, has had revealed only the regal aspects of the divine character. The revelation in the three great systems, being of a higher type, resulted in the supersession and suppression of polytheism, whereas the revelation in Pagan deism, being of a lower type, permitted the

idea of the Deity to continue side by side with the polytheistic elements. Thus, as contrasted with the monotheistic systems of Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, Pagan deism presents the qualities of a rudimentary or lower form of revelation, which in its effect is non-superseding.

But the qualities which we observed in the development of civilisation, were the opposite of rudimentary revelation, and of the non-supersession of previously existing conditions and circumstances. They were the qualities of higher revelation, and the supersession of previously existing circumstances and conditions, as in the case of gunpowder superseding the bow and arrow, the spinning-jenny, the spindle and distaff. Therefore Pagan deism is lacking in those elements of progress by which civilisation is characterised. Thereby its development is not, as Dr. Menzies affirms, analogous to that of civilisation. And thus the assertion that Pagan deism is an intellectual development that has proceeded from the lowest form of polytheism is lacking in proof. But the rudimentary form of revelation, with its absence of superseding power discernible in Pagan deism, besides disproving the statement, that Pagan deism is the result of an intellectual process that began in the lowest form of polytheism, suggests also, by showing that the analogy upon which the proof of this development of Pagan deism is said to rest does not exist, that it, viz. the rudimentary form of revelation, with its absence of superseding power, constituted that form of knowledge of the Deity that man originally possessed. And such a suggestion finds support in the fact that savage man, who by an intellectual process could not possibly have discovered the existence of a Creator, believes in the Creator. So that polytheism may be regarded as a supplement to the rudimentary knowledge that man had of his Maker. Man, as it were, felt himself so inadequately equipped, morally and spiritually, that he was driven by necessity to make up the deficiency, the result being that he evolved polytheism. However, the point upon which I desire to lay emphasis, is this, that man's elementary knowledge of the Creator was the outcome, and not the starting-point, of his polytheism.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Now to sum up. With regard to the question propounded, viz. whether man's belief in God is universal, we have selected for inquiry two sections of the human race, one section representing antiquity and culture, the other section representing modern times and barbarism. Among the ancients so selected are the Egyptians, Chaldæans, Persians, and Indians. Among the moderns are the natives of West Africa, and of Australia. The evidence establishing the belief in God by the West African has been made to rest (1) on the testimony of missionaries, one of whom had spent seven years in West and South-West Africa, and the other eighteen years in West Africa; (2) on the testimony of the natives themselves; (3) on the fact that numerous languages and dialects of West Africa have names for the Deity. The evidence establishing the belief in God by the Australian is also of a threefold character; however, the foreign witness is only one, yet that one, having himself been initiated into the mysteries of the traditional beliefs of certain Australian tribes, possesses as a witness exceptional qualification.

But in connection with the belief in the Creator by these two sections of mankind—the ancient and modern sections—there have arisen two classes of opponents. One class, which is opposed to the modern or barbarous section, and which has as its protagonist Sir John Lubbock, denies to savage man the belief in God. Any knowledge that the savage may have of the Creator is attributed, by this class of opponents, to foreign influence. Well, besides the evidence of the foreign witnesses, whose avocations, years of residence among these natives, or exceptional facilities for acquainting themselves with the hidden beliefs of the natives, we have considered the native's own testimony concerning his belief in God; a testimony which avows the knowledge of the Deity, as having been antecedent to his contact with the foreigner. And in this connection, what is even more important is this, that not only have names from these savage tongues been appropriated to the Deity, not only has the appropriation of these names to the Deity occurred in places where foreign influence has been at work, but they have occurred also, in regions where foreign influence had never penetrated. Upon these grounds we have concluded that the West African and the Australian savage have a knowledge of the Creator.

Furthermore, we have considered the evidence from which Sir John Lubbock has concluded that savage man is without a knowledge of God. We divided the witnesses into two groups. One group consists of travellers whose stay among the natives has been of a transient kind, and whose testimony, owing to the almost impossible task of getting from the natives, under such circumstances, accurate information, is of a doubtful character. The other group consists of residents who have for longer or shorter periods been in close touch with the native.

Of these two groups of witnesses, the evidence of the first, as we saw, is to the effect that the native is without a knowledge of the Creator. The evidence of the second is, that the native has very little, if any, knowledge of God. Owing to the greater likelihood of the evidence of the second group of witnesses being correct, from their longer and more intimate knowledge of the native, we reduced the negative and universal assertion, that the savage native has no knowledge of God, into the particular and affirmative proposition of the second group of witnesses, that the native has very little knowledge of God. Thus, the conclusion to be drawn from the evidence of Sir John Lubbock's witnesses is, that the native has very little knowledge of God. But from this affirmative and particular proposition Sir John Lubbock has drawn the universal and negative conclusion that the savage native has no knowledge of God. On that account we pronounced Sir John Lubbock's assertion, that savage man is without a knowledge of the Deity, as illogical and incorrect. But besides this disproof contained in his own argument, Sir John Lubbock's negative and universal proposition is also negated by the two exceptions which the belief in the Creator by the savage West African and savage Australian furnishes. Sir John Lubbock's assertion being thus doubly disproved, the belief in God by the savage section of our two examples is released from the assaults of its opponents, and is by that release rendered valid.

The opposition of the other class of opponents, who find a leader in Professor Menzies, refers to the assertion that the belief in God by the ancients was an intellectual process that began in the lowest form of polytheism. The proof of the assertion being said to rest on the analogy that there is between this development of Pagan deism and the development of civilisation, led us to compare the law that has marked the development of Pagan deism and that which has marked the development of civilised progress. The law of the develop-

ment of civilised progress, as we have seen, comprises the revelation of higher knowledge and the supersession of older forms. The law of the development of Pagan deism, on the other hand, comprises a lower or rudimentary form of knowledge, and the retention or retrogression of older forms. These laws being thus opposed to each other instead of being analogous to one another, we have concluded that no analogy exists between the development of civilisation and the alleged development of Pagan deism. And since the proof of the development of Pagan deism rests upon the analogy which its development is said to bear to the development of civilised progress, we have further concluded, that Pagan deism is not developed from polytheism ; for, had it been, it would have followed the same law as that which in its development civilised progress follows. On the other hand, the elementary knowledge of Pagan deism, which consists only of the regal aspect of the divine character, together with the joining of the monotheistic idea to the systems of polytheism—this elementary knowledge of Pagan deism contrasted with the maturer knowledge of Judaism, Christianity, and Moham-medanism, in which the moral character of the Deity, as well as His regal character, are revealed, and by which also polytheism is superseded and suppressed, the contrast, in conjunction with the fact that savage man possesses this elementary knowledge of the Deity, points to Pagan deism as the original belief with which mankind began.

The assertion, then, that Pagan deism is developed from polytheism being disproved, this section of antiquity, like that of modern times, is released from the opposition offered by the other class of opponents. Thus the picture that we now have presented, discloses two sections of humanity : one section ancient and cultured, the other section modern and barbarous. These two sections, standing at the two extremes, have between them the rest of the human race, who, however, are concealed from the view. The two sections whom on the one side ages of culture, and on the other side ages of savagery, have rendered entirely distinct, are nevertheless bound together by the indissoluble bond of the belief in the Supreme Being. Therefore, since these two sections, disjoined by a great vista of time, disjoined, moreover, by a great difference of culture, yet in their belief in God are the same, then, on the ground of analogy, we also conclude about the rest of the race whom we have not examined, but who also consist of cultured and uncultured peoples, that they too believe

in the Supreme Being. And so to the question, whether man's belief in God be universal, I reply, "It is." As the rivers, therefore, of all continents and islands, passing over various soils and along courses of varying width, find in the ocean their outlet, so the religious sentiment, flowing out from the inhabitants of all continents and islands through diverse customs and along cultures of varying width, finds its outlet in one Supreme Being—God.

Such, then, is the stability and soundness of the other two supports (*viz.* the denial of a religious faculty to man and the denial that man's belief in God is universal) upon which is reared the evolutionary theory.

XV

Common Descent Supported by Analogy

NOW, having seen from a preceding chapter that, contrary to Professor Keane's statement, announcing that evolution "allows for differences in the physical *habitus* from the first," differences which, he says, help "in combination with altered environments to account for the divergencies that have in the course of ages resulted in the present fundamental human types," having seen that, contrary to this statement, evolution, inasmuch as it rests on the fallacy of spontaneous generation, and the fallacy that the points of resemblance between man and the lower creatures outweigh the points of difference between them, fails to "allow for differences in the physical *habitus* from the first"; having also seen from our previous inquiry that the alleged physical differences announced as existing between the races, and which anatomy and prolificacy are said to prove, do not, according to these very proofs, exist, I pass on to affirm that the differences which do really exist between the races—namely, those of features and of colour—are not greater than, if indeed they are as great as, those differences that are found in the structures of the organism, structures which, of course, are all of them known to possess a common origin.

If, therefore, I should succeed in showing that the differences, both of form and of colour, occurring in the structures of the human organism which *descend from a single pair of cells* are at least as great as those occurring in the features and complexions of the races, then, on the ground of analogy, the one being granted, viz. descent from a single pair of cells, the other—that is, descent from a single human pair—must also be granted.

My argument, therefore, will rest on the analogy that exists between the human organism and the human race. Beginning

with the human organism, I observe that, as a result of union between the sperm cell and the ovum—the fertilisation of the latter by the former—we have, in the first place, segmentation or division, then subdivision and multidivision of the ovum, into a mass of minor cells. From the mass of cells thus formed by fission, as the process is called, that layer called the blastoderm is produced. This blastodermic layer gives rise next, from without inwards, to the three following layers—the epiblastic, mesoblastic, hypoblastic. Each of these three layers now becomes, so to say, the parent or founder of a family of structures, wherein the physical characteristics of the parent are reproduced and preserved. And as families make up the commonwealth, so the union of these families of structures makes up the commonwealth which we call the human organism.

The tissues or organs whereof the first of the three layers of cells—that is, the epiblastic layer—is the progenitor are:—

I. (*a*) The central nervous system, *i.e.* the white and grey matter of the brain and spinal cord; (*b*) the sympathetic nervous system, the peripheral nerves, both cranial and spinal, and the ganglia; (*c*) the ciliated epithelium in the central canal of the spinal cord and in the cerebral ventricles; (*d*) the epidermis and all structures of epidermic nature, such as horn, hoof, nail, feathers, etc., sebaceous and sweat glands; (*e*) the sensory expansions in the organs of special sense (retina and pigment, epithelium of the choroid, the sensory structures of the ear and nose, taste bulbs and tactile corpuscles) which originate in the epiblast, either by involutions of the medullary or neural canal, or by involutions of the external epiblastic layer covering the embryo; (*f*) the crystalline lens, formed of unfolded epiblast, the epithelium lining the mouth and the anus, the epithelium of the glands, and of the other structures related to these cavities, and the enamel of the teeth. Lastly, the pituitary body also arises from the epiblast.

II. The mesoblast gives origin to (*a*) the connective tissues; (*b*) the muscles, bones, and cartilages; (*c*) the heart, arteries, veins, capillaries, lymphatics, and serous membranes, with their lining cells or endothelia; (*d*) the embryonic blood and lymph corpuscles. From the mesoblast there also arise (*e*) the generative elements, ova and spermatozoids; (*f*) the urinary organs and part of the epithelium of the tubules of the kidneys; (*g*) the muscular, vascular, and connective-tissue elements, in the wall of the alimentary canal and in the skin (the muscular fibres of the sweat

glands of the skin are said to be epiblastic); (*h*) the spleen and other blood glands.

III. The hypoblast—the hypoblast is the layer from which most of the epithelial structures are derived, (*a*) such as those of the alimentary canal; (*b*) the epithelium of the respiratory organs, trachea, bronchial tubes, pulmonary air-cells; (*c*) the epithelium of the eustachian tube and of the tympanum of the ear; (*d*) the epithelium of the ducts of the liver, of the pancreas, and of the glands opening into the alimentary canal; (*e*) the hepatic cells; (*f*) the secreting cells of the pancreas; (*g*) the epithelium of the thyroid body and of part of the thymus gland; (*h*) the epithelium of the bladder, ureters, and of portion of the tubules of the kidneys.¹

Having now concluded our enumeration of the elements and structures to which the three great cellular progenitors of the human organism give rise, I advance to a like enumeration of what I shall call the structures or elements that have sprung from the three great progenitors of the human race. These elements and structures having been derived from three progenitors, naturally fall into three groups. These groups, according to the tabulation of Professor Keane and others, are Ethiopic, Mongolic, Caucasian. In ranging the peoples, nations, and tribes, constituting the elements and structures of the great body politic, mankind, under each of the three heads I shall almost exclusively follow Professor Keane's classification. I pass to the enumeration, and in the order given above:—

I. The Ethiopic or Hamitic group, according to Keane, has western, eastern, and oceanic divisions. The western, occupying all Africa, from the Sahara southwards, comprises a northern or Soudanese branch and a southern or Bantu branch, reaching northwards to about 5° N. lat. The former are marked by great physical unity and great linguistic diversity; the latter by almost absolute linguistic unity and great physical diversity. The chief members of the Soudanese branch are the Mandingoes, Wolof, Felup, Sourhai, Haussa, Egbe, Ibo, Yoruba, Fantî, Nupe, Michi, Batta (West Soudan, Upper Guinea, Adamawa), Kanuri, Kanembu, Tibu (?), Mosgu, Yedina, Bagirmi, Maba (Central Soudan, East Sahara, Wadai), Shulluk, Nuba (Central Janghey, Bongo, Bari, Monbuttu, Zandeh (East Soudan, White Nile, and Welle-Mobangi basins), Masai, Kavirondo, Elgeyo, Samburu (Masai Land, Lake Rudolph). The chief members of the Bantu branch

¹ *Text-book of Physiology*, by McKendrick, vol. i. p. 251.

are Wa-Pokomo, Wa-Sambara, Wa-Chaga, Wa-Swahili, Wa-Zaramo, Wa-Sagara, Wa-Nyamezi, Wa-Gogo, Ma-Nyanza, Ma-Kua, Ma-Vita, Ajawa (eastern seaboard), Zulu, Kaffir, Ba-Suto, Be-Chuana, Tonga, Ba-Rotse, Mashona, Ba-Yeye, Makalaka, Makololo, Magaganya (South Africa), Ova-Herero, Ova-Mbo, Ganguella, A-Banda, Ba-Fyot, A-Bongo, Ma-Yombe, Fan, Ba-Kale, Mpongwe, Ba-Koko, Dualla, Bubi (western seaboard), Wa-Regga, Ba-Lolo, Tu-Shilonge, Ba-Ngala, Bu-Banghi, Ba-Teke, Ba-Luna (Congo basin).

The oceanic division of the Ethiopic group comprises four branches : (1) The Papunas of the Eastern Archipelago of New Guinea ; (2) the closely allied Melanesians of the Solomon, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Loyalty, and Fiji archipelagoes ; (3) the extinct Tasmanians ; and (4) the Australians, the most divergent of the Negro peoples. Within both these Ethiopic domains are scattered several dwarfish groups, the so-called Negratoes or Negrillos, or "little Negroes," who are thought to be the representatives of the real aborigines. In Africa the best known of these dwarfs are the Akkas of the Upper Welle basin, the Obongos of the Gaboon, the Batwas of the Middle Congo (smallest of men), the Bushmen of South Africa. From these Negrillos the ethnological chain continues, through the taller Hot-tentots, to the other varieties of the Negro. In Oceania there still survive the *Ætos* of the Philippine Islands, the Simangs of the Malay Peninsula, the so-called *Mincopies* of the Andaman Islands, and the Arfaks of New Guinea. "The Kalangs of Java have recently died out." The Abyssinians, whom I am including in this category, are classed by Professor Keane as Semites, and as such, they are represented by him under the Caucasian head. Further, the following peoples whose names are given here in italics, and whom I am including in the group of Hamites, are likewise given by Professor Keane as Caucasian, viz. *Copts* (*Ancient Egyptians*, and *Phœnicians*, extinct) and *Fulahs*, *Tuaregs* of Western Soudan, *Bejas* (*Bishari*) and *Afars* (*Danâkil*) on the west of the Red Sea, the mixed populations of *Galla*, *Somali*, and the peoples of Kaffa-lands.

II. The Mongolic or Semitic division occupies the greater part of the Eastern Hemisphere, and till the discovery of America was in exclusive possession of the New World. Its chief branches are (1) Mongolo-Tartars of Central and North Asia, Asia Minor, parts of Russia and the Balkan Peninsula ; (2) the Tibito-Indo—Chinese of Tibet, China proper, Japan,

and Indo-China; (3) the Finno-Ugrians of Finland, Lapland, Esthonia, Middle Volga, Ural Mountains, North Siberia, Hungary (Magyars); (4) the Malayo-Polynesians of the Malay Peninsula, the greater and lesser Sunda Islands, Madagascar, the Philippines, Formosa, and Eastern Polynesia (New Zealand, Samoa, Taheiti, Hawaii, and Micronesia); (5) the American Indians, comprising all the aborigines of the New World. I am adding to this list the peoples of the following places, which I italicise, and which, under the eponym of Semites, Professor Keane has included as Caucasians: *Peoples of Mesopotamia, Syria, Arabia, Assyria* (extinct), and the *Hebrews*.

III. The Caucasian group is also called Mediterranean, because of its early and historic association with lands fringing the Mediterranean basin. Members of this group have in recent times spread over the whole of the New World, South Africa, and Australia. Its chief branches are (1) Aryans of India, Iran, Armenia, Asia-Minor, and great part of Europe, with subdivisions of Hindus, Afghans, Persians, Beluchis, Ossetians, Hellenes, Thraco-Illyrians, Italo-Siculi, Celts, Teutons and Letto-Slavs; (2) Berbers; (3) Caucasians proper (Georgians, Circassians, Abkhasians, etc.); (4) the Basques of the Western Pyrenees, now distinguished from surrounding Iberian and Gallic populations by their primitive speech.

The parallel between the structures composing the human organism, and the peoples or structures composing the human race, such structures being set forth above, in the two lists tabulated there, is strikingly complete. In the former of these two lists, according to the sciences of anatomy and physiology, we have a pair of cells, a male and a female, which by means of fecundation, multiply, till at a certain stage there are formed three representative cellular layers, whence all the tissues and organs of the body are developed. In the latter of these two lists, according to the generally accepted theory, founded upon the Mosaic narrative, we have a single human pair, a male and a female, by means of fecundation, multiplying, till, at a certain point, three representative stems are produced, which become the progenitors of the entire human race. But not only in their development is there this complete parallel between a pair of cells and a pair of human beings, but also there is in their nature a complete identity. For the starting-points of the races are in each case from a pair of cells, the human pair being individually but the complex aggregation of the cellular pair, or

the limit attainable by the single cellular pair. Thus one chain arising from a pair of cells, and terminating only with the last infant born, binds into an integral whole, cells, tissues, and organs, tribes, nations, and races. The difference, therefore, between the structures of the human organism and the organism itself, is in the degree of complexity to which the development of the organism attains rather than in the structural nature of the organism.

So far, then, I think I have succeeded in establishing the complete analogy, and even the identity, that there are between the development of the human organism and the development of the human race. Therefore, since the human organism and the human race are in their development and in their nature intrinsically the same, if we admit that the various cells, tissues, and organs of the organism proceed from a single pair of cells, then on the ground of analogy it cannot be inadmissible that the various tribes, nations, and races, too, should have proceeded from a single pair of human beings.

Somewhere in his book that I referred to before, Waitz has expressed his objection to the theory of descent of the human race from a single couple, as being based on too precarious a condition. But considering that the cellular elements of any single individual which are combined in the formation of the various structures of the body, and which probably number many millions more than the inhabitants of our globe, have sprung from a single pair of cells, I am unable to conceive the condition involved in their proliferous growth as being less "precarious" than that which would have attended the growth of the human race from a single couple.

The differences found in the races consist, as we have noticed before, in the various types of complexion and of features. In relation to these two sets of qualities, therefore, we proceed to observe the differences which appear in the structures of the system enumerated on pages 145-6. All these structures are divisible into two classes—simple and compound. The simple is made up of cells, connective tissue, muscular and nerve tissue. The compound arises from various unions between the simple tissues; and their issues are termed organs. But notwithstanding the classification under which these tissues are given, the fact is, that in composition they are essentially cellular, the modifications by which they are differentiated and classified being mainly the result of pressure. And of the cells

so modified, as well as of those which retain their pristine shape, what are the different forms? They are (1) spherical, as for example, the white blood corpuscles of the adult; (2) polyhedral, as, the cells of the liver; (3) cylindrical, as, the epithelial cells of the small intestines; (4) cuboid, as, the epithelial cells of the capsule of the lens; (5) flattened, as for example, endothelial cells; (6) spindle-shaped, as is the case with many connective-tissue cells; (7) drawn out into long fibres, such as smooth muscular fibres; (8) star-shaped, as for example, the ganglion cells.¹ We go on to the organs which the simpler tissues unite to form; such are the skull, vertebræ, limbs, brain, spinal-cord, lungs, heart, stomach, intestines, muscles, nerves, etc.

Leaving the subject of form, here for a moment we take up that of colour. As regards differences of colour, as they appear in the cells, connective tissues, and organs, we shall mention the whiteness of the white blood corpuscles, the white substance of the brain, of the spinal-cord, the areolar or white fibrous tissue, the whiteness of albinos (found in all races), the whiteness of the skin of the white race, the redness of the red blood corpuscles and of muscles, the blackness of the hair, choroid, retina, and iris, occurring in all races. Now, of the varieties of colour and of form which we have thus observed, as being represented by the structures just now mentioned, the redness, whiteness, blackness, of red and white blood corpuscles, of connective-tissue cells, and pigment cells, together with the diverse colours and forms of the brain, spinal-cord, heart, liver, lung, kidney, cartilage, bone, muscle, adipose tissue, etc., formed by these same classes of cells, are they less than the varieties of complexion and forms of features that are to be found in the different races of mankind? I venture to affirm that no one who reflects at all upon the subject, and who has no theory to support, would say that in the cells, tissues, and organs of the body differences of colour and of forms are presented, which are less than the differences of complexion and of forms of features, appearing in the races. But these differences of form and of colour which exist in the organism, are they only equal to those that are met with in the features and complexions of the races? Would it be contended that concerning the variety of colour and of form of these structures, it is easier to believe that they are the offspring of a little fecundated egg having a diameter of $\frac{1}{128}$ to $\frac{1}{150}$ in. than to believe that the red, white,

¹ McKendrick's *Text-book of Physiology*.

yellow, and black races are the offspring of a single human pair? Are not the differences, first, between these structures of the body themselves, and secondly, between them and the parent egg, much wider than are the differences between the races themselves, and between these races and the human ancestral pair?

If, then, these structural differences are wider in their range than the racial differences, how is it that ethnologists and others are able to believe in the descent of these wider differences from a single parentage, but profess inability to accept the single parentage of the human race with its lesser differences? How is it, that Professor Keane, on the ground that the monogenist's view, or the view of descent from a single pair, affords no such explanation, declares himself impelled to the evolution cult, or to plurality of descent of the races, in order to find an explanation for the variety of their colour and types of features?

First, then, from the facts considered respectively, under the heads of the human organism and the human race, I claim that they furnish a complete analogy between the development of the organism and the development of the race. In the second place, the analogy being granted, and with it the descent of all the structures and organs of the body from a single pair of cells, I claim that the descent of all races from a single pair of human beings must also be granted. Thus, while evolutionists alleging the existence of radical differences of structure between the races have by means of prolificacy and evolution failed to prove that these races have descended from different centres, monogenesis, by means of the analogy supplied by the development of the human organism and by the development of the human race, confirms the theory of the descent of the races from a common human pair. The analogy between the development of the organism and the development of the human race further points out, I think, how the varieties of complexion and of forms of features may have been originally produced. In this respect the analogy seems to suggest two stages; of these stages one may be termed formative, and the other, the stage of growth. In the organism we have during the first of these two stages, both as regards colour and as regards form, the production of its structures; so in the races there seems to be a formative period in which the types and varieties of colour and of features are produced.

Again, as the structures of the organism, having been fashioned, now begin to grow, so the races, possibly having been fashioned according to their types of complexion and of features, begin their numerical growth. The formative stage, in which the variation of colour and of features arose, would seem to have been completed at a very early period of the history of the race. The progenitors of each race, being themselves varieties of the original parent stock, would, in each case, have furnished the starting-point for the development of the inherent race characteristics. From them, as from a centre, a multiplication of the type would have proceeded to the furthest limits of the racial circle, represented on pages 146-8. Each circle would thus have contained within itself a large variety; but each member, with here and there accentuation or exaggeration, would in colour and in features bear the type-mark. Climate and habits of life will have influenced each type, rendering the type-mark more prominent in some directions, less prominent in other directions, but never obliterating it, so that within the entire racial circle, their influence would be comparatively restricted. Had all men only one form of colour and one type of features, then, throughout creation the human race, as I have previously hinted, had been the single exception. But in addition to man's conformity in these respects to the general law of variation, his colour, as I have also observed before, is his title-deed to the portions of the earth that he inhabits. Hence the adaptation of particular forms of complexion to particular climates is as harmonious as is the adaptation of the ear to sound, the tongue to speech, and the eye to vision.

In closing this chapter let me here refer to the following pertinent remarks of Buckland. After describing the opinions held by the evolutionist and monogenist schools of anthropology, and mentioning that the ancestry of the three sons of Noah is included in the views of the latter of these two schools, Buckland adds:—

“They” (the monogenists) “fail, however, to explain how these three sons of one father, dwelling in close proximity, and whose descendants would be constantly intermarrying, came to have such distinct progenies. . . .”

Experience would leave us little room to doubt that, during the earlier part of the formative stage, intermarriages between

the races must have taken place; also that if they dwelt together for any considerable period, such unions must have proceeded on a somewhat extensive scale. But the question arises, did they so dwell together? An answer to this question would seem to depend on the time when the multiplication of language began. Analogy, supported by the Mosaic narrative, appears to make the differentiation of language contemporaneous with the multiplying of the races. Admitting, then, a very early variation of language, and that as a result of the variation, portions of the separated races, according to their philological entities, found seats apart—it need not have been many miles apart—we have two powerful forces, both producing isolation, and isolation in turn checking intermarriages. These forces are, of course, distance and difference of language. The operation of language, especially in the direction of isolation, in discouraging intermarriages by fostering tribal and national peculiarities, vanities, and conceits, is still very noticeable among different peoples. Isolation, therefore, precipitated by linguistic diversity and encouraged by distance, would have checked miscegenation, while the predominance of race traits (physical) would ultimately have absorbed the progenies of mixed blood.

XVI

Further Comparison between Evolution and Monogenesis

HAVING in the preceding chapters tested in turn the competence of evolution and of monogenesis to explain the origin of the human family, in this chapter, in order to demonstrate further the respective qualifications of these two competitors, in the same relation, we shall notice the explanation they each give concerning certain well-known phenomena. Employing the term evolution here, as we employed it in the previous chapter, viz. as implying the derivation of the races from different centres of the same species, we proceed with the inquiry.

The activities of man, as we have already remarked, are exhibited in two distinct spheres, viz. that of the world of sense and that of the world of faith. Man's attitude towards these spheres is distinct and dissimilar. Summed up in a word, his attitude as regards the world of sense is expressed by the term lordship, and as regards the world of faith, by the term dependence. Among the uncivilised no less than among the civilised this attitude of lordship is universally shown. The savage community settling in a most fertile country makes use of its timber for the erection of huts; its roots, its berries, its game, and its fish, for food; its pastures, for flocks and herds; its soil, for tillage; its water, for drinking. Besides, should the safety of the community be endangered by the wild beasts with which the country may be infested, means would be taken to secure their extermination. In all this constant and somewhat extensive appropriation, the idea of trespass would never once have entered the mind of a single member of the tribe. For since the territory had been unoccupied by any other tribe, this community, from an inherent sense of lordship, would regard itself

as entitled, with ample freedom, to apply to its own use all that the country provides for human sustenance.

In the case of the civilised, the manifestation of this sense of lordship is even more pronounced, for now, not only is the surface of the land made to furnish the food that is eaten, the clothes worn, the houses inhabited, and all the other supplies which the most pressing necessities demand, but the interior of the land also is requisitioned to give up its treasures—its gold, its coal and iron, its silver, its copper, its zinc, its lead, its antimony, etc. Indeed, like that of the exterior, the contribution of this department is limited only by the extent of its resources. Then, for the argosies laden with tribute gathered from the bowels and surface of the earth, the seas are made to furnish highways. Water by hydraulics, the air by pneumatics and acoustics, and light by optics, also magnetism and electricity, are again samples of the supplies furnished by Nature from yet another of her great provinces, for the comfort, aggrandisement, power, and glory of the civilised man.

And now, from the splendour and wealth of the dominion of the intellect, revealed by these conquests of the forces of nature, by civilised man, from the consciousness of might, caused by and reflexly intensifying the innate sense of lordship, and from the pomp and pride to which that sense gives rise, we pass to that other class of man's activities to which at the outset I alluded, as proceeding towards the world unseen. In the world of sense, which in thought we have just quitted, man's most striking attitude has been that of relative independence, but here in the world of faith his attitude is that of absolute dependence. That sense of dependence finds expression in the conscious belief in a supernatural Being—in God.

Our examination of the subject in a previous chapter led us to the conclusion that, as a primitive belief, the idea of God is universal with man. We also saw, that among the Congoese, a practical outcome of this belief—an outcome which, corresponding to that of the primitive beliefs of heathen peoples of every age, indicates a common mode of thought and feeling on the subject—has been the presence of a caste of priests called "ngangas." We noticed that the notion which prevailed concerning this caste of priests, was that the Almighty had endowed them with supernatural power, that they in turn should transmit to the idols of the people some of it. These idols, which formed the chief class of their system of polytheism, like the divinities

of the Greeks and Romans, covered in their ministrations all the necessities or circumstances of the people. There was need of preserving health, life, one's possessions, of recovery in case of sickness, of having one's property restored when lost, of achieving success in an enterprise, personal or tribal. Thus there were gods of the tribe which protected the town, or community, or tribe, kept the river, preserved peace, or in war secured victory for the tribal arms. There were also personal gods, and of the household; such were the deities of the hearth, of sickness, health, wealth, life, property, etc. In a manner, no doubt crude and rude, yet these idols in the aggregate of their functions took the place of the Mediator—excluding, however, His sacrificial work, for certain of the idols were themselves recipients of sacrificial offerings. Believing in the great Being from whose hands the world and all things therein proceeded, they nevertheless, with respect to their own affairs and well-being, regarded Him as impassive.

On the other hand, the presence of evil, of which they were acutely conscious, the presence among them, too, of men skilled in all matters pertaining to their welfare, these, conjoined with the belief of the divine impassiveness, possibly originated the idea, as I hinted before, that for their preservation God had delegated power to their "ngangas," that they, in turn, should transmit it to the idols that form between them and the deity a medium. Thus, in a fashion exceedingly dim, and exceedingly distorted, these idols, unconsciously to the idolaters, but as the outcome of a felt need, appear as an intermediary between the Creator and the creature. And since idolatry has been among ancient peoples, civilised and uncivilised, as well as among modern idolaters the chief form of religion practised, the inference would seem to be that in mankind there is an innate yearning on the part of the creature for representation, or a representative of the Creator. Working out by himself his belief in the Great Spirit, man has in the process produced some of the most fantastic results conceivable; and in it all a large and important place is given to the sensuous. However, the feeling of dependence on the supernatural having always predisposed man to submit to the system of religious belief which he may thus have evolved or borrowed, makes these beliefs to him the most authoritative factor of his being. The Mohammedan conquest, with its burning zeal and reckless abandon, in which the thrill of the sublime glows with the intensity of a

white heat, illustrates the absolute sway that religion exercises over the human heart.

But as combining the pathetic with the sublime, this sway of religion over the heart of man is still, perhaps, even more strikingly shown by the Christian faith; and as exemplified by that faith, we have as an instance the following well-known and remarkable passage:—

“By faith . . . women received their dead raised to life again: and others were tortured, not accepting deliverance; that they might obtain a better resurrection: and others had trials of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword: they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented; . . . they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth.”

In their varying degrees, all religious beliefs, from the simplest to the most complex, wield over their adherents a like power. Of the two worlds brought before us by the facts just mentioned, man constitutes the connecting link; from both worlds his complete existence is derived. His corporeal nature partaking in its structure of the very elements whereof the material world is made, is nourished by its food, its water, its air. And in pursuit of the laws governing this same world of sense, prompted by curiosity, as well as by motives of utility, man has in the realm of intellect performed feats, which in their magnitude have surpassed the wildest dreams of the imagination.

These circumstances, then, point to the intimate relation in which man stands to the world of sense, but withal, a relation of lordship. For his moral nature man derives nourishment from the immaterial. Thus, as in the material world all men are seen instinctively making appropriations from it for their bodily sustenance, so in the spiritual world all men are found making appropriations from it for the sustenance of their moral and spiritual nature. In the world of sense it is lordship, here, it is worship; piteous and distressing confessions, urgent and importunate requests, grateful thanks, and rapturous adoration. The modes of worship in many, perhaps in most cases, are devoid of intelligence, nevertheless, in all, the need and intention are the same. The true object of worship may also be unknown, yet in need and desire it is worship.

The natural world, as we have observed, has excited some of the grandest triumphs which the human mind is capable of achieving. And so has the spiritual world. Witness the ecclesiastical architecture of the Middle Ages, the sculptures and paintings depicting sacred themes by Italian artists, the sacred music of the Germans, the masterpieces in literature, prose as well as poetry, reaching back to the greatest antiquity—Christian, Mohammedan, heathen—Egyptian, Persian, Indian, Chinese, Greek, Roman, Arabian, and modern European—all being, as it were, throbs of the pulse of the world unseen. But more than these are the characters fashioned under the mighty impulse of this world unseen, characters whose moral elevation, transparency, and bewitching beauty, down through the ages, have been to life a balm of perennial fragrance. But in this realm, instead of dispensing bounties, man is only a recipient; instead of independence, his position is that of entire dependence. Such are some of the features by which these two worlds are characterised, and such the classes of activities they severally evoke.

And now concerning these manifestations which the material and the immaterial worlds produce in man—the one through his sense of lordship, the other through his sense of dependence, manifestations wherein in the material world the intellectual predominates, and wherein in the immaterial world the spiritual predominates—concerning these manifestations, these phenomena, by which alone man is chiefly distinguished from the brute, what has evolution to say? Eschewing these other considerations and restricting itself to animal life principally, evolution declares that through “natural selection” and “variation” man, who descended from the lower species, attained his higher state of development. It confesses itself unable to account for the origin of life, or for that of the mental powers.¹ It bases its conclusion of the origin of man from the brute, upon the physical, mental, and moral resemblances that exist between man and these creatures.

But this argument, resting purely on the analogy that exists between man and the lower species, would, if pressed to its legitimate limits, as we observed before, derive man from dead matter; an hypothesis that is supported neither by observation, experiment, nor experience.

¹ “In what manner the mental powers were first developed in the lower organisms is as hopeless an inquiry as how life itself first originated” (*Descent of Man*).

Secondly, this argument of analogy could be valid, only if the similarities between man and the lower creatures—physical, mental, and moral—were greater than the dissimilarities. But I have already shown that in their sum the dissimilarities very greatly outweigh the similarities.

Thirdly, the conclusion that the moral sense in man is due to evolution, rests on the assumption, that generally the different peoples of the human race do not believe in a Supreme Being, but in spirits, whose existence is ascribed to an intellectual process. It will be remembered, however, that this has been shown to be an error, that the opinion usually held concerning the belief in God by mankind, is sustained by facts. And of these facts, that one in which we see that in their innumerable languages and dialects the different races recognise a Supreme Being, for whom these diverse tongues have each provided a name, points rather to the creation of man than to his evolution.

Thus, as regards some of the greatest phenomena of life, after acknowledging itself unable to offer any explanation with respect to their origins, and after selecting the comparatively narrow range of the physical part of man, the evolution theory has based its origin on the fallacious assumption of spontaneous generation. Further, it has based it on the fallacy that between man and the lower animals the similarities are greater than the dissimilarities. Finally, upon the fallacy that mankind generally believe in spirits only, and not in God. Now, since it is neither a fact that man is the product of dead matter spontaneously generated, that the sum of resemblance between him and the lower animals is greater than the sum of difference, nor that mankind generally believe in spirits and not in the Creator—statements either implied by, or asserted as constituting the basis of the evolutionary theory—then the theory of evolution breaks down in consequence, at the point of verification. For according to the definition of a theory, its principles must be verifiable by experiment or observation; but these principles are verifiable neither by experiment nor by observation; therefore neither the assertion that the races were created in provinces, thereby representing distinct species, nor that they descended from the same "anthropoid group," but from different centres of that group, can be true.

But the disproofs thus given to the assertions of Professors Keane, Nott, and Vogt, stated in the opening chapter of this

work, relative to man's descent from the lower animals, are further augmented by the identity, as regards colour and structural form, which we have seen to exist between the organisms of the different races. Also by the analogy between the human organism and the human race, by which it is seen, that although the differences in colour and in form of the structures of the human body are as various, at least, as the differences in feature and in complexion, which the races present, yet they, viz. the structures, are all derived from a single pair of cells. So that, examining Professor Keane's statement to the effect "that the view of the gradual ascent of man from an anthropoid group obviates the many difficulties connected with the unity of species and unity of descent . . ."; also Nott's assertion, that the theory that the races were created in centres or "provinces" readily accounts for their differences in features, examining these statements by the aid of the three sets of facts just now alluded to, viz. (1) the fallacies inherent in the theory of evolution, (2) the absolute physical identity of all the races, (3) the compatibility of variety of colour and of features with descent from a single ancestral pair, the conclusion to which one is forced, is, that these authors failed to take sufficient account of the invalidity of the arguments supporting evolution; that they failed to take sufficient account of anatomical and physiological facts; that thereby they failed to recognise the close analogy that there is between the development of the structures of the human organism, and the probable development of the structures or races constituting mankind; an analogy which must have influenced them to a more reasonable conclusion.

But in contrast to the theory of evolution, that of monogenesis starts with a Creator as the maker of all things, and as a result of this assumption chaos is transformed into cosmos. For then the universe is at once perceived to be encircled by a girdle of the most perfect unity. The three kingdoms into which nature is divided are thus seen to be conjoined in chemical structure by substances of the same essence. So that if we should take the following familiar elements—hydrogen, sodium, calcium, magnesium, potassium, and iron—as marks of identification, and should start with them from the inanimate mineral kingdom, through the animate vegetable and animal kingdoms up to man, we should find these elements in the innumerable members forming each kingdom, thereby establishing the union of the three. And not only in the composi-

tion of our own planet would these six metals be found, but also in that of the moon, of the other planets, and of the sun.

Nor would the identity that would thus have been demonstrated, of the entire solar system, have exhausted the field of similarity; for spectroscopic analysis, by means of which the chemical relations of our solar system have been certified, has, by the genius and industry of savants, been extended to the fixed stars; believed to be themselves centres, like our sun, of planetary systems. These stars, in like manner, have disclosed the presence of the metals—hydrogen, sodium, calcium, magnesium, potassium, and iron. Concluding, therefore, from analogy, that the systems of which these stars are the centres are chemically the same, we arrive at the result of the unity or identity of the material part of the universe.

In its inquiry evolution makes the physical side of man the most important part of his being. The intellectual and moral aspects are treated as though they were but appendages of the material frame. This disparity of treatment between the material and immaterial departments of man is most apparent, when, for instance, the space allotted to each by writers such as Darwin, Vogt, and Nott is compared. I admit that the position of evolution is such that it could not have adopted any other course; still, the fact that it is compelled to treat the moral and mental aspects of man as mere outgrowths or excrescences of his physical organism further illustrates the feebleness of the evolution theory as an interpreter of human origin. This procedure of comparative silence on the origin and development of the human intellect and moral sense is as incongruous as it is significant, inasmuch as the body of man, as compared with that of the brute, is the less important part. The brute, for example, is supplied with a natural covering, and with means both for offence and defence. But with such indispensable equipments man is entirely unprovided; for their supply he depends primarily upon his intellect.

Again, in assigning to the religious faculty its place among the other powers of the mind, that place, according to observation, confirmed by the evidence of history, would be found, as I have remarked before, to be one of predominance. Hence, to be satisfactory, the account of man, which professes to describe the origin of, and the process by which his less important part came into being, should also be able to describe the origin of, and the processes by which his more important parts reached

their development. At the boundary-line between the world of sense and that of faith stands man, as the representative of both. Possessing in his body the elements that bind him to the material sphere, he likewise possesses, in the same body, the elements that bind him to the immaterial realm.

Religion, in its manifestation, is the visible or concrete expression of the union between man and the world unseen. Its language throughout its numerous systems, of which some are intelligible, others inarticulate, breathes the one idea—God. And in this one idea, expressed by peoples of all races, climes, and tongues, there is a proof, not only of the reality, but also of the identity, of this world invisible.

Of the systems of religion, the results of higher revelation, whose basic structure is that of the original belief in God by mankind, let me for a moment mention one, viz. the Christian faith. One of the facts concerning this faith is, that at all times since its birth, men and women of all classes, members of almost every tribe of the human family, representatives of divers and discordant customs, persons of station, wealth, and power—including many of the keenest intellects which the world has produced—savage as well as civilised, bond as well as free, owning allegiance to Christ, have, as a result, given utterance to precisely one experience concerning His operation in their hearts and lives.

In this experience (thus supplementing, not superseding, the original faith), shared alike by all races, at all times since the incipency of the Christian cause, there also lies the unity of the idea of the world unseen. Hence, in contrast to the theory of evolution, which derives man—that is, his physical, mental, and moral parts—from the brute, and whose arguments are founded on the assumption of spontaneous generation, on the assumption that the points of resemblance between man and the lower creatures are greater than the points of difference between them, and on the assumption that among mankind the belief in God is not universal, in contrast to these assumptions, none of which are verified either by experience, experiment, or observation, but all of which are disavowed by this threefold witness, we have the theory of monogenesis.

This theory derives man from a single human pair, and attributes his creation—mental, moral, and physical—to the common Creator of all things. And in vindication of the

absolute oneness of man, as he appears in the three great races, specifically, as having descended from a common human pair, we have this theory, demonstrating the complete identity of the parts, constituting in all these races the human organism. We have it effectively meeting the difficulty concerning the variations of complexion; we have it meeting the difficulty of facial differences, discernible in each racial type, by showing in the first case that the variety of colour in the structures of the human organism does not surpass that which is present in the races, by showing in the next case, that the structural differences in the organism, with their variety of forms, are greater than the variety of types of features appearing in the races; concluding thereby, that as it is certain that these structures, with their varieties of colour, which are as great as those shown in the complexions of the races, and that as it is certain that these structures, with their varieties of form, which are greater than the types of features represented by the races, have all proceeded from a single pair of cells, so it is highly probable that the varieties of complexion, and of forms of features discernible in the races, have proceeded from a single human pair. Secondly, in support of the theory of the divine origin of the mental, moral, and physical composition of man, monogenesis, concerning his physical part, points to the universe, to the same structural elements uniting all the stars and planetary assemblages into one gigantic, yet harmonious whole.

Passing from the structural relations which the earth bears to its system, and that system to other systems, passing to the consideration of the earth, that part of the systems whereof man is an inhabitant, monogenesis, commencing with the inanimate part of the earth, proceeds to the lowest stratum of the animate, and, advancing through the mazes of its bewildering complexity, finally arrives at its summit and head—that is, man. Thus, in the structural composition of man monogenesis perceives precisely the same chemical elements as those of the most distant star. But in addition to these physical elements, which bind man to the earth and to the most distant system of the universe, monogenesis discovers in man other elements—elements entirely distinct from those of his material organism, but, withal, like them, fruitful in acts the most impressive. Exploring these acts, proceeding from man in every quarter of the globe, monogenesis perceives that they are charged with one and the same mighty impulse, namely,

religion ; further, it perceives these acts to converge upon one supreme object—God.

Man is thus seen by monogenesis to be the meeting-place of two worlds, the link between the seen and unseen ; hence, starting from the most distant satellite of the most distant system of the universe, to the earth, and from the inanimate earth to the animate, thence to physical man, on to spiritual man, monogenesis reaches God, the Grand Terminus of all. An unbroken chain, with its endless series of links, of which each one, to the very minutest, bears the hall-mark of a common intelligence, a common design ; a perfect adaptation of part to part, a perfect harmony pervading these illimitable parts of the incomprehensible whole, the unmistakable identity between man's physical nature and the material world, between his moral nature and the Supreme Being, shown by the universal worship he renders to Him, these are facts that are all verified by experience, observation, or experiment. Thus has monogenesis accounted for the phenomena of the universe, for man and his place therein, for man's physical, moral, and intellectual composition, and for his physical variety with its essential unity. While evolution, concerning all these, is either silent, unintelligible, or self-contradictory.

XVII

General Summary and Conclusion

NOW, with a view to summing up this section, let us recapitulate its salient points. First of all, we have the assertion that between the white and the coloured races differences exist that are of a radical character; differences extending from the physical to the mental and moral parts of the two racial divisions, favourable to the colourless race, but unfavourable to the coloured races. Secondly, we have the denial, that of those differences the physical part, viz. those of colour and forms of features, existing between the races, can be explained by monogenesis, or the doctrine of descent from a single pair. And, thirdly, we have the avowal that these physical differences are explained by the theory of evolution.

I. Concerning the first of these allegations relating to the physical aspect of the case, we have observed that the differences of features and of colour noticeable among the races are but the climax of those same differences, which, beginning in the members of any of the families of these races, and becoming in the tribe, or nation, more pronounced, reach in the races the acme of dissimilarity. We have observed further that these facial and complexional distinctions, which in the family are at the minimum, and in the races at the maximum, are in this extreme development compensated for, by the frequent interchange among the races, of, so to say, race types. Thus, the facial peculiarities of two of the races often appear in the third race; as the appearance, for example, of the African and Mongolian type of feature in the European; and *vice versa*. Since, then, these facial and complexional differences find in the races only an exaggerated expression of those forms that begin in the family, there cannot be anything so extraordinary about their presence in these races, as to require the heroics of evolution for the solving of the question of their origin. We also observed that in both the coloured and

the colourless races the three leading varieties of colour, namely, the leucous or albinous, the melanous, and the xanthous, are found in the skin, the hair, and the eye. That the three varieties of crania, *i.e.* the dolichocephalic, or long heads, the mesati-cephalic, or medium heads, the brachycephalic, or short heads, are found both in the coloured and the colourless races. That whereas from the comparative fewness of the skulls examined it is not known whether there predominates in any one of the three races either one or other of these varieties of crania. Further, on the testimony of eminent authorities, including the authors of these fundamental race-differences, we have observed that in regard to the size and structure of the brain, the formation and structure of the rest of the organism, there exist no differences whatever between the races.

Again, we have observed that prolificacy—whose existence between Anglo-Saxon and African peoples is denied—is absolutely the same between these peoples as it is within either one or other of the races they represent, breeding within itself. From these data I have affirmed the physical identity, or sameness, of the different races. This proof of the absolute physical oneness of the three races also disproves the assertion that there exists between the coloured and colourless races differences *of a radical character*.

II. With regard to the denial that the physical differences between the races—such physical differences as those of colour and of feature—can be explained on monogenesis, we have shown (*a*) that between the origin and development of the human organism, and the traditional account of the origin and development of the human race, there is a complete analogy. That the differences, both of form and of colour, found in the structures of the organism are as great, at least, as those appearing in the races; hence, the development of these structures, with their variety of colour and of form, from a single pair of cells being conceded, the development of the races, with their variety of colour and of forms of features, from a single human pair, must also be conceded. This conclusion, in addition to proving the groundlessness of the denial that such physical differences as exist between the races can be accounted for by the theory of monogenesis, proves again the physical identity of the races.

III. Further, the denial that the physical differences of colour and of forms of features, discernible in the races, can be explained by monogenesis, and the avowal that these same physi-

cal differences can be explained by evolution, caused us to compare these theories. In the process of comparison we noticed how profoundly man is influenced by the world of sense. How, by this world of sense, he is impelled to the most far-reaching activities. Thus, he is caused to discover fire, to distinguish between wholesome and poisonous substances to be used as food, to discover agriculture, to discover the art by which to build himself a house, and to invent the bow with which to pursue the chase. He is also impelled to study the deeper mysteries of nature ; thereby to invent mathematics, with which to measure time, space, and extension, to invent notation for recording the results of these pursuits, and to invent letters for recording and transmitting his observations and experiences concerning himself, and concerning the phenomena of nature. Such are a few of the activities which the world of sense has evoked from man. But we noticed, besides, another set of activities called forth from man ; a set of activities, which, in the most marked manner, differ from those that we have just considered. Indeed, those activities are the very antithesis of these of which we are to speak. The meaning of those acts, which, in response to the stern demands of the world of sense, man has performed, may be summarised by the words self-preservation and happiness. But the meaning which these other acts of which we are to speak import is expressed by the terms self-abnegation and sacrifice. It is in accordance with the meaning of these words that magnificent minsters, gorgeous temples, and elaborate mosques have, by means of a prodigal munificence, been reared. That music, sculpture, painting, and poetry have yielded up their choicest and costliest productions, that the Hindoo devotee swings in the air, suspended by the hook which he had previously plunged into his flesh, that the African idolater, voluntarily renouncing their services, and fortifying himself against the pangs which the deed involves, slays the slaves, that they may attend their lord, lately deceased. It is in accordance with the meaning of these words that millions, including the women of whom we have spoken before, have joyfully surrendered their lives to the merciless tortures of martyrdom. Who, then, can fail to recognise the distinct nature of these two sets of activities?

But of these two classes of activities we know the cause of one class only. Their nature, as we noticed from the names by which they are defined, is dissimilar, but as effects they are

identical. Now, knowing that the first set of these activities is caused by what we call "the world of sense," would we be justified in inferring that the second class of activities, which as effects are like the first, must in like manner be produced by the world unseen? I believe we are justified in the inference. But is this inference supported by any further evidence? Yes, by the universal belief by mankind, in every age, in the existence of the world unseen; by its belief in the Creator, whose abode this world unseen is believed to be, by the unequivocal affirmation by mankind, that this second class of activities is the reflex action of the world unseen. Lastly, we have the testimony of professors of the Christian faith, who, hailing from every clime, representing every type of culture and every range of intellect, give expression to a common experience as being the direct result of their faith in the Creator and in this world unseen.

From these threefold data, therefore, respecting activities which are as tangible as those that the visible world produces, and which analogy bids us infer as the products of another world, respecting the universal belief by mankind in the Creator, whom it believes to inhabit this unseen world, and respecting the unanimous testimony of Christian believers during all the ages, to an identical experience derived from this world unseen, we were assuredly entitled to conclude, as we have concluded, that there are two worlds—a material and visible, and an immaterial and invisible. To this immaterial world, as we have seen, man is united, and with it he is in constant and intimate communication. But besides being united to the immaterial world, man, as we have also noticed, is likewise united to the material world. This union, by means of the six elements—hydrogen, sodium, calcium, magnesium, potassium, and iron—which are constituents of man's physical structure, we traced from the most distant unit of the universe, through all the intervening substances of matter, up to man. So that in man the material and immaterial worlds meet.

But confining ourselves for the moment to this material division of the universe, considering that part of it constituted by our own globe, according to its division into animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, and of these three parts, considering the animate division, what have we? We have an endless series of life-propagating centres, in, as it were, watertight compartments,

extending from the most simple to the most complex forms. The terminating link of the great chain is man, and a chief characteristic of each of the links, centres or compartments, is multiplication; a multiplication resulting in variety. But however great may be the variety, however extensive the multiplication, the members of one compartment never pass normally beyond its specific boundary-line to intermingle with the members of another compartment. And by means of this fundamental law of essential difference, the species of each of these watertight compartments, escaping fusion with their neighbours, have throughout the great cycles of ages remained permanently distinct.

As regards the human link or compartment of life, with its threefold variety of feature and of complexion, the analogy furnished by the organism has enabled us to identify its development or multiplication as that of descent from a single pair of human beings. Thus, taking the questions—(1) whether the variety of colour and of forms of features perceived in the three races are compatible with descent from a single human pair; (2) whether there be another world besides that of sense; (3) and whether there be a Creator—questions which by monogenesis are all answered in the affirmative—the answer to the first is that it has been incontestably shown that all the varieties of feature and of complexion appearing in the races are wholly compatible with descent from a single pair. Regarding the second question, the answer is that we have had two classes of activities differing in their nature, but which as effects are identical. One class we know to be caused by the world of sense; we therefore, on the ground of analogy, conclude that the other class is caused by the world of faith. And the answer regarding the third question is, that we have two worlds meeting in man, two worlds producing through him two distinct sets of activities. From the material side, so to say, there is the continuous chain of identity extending to the remotest part of the universe. And from the immaterial side the same chain—as is to be inferred from man's universal acknowledgment of the Deity—extends to the Creator. Thus a chain of identity connecting the whole extends from the Deity to the remotest part of the universe. One proof we have thus adduced in support of the existence of the Creator is that man of every phase of culture, man at every stage of history, having made the declaration that He exists, that

declaration must be taken as a strong evidence in favour of the existence of the Creator.

But there is another proof to which I must refer. It is that when we take the material universe—take the innumerable systems which, in perfect order, perfect harmony, and with incredible velocity, perhaps for millions of years, sweep through space—when we take our own planet, and notice the perfect adaptation that there is, of the animate part to the inanimate part, and of man to both, it seems to me, that to deny the existence of an intelligence who originated, directs, and controls this gigantic firmament of spheres, would be as absurd as if one, standing in an immense factory, with its bewildering forest of machinery, were to deny that it is all the product of mind. Thus the comprehension of the universe, of the relation of its parts to the whole, and of the whole to its parts, is compatible only with the assumption of the existence of a Creator. (1) Human experience then, human reason and the solidarity of the universe, support the belief in the existence of a Creator. (2) The activities prompted by the world unseen, activities to whose existence both experience and observation certify, prove the reality of that world. (3) The chemical identity of the material universe, man of course included, is substantiated both by experiment and observation. Upon the bed-rock of this triple foundation the theory of monogenesis rests.

Now we proceed to the subject of evolution; and we ask, What has evolution to say about the Creator? The answer is, Nothing. We ask again, What has evolution to say about the unseen world? The reply again is, Nothing. We ask further, What has evolution to say about the chemical identity of the material universe, including man? The answer is given: Evolution confines its operations to the animal division of nature. Well, then we query once more, What has it to say about animate nature—about the great chain of living matter; the enclosure and separation of each link from its contiguous members, by an ineffaceable and indisputable difference; by a difference which compels each specific compartment to confine its propagation within the limits of its own area? About this difference what has evolution to say? Tearing asunder the case-ments representing the specific compartments of living organisms, ignoring the law of their essential difference, and transforming their fundamentally distinct forms of life into mere varieties, evolution by a stroke of the most astounding genius

has arrived at the conclusion that each form or species has simply been evolved from the other, the higher form from the lower form. This ignoring of the essential difference between the species—a difference which for untold epochs has made their amalgamation impossible, and thereby also their derivation from one another improbable—comprises the first great plunge of the evolutionary theory. But what did we see to be the implication of the sameness of the species, or to be the implication by which this amazing feat of deriving one species from another, has been achieved? We saw that this sameness or homogeneity of the species, and their derivation from one another, imply a belief in spontaneous generation or the origin of living from dead matter. We saw also that this sameness implies the presupposition that between man and the brute the points of resemblance are greater than the points of difference. But has either experience, observation, or experiment entitled us to infer that the species were once a chaotic jumble, whence, in an upward trend, they sprang to assume their present differences? Again, has either experience, observation, or experiment entitled us to infer that the origin of life was in the first instance from dead matter? Or again, has either experience, observation, or experiment entitled us to infer that between man and the brute the points of resemblance by which the conclusion has been drawn that the former sprang from the latter, and the lowest form of life from dead matter, are greater than the points of difference? No! In each of these three cases the inference which experience, observation, and experiment would have us make is the very reverse of that made.

Thus the three great arguments upon which the evolutionary theory is founded are contrary to observation, experiment, and experience. Nor is this all; for, in addition, we noticed, that in order that man's relation to the world unseen may be cut off, his identity with the world of sense thereby appearing the more complete, and the proof of his origin from the brute being consequently strengthened, evolution has asserted that naturally man believes in spirits only, and not in God. Further, that what is called man's moral or religious faculty is a product of his intellect. These statements, however, I have endeavoured to show to be incorrect. We have, then, on the one hand, monogenesis in unison with experience, experiment, and observation, accounting for the universe, for man's place therein, and for his descent and variety. On the other hand, we have evolution, unable to

account for the universe, and for man's place in it, confining its inquiry to human descent and physical development, and establishing its conclusion of that inquiry upon the following three fallacies :—

(1) That the animal species are mere varieties, of which the more highly organised are derived from the less highly organised.

(2) That living matter has its origin in dead matter.

(3) That between the species the points of resemblance are greater than the points of difference.

Thus, I deny that evolution is able to account for the differences of colour and of feature apparent in the three races.

Further, I affirm the ability of monogenesis to do so.

And, finally, I deny that there exist between the races physical differences of a radical nature.

XVIII

General Statement

CONCERNING the affirmation of the colourless race, that between it and the coloured races differences of a radical character exist by which it is rendered superior to the dark races and the dark races rendered inferior to it, our endeavour in the preceding section has been, to ascertain scientifically its physical aspect. Therefore, in this section, in harmony with the plan with which we set out, our endeavour shall be to ascertain historically, the mental aspect of the affirmation.

With this end in view we start with the following simple propositions :—That, in order that the assertions of the mental superiority of the colourless race and the mental inferiority of the coloured races may be sustained, it must be shown (1) either that the colourless race has always been progressive, or that, when unprogressive, its position mentally was higher than that in which the mental condition of the coloured races has invariably stood ; (2) that the coloured races have been uniformly unprogressive, that the depth of their unprogressiveness has been always greater than that which the colourless race has ever reached, and that when brought into contact with a progressive race, they, the coloured races, have never evinced any capacity to rise from their habitually low plane of existence.

If, on the one hand, it be shown that the colourless race itself has not only been unprogressive, but that during the season of its repose it was as barbarous as the most unprogressive member of either of the coloured races, or if it be shown, on the other hand, that the coloured races have not been uniformly unprogressive, that their barbarism has not been more intense than the barbarism of the colourless race, and that they are amenable to progress, then I shall conclude that between the colourless and the coloured races there are no mental differences, of a radical

or permanent kind, making the former the superior, and the latter the inferior, of the races. In considering, then, this subject of mental capacity, I shall have regard (though not exclusively) to its manifestations made by communities, rather than by individuals. As representing the colourless race, European communities will chiefly be referred to, whereas, as representing the coloured races, my remarks will centre chiefly around the most backward of the races, viz. the Ethiopian or African race. For determining the two sets of propositions stated above we shall glance, in the first place, more or less briefly, as circumstances may dictate, at the present and past of both the European and the African races.

Europe as seen in the Present

Like great waves of the ocean Greece advanced, rose to an amazing height of intellectual splendour, broke upon the shores of inanition, and receded to rejoin the quiescent mass, humanity, whence it had emerged. Rome, with a genius differing from that of Greece, had, in the fierceness of her terrible energy, similarly advanced, risen, spent herself, retired, to be succeeded by modern Europe. Thenceforth European history was to be linked with the destinies of two great hordes—a Germanic or Teutonic, with which the fortunes of Western Europe have been identified, and a Slavonic or Cythian, to whose future Eastern Europe has been wedded. Of the tribes constituting the Teutonic section of these two great divisions, are the Goths, Burgundians, Alimanni, Vandals, Logobards, Franks, Anglo-Saxons, Jutes, etc. Of those forming the Slavonic section the Russians, Poles, Bulgarians, etc., are among their descendants. In the earliest migrations of the Germanic branch we trace the Visigoths, Burgundians, and Franks, chiefly to Gaul; the Vandals, Suevi, and Visigoths to Spain; the Visigoths, Vandals, Huns, etc., to Italy; and the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons to Britain.

Leaving the rest in the other parts of Europe to work out their destinies, we follow the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons to their new home in Britain, whither they had been invited by the native Britons. The Britons, who were a Celtic people belonging to the same division as the earlier or native inhabitants of Ireland, France, Belgium, Switzerland, North Italy, Spain, etc., and who, with the Greeks, Romans, Teutons, and Slavs, were members of

the great Aryan stock, had invited the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons to their territories in consequence of the withdrawal of the Roman legions therefrom in 411 A.D., and in consequence of the depredations of the Picts and Scots, to whose tender mercy they had been left. But from guests the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons soon became masters of their hosts, however to become themselves, subsequently, subjects of the Danes; and all ultimately, subjects of the Normans. From the fusion of these elements the commonwealth of England finally emerged, to be augmented in after years by the conquests of Ireland and Wales, and the union with Scotland.

Thus reinforced, England, as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, entered upon that career of unexampled progress that has earned for its dominions the description of "the Empire upon which the sun never sets." As a candidate for the place and prestige of a "world-power," the United Kingdom, which entering the field of colonial expansion in the sixteenth century (1583), by the annexation of Newfoundland, continued the great task in the seventeenth century with an area (excluding Newfoundland) of one hundred and twenty-one thousand, seven hundred square miles, and a population (in 1650) of probably nearly eight million souls. And now, at the beginning of the twentieth century, we find her with an empire of eleven and a quarter millions of square miles, containing a population of more than four hundred million souls, and yielding a revenue of two hundred and twenty-five million pounds. Nor do we, on turning aside from these lines of territorial, commercial, and ethnological expansion, in which this nation stands so high, perceive in the other great departments of life the putting forth or the exhibition by her of less energy or zeal; for in science and in art she also marches in the van. In inventions, such as the steam-engine, the application of steam to navigation and to railways, in the electric telegraph, in optics the improvements of the microscope, telescope, and spectroscope, in medicine and surgery, anæsthetics, antiseptics, and an innumerable array of instruments and surgical appliances; in chemistry the discovery of numerous elements and of laws, such as the atomic theory and in physics the conservation of energy; in geology, botany, biology, theology, in painting, sculpture, architecture, poetry, music, etc.—in all these fields wherein discoveries, inventions, or improvements have contributed to the lubrication of the wheels of life, the British people has been a foremost worker. But in this

description of Britain we have also been focussing the rest of Europe, whom we had left behind to work out its destiny, for the progress of knowledge, which is to civilisation a halo of glory, indicated above as provinces of Britain's intellectual activities, is the result not of a national corporation, but of an international confederation.

Of this distinguished confederacy, then, let me present ten names from the roll of each of the states that have been most prolific in the development of modern scientific knowledge. Let me further present five names from each of the states that have been less prolific, and one name from each of the states that have been least prolific. Guided by the names of the places whereat these scientists were born, I start with Italy, the pioneer of modern scientific progress.

Italy.

Galileo.
Poeta.
Cardau.
Malpighi.
Torricelli.
Spallanzani.
Galvani.
Volta.
Avogadro.
Amici.

England.

Roger Bacon.
Sir Isaac Newton.
Harvey.
Priestley.
Cavendish.
John Hunter.
James Watt.
Faraday.
Lyell.
Kelvin.

France.

Lavoisier.
Lamarck.
Buffon.
Cuvier.

Pasteur.
Palissy.
Descartes.
Laplace.
Coulumb.
Pascal.

Germany.

Kepler.
Agricola.
Wm. Herschel
Leibnitz.
Lehmann.
Kirchoff.
Bunsen.
Helmholtz.
Liebig.
Schwann.

Holland.

Willebrordtnell.
Drebbel.
Huyghens.
Leeuwenhock.
Musschenbrock.

Sweden.

Bergman.
Scheele.

Linnæus.
 Angström.
 Berzelius.

Switzerland.

Paracelsus.
 Gesner.
 Haller.
 Bonnett.
 P. De Candolle.

Denmark.

Tycho Brahe.

Belgium.

Von Helmont.

Poland.

Copernicus.

Russia.

Von Baer.

America.

Franklin.

Such is the company formed by each of these European states and by America, some of those states having contributed to it many members, others having contributed few. But it is this company, international in composition, of which the members, like the cells of an electric battery, have unitedly generated that stream of light, of whose gleams I have endeavoured in the preceding page to make England the focus. By their splendid genius, their scholarship, their industry, their marvellous patience, these savants have made Europe the lighthouse of the world. More than the spoils of conquering armies, the treasures of victorious fleets, they have dowered her with riches inexhaustible, with a power almost invincible, raising her to a pedestal of fame, resplendent with immortality.

XIX

Europe as seen in the Past

BUT from these glimpses of the present history of the peoples of Europe, and of European descent, dazzling with achievements so brilliant, and indicating the intellectual maturity of the European, let us go back and take glimpses of their past history, when they were in what may intellectually be called their infantile life. Such a review will be presented in a series of extracts from the works of well-known ancient authors.

In the narratives of these ancient authorities, containing opinions and beliefs derived from their own observations of the parent tribes and nations of modern Europe, one of the things that have impressed me most is the complete likeness between their descriptions of those peoples, and the descriptions given by travellers and others of our own day, of the coloured races; although I think it will be seen, that the stage of existence of those ancient savage tribes of Europe was in certain of its phases lower than that in which the most barbarous of modern savages are now found. In a word, the records of Cæsar, Tacitus, Polybius, and others, concerning the earlier inhabitants of Europe, concerning their ignorance, their treachery, superstition, unreliableness, unprogressiveness, and general lower form of life, as compared with the Romans, are in their substance the same as those we read to-day, about the Indian, the Chinaman, the African, the Australian, etc.

Employing each of the terms of description now used as a head, I proceed to illustrate them by extracts taken from the authors alluded to. Accordingly we begin with

IGNORANCE

Cæsar¹ being informed, we are told, that during all his battles with the Gauls they had been constantly aided by the Britons,

¹ *Comts. of Cæsar*, Duncan's tr.

determined to visit Britain ; the object of his resolution was to acquaint himself with the coasts, the harbours, and landing-places of the country. As intercourse between Britain and Gaul was kept up almost exclusively by merchants, who with merchandise from Gaul resorted to Britain, Cæsar, with a view to obtaining the information he desired, summoned all these merchants from the different parts of Gaul. But so limited was their power of observation, and their general knowledge, that they could enlighten the Consul, neither as regards the size of the island, the power, or prowess of its inhabitants, their customs, art of war, nor concerning the capacity of the harbours of the country, for receiving or sheltering ships.

The expedition to Britain having been made, Cæsar further records, that the barbarians having received intimation from the merchants concerning his resolve to visit their island, despatched their cavalry and chariots, and themselves following in the wake, endeavoured to oppose his landing ; but that disconcerted with surprise at the structure of the Roman galleys, the motion of the oars, and the playing of the engines, they failed to offer any further resistance, thereby enabling the Romans without incident, to land. Referring to the Hercynian Forest in Germany, in which one of the colonies sent from Gaul had settled, Cæsar says : “ The Hercynian Forest, of which we have been speaking, is about nine days’ journey in breadth ” ; then he adds, “ for as the Germans are ignorant of the use of measures, there is no other way of computing it.”

Tacitus,¹ in like manner, after stating that the Germans possess an abundance of flocks and herds, which however are of small breed, and after remarking that these constituted their only species of wealth, continues thus :—

“ Silver and gold, the gods, I know not whether in their favour or anger, have denied to this country . . . for who has made the search ? The possession of them is not coveted by these people as it is by us.”

For the sake of the world’s peace I could wish that the same were true to-day.

“ Vessels of silver are indeed seen among them, which have been presented to their ambassadors and chiefs, but they are held in no higher estimation than earthenware. The borderers,

¹ The Oxford Trans.

however, set value on gold and silver for the purpose of commerce, and have learned to distinguish several of our coins, some of which they prefer to others. The remoter inhabitants continue the more simple and ancient usage of bartering commodities. The money preferred by the Germans is the old well-known species, such as the *Serrati* and *Bigati*. They are also better pleased with silver than gold, not on account of any fondness for that metal, but because the smaller money is more convenient in their petty merchandise. Even iron is not plentiful among them, as may be inferred from the nature of their weapons. Swords or broad lances are seldom used, but they generally carry a spear . . . which has an iron blade, short and narrow, but so sharp and manageable that as occasion requires they employ it either in close or distant fighting. This spear and shield are all the armour of the cavalry. . . . They are either naked or lightly covered with a small mantle, and have no pride in equipage; their shields only are ornamented with the choicest colours. Few are provided with a coat of mail; and scarcely here and there with a casque or helmet."

TREACHERY

Our reference above, which states that hearing of Cæsar's projected visit to their country the native Britons mustered their forces to oppose his landing, does not represent the first part of the event, but the second; the first part being this, that after the Britons had been informed by the Gallic merchants that Cæsar intended to visit their country, they sent ambassadors to him in Gaul from many states, offering hostages and submission to the authority of the Roman people. Cæsar having given to the ambassadors a favourable audience, bade them continue in the same mind. On their return, he sent with them Cornius, a man of unblemished character and distinguished ability, whom he appointed king of the Atrebatians, and whom he instructed to visit as many states as possible, and persuade the people to enter into an alliance with the Roman Republic. Yet, notwithstanding the voluntary sending of this embassy and the spontaneous offer of hostages and submission by the Britons, Cornius on arriving in their country was thrown into irons, and Cæsar's landing, as we have seen, was opposed. Hence, after the Romans had beaten down their resistance, and they had sued for peace, sending this very Cornius whom they had bound in fetters, and begging Cæsar "to excuse a fault proceeding from ignorance," we find Cæsar in reply complaining of their behaviour, "in having of their own accord sent

ambassadors to the Continent to sue for peace, they had yet without any reason begun a war against him."

SUPERSTITION

Under this head I produce from Cæsar the following observations :—

"The whole nation of the Gauls is extremely addicted to superstition, whence in threatening distempers and the imminent dangers of war they make no scruple to sacrifice man, or engage themselves by vow to such sacrifices, in which they make use of the ministry of the Druids; for it is a prevalent opinion among them that nothing but the life of man can atone for the life of man, inasmuch that they have established even public sacrifices of this kind. Some prepare high colossus of twigs, into which they put men alive, and setting fire to them, those within expire amidst the flames. They prefer for victims such as have been convicted of theft, robbery, and other crimes, believing them most acceptable to the gods; but when real criminals are not forthcoming, the innocent are often made to suffer. Mercury is the chief deity with them; of him they have many images, account him the inventor of all arts, their guide in their journeys, and the patron of merchandise and gain. Next to him are Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. Their notions in regard to them are pretty much the same as those of other nations. Apollo is their god of physic; Minerva, of works and manufacture; Jove holds the empire of heaven; and Mars presides in war. To this last, when they resolve upon battle, they commonly devote the spoil. If they prove victorious, they offer up all the cattle taken, and set apart the rest of the plunder in a place appointed for that purpose; and it is common in many provinces to see these numerous offerings piled up in consecrated (heaps?). . . ."

On the subject of superstition, the evidence of Tacitus concerning the Germans is much the same as that of Cæsar concerning the Gauls. Tacitus says :—

"Of the gods, Mercury is the principal object of adoration, whom, on certain days, they think it lawful to propitiate even with human victims. . . . They conceive it unworthy the grandeur of celestial beings to confine their deities within walls, or to represent them under a human similitude; woods and groves are their temples; and they affix names of divinity to that secret power which they behold with the eye of adoration alone. . . . Tradition relates that armies beginning to give way have been rallied by the females through the earnestness of

their supplications, the interposition of their bodies, and the pictures they have drawn of impending slavery, a calamity which these people bear with more impatience for their women than for themselves. . . . They even suppose somewhat of sanctity and prescience to be inherent in the female sex, and therefore neither despise their counsels nor disregard their responses."

A footnote in the Oxford translation of Tacitus contains the following quotation from Strabo about the Cimbrian women:—

"The women who follow the Cimbri to war are accompanied by grey-haired prophetesses in white vestments, with canvas mantles fastened by clasps, a brazen girdle, and naked feet. They go with drawn swords through the camps, and, striking down those prisoners that they meet, drag them to the brazen kettle, holding about twenty amphoræ. This has a kind of stage, ascending on which the priestess cuts the throat of the victim, and from the manner in which the blood flows into the vessel judges of the future event. Others tear open the bodies of the captives thus butchered, and, from inspection of the entrails, presage victory to their own party."

INSTABILITY

Under the head of instability the subjoined extracts illustrating this characteristic relate to the Gauls, or Celtic tribes, and are taken from Polybius.¹ Alluding to the eight hundred Gauls who, having been paid by the Epirotes to guard their city Phœnice (B.C. 230), betrayed it into the hands of the Illyrians, Polybius concludes that, instead of pity and sympathy, the Epirotes deserve only reproach and rebuke for entrusting their city to such people as the Gauls.

"For in the first place," he goes on to remark, "who in his senses, knowing the common report as to the character of the Gauls, would not have hesitated to trust to them a city so rich and offering so many opportunities for treason? And again, who would not have been on his guard against the bad character of this particular body of men? For they had originally been driven from their native country by an outburst of popular indignation at an act of treachery done by them to their kinsfolk and relatives. Then, having been received by the Carthaginians because of the exigencies of the war in which the latter were engaged, and being drafted into Agrigentum to garrison it (being at the same time more than a thousand

¹ Trans. by Shuckburgh, vol. i. p. 104.

strong), they seized the opportunity of a dispute as to pay arising between the soldiers and their generals to plunder the city; and again, being brought by the Carthaginians into Eryx to perform the same duty, they first endeavoured to betray the city and those who were shut up in it; and when they failed in that treason they deserted in a body to the enemy, whose trust they also betrayed by plundering the temple of Aphrodite in Eryx. Thoroughly convinced, therefore, of their abominable character, as soon as they had made peace with Carthage, the Romans made it their first business to disarm them, put them on board ship, and forbid them ever to enter any part of Italy."

Referring now to the Cis-Alpine Gauls, who had entered into treaty relations with the Romans, relations which for thirty years they observed, but which, through the fear of war with the Trans-Alpine Gauls (as a result of the movements of the latter from behind), they broke, by diverting an imminent attack from themselves to the Romans, and then joined the enemy in the expedition against their late ally the Romans, whence they secured much spoil, Polybius adds:—

"But when they got home they quarrelled about the division of the spoil, and in the end destroyed much of it, as well as the flower of their own force." "This is the way of the Gauls," he continues, "when they have appropriated their neighbour's property, and it mostly arises from brutal drunkenness and intemperate feeding."

Our next reference relates to a feeling of anxiety experienced by the Romans when they had to employ the Insubrians—a Gallic tribe—in their army as an auxiliary force against the Cenomani—another Gallic tribe. In it Polybius says:—

"Seeing themselves outnumbered, the Romans at first determined to avail themselves of the forces of the allied Celtic tribes; but when they reflected on the fickle character of the Gauls, and that they were about to fight with an enemy of the same race as these auxiliary troops, they hesitated to associate such men with themselves at a crisis of such danger and in an action of such importance. However, they finally decided to do this. They themselves stayed on the side of the river next the enemy, and sending the Celtic contingent to the other side, they pulled up the bridges, which at once precluded any fear of danger from them, and left themselves no hope of safety except in victory, the impassable river being thus in their way."

Coming to the last point of the subject, relative to the unstable character of the Gauls, after concluding his description of the war between the Romans and the Insubres, Polybius follows up that description with this comment:—

“Such was the end of the Celtic war, which, for the desperate determination and boldness of the enemy, for the obstinacy of the battles fought, and for the number of those who fell, and of those who were engaged, is second to none recorded in history, but which, regarded as scientific strategy, is utterly contemptible. The Gauls showed no power of planning or carrying out a campaign, and in everything they did were swayed by impulse rather than by sober calculation. As I have seen these tribes, after a short struggle, entirely ejected from the valley of the Padus, with the exception of some few localities lying close to the Alps, I thought I ought not to let their original attack upon Italy pass unrecorded any more than their subsequent attempts or their final ejections, for it is the function of the historian to record and transmit to posterity such episodes in the drama of fortune that our posterity may not from ignorance of the past be unreasonably dismayed at the sudden and unexpected invasions of these barbarians, but may reflect how shortlived and easily damped the spirit of this race is, and so may stand to their defence and try every possible means before yielding an inch to them.”

GENERAL UNPROGRESSIVENESS OR LOW FORM OF CULTURE

The mode of life of the Cis-Alpine Gauls is thus given by Polybius:—

“They lived in villages and without any permanent buildings. As they made their beds of straw or leaves and fed on meat, and followed no pursuits but those of war and agriculture, they lived simple lives, without being acquainted with any science or art whatever. Each man's property, moreover, consisted in cattle and gold, as they were the only things that could be easily carried with them when they wandered from place to place and changed their dwellings as their fancy dictated. They made a great point, however, of friendship, for the man who had the largest number of clients or companions in his wanderings was looked upon as the most formidable and powerful member of the tribe.”

In the account of one of Cæsar's military contests with the Britons the following description is given of what constituted a town in their country. A “town among the Britons is nothing more than a thick wood, fortified with a ditch and

rampart, to serve as a place of retreat against the incursions of their enemies." Thither he marched with his legion, and though the place appeared to be extremely strong, both by art and nature, he nevertheless resolved to attack it from two quarters. The enemy, after a short stand, were obliged to give way and to retire to another part of the wood. Vast numbers of cattle were found in the place, and many of the Britons were either made prisoners, or lost their lives in the pursuit undertaken by the victors.

The following, from Plutarch, further reveals the state of wretchedness in which the Britons lived. Dealing with Cæsar's expedition to Britain, Plutarch wrote:—

"But his expedition into Britain discovered the most daring spirit of enterprise. For he was the first who entered the western ocean with a fleet, and embarking his troops on the Atlantic, carried war into an island whose very existence was doubted. Some writers had represented it so incredibly large that others contested its being and considered both the name and the thing a fiction. Yet Cæsar attempted to conquer it, and to extend the Roman Empire beyond the bounds of the habitable world. He sailed thither twice, from the opposite coast in Gaul, and fought many battles, by which the Britons suffered more than the Romans gained, for there was nothing worth taking from a people who were so poor and lived in so much wretchedness. He did not, however, terminate the war in the manner he could have wished; he only received hostages of the king, and appointed the tribute the island was to pay, and then returned to Gaul."

We come now to Cæsar's description of the native Briton:—

"The inhabitants of Kent, which lies wholly on the sea-coast, are the most civilised of all the Britons, and differ but little in their manners from the Gauls. The greater part of those within the country never sow their lands, but live on flesh and milk, and go clad in skins. All the Britons in general paint themselves with woad, which gives a bluish cast to the skin and makes them look dreadful in battle. They are long-haired, and shave all the rest of the body except the head and upper lip. Ten or twelve of them live together, having their wives in common, especially brothers or parents, and children among themselves, but the issue is always ascribed to him who first espoused the mother."

Of the Germans, Tacitus records:—

"On affairs of smaller moment the chiefs consult; on those of great importance the whole community; yet, with this

circumstance, that what is referred to the decision of the people is first mutually discussed by the chiefs. They assemble, unless upon some sudden emergency, on stated days, either at the new or full moon, which they account the most auspicious for beginning any enterprise. Nor do they in their computation of time reckon like us by the number of days, but of nights. In this way they arrange their business; in this way they fix their appointments, so that with them the night seems to lead the day. An inconvenience produced by their liberty is, that they do not all assemble at a stated time, as if it were in obedience to a command, but two or three days are lost in the delays of convening. When all think fit they sit down armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who have on this occasion a coercive power. Then the king or chief, and such others as are conspicuous for age, birth, military renown, or eloquence, are heard, and gain attention rather from their ability to persuade than from their authority to command. If a proposal displease, the assembly rejects it by an inarticulate murmur; if it prove agreeable, they clash their javelins, for the most honourable expression of assent among them is the sound of arms.

“Before this council it is likewise allowed to exhibit accusations and to prosecute capital offences. Punishments are varied according to the nature of the crime. Traitors or deserters are hung upon trees; cowards, dastards, and those guilty of unnatural practices are suffocated in mud under a hurdle . . . the penalties annexed to slighter offences are also proportioned to the delinquency. The convicts pay in horses and cattle; part of the mulct goes to the king or state: part to the injured person or his relations.

“The Germans transact no business, public or private, without being armed; but it is not customary for any person to assume arms till the state have approved his ability to use them. The dignity of chieftain is bestowed even on mere lads, whose descent is eminently illustrious, or whose fathers have performed signal services to the public; they are associated, however, with those of mature strength, who have already been declared capable of service; nor do they blush to be seen in the rank of companions. . . .

“In the field of battle it is disgraceful for the chief to be surpassed in valour; it is disgraceful for the companions not to equal their chief, but it is a reproach and infamy during a whole succeeding life to retreat from the field surviving him. The chief fights for victory, the companions for their chiefs. . . .

“The companion requires from the liberality of his chief the warlike steed, the bloody and conquering spear, and in place of pay he expects to be supplied with a table, homely indeed, but plentiful. The funds of this munificence must be

found in war and rapine; nor are they so easily persuaded to cultivate the earth, and await the produce of the seasons, as to challenge the foe, and expose themselves to wounds; nay, they even think it base and spiritless to earn by sweat what they might purchase with blood.

“During the interval of war they pass their time less in hunting than in sluggish repose divided between sleep and the table. All the bravest of the warriors committing the care of the house, the family affairs, and the lands to the women, old men, and weaker part of the domestics, stupefy themselves in inaction; so wonderful is the contrast presented by nature that the same persons love indolence and hate tranquillity. . . .

“It is well known that none of German nations inhabit cities, or even admit of contiguous settlements. They dwell scattered, as a spring, a meadow, or a grove may chance to invite them. Their villages are laid out not like ours, in rows of adjoining buildings, but everyone surrounds his house with a vacant space, either by way of security against fire, or through ignorance of the art of building. For indeed they are unacquainted with the use of mortar or tiles, and for every purpose employ rude unshapen timber fashioned with no regard to pleasing the eye. They bestow more than ordinary pains in coating certain parts of their buildings with a kind of earth so pure and shining that it gives the appearance of painting. They also dig subterranean caves and cover them over with a great quantity of dung. These they use as winter retreats and granaries, for they preserve a moderate temperature; and upon an invasion, when the open country is plundered, these recesses remain unviolated, either because the enemy is ignorant of them, or because he will not trouble himself with the search.

“The clothing, common to all, is the sagum, fastened by a clasp, or in want of that, a thorn. With no other covering, they pass whole days on the hearth before the fire. The more wealthy are distinguished by a vest, not flowing loose like those of the Sarmatians and Parthians, but girt close, and exhibiting the shape of every limb. They also wear the skins of beasts, which the people near the borders are less curious in selecting and preparing than the more remote inhabitants, who cannot by commerce procure other clothing. They make choice of particular skins, which they variegate with spots and strips of furs of marine animals, the produce of their exterior ocean and seas to us unknown. The dress of the women does not differ from that of the men, except that they more frequently wear linen, which they stain with purple, and do not lengthen their upper garments into sleeves, but leave exposed the whole arm and part of the breast.”

Polygamy, which, according to Tacitus, was the exception among the Germans, appears to have been the rule among other tribes. Here is what he says:—¹

“The matrimonial bond is, nevertheless, strict and severe among them” (the Germans), “nor is there anything in their manner more commendable than this. Almost singly among the barbarians they content themselves with one wife; a very few of them excepted, who, not through incontinence, but because their alliance is solicited on account of their rank, practise polygamy.”

Then in two notes we have the following comments:—

“Thus we find in Cæsar² that Ariovistus had two wives; others had more. This indulgence proved more difficult to abolish, as it was considered as a mark of opulence, and an appendage of nobility.”

Again:—

“The Germans purchased their wives, as appears from the following clauses in the Saxon law concerning marriage. ‘A person who espouses a wife shall pay to her parents 300 solidi;³ but if the marriage be without the consent of her parents, the damsel, however, consenting, he shall pay 600 solidi. If neither the parents nor the damsel consent, that is, if she be carried off by violence, he shall pay 300 solidi to the parents and 340 to the damsel, and restore her to her parents.’”

Of how one class of slaves was recruited Tacitus has this to say:—

“What is extraordinary, they” (the Germans) “play at dice when sober as a serious business; and that with such a desperate venture of gain or loss that, when everything else is gone, they set their liberties and persons on the last throw. The loser goes into voluntary servitude; and, though the youngest and strongest, patiently suffers himself to be bound and sold. Such is their obstinacy in a bad practice—they themselves call it honour. The slaves thus acquired are exchanged away in commerce, that the winner may get rid of the scandal of his victory.

“The rest of their slaves have not, like ours, particular employment in the families allotted to them. Each is the master of a habitation and household of his own. The lord requires from him a certain quantity of grain, cattle, or cloth, as from a tenant, and so far only the subjection of a slave extends. His domestic offices are performed by his own wife and children. It is usual

¹ See vol. ii, p. 308.

² *Bell. Gall.*, i, 53.

³ About £180 sterling.

to scourge a slave, or punish him with chains or hard labour. They are sometimes killed by their masters; not through severity of chastisement, but in the heat of passion, like an enemy, with this difference, that it is done with impunity."

We have now concluded this set of extracts bearing upon the condition of the earlier inhabitants or progenitors of modern Europe. The general features which these extracts present concerning the condition of the peoples of ancient Europe, excluding, however, such general features as the absence of all knowledge of the metals; excluding also the absence of all knowledge of any art, the absence of permanent habitations, the "extreme poverty and wretchedness," which, as in the case of the ancient Britons, reveal greater depth of ignorance than that of average African communities of to-day, and which corresponds only with that of tribes such as the Hottentots; excluding also the practice of incest, whence we obtain a sounding even greater than that furnished by the Hottentot—excluding these, I venture to think that the other general features presented by these extracts regarding the condition of the parent peoples of modern Europe, will be perceived by the reader to bear a most striking likeness to those presented by communities of our own day, described as savage. Thus we read of "polygamy," "human sacrifice," "domestic slavery," "the purchasing of wives," "imposing upon women the tillage of the soil," "indolence," "treachery," "warlike proclivities," etc. Witchcraft and cannibalism are the only two features of barbarism that are absent from the picture which our extracts portray. And in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we are to conclude, I suppose, that the practice of witchcraft in Europe was reserved for a later period; while concerning cannibalism, Strabo, according to Prichard, identifies Ireland with the practice. Here is the passage:—

"They (the inhabitants of Ierne) are voracious cannibals, and even think it a laudable thing to eat the dead bodies of their parents."

Upon this statement Prichard remarks thus:—

"These stories, Strabo reports, as he says, without having derived them from any witnesses worthy of confidence. Diodorus has also asserted that the Irish were men-eaters. This relation, however, would not have obtained much credit had it

not been supported by a passage in the writings of St. Jerome, in which the celebrated father of the Church declares that, while he was resident in Gaul, he saw human flesh eaten by certain Scots or Attacotts. The Scots or Attacotts, to whom Jerome alludes, were probably slaves or other persons who had been brought from Ireland into Gaul."

But to the above Prichard adds this :—

"That the Irish people in the time of Jerome were in general savages of a description such as this account suggests cannot be credited."

Again :—

"If it be true, as Strabo and Diodorus assert, that in their time the people of Ireland were very barbarous, and I suppose their testimony must be admitted, unless any evidence can be found to contradict it, a rapid progress in civilisation must have been made during the two first centuries after the conquest of Britain by the Romans."

I may also say that, according to Draper, cannibalism was likewise practised in Belgium. Well, we are now in a position to pronounce upon the first of the two propositions with which we started out in this section, viz. "that in order that the assertions of the mental superiority of the colourless race may be sustained, it must be shown that it—the colourless race—has always been progressive, or that when unprogressive its position mentally was, even then, higher than that in which the mental condition of the coloured races has always stood."

Hence, from the facts revealed by the extracts we have been considering, I conclude, in the first place, that the colourless race has not been always progressive; and in the next place I conclude, that the unprogressiveness or barbarism of the colourless race presented no feature which could, either in degree or in kind, differentiate it from the unprogressiveness or barbarism of the coloured races in general, or from the African race in particular.

XX

Who were the Ancient Egyptians?

I N order to find the answer to the other proposition, still making the Ethiopian, for the reason already implied, our chief standard of measurement, in estimating the mental condition of the coloured races, we proceed next, in a manner similar to that of the preceding chapter, to examine the histories of a few peoples past and present, belonging to the African continent or of African descent. Accordingly, we begin with the Ancient Egyptians; and this leads me to remark that it is now generally asserted that the Ancient Egyptians were not Negroes. Hence, owing to the intimate bearing which the question of the ethnological position of the Ancient Egyptians has upon the discussion we are now entering, it becomes necessary that our attention should be first turned to it, in order to determine, if possible, whether the Ancient Egyptians really were or were not Negroes. I shall first of all supply extracts from the works of authors who deny the Negro origin of the Ancient Egyptians. After observing that several small states appear to have preceded a great Egyptian kingdom, and that their origin is enveloped in impenetrable obscurity, Heeren, in his *Manual of Ancient History*,¹ adds the following:—

“It may still, however, be gathered from the monuments and records that Upper Egypt was the first seat of civilisation; which, originating in the south, spread by the settlement of colonies towards the north. It is probable that this took place by the migration of some tribe differing from the Negroes, as is proved by the representations, both in sculpture and in painting, found on the yet remaining monuments of Egypt.”

Asking for more proofs, such as the name of the tribe or race whence these hordes of emigrants came, we are told that

¹ Page 57.

the castes which at the outset in several states in Egypt were generally developed were the result of a variety of tribes of different modes of life settling in the same country. That the peculiarity of caste appeared in the worship of several divinities, such as Ammon, Osiris, and Putha; that the spread of this worship, which was always connected with temples, affords the most evident vestiges of the spread of this caste itself; "and that those vestiges combined with records of the Egyptians" have led the author to conclude "that the caste was a tribe which migrated from the south, from beyond Meroë in Ethiopia." Further, that "by the establishment of inland colonies around the temples founded by them, the emigrants gradually extended, and made the worship of their gods the dominant religion of Egypt."

Proofs of the accuracy of these statements, Heeren continues, are deduced from monuments and express testimonies concerning the origin from Meroë of both Thebes and Ammon. That the origin of the Ammon worship might have been inferred from the fact that it was preserved at Meroë, and that Memphis and other cities in the valley of the Nile are commonly supposed to have been founded by detachments from Thebes. We are still further informed that, among other tribes, the Ethiopians, according to their modern representatives, comprised the Nubians, Scheygias, Bisharies, Ababdés, Hylophagæ, Shang-alas, and Macrobian; that these tribes or nations must be ranked together in the lowest grade of civilisation. But that there existed "a better cultivated, and to a certain degree, a civilised Ethiopian people, who dwelt in cities, erected temples and other edifices, and who, though without letters, had hieroglyphics, had government, had laws, and their fame and progress in knowledge and in social arts spread in the earliest ages over a considerable part of the earth." Meroë, we are told, was that state. The inhabitants of Meroë, Heeren proceeds, are in the strict sense Berbers.¹ We are thereby left to infer that all the other Ethiopian nations were Berbers, and that therefore the Egyptians, who, according to this authority, migrated from these nations, were also Berbers. Concerning the colour of the Egyptians, Heeren adds :—

"We may conclude that, though it be allowed that there was a dark-coloured race in Egypt, it certainly was not the only; but

¹ *Ancient Nations of Africa*, vol. i. p. 311.

a tribe of fairer, though perhaps not completely white (for with the limited number of colours of which the Egyptians made use, and these without intermixing them, it was impossible for them to give very exactly the colour of the skin), had at least for a certain period spread themselves over Upper Egypt . . . We may, moreover, conclude that this was the ruling tribe, to which the king, the priests, and warriors belonged, and that the magnificent monuments of Egyptian art in this district were erected by them."¹

As far, then, as the name and fame of ancient Egypt is concerned, we may dismiss for the time at least the darker Nubian or Ethiopian section of the Egyptian nation, which Heeren claims to have been of Berber stock, and pass to the consideration of the fairer division, declared by this same author to have been the founder of Egyptian renown. Discussing the origin of this people, Heeren, on the ground that its culture bears the "stamp of locality," denies that it was Greek; from the standpoint of language and manner of life he also dismisses an Arabian origin. And after making these two exclusions or excisions, he proceeds:—

"The Indians, then, are the only nation known to us that is left whence the Egyptians could have descended. But though it cannot be denied that some Indians found their way thither, of which indeed there is an historical proof, yet as this could not take place otherwise than by sea, single colonies at most—the Indians themselves never had a navy—could cross over; but we see not how a whole nation could. And would not such colonies instead of penetrating so far into the interior, even to the banks of the river, have established themselves on the coast? . . . It would be rash to deny that no political or religious shoot could have been transplanted from India to Ethiopia; but certainly nothing more than shoots, in which every foreign trace was soon lost by their being grafted in a foreign soil and climate."²

We now pass to the second authority that I am to quote, the quotation consisting of two letters that Mr. Gliddon received from Dr. Morton. Besides setting forth Morton's views on the subject of the racial origin of the Ancient Egyptians, these letters further represent the views of Nott and Gliddon. Written at New York, the first letter is dated December 14th, 1849, and proceeds thus:—

¹ *Ancient Nations of Africa*, p. 93.

² *Ibid.*, p. 95.

"By the hands of the person to whom you confided them I received last night Lepsius's *Chronologie* and the tin case of facsimile drawings. These, when studied in connection with the Egyptian heads (skulls), and especially with the small series sent me (from Memphis) . . . (seventeen in number), and very ancient, compel me to recant so much of my published opinions with respect to the origin of the Egyptians. They never came from Asia, but are the indigenous or aboriginal inhabitants of the valley of the Nile. I have taken this position in my letter to Mr. J. R. Bartlett, (New York) Ethnological Society . . . every day has verified it, and your drawings settle it for ever in my mind. . . ."

The second letter, of January, 1850, says:—

"You allude to my altered views in ethnology, but it all consists in regarding the Egyptian race as the indigenous people of the valley of the Nile. No Asiatics in any sense of the word, but autochthones of the country and the authors of their own civilisation. This view, which you will recollect is that of Champollion, Heeren,¹ and others (excepting only that they do not apply the word *indigenous* to the Egyptians), in no wise conflicts with the Caucasian position, for the *Caucasian group* had many primordial centres, of which the Egyptians represent one."

The "aboriginal or indigenous inhabitants of the Nile valley," referred to by Morton, are described by Nott as a "Negroid type," and, alluding to one of their effigies taken from the tomb of Seti I., and called the RoT, that is, the "race par excellence," he says:—

"This RoT, placed alongside the iconographic monuments of the IV., V., and VI. dynasties, is closely analogous to the predominant type of the day, which fact serves to strengthen our view that the Egyptians of the dynasties were rather of an African or Negroid type—resembling the Bishari in some respects, in others the modern Fellah, or peasantry of Upper Egypt."²

Coming to the last of the three authorities whom I shall cite as being among those who deny that the Ancient Egyptians were Negroes, we have, in his *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, consisting of seven volumes, in the Preface of the first volume, entitled "Nigritians,"³ the following statement from

¹ In saying that Heeren was among those who disbelieved the Asiatic origin of the Egyptians Morton was in error.

² *Types of Mankind*, p. 238.

³ p. xv.

Featherman. Stating in the first place that the classification he adopts in his book is based principally upon physical characteristics and language, and adding that in many respects language is a good guide in marking out the boundary-lines between the grand divisions or stocks, . . . then opening the floodgate of his wrath upon the "charlatans" and "quacks" who have impiously striven to force certain tongues into linguistic associations, for which, according to the laws of philology, they are wholly disqualified, and finally, supplying numerous examples in order to illustrate the incapacity of language to discover the racial connections of certain peoples, who, in consequence, are unclassified, Featherman continues thus:—

"Those nations and tribes whose languages stand isolated and apparently unconnected can only be classed by their family likeness, distinctly marked by physical characteristics, and their probable origin determined from the locality which they inhabit, and the stream of migration they must have followed. Thus the Ancient Egyptians (Egypto-Libyans), the Berbers, and other North African tribes, have hitherto not been classed in any of the great divisions of the human race, but it may be affirmed, without fear of successful contradiction, that they were not Nigritians, Melanesians, Maranonians, Turanians, or Iranians; they differ from all these stocks not only in language and in religious development, but in physical characteristics; for so far as the Egyptian religion and Egyptian art are concerned, they bear on their face the stamp of their Aramæan origin and original development; they differ altogether from the religion and art of Hindoo Aryans, whose civilisation is of later growth. As they certainly are not autochthones, it is impossible to conceive how they could have reached Northern Africa by the Suez, if they are not Aramæans: but if it be admitted that they belong to that stock, it is reasonable to suppose that they came from Syria or Arabia; and the Isthmus was the natural route they had taken to settle finally on the banks of the Nile."

Here, too, is the criticism passed by a leading journal upon the opinion expressed in my book, asserting the Negro origin of the Egyptians:—

"His view . . . that the Negroes are shown to be capable of progress because the Ancient Egyptians were of the Negro race, is anthropologically baseless and unsound."¹

The excerpts submitted from these different authorities may be regarded as representing, in concentrated form, the belief of

¹ *The British Empire and Alliances.*

all those who deny the Nigritic origin of the Ancient Egyptians, and as will be observed, the chief point of their convergence is their divergence. Thus, as regards the original home of the Egyptians, we are informed by Heeren that it was in the south; by Featherman that it was the north; while with an assurance no less positive, Nott declares that it was nowhere. Nor does the intricacy of the maze diminish when we enter upon the subject of ethnic affinity, for on this point Heeren would have us believe that the Egyptians were Indians; Featherman that they were Syrians or Assyrians; and Nott and Gliddon that they were Europeans. This is to say, according to one of these authorities, the Ancient Egyptians hailed from the Hindoo division of the Indo-European race; according to another, it was not the Hindoo division, but the European division; while the third avers that it was not the Indo-European race at all whence the Egyptian sprang, but the Semitic.

I suppose if one were accused of being guilty of some misdemeanour, and during the trial the case were found to turn wholly on the point of nationality, the accused and his friends swearing that he was an Englishman, while one witness for the prosecution was ready to swear that he was an American, a second that he was a Frenchman, and a third that he was a German, the judge and jury, on the ground of the serious discrepancy with which the evidence for the prosecution was pervaded, would discharge the prisoner, and thereby practically admit that he was the person whom he claimed to be—a veritable Englishman. Following this high precedent, when, on the one hand, through his sculptures, paintings, mummies, etc., the Egyptian affirms that he is none other than an African Negro, the affirmation being confirmed by his friends, while on the other hand, among the witnesses on the other side, one alleges that he is an Indian, another that he is a Syrian, a third that he is a European, I feel inclined to pronounce in favour of the Nigritic claim. But instead of doing so, I shall proceed to offer some comments on the evidence tendered by these three witnesses, first distributively, and then collectively.

Taking it in the order given, we begin with the eminent historian, A. H. Heeren. The proof that gave origin to the belief by Heeren, that the leading section of the Egyptian nation was Indian, was derived seemingly, as may be inferred from his remarks already quoted, chiefly from mummies and documents; from the figures represented on monuments and

obelisks, and from sculptures, as well as from paintings on the walls of temples and of the chambers of the dead. But whilst it is especially certain that some and perhaps most of the Egyptians were of a lighter complexion than the rest, yet from the fact that the men and women were painted in different colours, and as Heeren himself has admitted, these colours could not have been exact representations of the skin of the Egyptians, we can deduce from the paintings nothing definite concerning the natural colour of the persons represented in them. So that even if it be granted—and I see no reason for not granting it—that the colour in which the male Egyptian was painted corresponded with that of the Indian, it would still remain a subject of doubt whether the colour of the original corresponded with that of the Indian. Consequently the identity of complexion between the Indian and the Egyptian is not necessarily established by the colour of Egyptian painting. I pass next to two very important marks of identity, viz. the hair and the features. I admit that the admixture of blood to which the Egyptian nation was subject, was sufficient to have produced considerable modification of the features of the original type; but this transforming influence, as we shall see later, was present, not in the earliest, but only in the later parts of the nation's life; from the time that the Egyptians threw open their gates to foreigners, and that the land was subject to invasions. But certainly at that period, when the Indian colonies could have settled in the Nile valley, and when they would have erected those splendid works of art that still survive the ravages of time, the nation's blood, according to Heeren's specification, must have been in its virgin purity. For some of these memorials are synchronous with the earliest dynasties, as early as the third, fourth, and fifth dynasties. Hence, if it be true that the statues, paintings, etc., representing the fame and glory of Egyptian history from the earliest times, were the work of the Indian's hands, which afterwards disappeared, perhaps from absorption, we should still be able to trace in the earliest of these remains, at least, the lank hair and sharp features of the Indo-Aryan.

But of the parts appearing on the sculptures, mummies, paintings, etc., of the Ancient Egyptians, what is the description given by our author, and by the authorities whom he quotes? It is this, that the hair of the Egyptians was "curly or woolly." Of the Copts, who are regarded as the

descendants of the Ancient Egyptians, I give the following from Heeren :—

“‘I believe,’ says a modern who has seen them, ‘that the Ancient Egyptians exist in the present Copts; a dark-coloured Nubian . . . much as they are seen on the ancient monuments; flat foreheads, half-woolly hair, eyes rather staring, high lips, the nose rather short than flat, a large mouth with thick lips. . . .’”¹

Proceeding to the ancestors of the Copts, we observe that, after alluding to the faithfulness with which the features of the Egyptians who lived during what is known as the Old Empire, were delineated by their sculptors on the statues now extant, Nott, who also had formerly believed in their Indian origin, asks concerning these earlier remains :—

“What trace of an *Asiatic* type does the reader now perceive in these hoary likenesses? How distinct, physiologically, are these heads from the portraits of the New Empire! Does not the low, elongated head, the imperfectly developed forehead, the short thick nose, the large full lips, the short receding chin, with their *tout-ensemble*, all point to Africa as the primeval birth-place of these people?”

Now, by way of contrast, I shall add a very brief description of two Indian peoples, and an equally brief, general description of the Indian. The three descriptions are taken from Prichard's work. The first, referring to the people of Sindi, describes them as having oval faces, aquiline noses, arched eyebrows, and high foreheads, with expressive eyes. In the second, the Rajpoots are described as having long faces, aquiline noses, and large eyes. And the Hindoos generally are described as possessing more regular features than the Chinese, Burmese, or Malay, the face of the former being oval, and the nose nearly aquiline. Comparing, then, the description given by Heeren, and by Nott, of the hair, nose, lips, and features generally of the modern Egyptian, the Copt, and of his ancient sire, with the nose, hair, lips, etc., of the Indian, there will be no difficulty, I believe, in seeing that they point to two distinct races. Going a step further with Heeren, we reach the last point, viz. language. On this point I would remark that if, as Heeren asserts, the ancient history of Egypt was made by Indians, then granting that the Indian “shoots,” to borrow the picturesque term of this author, had been overtaken by some distemper that brought about their dissolution, there would be some parts that had sur-

¹ *Ancient Nations of Africa*, p. 85.

vived the calamity ; one of those parts, of which I would particularly make mention, is language. That the language of the founders of Egyptian civilisation has been preserved in Coptic literature is a common admission ; I am, therefore, very much surprised that Heeren, who has admitted the validity and the utility of language as a test of race homogeneity, and who applied that test when pronouncing against the Semitic ancestry of Egyptians,¹ should have neglected its employment when dealing with the alleged racial connection between the Egyptian and the Indian.

I purpose, therefore, to contrast the Indian family of languages, or the Indo-European tongue, with that of the Egyptian or Copt ; and as the language test will also be required when we come to refer to Nott and Featherman, I deem this the proper time and place to discuss it, as far as it relates to the subject we are considering. Accordingly we shall proceed to notice very briefly a few of the most outstanding characteristics of each of the three great linguistic families, viz. the Indo-European, the Semitic, and the Hamitic. Then I shall refer to the Egyptian or Coptic, that the reader may be able to decide as to which of the three it belongs.

In common with nearly all languages, the Indo-European dialects evolve their forms out of union entered into between originally independent elements. It is by suffixes, however, that unions with the radicals are almost invariably formed ; the exceptions when prefixes instead of suffixes unite with the radicals being those in which augments, such as the primitive preterite tense of the verb, the negative prefixes *in*, *un* (as *insatiable*, *unmistakable*), and as the prepositional *pre*, *ex*, *dis*, etc., as in *pretend*, *extend*, *distend*, are used. But like the unions previously referred to, this latter characteristic is not peculiar to the Indo-European language ; it is also found in the majority of other tongues.

A more distinctive trait is the completeness with which radicals absorb formal elements, a completeness resulting in so thorough an assimilation of the formal elements by the radical that, emerging finally into view, the two appear as one indivisible whole. Thus, for example, take the word *am*, the first person of the verb *to be*. Would it be supposed that this innocent-looking vocable is anything other than it professes to

¹ *Ancient Nations of Africa*, vol. i. p. 308.

be, *i.e.* a genuine integral unit? And yet, tracing it as it has been traced by philologists to its oldest connection, it would be found to be constituted of two words; of *as*, which means to exist, and of *mi*, originally used as a pronoun, in the way that *me* is now used. So that the word now appearing as *am* was formerly *as-mi*, with the meaning of *be-I*, but *as* having in process of time parted with its *s*, and *mi* with its *i*, the *a* and *m* coalesced into the now seamless *am*.

Again, take a further example: it is the word *loved*. No one would ordinarily credit the last letter, *d*, of this word with an origin more notable than that of direct lineage from the alphabet, whence it was taken to form the preterite tense of the verb *to love*. Yet, its genealogy having been traced back to Mæso-Gothic times, it has been found to be identical with the vocable *tamidédum*, which in plain English means *tame-did-we*. So that this *d*, which forms the past tense of love, is a lineal descendant of the vocable *did*, and when *did* first became associated with *love* for the purpose of forming its past tense, both vocables appeared as *love did*. But in consequence of the incessant and inevitable changes occurring in language, the *id* of *did* was subsequently excised, while the *root word love* retained the *formal* letter *d*, to construct its preterite tense. Hence, to begin with, we have the mere agglutination of the independent elements, *love did*, then one of these elements is reduced to a subordinate place where it wears only a formal aspect. But during the process of union, or the assimilation of the formal by the root element, there is, so to say, a development of the root by the formal element into varying phonetic tones. In this way these subordinate elements being called in first, as mere supports, tend afterwards, by means of the internal change they produce in the root theme, to replace the primitive grammatical expression; such a tendency being regarded as demonstrating, in the highest degree, the characteristic of the Indo-European dialects, and as conferring upon these dialects their inflective property.

We now pass to the Semitic family. The Semitic family of languages consists of three principal dialectic divisions. These, according to their geographical areas, are represented as the northern, which includes the Syrian and Assyrian, or Aramaic variety; the central or Canaanitic, comprehending the Hebrew, Phœnician, with the Punic; and the southern, consisting of the Arabic, and those dialects most closely allied to it—the Him-

yaritic in the southern end of the peninsula, the Ethiopic or Geëz in Abyssinia.

The fundamental peculiarity of the Semitic group is the triliterality of its roots; that is to say, that with rare and insignificant exceptions, the verbal roots of the Semitic family of languages possess exactly three consonants. Nor are these at any time, as is the case with the Indo-European and other tongues in which vowels are essential to the structure of their roots, composed of letters other than consonants. So that these consonant-formed-roots are essentially the radical elements of the verbs, the vowels associated with them being simply formatives. The following *q-t-l* are three consonants forming the root of the Arabic verb conveying the idea of killing. The vowel *a* being added to each of these consonants transforms the meaning of the root word from *q-t-l*, "killing," to *qa-ta-la*, "he killed." Further manipulation by means of vowels produces other shades of meaning, as, for example, *qutila*, "he was killed"; *qutilu*, "they were killed"; *qutul*, "kill," etc. Along with these internal flexions, obtained through the employment of vowels, there are also external formative elements of prefixes and suffixes, besides inserted letters or syllables. But these external elements are only of secondary value, and are little relied upon. The groupings of formatives, appearing in words such as *in-ap-plic-a-bil-i-ty* and *un-in-ten-tion-al-ly* are practically foreign to the genius of Semitic speech. The cast-iron rigidity and uniformity of its triliteral root-structure, together with a unique capacity for internal change, impose between Semitic and other families of language an impassable gulf.

The Hamitic branch will now engage our attention; and the section that I have selected for illustrating my remarks consists of the most widely extended and the best established group of African languages; it is the Bantu, or Chuana, or Ungian division. That division extends from a point a few degrees above the equator to the Cape of Good Hope. The structural and material correspondence of the dialects found in this region evinces a unity sufficiently obvious to prove the oneness of their origin. They are all of the agglutinative type, producing vocables of many syllables; in their form and capacity they are rich enough to indicate varying shades of meaning. Their nouns possess the singular and marked distinction of being divided into classes, and also a singular and marked distinction

in the formation of their number and case, this latter by means of prefixes occurring likewise in the pronouns, as well as the nouns. Thus, taking as our illustration a dialect with which I have some acquaintance, and which is spoken on the Lower Congo, we have as a prefix the syllable *di* marking off a class of nouns of which each, in the singular, is labelled with this same prefix, and in the plural with *ma*. Such nouns therefore, beginning in the singular with *di* and in the plural with *ma*, as *dilonga*, "a plate," *ditadi*, "a stone," and *diméné*, "a sheep," belong to this one class, whilst other classes, both in the singular and plural, have similarly other prefixes. But besides distinguishing number in nouns, prefixes are also added to adjectives, personal, relative, and possessive pronouns, and form the subject and object of verbs, which, when so formed, agree with the noun of the sentence. Verbs have no inflexions except their loosely attached pronominal prefixes. The moods and tenses of verbs are signified chiefly by auxiliary words connected with the verbal roots; also by suffixes derived from the roots themselves. The following examples will, I trust, make some of these points plainer:—

"Dimémé, diami, dina ya-sumba, difwede."
 "Sheep my which I bought has died."

It will be noticed how the class prefix *di* runs through the subject "sheep," the possessive pronoun "my," the relative pronoun "which," and the verb *difwede*, whereof the subject "sheep" is the nominative. Changing the subject into the plural, the sentence would be, "Mamémé mami, mana, yasumba, mafwede." Concerning the verb *yasumba*, the prefix *ya*, besides signifying the person and number of the personal pronoun, also indicates the past tense, *sumb* being the root of the verb, while the last letter, *a*, points to the indicative mood. In the case of the verb *difwede*, the suffix *ede*, an outgrowth of the verbal root, is the sign of the perfect tense.

Now reviewing the philological region through which we have passed, I think it will not be denied that the journey has extended over districts, whose distinctive characters justify their classifications into the three provinces named. We have seen that the Indo-European is distinguished by the union that takes place between two originally independent words, by the reduction of one of these words to a formative or subordinate element, by the phonetic alteration consequent upon the subordination and coalescence of this latter element with the root word, and by the production of changes in the root

word by the subordinate element, which alter its original grammatical expression. Unlike these distinctions of the Indo-European tongue, the peculiarities of the Semitic, as we saw, display themselves in the triliterality of its verbal roots ; so that, whereas in the Indo-European and other languages vowels are found as part and parcel of their verbal roots, in the Semitic these roots consist almost always of consonants only, and always of only three consonants, vowels uniting with the consonants merely for purposes of pronunciation and grammatical variation, as in the case of declensions. These peculiarities are further displayed in the fact that, while prefixes and suffixes in Indo-European speech play a prominent and important part, in the Semitic their part is but secondary and subsidiary. Still another fact wherein these peculiarities show themselves is that, whereas in the Indo-European the piling of affix upon affix evolves derivatives from derivatives until terms such as *in-appropri-ate-ness* and *un-faith-ful-ly* are produced, in the Semitic such formations are unknown.

In coming to the Hamitic we meet with still another group of characteristics differing from either of those of the Indo-European and of the Semitic tongues. We meet with a series of phenomena from which the stamp of individuality peculiar to each of the three great families of language is derived—phenomena which in the Hamitic dialects are designated prefixes and suffixes, in the Indo-European inflexions, and in the Semitic triliterality. Thus in the Indo-European the individuality of inflexions appears in the number, gender, person, and case of adjectives, nouns, and pronouns ; in the moods and tenses of verbs called declension, and in conjugation. But the phenomenon which confers upon Semitic speech its stamp of individuality is the triplicity of its verbal roots, whereas in Hamitic speech it is prefixes and suffixes that occupy the place and discharge the functions which inflexions fulfil in the Indo-European and triplicity in the Semitic speech.

The distinctive character of each of these three groups of tongues being, I trust, made quite manifest, we proceed to add the characteristics of the Egyptian language, that the one among the above group, of which it is a member, may be perceived. The Egyptian or Hamitic language as it appears in Coptic has as its chief characteristic simplicity of structure. Its roots are to a great extent monosyllabic and to a less extent polysyllabic. These roots are its words, and these words are its roots ; for, so

far, neither in its adjectives, its nouns, nor its verbs, has examination disclosed any radical element of simpler form than they. As the Egyptian root begins its life, so it continues that life; it makes no attempt whatever to increase its primitive status, by the ordinary and usual means of the combination of other words. *It is thereby devoid of formative elements such as we have recognised in Indo-European dialects. Substantives in Egyptian are without declension, and verbs are without conjugation. The duties of conjugation as well as of declension are discharged by pronominal prefixes. Thus the number, gender, and case of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns are distinguished almost entirely by these particles.* In the same manner, too, the *inflexion* of verbs, both in their moods and their tenses, is by means of prefixes and suffixes; but the words or roots employing these particles, unlike either the Indo-European or Semitic tongues, remain, as regards their structure, unaltered.¹ So that prefixes primarily and suffixes secondarily form the distinguishing features of the Egyptian speech. Such, then, are the leading traits of this language. Now, can there be any difficulty in discerning to which of the above three families of speech the Egyptian dialect is related? I think not. I think it will be readily perceived that its similarity to the African languages and dialects is as pronounced as is its dissimilarity to the Indo-European and Semitic divisions. And as to the extent of the family group, Professor Whitney, following Lepsius's Standard Alphabet, says, after referring to the homology between Old Egyptian and the Coptic language:—

“ A number of other African dialects are claimed to exhibit affinities of material and structure with the language of Egypt. They fall into three groups—the Ethiopian or Abyssinian, of which the Galla is at present the most important member; the Libyan or Berber, extending over a wide region of Africa from Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean; and the Hottentot, embracing the dialects of the degraded tribes of Hottentots and Bushmen at the far southern extremity of the continent. These last have been recently recognised as showing signs of probable relationship with the rest . . . ”

Continuing the reference to the South African dialects, Whitney adds:—

“ Upon the western coast of the continent the languages of the family of which we are treating extend as far as Sierra

¹ Tutnam's *Grammar of Egyptian Language*.

Leone ; but they are much intermingled at the north with other tongues of a different kindred. A broad band across the continent at its widest part, from Cape Verde on the north to the equator on the south, and eastward to the upper waters of the Nile, is filled with dialects not reckoned as South African, although possessing a structure in many respects accordant with that which we have just described. Conspicuous among these are the Fulah, the Mandingo, and the tongues of Bornu and Darfu. . . .”

We return now to take up our review of Heeren’s assertion that the leading or fairer class of Egyptians was of Indian descent.

It will be remembered that I pointed out, that, inasmuch as it is improbable (as Heeren also avers) that the colour on the monuments, purporting to show the complexion of the Egyptian people, was a true representation of the original, the assertion of Heeren, claiming to establish a racial identity between the Egyptian and Indian, on the ground of the complexion represented on the monuments, is not necessarily true. But whilst there is thus reason to doubt that the colour on the monuments correctly represented the colour of the Egyptian, and therefore that the colour of the Egyptian and that of the Indian were alike, there is found among African peoples (see “Classification of Hamitic Race,” pp. 146-7) at the present time these identical lighter and darker shades of complexion, distributed in the same manner as they appeared among the Egyptians. So that not the slightest necessity exists for resorting to imaginary Indian migration into Egypt in order to account for the “lighter” and “darker” shades of Egyptian colour.

It will be further remembered that we have noticed that the lank or bristly hair of the Indian does not appear in Egyptian paintings, on their sculptures, or on the mummies ; but that, instead, the hair found on these remains, as well as that possessed by their descendants, the Copts, is the curly or woolly variety. And it will be still further remembered that the facial characteristics described by Heeren as those of the descendants of the Egyptians, viz. the Copts, and described by Nott (p. 220), point rather to the Ethiopian than to the Indian or Aryan race. But one item was lacking in order to complete this part of the review, that item being language.

We have since described the chief traits of both the Indo-European and African languages and dialects, and having com-

pared the Egyptian language with each of them, we have found that its character is undoubtedly African, and not Indo-European. Therefore I conclude that the Egyptians were not of Indian descent, but of African descent—that they were not Hindoos, but Negroes.

Passing next in order to Nott and Gliddon, we are told by the extracts quoted on page 194, and supplemented on page 229 of *Types of Mankind*, that, in the case of Nott and Gliddon, the drawings of Lepsius and, in the case of Morton, the same drawings, some seventeen skulls, and Lepsius's *Chronologie*, led these three gentlemen to recant their former belief in the Indo-Aryan origin of the Egyptians, and to substitute for it a Caucasio-Negroid origin. This latter form of origin, according to these same gentlemen, was accomplished by means of polygenesis, by which is meant, as we saw in the last section, the existence of communities in the first instance in the localities where they were separately created, such communities being, moreover, the centres from which the human race has descended. But this theory, as we also said, is based upon abiogenesis, or spontaneous generation, which has been shown to be unscientific. Therefore this origin of the Egyptians cannot be true. But whereas it cannot be true that the Egyptians were spontaneously developed in the valley of the Nile, the description of their features given by Nott, that they had "thick lips," "short nose," "dark colour," and "curly or woolly hair," and the correspondence of their language with Coptic and with the living African languages and dialects, identify them with the Negro race rather than with the Caucasian race. Hence, according to Nott and Gliddon's own portrayal, the Egyptians were not Caucasians, and the conclusion previously arrived at as regards their Negro origin is sustained.

We pass on to Featherman. Through the extract furnished from this author (see p. 194) we learn that his general classification of the races is by the standards of language and physical characteristics. But as measured by these standards, the Egyptians, we are told, do not correspond with any of the races; that consequently they are among the "unclassed." However, a subordinate link has been discovered, viz. religion; and this link, it is said, connects them with the Aramaic or Semitic race. This link of religion is also affirmed as being strengthened by arguments such as the "straight nose" of the mummies at the Louvre, the recognition of kinship between the Egyptians and

Hebrews by intermarriages, as, for example, Abraham and Hagar, Solomon and Pharaoh's daughter, and by commerce, such as the selling of Joseph to the Midianitish merchants.

But in regard to commerce between the Egyptians and Hebrews being considered a proof of kinship of race, it seems almost superfluous to refer to any of the numerous instances in history, past and present, in order to show that commercial intercourse has always existed between different races.

The same is also true with respect to intermarriages. This author would not, I presume, assert that the indigenous population of Palestine, whom the Hebrews were bidden to dispossess, were themselves Hebrews or Semitics, yet under the certain knowledge that there would be intermarriages between these aborigines and the Hebrews, a divine law was promulgated prohibiting such unions. Nor was even this law always obeyed. And in most countries at the present time where there are Hebrews, intermarriages between them and Gentiles are not unknown. In the case, too, of the Arab, mention need only be made of the large mixed population in the north, east, and Soudanese divisions of the African continent, the result of unions between them and the African, to disprove the statement that intermarriages between the Egyptians and the Hebrews are a proof of race kinship.

The description already given of the features of the Egyptians, a description all the more important as it is supplied by those who deny their Nigrific origin, is a sufficient answer to the conclusion drawn from the straight-nosed mummies of the Louvre, that they, the Egyptians, were Aramæans. But we go on to the main subject of Featherman's classification, viz. language and physical characteristics. Starting from its hieroglyphic source, and continuing its deviations through the Hierarchic and Demotic stages to its Coptic termination, the Egyptian language, as we have already noticed in this chapter, is essentially African. Its peculiarities, which, on the one side, divide it from the Indo-European, and, on the other, from the Semitic, bind it indissolubly to living African speech. And the great group by which this identity of ancient Egyptian and modern African tongues is most unmistakably demonstrated is found filling the continent from a few degrees above the equator to the Cape of Good Hope, and continuing north to Sierra Leone. Lepsius, Whitney, and Humboldt are among the eminent authorities who support this statement.

But in addition to this evidence of language, I have also shown that, according to the accounts given of the Egyptians by those, even such as Nott and Gliddon, who oppose their Ethiopian identity, as well as by the evidence furnished by Egyptian monuments, paintings, etc., and by their physical characteristics, they were Ethiopic and not Aramaic. Hence, I am able neither to accept the statement that the Egyptians were unclassed, nor that they were Aramæans ; while I unhesitatingly affirm that they were Negroes. So, then, the Ancient Egyptians are shown to be neither Indo-Aryan, Caucasio-Negroid, nor Aramæan, as have been alleged, but Negroes.

I had intended to submit here the views of some modern authorities, such as Volney, Prichard, and Rollins, who by their writings teach the Negro origin of the ancient Egyptians, but fearing that I might weary the reader, I will omit them ; and instead, content myself with mentioning a few well-known references, quoted here from Nott and Gliddon's *Types of Mankind*, relating to the complexion of the Egyptians. Commencing with Herodotus, whose statements are the more weighty, as they are the result of personal observation, we find that historian asserting the Egyptian origin of the people of Colchis, and supporting his assertion by the argument that they were "black in complexion and woolly-haired." Copying the Halicarnassian in his fourth Pythian ode, Pindar also described the Colchians as being black. And Herodotus in another passage, when relating the fable of the Dodonian Oracle, again alludes to the swarthy colour of the Egyptians, "as if it were exceedingly dark, and even black." Further, in his supplices, Æschylus, mentioning the crew of an Egyptian bark that was seen from the shore, alludes to the person who espied it as having arrived at the conclusion that its members were Egyptians, on account of their black complexion.

"The sailors too I marked
Conspicuous in white robes their sable limbs."

Now, from all that has been said in connection with the question as to "who were the Ancient Egyptians," the answer, it will be seen, is discernible in the three following directions: The philological, the physical, and the historical.

In the philological direction we have noticed that the wide unbridged and unbridgable difference between the Egyptian tongue and the Semitic or Aramæan, on the one hand, and the

Indo-European, on the other hand, excludes the old Egyptian nation from these races; while the complete likeness of its language to the numerous dialects of the African tribes and nations marks its affinity to the Hamitic race.

In the physical direction we have observed that, whereas, on the ground of complexion, the fairer section of the Egyptians, as represented on their monuments, in their paintings, etc., may be classed with either the Indo-European, the Semitic, or Hamitic race, as regards the hair of the head and the contour of the face, they were decidedly Hamitic. And among certain Negro tribes, now inhabiting the African continent—as I shall show in the next chapter—not only do we find the “lighter” and “darker” shades of colour which were present among the Egyptians, but these shades are exhibited in the same proportion as they appeared among the Egyptians; so that the physical identity between the Ancient Egyptians and the Negro race is completely established.

Lastly, in the historical direction, while we have, on the one hand, modern authorities, such as Heeren and Featherman, Nott and Gliddon, arguing against the Negro origin of the Egyptians, on the other hand we have authorities, such as Volney, Prichard, and Rollins, arguing in favour of the Negro origin. And on proceeding to the testimony of ancient witnesses, that is to say those who had had personal knowledge of the Egyptians, such, for instance, as Herodotus, who had himself travelled in Egypt, we find the testimony of these witnesses to be both unanimous and unequivocal in the declaration that the Egyptians were blacks, in fact that they were Negroes. Thus, by the harmony of this powerful triplex of proofs, I am finally compelled to pronounce in favour of the Negro origin of the Egyptians.

XXI

Classification of the Hamitic Race

IN regard to the classification of the Hamitic race, I should have expected that the same procedure as that employed in classifying the other races would have been followed. But as this is not the case—as the subject is of extreme ethnological importance as well as interest, and as the procedure that is in vogue is not only arbitrary, but mischievous—I wish here to devote some remarks to it. With reference to the terms “Negroid,” “Negro,” and colour or complexion, as they are applied to the Hamitic race, that of “Negroid,” which, as we have seen, has been used by Nott and Gliddon, and which in ethnology and anthropology, etc., is commonly in use, is defined as “resembling negroes,” or negro-like; and Negro is defined as “of, or pertaining to, the blacks of Africa and their descendants, or in a wide sense, to the woolly-haired type of mankind,” or still further, Africans, “with black woolly hair,” “thick lips,” “broad flat noses,” “receding foreheads” (dolichocephalic), and “prominent jaws” (prognathous).¹ It is in accordance with the latter part of this definition that the term Negro is now generally employed, both in scientific treatises and in general literature. Waitz, Ratzel tells us, has excluded such African tribes as the Gallas, Nubians, Hottentots, Kaffirs, the Congo peoples, and the Malagassies from the roll of the “genuine Negro.” And by an additional stroke of the pruning-knife, Schweinfurth has further lopped off the Shulluks and Bongos branches from the “genuine Negro.” Other ethnologists, among whom are Professor Keane (see pp. 146–7), also anthropologists, travellers, historians, etc., swayed by the same iconoclastic impulse, have rushed in with sledge-hammers, battering-rams, picks, crow-bars, bludgeons, and tools and missiles of less threatening

¹ See “Inferiority of Coloured Races” and “Cranial Variation,” pp. 9, 42.

aspects, and by their energetic application of these implements and instruments, have sundered all the Bantu family from the ethnic mass of the "genuine Negro." To end the epidemic of spoliation and devastation, Waitz chivalrously fixed the boundary of the "genuine Negro" as that stretching through a tract of country of not more than ten or twelve degrees of latitude, or from the mouth of the Senegal to Timbuctoo, and thence to the regions contiguous with Sennaar. But Latham, still pursuing the career of the Vandal band of ethnologists, boldly tearing down Waitz's geographical boundaries, on the ground that the territory is inhabited by peoples other than the "genuine Negro," narrowed the area so as to make it extend from the Senegal to the Niger. Now, according to these authorities, the inhabitants of the regions alluded to as possessing the exaggerated type of features given above, in the last part of the definition of the term "Negro," on the preceding page, represent the "genuine Negro." And as other dark or black woolly-headed tribes approach these in their resemblance to them, they receive the designation "Negroid." But after a sojourn of two years on the Coast of Guinea, where I was brought into daily contact with scores of persons hailing from the most circumscribed of these areas, viz. that outlined by Latham, I am prepared to affirm that I cannot recall a single instance, during that period, when I came across anyone answering to the above exaggerated description, that is to say, the Negro with the dolichocephalic head and prognathous jaws. And this extreme rareness of the "genuine Negro," even in the places described as his haunts, appears to be also the experience of other observers. Of these observers, Ratzel, for example, makes upon the subject these remarks:—

"The name 'Negro' originally embraces one of the most unmistakable conceptions of chronology—the African with dark skin, so-called 'woolly' hair, thick lips and nose; and it is one of the prodigious, nay amazing, achievements of critical erudition to have latterly confined this (and that even in Africa, the old Negro country) to a small district.

"If we ask what justifies such a narrow limitation, we find that the hideous Negro-type which the fancy of observers once saw all over Africa, but which Livingstone says is really to be seen only as a sign in front of tobacco shops, has on closer inspection evaporated from almost all parts of Africa, to settle, no one knows how, in just this region."

But even if the advocates of the "genuine Negro" should be so unrelenting in their determination to limit his claim to the most modest of these domains, viz. to that assigned him by Latham, they would have to admit that that domain is also occupied by others, of whom he, the "genuine Negro," is but a fraction.

So that in that case the characteristics whence the people termed Negroes would receive their designation would be founded, not upon what is general, but upon what is exceptional. That is to say, these characteristics would be based, not upon what is peculiar to the largest divisions of the Hamitic race, but upon what is peculiar to the smallest section of that race. Nay! it would be based, not upon what is singular in the smallest section of the African race, but upon what is singular among the smallest number of individuals in the smallest section of the African continent. But such a method of generalisation, would it be scientific? To regard as the rule that which is the exception, is that the procedure of scientific inquiry? If, for example, one out of every thousand individuals in a community were blind, would it be logical to describe the whole as a community of blind people? But if such a generalisation would be illogical, as it certainly would be, then surely the generalisation which would make the peculiarities alleged concerning the smallest section of a people, occupying one of the smallest areas of the African continent, the characteristics of the people of the entire continent, or the characteristics of the race, must also be illogical. So that even if it were true, that in the minute corner of the African continent, marked out by Latham as the habitat of the "genuine Negro," that is the Negro with "receding forehead," "prominent jaws," etc., there were Negroes there answering such a description, it would still be a most flagrant abuse of language to describe the entire Hamitic race as having "receding foreheads," "broad flat noses," and "thick lips." And concerning that other instance, in which the African who is supposed to resemble the "genuine Negro" is described as "Negroid," since the validity of that term is supported by no more solid proof than that which professes to prove the existence of the "genuine Negro," I reject the term "Negroid" thus applied by Nott and Gliddon.

But why should the classification of the Hamitic race be considered on lines which are different from those upon which the classification of the other races proceeds? Take, for example, the Indo-European race. By what marks is its racial homogeneity

established? By the marks of language and physiognomy. Of language, by the resemblance existing between the dead Sanscrit, on the one hand, and the dead Greek, the dead Latin, the Persian, and the Germanic tongues, on the other hand. Not that the points of resemblance are by any means always certain, for the constantly recurring variations between the verbal links identifying these tongues, often render the tracing of their relations so difficult, that the student by whom they would be identified is frequently reduced to the necessity of calling in the aid of analogy, and even of falling back upon mere conjecture. Coming to physiognomy, this same law of variation is also discernible there. Consider the hair, for instance. We have the black, light brown, dark brown, red, flaxen, straight, curly, and sometimes kinky. Consider also the complexion. In this department, too, the vision sweeps over a field of highly diversified hues—a field ranging from the jet-black Hindoo of Southern India to the florid or pale-faced Caucasian of Northern Europe. The varieties thus displayed by the hair, the complexion, and by language, not that they are limited to these only, are they not real? Are they not wide? Are they not striking? Yet no one dreams of calling in question the integrity of the Indo-European race, by which these varieties are displayed. But when there appear certain individuals or groups of individuals among the Hamitic race having hair with varying degrees of curliness, some are called “Negroes,” others “Negroid.” Or when one group is black and the other yellow, one is said to be Indian and the other Libyan. It is in this way Heeren states that:—

“Even among the Egyptians themselves there was a difference of colour, as individuals are expressly distinguished from one another by being of a darker or lighter complexion. . . . Their colour is brownish, sometimes between the white and black or swarthy.”

Under the discussion of the Egyptians, I omitted to dwell upon this part of the subject, as to whether such variations of complexion as are represented to have been among them are present to-day among African peoples. Therefore we shall devote to it here a little space. From the remarks made in the chapter on colour, I believe that the inference will be readily conceded, that the black and white, or Indo-European and African races, display a greater variety of colour than the Mongolian race.

Each, beginning with the melanocomous or black skin, and passing through the xanthous or fair variety of complexion, ends in the leucous or very fair skin. But the types of colour most prevalent among the Ethiopian race are the black, the yellow, and the brown, or olive. I venture to say, that throughout the African continent there is not a village where these three varieties would not be met with. Of course, I am speaking of the Ethiopian of pure blood, and not those of mixed parentage, as, for example, Arab and African.

Among the Bantus on the Congo I noticed these varieties of colour ; also among the Duallas on the Cameroons ; the Yorubas at Lagos, the Ejors and Iboes at New Calabar, the Fantis on the Gold Coast, etc. In each of these places the yellow hue appears in varying proportions, but always as a fraction of the integer, which is black. However, this proportion of these three forms of colour is not to be regarded as that which prevails throughout the continent. For the same way as in the north of Europe, for example, where, amid the prevailing xanthous type of complexion, the melanous variety, in the form of the brunette, appears in a much smaller proportion, whereas in the south, where the melanous predominates, the xanthous is subordinate, so, in almost every part of Africa, tribes will be met with, in which the yellow or brown is sometimes in the majority and sometimes in the minority. This statement is borne out by Mungo Park, as quoted by Prichard, where he says, when speaking of the Mandingoes, Felups, Fulahs, and Iolofs of the Western Soudan, that the two former have most of what is termed Negro character. That the Iolofs, on the other hand, though in colour jet-black, have features like those of Europeans. That the Fulahs have small features, and soft, silky hair, without either the thick lips or the crisp wool common to Negroes. And "that both peoples are not black, but are of a tawny colour, *which is lighter or more yellow in some states than in others.*" It is further borne out by Stanley with respect to the Ugandas, or Wagandas, in East Africa. Speaking of the Wagandas of pure blood, according to Ratzel, Stanley refers to their colour as that of a bronze hue, or reddish brown, and the colour of some of their women he describes as being like that of reddish gold, approaching here and there to that of white men. But of the pastoral Wahuma the quotation states :—

"Though the majority have a nutty brown complexion, some

even of a rich dark brown, the purest of their kind resemble old ivory in colour, and their skins have a beautiful soft feel, as of finest satin."

We will close this chapter with one other quotation, taken from Featherman. Referring to the colour of the South African native, this author writes:—

"The Kaffirs are remarkable for their well-developed physical characteristics. They are generally of a tall stature, and are well endowed with a robust, athletic, and muscular form of body; they are well proportioned and well made, and have a stately and imposing appearance. . . . *Their complexion graduates from a shade of brown, or dark iron-grey, to a deep black, the last, however, being most rare.*"

And now, after these remarks, I may be permitted to furnish what I should regard as a description that embodies the chief physical characteristics of the Negro. Hair black and curly, ranging from the complete or black-pepper curl to the wavy or kinky variety. Nose short and full, rounded or flat; lips full rather than thin; and complexion varying from the dull or burnished black, to the light brown, or yellow, or tawny hue. I should therefore regard all peoples bearing these features of hair, nose, lips, and complexion, as members of the Negro variety of mankind. And regarding this as the general or standard description of the Negro, I should designate approximations to it, by individuals or communities of the other races, as "Negroid." In this description I have purposely abstained from cranial or facial allusions as a whole, and this, for the simple reason that, notwithstanding the pedantic and ostentatious parade of the terms "dolichocephalic," "prognathous," etc., and notwithstanding their sciolistic assignment to a particular race, these terms, in addition to being very vague and highly elastic in their meaning, describe a type of cranium found, as we have noticed before, in each of the races.

XXII

Arguments Supporting Race Differences

THE arguments that I have been combating in the chapters dealing with the classification of the Hamitic Race, and with the origin of the Ancient Egyptians, those also that I have been combating in the first section of this work, and that I shall yet combat in the present as well as in the succeeding sections, possess a quality that is so constant and uniform that I am compelled to regard it as the principle by which they are regulated. This principle being the pivot around which these arguments revolve, its importance will be at once perceived. Therefore I wish at this point to draw special attention to this principle. The object for which I desire to invite attention to this principle is that I might account for its cause.

Proceeding, then, to its illustration, and noticing in that connection the procedure of Heeren, what do we discover? In one case we discover this distinguished historian employing language for the purpose of disproving the assertion that the Ancient Egyptians were Arabians,¹ but in another case immediately afterwards, in which he desires to prove that the Egyptians were Indians, the language-test, being then inimical to his theory, he is discovered to have altogether abandoned. Again, after informing us that the Copts are the descendants of the Egyptians,² that their "foreheads are flat," their hair "woolly," their "eyes staring," "cheekbone high," "nose short," "mouth large," "lips thick"—a description invariably given of the Negro—we find Heeren concluding that the sires of these Copts, who must naturally have also possessed similar features, were not members of the Negro race, but of the straight or bristly-haired, pointed-nosed, and thin-lipped Indian.

We now pass to Messrs. Nott and Gliddon, these fugitives who after that the drawings of Lepsius, convincing them of the

¹ p. 199.

² p. 198.

Negro lineage of the Egyptians, had forced them to recant from their former position that the Egyptians were of Indian descent—instead of proceeding to the citadel of the Negro descent of the Egyptians, that being the terminus of their recantation, are found cowering in the shattered and untenanted ruins of “polygenesis,” with the fantastic sobriquet “Negroid” dangling about their necks. Further, being forced by Lepsius to give up the Indian connection of the Egyptians, that is to say, being compelled to abjure their former belief that the Egyptians were descended from the Indian or darker branch of the Aryan race, but being equally *determined* to retain, at all costs, the idea of the Aryan kinship of the Egyptians, after describing these Egyptians as having “low, elongated heads,” “imperfectly developed forehead,” “short, thick nose,” “large full lips,” “short, receding chin,” “with their *tout-ensemble*, all pointing to Africa as the primeval birthplace of these people,” Nott and Gliddon grafted these dark-skinned and Negro-featured Egyptians into the fairer and narrower-featured Aryan or Caucasian branch; giving out, that “the Caucasian had many centres.” This Caucasio-“Negroid” amalgam, which the Egyptians are thus made to represent, no doubt, reflects the greatest credit upon the inventive genius of the sponsors responsible for its creation, but according to that standard of proportion by which these sponsors affect to have been guided, it reflects upon their sense of harmony the greatest discredit. For to what is the huge volume, *Types of Mankind*, consisting of 700 pages, devoted? Is it not to prove the absolute difference—physical, mental, and moral—that exists between the Caucasian and Ethiopian races? a difference even embracing, according to the authors, exclusion of the latter race from kinship to the Noachian family?¹ Hence the descendants of Ham, we are told, are to be considered as Caucasian rather than Ethiopian. Nor is this repudiation of all connection whatsoever, between the Caucasian and Ethiopian, mildly declared, but is attended throughout by a steady stream of vitriol, compounded of scorn, scurrility, and vituperation, directed against the Ethiopian. Indeed, if the corrosive energy of speech be a mark of conclusiveness, then most assuredly a gulf as wide, at least as that of Guinea, really divides the Ethiopian from the Caucasian. Yet, after it all, we are requested to recognise this Caucasio-Negroid blend as representing one and the same race. Still pursuing the exploits of Messrs. Nott and Gliddon, we

¹ *Types of Mankind*, p. 206.

notice further that when, in his *Physical History of Mankind*, Prichard, on the ground of unity of language among the Berbers, declares these Berber tribes as having had a common origin, since, with a few exceptions, consisting of those who speak Arabic, they all—as shown by Hodgson—speak dialects of the same language, Nott, disapproving of Prichard's statement, which regards these different tribes as one people, whereas his theory regards each tribe as a separate species, separately created, remarks thus: "In consequence of Hodgson's view on the subject, it has been assumed by Prichard and others of the unity school that they" (the Berbers) "be of a common origin," sarcastically concluding:—

"In some of the more civilised cities—Meroë, Fez, etc.—Arabic is the only tongue spoken among the patrician Berbers; thus affording another evidence of the utter fallacy of arguments in favour of the identity of origin or consanguinity of races, based solely upon the community of languages."

Yet when he himself desires to prove the unity of the Indo-European race, we find him saying:—

*"All the Caucasian families of which we have spoken belong to that vast chain of nations called Indo-European, in consequence of their having a common tongue, the Sanscrit."*¹

Again, on page 187, Nott describes the "Nigritians" as having the rudiments of civilisation, saying that many of the tribes are rude agriculturists, that they manufacture coarse cloth, leather, etc.; that they know somewhat the use of metals, and live in towns of from twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants. This civilisation he attributes to Arab influence. Yet on page 191, imagining himself perched upon some high peak in Abyssinia and looking "to the south of the Sahara, he descries fifty millions of these same Nigritians steeped in irredeemable savagism inhabiting the very countries where history first finds them."

The reader will be able, no doubt, to recognise the likeness existing between the slipshod proofs submitted here and those discussed in the preceding section; proofs of the kind by which the differences alleged as separating the colourless from the coloured races are professed to be established. Such proofs in the preceding section, as, for example, those offered in support of

¹ *Types of Mankind*, p. 316.

the inconceivableness of the idea of races so distinct in colour as the black and white races having sprung from a single pair ; whereas, as we have noticed, the very persons by whom such proofs are advanced carry in their own persons differences, both of colour and of form, as great, at least, as the alleged irreconcilable complexional differences whereof they descant. Such proofs, also, in the preceding section as the humours and foibles of Professor Vogt, his deduction of the hypothetical "cranial peculiarities" of the Negro race, from the data of six skulls, and of the Negro's mental powers from the *cast* of the brain of a Hottentot female. It will not be denied, I think, that through all the specimens of proofs given in this chapter, specimens of proofs by which the doctrine of the radical differences between the coloured and colourless races is said to be established, there runs a thread of resemblance or uniformity. In the endeavour to find a name for this uniform quality or principle, none appears to me so suitable as the term Procrustean. We all know of the old Greek legend, in which the deeds of the celebrated robber Procrustes are related. The legend, as we know, is that Procrustes having only one bed, those of the victims of his robberies who were not long enough for the bed he stretched, even at the cost of life, until the required length was gained ; others, whose length exceeded the requirement of the pallet, he quadrated by diminishing their lower extremities.

Now this is precisely the course followed with respect to the arguments of which I have just given specimens. The object has been to establish the belief that the white race is superior to the coloured races. To do this it has been found necessary to allege the existence of, so far as we have gone, physical and mental differences between the two divisions. Proofs for upholding these allegations were required, and examples of the proofs furnished are given in the present chapter. According to these examples of proofs, the principle upon which the preparation of the facts composing them has been conducted is that of stretching the facts to the length desired when they are found to be too short, and of forcibly shortening them when they are found to be too long. Hence, the principle by which the alleged superiority of the white race, and inferiority of the coloured races, founded upon their supposed physical and mental differences, have been established, is essentially Procrustean. But behind all that we have been observing in this chapter is the question, Why should there have been all this mutilation, this

mal-deduction, this self-contradiction, concerning truths which for the most part are as obvious as the noonday? To this question Heeren and Gliddon supply the answer. After remarking upon the aid that is usually given "by a number of variously sized idols," which are generally referred to, for determining the racial affinity of the Egyptians, and after confessing "that in the least of these" idols he "finds something of the Negro kind," also remarking upon the number of figures that there are representing men and deities, and the faithfulness with which they were executed by the Egyptian artists, Heeren adds:—

"It is impossible, however, to compare these monuments, as they are now delineated, and to consider the people who erected them to have been Negroes or anything like Negroes."

Gliddon's remarks are to the same effect, when he says:—

"The importance of confining history to its legitimate place—Lower Egypt—is evident. First, because it was in Lower Egypt that the Caucasian children of Ham must have first settled on their arrival from Asia. Second, because the advocates of the theory which would assert the African origin of the Egyptians say that they rely chiefly on history for their African or Ethiopian predilection. Third, because the same theorists assume that we must begin with Africans at the top of the Nile, and come downward with civilisation, instead of commencing with *Asiatic and white men* at the bottom, and carrying up; . . . for civilisation . . . never came northward out of benighted Africa, but from the deluge to the present moment has been only partially carried, to sink into utter oblivion among the barbarous peoples whom Providence created to inhabit the Ethiopian and Nigritian territories."

These extracts, then, are the answer to the question raised above. The truth they embody is, that the white race having formed the idea that it is with itself that civilisation should have originated, has not only refused to have that idea modified by the facts that reveal its groundless assumption, but in antagonism to the spirit of honest research, and in violation of logical forms, it has, in conformity with the methods of Procrustes, proceeded to cut and to carve, to set and to reset, to cast and to recast these facts, until they should seem to sanction its idea that it was with itself that civilisation began.

XXIII

Africa as seen in the Past

HAVING now, I believe, proved that the Ancient Egyptians were Negroes, I proceed to furnish a very brief sketch of their achievements in scientific knowledge and in art. As their religion and their rulers were perhaps the two factors, which in the development and shaping of these achievements played the most conspicuous part, we shall preface our reference to the achievements by alluding first to their religious and dynastic histories. When they first appeared upon the stage of history, the Egyptians possessed a civilisation that was most highly developed, a civilisation that could have been the growth, probably, of millenniums only; a civilisation reaching back into the distant past, to a period antecedent to the nearly four thousand years B.C. when the Pyramid-builders flourished. In ancient as well as in modern times, the country extending from the Mediterranean to the Nubian frontier at Assouân, having an area of between ten and eleven thousand square miles, has always been divided into Upper and Lower Egypt. In her early history Egypt was parcelled off into nomes, of which forty-two probably were the usual number. Each nome or province was supplied with all the machinery of an independent government, such as lieutenant-governor, governors of cities and of temples, scribes, judges, etc., and its boundaries were defined by landmarks. The population, which under the Pharaohs must have been considerable, since one hundred thousand men were engaged in constructing the Great Pyramid, during the fourth dynasty, or nearly 3,600 years B.C., is put down as being at that period, seven millions.

ANCIENT RELIGION OF EGYPT

The religion of the Egyptians was pantheistic rather than polytheistic. Its central idea, as is still the case with the religious

beliefs of most if not of all Pagan tribes and nations of Africa, including those whose beliefs pass under the shadowy designation of fetish, was theism. It believed in God as a personal Being; and more, it believed that towards His works, particularly man, God sustained relations that were active, and not passive.

The Egyptian religion realised the necessity, of course not in what may be called an evangelical sense, for the manifestation of the attributes of the Deity, and it exhibited these attributes in material forms. Thus in proportion as new aspects of the divine character were discerned, so was the number of idols increased. They varied, however, according to what was conceived to be their order of importance, regulated by the degree of their recession from the divine essence. In this way a series of divinities which fell into orders of first, second, and third came into existence. In this way the divinity Amun, for instance, was probably meant to show the operations of the divine mind, to reveal the hidden springs of His will, and in fulfilment of that office was represented in the highest type of created mind, *i.e.* in complete human form. Similarly, Nef, Nû or Nûm, over whom the asp-symbol of royalty and of good genius, like a canopy, extended itself while he stood in his boat, was doubtless the index of divine omnipotence and omniscience. In like manner, too, Pthah probably represented the Deity as Creator, and in this character he is accompanied by the figure of truth. Khem, called the father of his own father, and embodying the abstract idea of father, represented the principle of fatherhood. The goddess Mant, called the mother of herself, represented the principle of motherhood. But besides being manifested in the forms of idols, the attributes of the Most High were also represented by animals. The animal so deified was honoured on account of the attribute that it was supposed to possess in common with the idol with which it was related, or on account of the similarity of their names. Thus were the attributes of the Eternal set forth, but whereas to the initiated each idol or animal was but a symbol, to the uninitiated it was a god.

The religious speculations of the Egyptians are further revealed in their triads. Good and Evil were represented by the gods Osiris and Seth, who were regarded as brothers. In the earlier times the two brothers were worshipped in Upper and Lower Egypt; the systems they represented were accounted as having had the same origin. Evil was then distinct from sin or wickedness; the latter figuring as a great serpent,

pierced through by the spears of Horus and other divinities, was designated Apap, the great giant, the enemy of mankind. Possessing at this period the same status, Seth and Osiris appeared in the names of kings, and also, upon monuments. On these monuments, while Seth, on the one hand, appears as if instructing the newly crowned monarch in the use of the bow—a source of evil—Osiris, on the other hand, in conjunction with Horus, appears as if pouring upon him from a vase the emblems of life and power. They both exemplified the necessary existence of good and evil in the world as a condition of human probation. But when, afterwards, instead of being the brother and rival of Osiris, Seth came to be regarded as his enemy, he was thenceforth expelled the pantheon. The description of Osiris as the manifester of good and of truth, who, having been put to death by the malice of the evil one (Seth), rose again from the dead and became the judge of the dead forms a most interesting feature of the Egyptian religion. The mysteries shadowed forth in these beliefs were all-embracing, and swayed the minds of the Egyptians from the earliest times. To them Osiris was the great Deity of the future state, and as such, while other gods in their respective cities were held in honourable repute, his importance was universally recognised. Doubtless Wilkinson is right in the opinion

“that Moses abstained from making any pointed allusion to the future state of man, because it would have recalled the well-known judge of the dead and all the funeral ceremonies of Egypt, and have brought the thoughts of the ‘mixed multitude,’ of all whose minds were not entirely uncontaminated by Egyptian habits, to the very superstition from which it was his object to purify them.”

Although, as the result of foreign conquests, it afterwards received grafts, such as Ashtaroth and Baal, yet the religion of the Egyptians was evidently indigenous, and not, as some allege, exotic.

DYNASTIC HISTORY OF THE EGYPTIANS

Manetho, high-priest of Heliopolis, who, at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus, in the third century B.C., drew up a history of Egypt, divided the period between Menes, the first king, and the conquest of Darius II., into thirty dynasties. These dynasties are usually further subdivided into the Ancient Empire,

I.—XI. (B.C. 4400–2466), the Middle Empire, XII.—XIX. (B.C. 2466–1200), and the New Empire, XX.—XXX. (B.C. 1200–340). In its location the centre of government was not always stable, but sometimes from dynastic exigencies, and at other times from considerations of policy, it became migratory. Thus, under the Ancient Empire, it was at first at Memphis; then, with the extension of the power of the kings, it was moved to Abydos, and thence to other places. Under the Middle Empire, when Egypt reached the zenith of her political glory, the distinction of the national capital was confined to Thebes; but at the revolution, which resulted in the usurpation of the first alien rulers, the capital was again taken to Memphis. And for similar reasons, in later times, other cities, such as San or Tanis, Bubastis or Saïs, shared the honour.

Of the times of Menes, the first Egyptian king, no contemporary monuments are now extant, but tradition has taught that he was king of This, near Abydos. According to the same authority, Menes changed the course of the Nile by means of dykes, as a precautionary measure against the incursions of the Arabs upon his eastern frontier; he founded Memphis and the temple of Ptah; and is said finally to have been devoured by a crocodile. Athothis, the first or second ruler who succeeded Menes, is reported to have been a physician, to have written treatises on anatomy, and to have built the palace at Memphis. Menephes, the fourth of this line, is believed to have erected the Pyramid of Steps at Sakara. The dynasty of Menes, in which the names of these rulers figure, extended possibly to 250 years. The dynasty succeeding that of Menes, and that is supposed to have covered 300 years, left no monumental remains; but by it the worship of sacred animals was introduced; as was also the right of woman to rule over the country.

In the third dynasty, which lasted 200 years from 3966 B.C. (Brugsch), monumental history properly began. In it the Sinaitic peninsula was conquered, and the copper mines of Wady Maghâna opened by king Senoferu, whose name and portrait adorn the latter place. Of the fourth dynasty, also Memphitic, lasting 167 years (3733–356 B.C.), were Khufu, the Cheops of Herodotus, who built the Great Pyramid at Gîzeh, and rebuilt the temple of Isis, hard by the Sphinx. Khafra, the successor of Khufu, by whom the second of the Gîzeh Pyramids was built; and Menkaura, the successor of Khafra, who built the third Gîzeh Pyramid. The so-called Book of the Dead, or

Egyptian Ritual, belongs to this period; and as is evidenced by numerous tombs, situated in the vicinity of the pyramids, by the statues of Khafra, carved in black diorite, and found near the Sphinx, Egypt, in addition to her efficiency in agriculture and in the chase, had now reached a high place in mechanical and artistic excellence. However, although the simpler kinds of mechanical instruments had been invented, wheeled carriages, and also horses, at this time were unknown. The fifth, like the preceding dynasties, was Memphitic; it lasted 200 years, and consisted of nine kings, of whom Unas, the last, built the truncated pyramid near Sakara, known as "Pharaoh's Seat." Of the sixth dynasty, which may not have been Memphitic, inscriptions and tombs have been traced from Assouân to Tanis, and in the valley of "Hammamat," leading from Coptos to the Red Sea. Pepi I. was the ruler who made this dynasty memorable. Of his military exploits, as well as the exploits of his general Una, and of his public works, interesting accounts have been preserved.

Passing over the almost vacuous epoch extending from the sixth to the eleventh dynasty, we find that coffins and tablets belonging to the latter of the two dynasties mentioned have been discovered at Thebes, and that these memorials identify a line of kings called Entef and Mentuhotop with the building of the fortress of Coptos in honour of a god. The reigns of the successive rulers of the twelfth dynasty (from 2466 B.C.) are authenticated by monumental evidence. Amenemhat I., the founder of this dynastic line, opened the quarries of Tura, embellished Heliopolis, and founded the temple of Amen at Thebes. Osirtasen I., son of Amenemhat, whose monuments have been discovered at Fayyûm, Ben-Hassan, and Heliopolis, subdued some of the Ethiopian tribes. Osirtasen III. established and fortified the southern frontiers at Semneh, and was subsequently deified in Nubia. Amenemhat III., famous for his vast engineering schemes, excavated the great artificial reservoir Lake Moeris, in the Fayyûm, constructed the Labyrinth, and built the neighbouring pyramid. Between the thirteenth and eighteenth dynasties there occurs another great hiatus, the result of dislocation in the regular government, by the irruption of the Hyksos¹ into Lower Egypt about 2,000 years B.C. Taking Memphis by assault, these invaders or marauders established themselves in the city Avaris, afterwards

¹ Probably a Hamitic tribe of shepherds from Canaan.

called Tanis, where their monuments still exist. It was to one of these regal usurpers (Apepi, it is believed) that Joseph was Vizier. At Pittiom-Tell-el-Maskhûta the storehouses built by Joseph are still visible. Aahmes I. (Amosis), of the eighteenth dynasty (B.C. 1700), took Avaris by storm, besieged Sharuhan in Palestine, and fought the Nubians. Amenhotep I., son and successor of Aahmes, reigned under the direction of his mother, an Ethiopian queen, continued the campaigns against the Ethiopians, and embellished Thebes. His son Thothmes I. carried the Egyptian arms into the very heart of Ethiopia; at Thebes he erected magnificent buildings. Thothmes II., who reigned under the guardianship of Hatasu, his sister-wife, defeated the Sashu or Arabs. Thothmes III., the brother and successor of Thothmes II., and of his sister Hatasu, conquered Megiddo in the twenty-third year of his age, subdued Syria and part of Mesopotamia, recovered the copper mines of Maghâra, filled the Egyptian exchequer by means of the immense tribute exacted from Kush and the Ethiopian nations of the south, from islands of the sea, from Assyria, from Babylon, from Phœnicia, and from Central Asia; adorned and endowed temples throughout Egypt, consolidated the power of his country at home, widened its influence abroad, and thus raised Egypt to the apogee of artistic and political glory. Amenhotep II., the successor of Thothmes III., continued the conquest of the Ruten (Palestinians), took Nineveh by assault, and vanquished the Ethiopians. Amenhotep III. maintained the frontier of the empire. Amenhotep IV., followed by three of his successors, worshipped the solar disc, to the exclusion of the other Egyptian deities. He also changed his name, and removed his capital from Thebes to Alabastron, or Tell-el-Amârina. Horus, the last known link between the eighteenth dynasty and the next, was succeeded by Ramses I. of the nineteenth dynasty. Ramses I. appears to have been the first of a long line of rulers who established and continued treaty relations with the Hittites. The frontiers of Egypt were carried by this sovereign to as far as Wady Halfa. Seti I., or Sethos, attacked the Remenu, or Armenians, the Reuten (a Syrian nation), and the Shasu (a robber Arab band); and after that these foes had again advanced to the Pa-Khetem stronghold, on the confines of Egypt, he invaded Maharana or Mesopotamia, Sharu or Syria, Punt or Arabia Felix; and the coast opposite; laid siege to Atesh or Katesh (the supposed Cadytis), and

garrisoned Tyre, Aradus, and Bethanath in Canaan. He also beautified Egypt with many noble monuments. It was by the Asiatic victories of Seti that the worship of Baal and Ashtaroth was introduced into Egypt. Seti was buried in an excavated rock tomb in the *Bebân-el-Mulûk*. Ramses II., the son of Seti, appears to have come to the throne at the early age of seven. But four years later, at the battle of Katesh, when many of the princes and officers of the enemy were drowned in the river Arunata or Orantes, he is found achieving against the Hittites and their huge confederacy a decisive victory. The battle, which lasted two days, evoked from the poetic genius of Pentaur, an Egyptian scribe, a panegyric investing Ramses with the attributes of a god; and the war, which lasted four years, resulted in the fall of Shabima or Salem, afterwards called Jerusalem, and of other cities, into the hands of the Egyptian king.

On the basis of a treaty of peace, an alliance, both offensive and defensive, containing articles of extradition, remarkable for their humane sentiment, and other articles for protecting commerce, was concluded, in his twenty-fourth year, between Ramses and the Hittite king, and followed by the marriage of Ramses with a Hittite princess, the eldest daughter of the king. The tablet of this monarch is found in the Pass of the Lycus, near Beyrout. In addition to his achievements in the east, Ramses subdued the revolted Ethiopians, re-imposed their tribute, placed their country again under the Viceroyalty of Egypt, and built on the Mediterranean a great fleet. He was succeeded by Merienptah, or Meneptah, his thirteenth son, by whom the capital was removed from Memphis. Merienptah, who successfully contended against the king of the Libyans and his host of allies, appears to be the Amenophis of Manetho and the Pharaoh of the Exodus. It was this Merienptah who introduced into Egypt the heretical worship of Set or Typhon. His son, who succeeded him as Seti II., was followed by others, whose inglorious reigns closed the twentieth dynasty. Ramses III., whose dynastic relation to the preceding house is rather obscure, warred chiefly against the Philistines, against several maritime tribes of Greece, and of Asia Minor; gained naval victories in the Mediterranean, and repeated the conquest of Ethiopia.

Except that the sixth gained victories in Ethiopia, the activities of the other kings of this line were restricted to

maintaining the unity of the empire. The extinction of the line of the Ramssides appears to have been the result of internecine conflicts, and these conflicts seem to have been fomented chiefly by the high-priests, one of whom, Herhar, the high-priest of Amen-ra, ascended the throne, but after a transitory reign he made way for the line of hierarchical rulers, whose sway lasted one hundred and thirty years. Relations with foreign countries were maintained by these priestly rulers, and one of them had as his consort a princess of the Ruten (Syria). The Pharaoh whose daughter Solomon married was, if Manetho's date be correct, Psusennes II., the last king of the twenty-first dynasty.

During the later days of the empire, partly through the intermarriages between the Pharaohs and other peoples, and partly through the mercenaries (Libyans principally) who had been brought into the country, a considerable number of foreigners, including Asiatics, settled in Egypt. As a class, these foreigners had risen to such importance, that at the close of the twenty-first dynasty a Semitic family, belonging to this class and which had settled at Bubastis, succeeded, through the aid of mercenaries and alliances with a Tanite family, in creating a new regal line—the twenty-second dynasty. Shashank I., or the biblical Shishak, was the first ruler of this line. He received Jeroboam after he had fled from Solomon; his invasion of Israel with 12,000 chariots and 6,000 cavalry, also his return with the treasures of the temple and of Rehoboam's palace, are recorded on the Portico of the Bubastites at Karnak. Of this line, the only other monarch who has left any important memorial behind, is Osorkon II., his memorial being the beautiful temple of Bubastis, discovered by Naville. In the twenty-third dynasty, said to be Tanite, the decadence of Egypt began to be apparent. A single monarch, the celebrated Bekenrenf, or Bocchoris, constituted the twenty-fourth. After a short reign, in which the laws were revised, this prince, whose reign evinced sagacity and energy, was taken prisoner by Sabaco, king of Ethiopia, and burnt alive.

After the execution of Bekenrenf, Egypt for a time was ruled from Napata, Ethiopia, and from Hoshea, king of Israel, Sabaco received presents. Sabaco was subsequently drawn into an alliance with Syrian and other rulers against Sargon, king of Assyria, but meeting the Assyrians in battle at Raphia, he sustained a crushing defeat. As a result a part of Egypt was lost

to the Ethiopian crown, and the princes of Egypt became vassals of Assyria.

Shabatok, son and successor of Sabaco, managed to make himself supreme in Egypt, but appears to have lost Ethiopia to Tirhaka. With Hezekiah as their ally, the Egyptian princes having now formed themselves into a confederacy, encountered in battle, Sennacherib, who had succeeded Sargon, but were defeated. Encouraged, however, by Tirhaka, king of Ethiopia, they renewed the strife with Sennacherib, but this time there was no actual battle, for the Assyrians had perished. Concurring with the biblical narrative, Egyptian tradition and records describe the destruction of the Assyrian army as miraculous. During the respite that followed this deliverance from the Assyrian yoke Tirhaka entered Egypt, slew Shabatok, and became ruler of the country. The respite of twenty years which Egypt and Assyria had now enjoyed, being broken by the latter, the struggle, which was renewed and continued with victory and defeat falling alternately to each of the combatants, ended ultimately in the unification of Egypt under Psammitichus I., founder of the twenty-sixth dynasty. The reign of Psammitichus I. was marked by a revival of art, and the restoration of the Egyptian constitution. Necho, or Psammitichus II., who succeeded Psammitichus I., planned and actually began the cutting of a canal across the isthmus of Suez, but after losing an immense number of men, he was constrained to abandon the enterprise, through the warning of an oracle he is said to have received. It was in the reign of this ruler that the equator by Phœnician navigators was first crossed. Necho defeated Josiah, king of Israel, and conquered Palestine, but was himself defeated at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar. Apries, who succeeded Psammitichus II., having lost all the conquests won by his predecessors, was deposed and strangled by Amasis, who henceforth ascended the throne. Amasis married a Cyrenian wife, and was very indulgent to the Greek colonies, who during the reign of Psammitichus I. settled in Egypt. He conquered Cyprus, but his son, by whom he was succeeded, incurring the enmity of Cambyses, was overthrown, B.C. 527, in the battle of Pelusium.

Brought now under the Persian yoke, the Egyptians were at first treated by Cambyses with great leniency, but losing his reason after his unsuccessful campaigns against the Ethiopians, Cambyses committed various acts of atrocity; among them was

the stabbing of the sacred bull Apis. Darius, who followed Cambyses, was unfortunate in his government of Egypt; and Xerxes I. and Artaxerxes I., who followed Darius, had each to reduce the Egyptians to submission. The twenty-seventh dynasty, which was Persian, was succeeded by another Saïte line, forming the twenty-eighth dynasty. This dynasty held its own against the Persians. The twenty-ninth dynasty of Mendessians was remarkable for the Greek alliance which it maintained. The thirtieth dynasty, which was also Mendessian, and which constituted the last of the native Egyptian rulers, consisted of Nectanebes I., who, unaided by foreign support, succeeded in defeating an army of nearly a quarter of a million of men, led by the powerful Persian satrap Pharnabazus and his Greek ally Iphicrates; of Teos, or Tachos, who in his war with the Persians employed the services of the Spartan king Agesilaus, but by whom he was dethroned, and of Nectanebes II., to whom Agesilaus, after deposing Teos, gave the throne. This, the last native prince, fled before the Persians (B.C. 340) into Ethiopia. Thus ended a monarchy of the unexampled duration of 2,000 years.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE EGYPTIANS IN SCIENCE AND ART

In the necessarily brief outlines of two of the institutions—the religious and the political—which, more than any other, have had to do with the moulding of the intellectual life of the Egyptians, we have incidentally touched upon the achievements of the Egyptian nation in science and art, but in order that, by gaining a more detailed acquaintance with their accomplishments in these two spheres, we may be the better able to find their true place in history, we shall notice here more particularly their achievements in these branches.

The Egyptians divided time into years, days, and months. A month consisted of thirty days, a year of 365; and twelve months, which were subdivided into three periods of four months each, also comprised a year. They measured their lands by the arura (a square of 100 cubits); and estimated distance by the schoene, which in length equalled sixty stades, and corresponded to the modern mile. They also possessed weights, and measures of capacity. These acquisitions were as early as the fourth dynasty; but tradition has assigned to the Egyptians knowledge, such as that of anatomy and of medicine, at an age still earlier.

As early as the fourth dynasty they had already produced a literature, of which perhaps the most interesting part is the ritual, or Book of the Dead—a collection of prayers relating to the future state of disembodied souls. Other religious works and inscriptions, writings on morals, hymns, historical writings, letters, and works of fiction, fruits of their literary labours, have also come down to us.

In architecture, both in design and in execution, they had arrived as early as the fourth dynasty at a standard of excellence that may be called classic. Their temples and other buildings were squared, and a kind of false arch of stone, forming an angle overhead and used for relieving superincumbent pressure, was in vogue. Enormous blocks of stone were transported from quarries to the places where buildings were being erected. And columns with cornices, friezes, architraves, plinths, etc., fretted with floral and other decorations, also the so-called porto-Doric of the twelfth dynasty at Beni-Hassan, with their triglyphs—which show that this form of architecture had been borrowed by the Greeks from the Egyptians—support temples and other edifices. Temples formed by rectilinear courtyards, hypæthral halls built before the original shrine, enclosed by giant columns and gateways slightly converging towards the apex, obelisks, and pyramids, all cemented by an imperishable masonry, are forms singularly well adapted to withstand the ravages of time; and as survivors of the assaults of twenty centuries or more, these structures witness to the unsurpassed excellence attained in remote antiquity by Egyptian architecture.

Sculpture, no less than architecture, had from an early age successfully engaged the talents of the Egyptians. Thus, long before the mythical Dædalus, and as early as the fourth dynasty, or nearly 4,000 years B.C., statues, notwithstanding the presence of peculiarities now regarded as blemishes, such as the pendent arms, the advanced left foot, and the high situation of the ear, had, with the greatest accuracy, been moulded in the valley of the Nile. The carved wooden statuette of the village shéikh and the chiselled statues of Khafra, representing the earliest period, the sculpture found at Meydûm and at Nefert, representing a later epoch, are examples of the extraordinary skill attained to by the Egyptians in the plastic art. In addition to these very early reproductions of the human form in stone, there are, of a later period, lions and sphinxes, which, in the manner of their execution, reveal a spirit and a power surpassing

that of the Greeks. A bas-relief of a peculiar kind called "incavo-relievato," or "intaglio," having its figure sunk below the surface of the substance out of which it was cut, and resembling the intaglio of a gem, but in slightly convex relief, was also produced in Egypt. And it is to this kind of carving that the preservation of the monumental hieroglyphs is said to be due. Bronze statues having a leaden or other kind of core, and cast from moulds, were first made in Egypt, whence by Rhœcus they were subsequently introduced into Greece.

Painting, in the form of white-washed surfaces, appeared likewise at an early age, but occasionally fresco painting was resorted to; encaustic painting, however, was not practised until during the Greek and Roman régime. Although to some extent bound by conventional modes, by which the progress of art was generally cramped, yet painting in Egypt enjoyed a wider latitude than sculpture for independent development. The colours employed were usually the pure or primitive types, with a white background. The architectural details of Egyptian temples, also hieroglyphs, appear to have been always coloured, and by this means a further charm was added to the sculptures. In like manner religious papyri or ritual, as used to be the case in mediæval times in Europe, were often elaborately ornamented with coloured vignette.

In music the Egyptians had made considerable progress. As early as the fourth dynasty they were playing the harp, the flute, and the sistrum. During the eighteenth dynasty drums, tambourines, trumpets, and guitars were added. Many of these instruments being of great size, must have produced considerable effect. Progress was also made in the cultivation of song. Musical recitations or chants occur on monuments of the twelfth dynasty, while tradition assigns the lays of Maneros to a time still earlier. Poetry, although it is impossible to define the metre, seems to have been always in use. In mechanical art, no less than in the other arts just mentioned, the Egyptians were famous. Glass of an opaque description, a glazed pottery or porcelain, a glazed tile, the potter's wheel, the kiln, the art of metallurgy and the use of tin, appeared in the fourth dynasty. The blow-pipe, used as bellows, the adze, the saw, chisel, press, balance, and the lever, also the plough and other agricultural implements, were employed in the fifth dynasty; harpoon and razors in the eleventh dynasty, and syphons in the eighteenth. In industrial art the cloth manufactured by the Egyptians en-

joyed a high reputation, receiving from contemporary nations an extensive patronage. The fine linen, the embroidered work, the yarn, and the woollen stuff of Upper and Lower Egypt, are frequently mentioned in both sacred and profane writings. Fabrics, as well as chariots and horses, were imported from Egypt by Solomon. And Chemmis, the city of Pan, until the Roman conquest, retained the fame that it had acquired as a great centre of linen manufacture. In military art, armours for offensive and defensive tactics were in use, and as denoting the latter class we have shields, cuirasses, or quilted leather helmets, spears, clubs, maces, swords, daggers, hatchets; whilst for the former class there were testudo, ladders, torches, lanterns, and mines. War-chariots were not introduced until the eighteenth dynasty. Previous to that time, as the ass only was then known and used for the transport of persons and of chattels, the army consisted of infantry alone. Sea-going vessels came into use during the eleventh dynasty. War-boats are also mentioned, although they existed earlier than the time of this dynasty. The Nile had always been navigated by row-galleys carrying sails. Commerce flourished in Egypt on an extensive scale, and was fostered by the Egyptians with commendable assiduity. Tributes following conquests enriched Egypt with slaves, cattle, gems, metals, and objects of curiosity. Rare objects, for pleasure, were collected by the Egyptians.

Under the earlier dynasties the chief occupation of the Egyptians seems to have consisted in rearing cattle, cultivating grain, junketing, fishing, fowling, and the chase. The rich passed much of their time in entertaining. At the festive board the host and hostess ate together in company with the other married couples who might be among their guests, but the unmarried sat apart. The seats were single and double chairs, but many guests found seats on the ground. Each guest was furnished by a servant, with a necklace of flowers, with a lotus-flower, which was bound round the head, and with a lump of ointment, placed on the head. The banquet was usually preceded by a performance of music and dancing, the performers being hired for the occasion. Indeed, the chief part of these functions seems to have centred in this portion of the entertainment. Taking stock of flocks and herds, as well as the shipment of produce, the examination of fisheries, the inspection of work being performed or already done on the estate, these, in conjunction with the social festivities, filled up the time of the wealthy classes. As amusements the

Egyptians indulged in the use of single-sticks, juggling, the dance, bull-fights, draughts, dice, and mora. After chariots were introduced every man of wealth possessed one of these vehicles. They were drawn by two horses and driven by the owners in standing posture. Education in the earlier times appears to have been acquired either at a college attached to a temple or at a miniature court of some great officer. These establishments appear to have been the only means, then, whereby the sons of, say, peasants, could qualify themselves for high offices of state. There is no direct evidence that girls were educated, but seeing that their sex shared the public life with men, and that even in the priesthood they held posts of importance, it does not appear probable that their education was neglected. There was no caste system among the Egyptians. And sexually, although concubinage does not seem to have been disallowed, yet monogamy was the rule.

Now in this brief review, these, in my opinion, are facts sufficient to show, that in the domains of science and art, the achievements of the Egyptians were not inconsiderable. Their knowledge of mathematical science, as embracing notation, arithmetic, and geometry, is evidenced in their weights and measures, their architecture, land surveying, etc. In physical science their attainments are revealed in the accurate measurement of time (astronomy), in the development of the fine arts (chemistry), in engineering and architecture (mechanics, meteorology, etc.), in the working of metals (mineralogy). Their acquirements in anatomy and physiology—indicated by treatises written on these subjects, as well as by their expertness in embalming—point to the science of biology. Their philosophical speculations on the attributes of the Deity touch the realm of theological inquiry, as do those of religion and morals trench upon the sciences of ethnology and anthropology. Their acquisitions, too, in music, poetry, painting, sculpture, engraving, and architecture, as well as in the liberal and industrial arts, disclose their intimate acquaintance with art. Well do Dr. Birch and Mr. S. Lane Poole, in their excellent article on Egypt, remark :—

“The superior position of women in the social scale, notwithstanding the permission to marry with degrees of consanguinity usually forbidden, shows that the Egyptians reached a higher point of delicacy and refinement than either their Eastern or Western successors. Colossal in art, profound in philosophy and

religion, and in possession of the knowledge of the arts and sciences, Egypt exhibits the astounding phenomenon of an elevated civilisation at a period when the other nations of the world were almost unknown."

The Egyptians having from the various fields of nature gleaned and systematised knowledge called the sciences, and having further skilfully adapted that knowledge, or the sciences, to practical ends called the arts, the adoption by the Greeks of these sciences and arts has directly and indirectly made the Egyptians the educators of modern Europe. This subject will be treated more at length as we proceed; but here I may remark, that in order that the statement which I have just made may be the better appreciated, let there be a subtraction of the objects that have come down to us, and that have been enumerated above, as the discoveries and inventions of the Egyptians, whether such objects have been improved upon, or whether they have remained in their original forms; let them, I say, be subtracted from the general store of discoveries and inventions now possessed by civilisation, and I venture to think, that as representing ideas, these objects, by the large place that they would be found to fill in the general economy of ideas now owned by civilisation, would justify us in considering it neither a misnomer nor an exaggeration to refer to the Egyptians as the educators of modern Europe.

XXIV

Africa as seen in the Present

THE NEGRO UNDER NATIVE AND MOHAMMEDAN CULTURE

FROM viewing Africa in one of her past moods we now turn to view her in one or more of her present moods. In the first instance the point of observation I select for the purpose is furnished by the great Mandingo people; accordingly I pass on to offer some remarks about this people.

The Mandingoes inhabit a tract of country situated to the north of Sierra Leone, which derives its name, Senegambia, from two important streams, the Senegal and the Gambia, by which it is drained. Of all the other nations and tribes, such as the Iolofs, Wolofs, Fulahs, Walos, Bambaras, Timanees, Koorankos, Sodimanes, and many others, dwelling in this territory, they, the Mandingoes, are the most numerous. Hence, besides their chief settlement, Manding or Jalakonda, which is but a short distance from the Upper Niger, and six hundred miles from the sea-coast, colonies of them are found living, either as independent communities, or as integral parts of other nations, such as the Bambook, and Bambaras, etc., to as far as Lower Gambia and all the country along the sea-coast.

The Mandingoes are tall in stature, with slender, athletic forms, purely black complexion, but destitute of gloss. Their hair is curly and crisp, beard full and profuse, eyes small and twinkling, forehead broad and slanting, lips moderately full, and nose slightly depressed. Their moral character, although dimmed by stains, such, for example, as fickleness, revengefulness, and treachery, is said to possess many attractive traits. In this regard they are described as being gentle in their intercourse, cheerful in friendship, sympathetic with suffering—often relieving distress—as being remarkably kind and attentive to the sick, highly venerating old age, in the ordinary relations of life, kind

and hospitable and as giving to strangers the most respectful consideration.

Among the towns of the Mandingoes, which for the convenience of fishing, etc., are usually situated on the banks of watercourses, the tatas, or fortified towns, are the residences of the kings or chiefs and their dependents and slaves. These fortified towns are almost invariably enclosed by a wall of sun-burnt bricks, and armed at their most salient points with battlements and bastions. In the daytime two or three narrow gates afford entrance to and exit from the town; and at night, by obstructing the passage of each with five or six heavy spars, the gates are closed. Besides the tatas, villages which are exposed to invasion are also surrounded with walls. In time of peace the dwellings of the poorer classes, as well as cattle-folds, are outside these walls, and form the suburbs of towns; but when an incursion threatens, all the inhabitants and chattels are removed within the enclosure of the town or village.

The houses, instead of being arranged in rows, are built in groups, with open spaces between them cultivated as gardens. In form the houses are either round or oblong; the lower part of each house consists of a frame of upright posts firmly driven into the ground, and the spaces between the posts are filled in with wattle of pliant twigs, plastered within and without with stiff clay. The upper part, or roof-frame, is supported by long central posts upon which the ridgepole rests. The rafters, fastened with withes to the ridgepole at their upper ends, have their lower ends lying upon the wall-plates, to which they are similarly fastened. The eaves of the house project six or eight feet beyond the walls, and are supported at their extremities by rows of posts. The floor of the verandah thus formed by the projecting eaves is raised above the level of the ground a foot or eighteen inches by superimposed earth, and the verandah, affording protection from the sun and shelter from the rain, serves as an airy and comfortable lounging-place. The floor of the interior is laid with clay, beaten to almost the hardness and smoothness of cement. The larger houses are usually provided with two doors; these being situated opposite each other, allow by their position the play of a constant current of air within the chamber; in this manner the house, even in the hottest season, is rendered agreeably cool. A simple mat curtain, capable of being rolled up at pleasure, is suspended from the upper edge of the door, and when it is dropped down, no one, without per-

mission, may enter the apartment. Fire, for the purpose of keeping away mosquitoes, is kindled in the dwelling morning and evening, yet the houses are unprovided with chimneys, smoke having to make its escape by way of the door.

The dwellings thus described are owned by the Pagan section of the Mandingoes; those of the Moslem portion, although having the same style of architecture, are much more spacious, are better built, and better furnished. They are generally ten or twelve feet high, twenty feet in diameter, and are usually constructed with sun-dried bricks. They are also divided into two apartments, separately occupied by men and women; and containing in one, a chest or leather bag, used as a wardrobe and receptacle for valuables, a mat of skin, used for sitting, and a collection of arms; in the other the household utensils, mats, stools, the invariable and indispensable mirror, calabashes, wooden bowls, iron and earthenware pots, and spoons. Mats, and dressed skins, spread upon the floor are the ordinary bedding; but among the rich a kind of bedstead is substituted in the form of a low wooden frame covered with split cane or bamboo, and concealed from view by a screen.

The *burree*, or common council-house, an open, circular building where all public business is transacted and festivals celebrated, stands near the centre of the town.

In all Mohammedan villages of importance there is a mosque, erected on some central and terraced ground; this mosque is rectangular in shape, and built of sun-dried bricks, or mud mixed with straw. But in small communities the substitute for the mosque is an open space only, enclosed by a hedge; here public worship and prayer are wont to be made. In many of the larger towns a school-house is joined to the mosque.

The dress of the Mandingoes is simple but tasteful. The men wear trousers of wide and ample proportions, reaching below the knee; and a wide loose shirt with very roomy sleeves, neatly embroidered. The head is covered with a home-spun white cap, a straw hat, or red fez; the feet are protected with sandals, and a large knife called the *belmo*, enclosed in a leather sheath, and carried in case of emergency, is always suspended from the shoulder. The women dress in a cotton petticoat reaching to the calves of the legs and fastened round the waist by a girdle. Their hair is artistically arranged in small braids, and receives a gloss by the anointing with shea butter. Their ornaments are necklaces of glass beads, chains, and earrings of gold. The

garment of boys and girls is limited to a narrow strip of cotton cloth called *tuntungee*.

The Mandingoes subsist more upon vegetable than upon animal food; the chief dish, called the *cuscoo-soo*, which is said to be of Moorish origin, consists of sorghum or maize flour roasted into small grains over the fire, and cooked with meat or fish, the mixture being highly seasoned with salt, red pepper, and other ingredients. When boiled in water, the same farinaceous granules form a gruel or porridge which, by the addition of sour milk or the juice of tamarind fruit, is rendered slightly acid. Rice is boiled perfectly dry, and when about to be eaten, is mixed with palm oil, or sauce made of fish, meat, or fowl boiled with various vegetables, and strongly seasoned with red pepper and spices. Sometimes it is rendered acid by adding to it sour milk; at other times it is made sweet by adding the juice of the sugar-cane. The dish called *gar* is prepared from meat or fish that had been previously dried in the sun. Meat boiled in butter, with or without rice, and called *perki*, is much prized. Among the poorer classes the mangal, or unhulled sorghum, boiled in water and seasoned with salt, constitutes the staple dish. The Mandingo usually takes two meals a day; breakfast about ten o'clock, and at sunset the principal repast; but in addition to these, persons of means take at daybreak a light and easily digested meal. The Mandingoes, who are followers of the False Prophet, being total abstainers, according to the tenets of the Mohammedan faith, drink nothing stronger than water; but the Pagan tribes brew from the sorghum a beer and hydromel which they sometimes take to excess.

The Mandingoes are among the most industrious and the most skilful of the peoples of the Soudan. They follow agriculture with the greatest success; obtaining from that source sufficient food for their support. During the rains they toil laboriously to have their crops sown, and brought to maturity. The principal cereals cultivated are sorghum, millet, maize, and rice. The last of these is planted in square beds, which, for purposes of irrigation, are surrounded with furrows. Cotton, tobacco, and sugar-cane are grown in sufficient quantities for home consumption. The manioc is planted among the rice crop after it has been thoroughly weeded. Water-melon, beans, yams, sweet potatoes, and other edible roots and vegetables are likewise cultivated. Indigo grows wild in every part of the country. The malghetto pepper is of spontaneous growth, and

is found in the woods. The country abounds in tropical fruits, of which oranges, pine-apples, and limes grow to perfection; guavas, tamarind, and kola-nuts do well. The kola-nut, which is a valuable commercial commodity, is very highly prized. Agricultural labour is chiefly undertaken by men; they plough the land, sow the grain, and attend to the irrigation. The women assist in transplanting the rice, but the crop is harvested by the men, by whom also the grain is separated from the straw.

The domestic animals reared are cattle, sheep, goats, and poultry. The cattle are of small breed, but stout, and they supply an abundance of milk. Horses are reared, and hogs, which are plentiful, belong to the Pagan tribes. Fishing, which is followed in the dry season, is the primal pursuit of those who dwell in the vicinity of large rivers. The fish, taken in small cotton nets, or in basket traps made of wicker-work, is dried in the sun, and then rubbed with shea butter, in order to preserve it from moisture. Thus prepared, it is stowed away for future use.

The Mandingoes of the interior are expert in the use of the bow; with it, from the abundant supply of other kinds of game, in addition to the guinea-fowl, the partridge, and pigeon, with which the country is overrun, they secure never-failing stores for the repletions of the larder. For the capture of the gazelle and the wild boar, by means of the net, they undertake drive-hunts.

In ordinary industrial pursuits the Mandingoes are most skilful; they hold four trades or professions in especial repute; these, according to their order of rank, are the orator, the minstrel, the workman in leather, and the blacksmith. In the manufacture of cloth, the raw cotton for spinning is prepared by the women. The first act in the process of preparation is to clean the cotton, and this is done by laying small quantities of cotton successively upon a stone or upon a board, when, by the use of a cylindrical iron roller, the fibre becomes separated from the seed. The cotton being cleansed of all the rubbish it contained, is then spun by means of a distaff into a coarse but well-twisted thread. Weaving is performed exclusively by men; the loom employed is constructed on the same principle as that of the ordinary hand-loom, but the web is very narrow in width, rarely exceeding four inches. The cloth that is woven is usually dyed of a rich and durable blue, and the dyeing, which

is done by women, is after this fashion. The leaves of the indigo, freshly gathered, are pounded in a mortar; the pounded pulp is then steeped in a strong lye of wood-ash, to which urine is sometimes added. Into this mixture the cloth is now immersed, and allowed to remain until it acquires the prescribed shade of gloss and blue with a tinge of purple. The cloth now finished constitutes the principal material of dress.

The *Karankeas*, or workers in leather, are found plying their trade in every town throughout the country. They excel in both the tanning and dressing of leather, and execute these processes with great expedition. The hides are first steeped in a lye of wood-ash for the purpose of loosening the hair, and the loosened hair being then removed by scraping, the hides are next placed in an infusion having astringent property made from the leaves of a certain tree called *goo*. These preliminaries ended, the hide is now made pliable and soft by rubbing and folding it between the hands and by beating it upon a flat stone. In preparing the hide of the ox, much less care is taken than that observed in dressing the skins of either the sheep or the goat. Leather from oxen is used for sandals, whereas that from the sheep and the goat, besides being used for quivers, is worked up into pouches, belts, knife-sheaths, scabbards for swords, and various ornamental articles. By an infusion of powdered sorghum stalks, goat-skins are dyed red, and by the use of another vegetable substance they are dyed blue.

The Mandingoes have practical experience in smelting iron. Their furnace, a tower-like structure of clay, circular in shape, about ten feet in height and three in diameter, is bound round with several bands of withes to prevent its cracking. At its outer base the furnace is level with the ground; it has seven openings, in each of which three clay tubes are inserted, and the draught of air that passes to the furnace through these openings is regulated by the abstracting or the inserting of the tubes into the openings. At the beginning of the process of smelting, wood is first placed in the furnace, then it is covered with a layer of charcoal; the charcoal in turn is covered with a layer of ironstone. This order of alternating strata of charcoal and ironstone is pursued until the furnace is quite full. The pile is then lighted, and for three days is allowed to burn. The iron thus produced is in the form of an irregular mass, and partakes of something of the properties of steel;

it is forged by being beaten repeatedly. The tools thus used by the Mandingoes are few and simple; the bellows consist of a bag made of goat-skin, with a tubular aperture at the base, which, communicating with the charcoal fire, supplies the blast. Their hammers, anvils, and forceps are all of iron. Besides the smelting of iron, the Mandingoes are acquainted with the melting of gold and the drawing out of that metal into wire. They accomplish the melting by means of an alkali obtained from the ashes of the stalk of the maize.

In commercial activity also, the Mandingoes display great energy; the bulk of the interior trade of the colony of Sierra Leone, for example, is in their hands. Commercial transactions, which are conducted on the system of barter, embrace such commodities as slaves, cattle, ivory, rice, etc., in exchange for salt, kola-nuts, gunpowder, gums, cotton-cloth, tobacco, and beads. Travelling about the country on the errands of commerce, the Mandingoes generally provide themselves with a pot of shea butter, with which, after their daily ablutions, they anoint their head, face, and other parts of the body.

They divide the year into moons, weeks, and days, and regulate their agricultural labours by the rainy season. The day consists of *soyoman*, or hours between earliest morning and eleven o'clock; the *tele* includes the hours between eleven and four; the *oola* the time between four and seven in the evening; the *soodo* the name given to night.

Many of the Mohammedan Mandingoes are well educated, reading the Koran with fluency, and writing Arabic with ease and elegance. Some of these persons are accredited as expounders of the Koran and as teachers; others employ their attainments in the less noble calling of writing charms of Arabic characters upon pouches of leather, and selling the same at high prices.

In their intercourse with each other the Mandingoes are polite, observing certain rules of etiquette. At the meeting of two friends or acquaintances, each, laying his right hand upon his breast, exchanges the courtesies of the day; sometimes they embrace or shake hands, followed in the latter case by the snapping of the middle finger and thumb of the right hand. When matrons meet they join hands, and each makes a curtsy; but unmarried women and girls simply embrace each other. When a visit is paid by a friend from a distance, the formal reception is delayed for three or four days, during which

the visitor occupies the apartment assigned him, and is provided with all the conveniences necessary for his comfort.

In musical art the Mandingoes are not entirely wanting in skill. They possess a considerable number of instruments, of various qualities, well adapted to the modulation of sound, and to the production of harmony. The *koonting*, a sort of guitar, has three chords. The *ekarro*, a large harp, is furnished with eighteen strings; and the *simbing*, a smaller harp, is equipped with seven strings. The *balafoo*, a kind of harmonica, is composed of twenty strips of hard wood of different lengths, with a gourd-shell, acting as sounding-board, attached to each from beneath. The wooden blocks are struck with two sticks, each armed at one end with a gum elastic ball. Besides these instruments there are pipes, bells, flutes, and drums, of various kinds; these last are open at one end. Singing, however, is the favourite form of music; and in every town there are professional minstrels who extol the valour and virtues of their distinguished men. But doubtless to the minstrels the chief charm of their panegyrics lies in the substantial honoraria with which their recitals are sealed.

The Mandingoes have also their annalists, by whom their memories are refreshed concerning the salient features of their history. These bards, in order to arouse the men to deeds of daring and of heroism by reciting the prowess and renown of their sages and warriors, attend the armies on their warlike expeditions. But for the purpose of averting some impending calamity by placating the anger of Allah, or in order to solicit his benediction on some cherished enterprise, bards of another caste traverse the country, singing devotional hymns and performing religious ceremonies.

The principal pastime in which the Mandingoes find relaxation is the dance; on moonlight nights from sunset to midnight they unbend to the delights of this elixir. On the arrival of some distinguished visitor or at the birth of a child a special dance, in which the performers appear in masquerade costume, is executed.

Marriage is a civil contract concluded between the suitor and the father of the bride. Having made his choice of a damsel, the young man approaches her parents with a view to obtaining her in marriage. Should his proposal be accepted, the contract would be ratified by the contracting parties by eating together a few kola-nuts. The swain then informs the maid of his intentions; but this is merely a matter of form, for should she reject

the proffered hand her only alternative would be to consign herself to the state of celibacy, since she may wed another man only by the consent of the suitor she now rejects, and since he has the power to enslave her if she without his permission enter with another the marriage bond. On the day of the marriage a bullock is slaughtered and a sumptuous feast provided. To the feast a select number of guests are bidden. Towards evening the bride is conducted by the elderly women to a special apartment, where, after being attired in white cotton drapery concealing the entire person, she takes her seat on a mat spread upon the ground in the centre of the room. She is now instructed by her seniors concerning the manner of conduct which as a wife she should adopt ; the scene meanwhile is enlivened by the singing and dancing of young girls. The bridegroom in the banqueting-hall is entertaining the guests of both sexes, regaling them with all the bounties provided as well as with an incessant flow of pleasantries. At about midnight the bride, led by the hand, is escorted by the band of matrons to the house that is to be her future home. Soon after, the bridegroom, leaving the company to its own pleasures, proceeds to join his bride, and there, in the paradise of wedded bliss, the couple newly united pass into the enchantments of nuptial felicity. In the morning their slumbers are cut short by the arrival of interested friends, who, to convince themselves of the bride's chastity, have come to inspect the nuptial sheet. Finding it duly marked, they in a transport of joy dance around it, and thereafter publish to the world the good news. For the validity of marriage this ceremony is considered to be indispensable.

Mandingo husbands exercise absolute control over their wives ; hence should the domestic peace be menaced, or should its repose be actually broken, they may undertake its restoration, even at the point of the rod. But generally the women are well treated, and are not excluded from public entertainments and other assemblies. The women on their part are frank and cheerful in their deportment, never abusing their liberty, and are very seldom found intriguing.

Polygamy is universally practised, but each wife acts in turn as manager or mistress of the establishment. In that capacity she superintends the general affairs of the household, such as those of cooking, and the behaviour and requirements of the female slaves.

Mothers show for their children the greatest affection, and very carefully attend to their physical and intellectual training. In infancy the child is plunged into cold water three or four times in the day, and the body having been made perfectly dry after each immersion, is rubbed with palm-oil. Children are kept at the breast until they are able to walk, and frequently they are not weaned until they are three years old. During this period the husband devotes his attention exclusively to his other wives. The naming of the child is quite an event, and is attended with an important ceremony. At the time appointed a dish called *dega*, consisting of the pounded grain of sorghum mixed with sour milk and served up in a large calabash, is prepared. The head of the child is shaved by the fakir or schoolmaster, who is present. Should anyone in the community be dangerously ill, a large part of the consecrated dish—which is believed to possess extraordinary medicinal properties—would be sent him. Children are early taught habits of industry. Girls learn to spin, to beat out the sorghum grain, in addition to other domestic duties. Boys are employed in field labour and similar pursuits, but these employments are not by any means at the expense of their scholastic training, for they are regularly sent to school, and at school they are taught to read and to write passages from the Koran, also to recite the daily prayers. To obtain these educational advantages they are placed for three or four years under the tutorship of the Maraboos, performing certain menial duties in return for the instruction they receive. This form of recompense to the Maraboo is from time to time augmented by gifts from the parents, and at the close of the pupil's studies, by the further gift of a slave. Like the majority of African peoples, circumcision is practised among the Mandingoes, it being extended in their case to girls—a less prevalent custom—as well as to boys. The practice, therefore, is a sanitary measure rather than a religious rite.

The dead are buried. At the demise of a person of quality the friends and relations assemble at the mortuary dwelling, and there, in heartrending cries and loud and bitter lamentations, manifest their grief. A bullock or goat is killed for the purpose of entertaining those attending the funeral. Interment takes place on the evening of the same day that the deceased dies. The body is shrouded in white cotton garments, wrapped in a mat, and then consigned to the grave. This final resting-place is dug in the floor of the house occupied by the deceased, or at the

root of some favourite tree outside the village. The grave is usually protected by an enclosure of prickly shrubs and the site marked by a flag fastened to a pole. For a day or two after the burial the mourners, in order to give vent to their devouring grief, pay periodic visits to the grave. For a prince, or others of exalted rank, the period of mourning is a month; for a person of lower degree, but of distinction, the time is fifteen days.

Class distinction is recognised among the Mandingoes. The head chief and his family occupy the highest social grade; the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the mosque come next in order of precedence; the subordinate princes or chiefs are in the third station, then the artisan and dependent freemen. The lowest class is made up of slaves born in the country, the status of such slaves being, however, superior to that of those who are captives of war, or to that of criminals who have been reduced to slavery. Household slaves are well treated, and it would be regarded a disgrace to sell a slave of the household, except as a punishment for some misdemeanour. Agriculture is one of the chief employments of a slave. They partake of the same food as their master, and, except for desertion, are hardly ever chastised.

Ecclesiastics and artisans enjoy the privilege of travelling through any part of the country in time of war as well as in time of peace; the sacredness of their persons being respected among Pagan tribes as well as among Mohammedans. Formerly the government of independent Mandingo tribes was of the patriarchal kind: the oldest member of the clan was in both civil and religious affairs the recognised head of the community. But in more recent times the elective system has been introduced: under it, a chief or headman, who bears a title of Mungo or Mansa, and who is addressed as *faffee* or father, is raised to the supreme direction of affairs; but this authority is somewhat nominal. In each tribe the real power of government is vested in a council. This body deliberates over all matters of importance and decides questions of public interest; its meetings are held at the public town hall, and during its deliberations every freeman may within the widest latitude give expression to his opinions.

Formerly the Mandingoes were frequently at war. These expeditions are either of an offensive or defensive order, and fall under two categories—those preceded by a regular declaration of war and those which are merely predatory excursions. In the case of the first there is no disguise or concealment, but the enemy is duly notified of their intention to make war upon

him. Warfare of this kind is decided by one or two pitched battles, as a result of which the vanquished would flee to the woods and the victors secure prisoners and spoils. Of the prisoners taken, the able-bodied and strong are sold into slavery, and the infirm and also chiefs are slain. The second kind of warfare is usually retaliatory; at night, while the inhabitants are asleep, the village is surprised, and men, women, and children, with all the goods that can be conveniently removed, are carried off. In former times the Mandingoes fought with bows and arrows, lances, swords, and knives, etc.; but these have since been superseded by firearms. Now they are well supplied with modern weapons, and they use them to good effect.

The majority of the Mandingoes are zealous Mohammedans, although they retain many of their Pagan customs; yet as far as at least as the letter of their creed is concerned, they are devout Moslems. Except that they pray three instead of four times in the day, they conform to all the observances prescribed by the Koran. After completing their ablutions, they arrange themselves in several lines behind the officiating Maraboo, whose gestures and movements, with their faces turned towards Mecca, they imitate. The feast of Rhamadan is ostentatiously observed; during the month of its observance they abstain until sunset, each day, from all solid and liquid food, and also from smoking. Each morning during this season the men assembling, the fakir or schoolmaster reads a lesson from one of the many commentaries of the Koran. At these services, and throughout the time of the feast, the people for the most part evince a feeling of penitence and meekness. On the last day of the feast they all proceed to the mosque to watch for the appearing of the new moon, and at the first glimpse of the queen of the heavens, with shouts of rapture, the clapping of hands, and the sound of musketry, the assembled worshippers of Islam hail her approach. The day following the end of the feast the festival called *tabasket*, corresponding to the Mohammedan "Beiram," is proclaimed.

In connection with this festival a procession is formed at sunrise, which the Maraboos lead, attired in white tunics, bordered with red worsted, each with a spear in his hand, and in single file. The princes, richly dressed and fully armed, follow next in order, then the people. Oxen, covered with cotton cloths and ornamented with garlands, have previously been taken to the ground, whither the procession proceeds. Arriving at the trysting-place, the Maraboos offer a prayer, and the oxen, which

are thrown with their faces towards the east, are then slaughtered in accordance with the Mohammedan ritual. The carcasses are now skinned, then divided, and finally distributed among the different towns and villages. This ended, the festival begins. The married women and girls, led by a minstrel, divide themselves into four groups; the leaders thereupon commence to chant certain verses, of which, at the end of each, the groups join in the chorus. At the same time all are dancing around the fire kindled in the centre of the place. A troop of young men, similarly divided and preceded by a band of music, now marches around the fire. At the conclusion of these preliminaries there is a general dance, in which both sexes take part, and in which they exhibit skill and agility.

The Maraboos constitute a class by themselves; they neither mingle with the common people nor marry outside their class; they are the priestly caste and the instructors of the people. They sedulously observe the precepts of the Koran, abstaining from wine and other spirituous liquors. They are also described as being gentle and polite. They act as schoolmasters, but frequently engage in commercial enterprise. In their business relations they are reputed as being honest, and as always acting in good faith. They are also charitable, and, unless it be for crime, they never allow any of the people to be sold into slavery. They are much respected by the people, who consult them in cases of illness; and they are treated even by the princes and nobles with the greatest consideration.

Now, in this sketch of the Mandingoes we have been studying a people dwelling in that part of the African continent known as Western Soudan. But what sort of picture is presented by that other section, situated in the heart of the continent and called Central Soudan? In answer to this question, here is just a bird's-eye view, given to a representative of the Press by Bishop Tugwell, who, after spending some twelve months in that region, had recently returned to Great Britain. Bishop Tugwell is reported to have said:—

“Many of the conditions there are quite different from anything I have seen in other parts of Africa. The people have an organised system of cleansing the town, all refuse being collected daily, carried off by donkeys, and put on farms as manure. The greater part of the town is well kept. There exists a form of irrigation for growing rice, onions, tobacco, and here, for the first time in Africa, I saw entire farms surrounded

with hedges. Both in Kano and Zaria the people are not ignorant of affairs of the outer world. All through Housaland they are quick and intelligent, and possess great possibilities under British rule. With the exception of the ruling Fulanis, who number perhaps about five per cent. of the population, they welcome British civilisation and methods. There exists a definite system of education, with schools in every town; and many of the houses are well built."

From the facts disclosed in the notice about the Mandingoes it will not, I think, be denied that they are a progressive people. I am now speaking more particularly of the Mohammedan Mandingoes. Their industrial enterprises—for example, agriculture, the tanning and dressing of leather, the weaving of cloth, the smelting of iron, the melting and drawing out of gold into wire, their work in pottery and in wood-carving, their schools, the size and arrangement of their dwellings, their value of chastity, their refinement in social intercourse, the freedom of speech in their assemblies—all certify to their progress. But this progress has a twofold origin: its origin in the first place is innate, in the next place it is extraneous. It is to the latter origin, which doubtless is Moorish or Arabic, that their preparation and uses of leather and of gold, also their educational and religious knowledge, and the stability of their political institutions, are to be traced. But removing this, so to say, foreign layer from the amalgam of their culture, we have agriculture, weaving, the fashioning of pottery, wood-carving, and the construction of their dwellings, etc., as representing their inherent progress. And respecting this condition, by which the spontaneous advancement of these Mandingo people is shown, what do we see when it is compared with that which existed at the time of the conquest of Eastern, Western, Northern, and Central Europe by the Romans? We see the Mandingoes settled in towns that have been previously cleared, and we see them inhabiting permanent dwellings; whereas, touching the ancient Europeans, we are told that "their towns" were "constituted of nothing more than thick woods," that "their villages" were "destitute of any permanent buildings." We see the Mandingo living in comparative comfort and ease, whilst we are told that the ancient European lived in "extreme poverty and wretchedness." The Mandingoes are acquainted with the science of metallurgy, the arts of weaving, dyeing, pottery-making, wood-carving; the ancient Europeans were "ignorant of any science

or art," were "without knowledge of the use of metals"; they were "clothed with skins." Therefore it can be hardly denied that on the ladder of human progress the Mandingoes occupy a higher place than that which the former inhabitants of Europe occupied.

But we pass on to compare the Mandingoes, who are admittedly among the most progressive of the peoples of Africa, with other African nations and tribes. It may be generally stated that all African peoples work in iron, of the uses of which they have knowledge. So that Ratzel is no doubt correct, when from the presence of jade instruments in Africa he assumes for that continent a "stone age," whose areal extent was from Egypt to the Cape of Good Hope, and from Somaliland to the Niger basin, adding "that Africa is now in possession of iron," or its iron age. But besides the working in iron throughout Africa, and the working in gold by several African peoples, there are such handicrafts as pottery-making, weaving, wood-carving, as well as the building of permanent settlements, which throughout the entire continent are universal. Hence, as far as the spontaneous progress of the Mandingoes is concerned, other African nations and tribes may generally be said to be on a level with them. And, therefore, since the Mandingoes, as we have already seen, possess a higher spontaneous culture than the ancient European possessed, it follows that the other peoples of Africa possess a higher spontaneous culture than that which the ancient European peoples possessed.

From the above remarks I make the following general statements. First, that although there is a striking similarity between the description now given of heathen Africa by civilised Europe, and the description formerly given of heathen Europe by civilised Romans, yet that in these descriptions the advantage is undoubtedly with Africa rather than with Europe. Secondly, that as representing the great Mohammedan states of the Soudan, the Arabic and Moorish cultures displayed by the Mohammedan Mandingoes in the greater size of their towns or cities, their larger and better furnished dwellings, their workmanship in gold, the preparation and uses of leather, their knowledge of letters, and their better organised political system, being superior to the purely Pagan Mandingo section, prove the ability of the African to assimilate a higher culture. But the culture here assimilated is far less complex than that presented in the West by Europe, as well as by North America. Accordingly our next

inquiry will be, to see how far the African is capable of taking on this more complex and elaborate culture of the West. In prosecuting this inquiry, which shall be conducted in the next chapter, the illustrations will be drawn exclusively from peoples of African descent, dwelling, or who have dwelt, in the Western Hemisphere.

THE NEGRO UNDER CHRISTIAN CULTURE

The Ethiopian race dwelling in the New World numbers possibly some fourteen millions. Of these, the greater part—between ten and eleven millions—are in the United States. This majority, the members of which are now citizens of the great Republic, began its career in that land, as is so well known, not as freemen, but as slaves. As slaves they passed two and a half centuries, under a system wherein all that is vile, base, and brutish in human nature found its fullest fruition. And when at the close of that epoch of agony and horror—an epoch of mental, moral, and physical mutilation—their shackles were removed, they were in a condition of abject poverty and gross ignorance; in that condition they were in a large measure required to educate, and entirely to support themselves, as well as discharge their duties as citizens of the commonwealth. Nor is this all, for there has existed a conspiracy, begotten of fear, of disappointment, of jealousy, of implacable hate, that has fabricated or exaggerated crimes which it has imputed to the coloured citizens, and which, in order to defame them, it has circulated throughout the world. A conspiracy that has intimidated and ostracised them; a conspiracy, which by means of violence has excluded the majority of coloured citizens from enjoying the highest privilege of citizenship, from discharging its most sacred obligation, viz. the casting of their votes; a conspiracy that has heaped upon these citizens humiliation of every description, and by every kind of obstructive and oppressive tactics that fiendish ingenuity can invent, even to murder, has striven, ever since the emancipation, to secure their overthrow and ensure their ruin. Now, it is concerning this people, a people that has had obstacles so stupendous to encounter, that I ask the question: How have they fared during the forty odd years of their semi-freedom?

I begin the answer to this question by making a reference to the State of Virginia, whose capital, Richmond, during the Civil War was the seat of government of the Confederate States. And what facts do this state and its chief city, which formed,

so to say, the converging point of the forces that planned for the perpetual enslavement of the Afro-American, reveal to us? Concerning the city of Richmond, we learn that the Negro citizens pay taxes for property that they own in Richmond, amounting to more than \$650,000. As emphasising the progress of which these figures speak, let me append the following statement made by the *Richmond Times*. The *Richmond Times* is a witness that advocates the education of the Negro on the taxes that he pays, and that flashes the tinselled phrase, "the white man's country"; it is a witness, therefore, whose testimony with respect to the progress of the Negro is all the more weighty since its prejudice against him is so profound. The *Richmond Times* states:—

"Many black men have accumulated property, have educated themselves, have shown the progressive spirit, and have progressed. There are hundreds of such men in Richmond to-day. . . ."

Regarding the State of Virginia itself, we gather from the report of the Auditor of Public Accounts that in 1900 the property-tax of the Afro-American amounted to \$15,000,000, as against \$12,000,000 paid by him the previous year. And by the *New York World* we are informed that throughout the United States coloured American citizens have accumulated school property valuing \$12,000,000; that the value of their Church property is \$37,000,000; that they own 137,000 farms valued at \$725,000,000; that their property, some part of which had belonged to their former masters, value \$165,000,000; and that *per capita* their possessions are \$72.50. By the 137,000 farms just mentioned, excluding other products, such as oats, wheat, tobacco, molasses, etc., there were produced in 1899, according to the Department of Agriculture, 11,235,383 bales of cotton.

Turning now to the subject of education, the following facts, gleaned from the United States Bureau of Education by the Rev. Dr. C. T. Walker, of New York, and delivered by him before a conference of ministers (white) of that city, speak for themselves.

"We find," says Dr. Walker, "for 1897 and 1898, 916,883 Negro children in the former sixteen slave states, and District of Columbia, attending school, making sixty per cent. of the coloured enrolment.

"There are about 180 schools in the United States, exclu-

sively for the secondary and higher education of coloured youths. In 161 of these institutions there were employed 1,809 teachers, the total enrolment being 42,330 students. Of these students, those belonging to the collegiate grades numbered 2,492; those of the secondary grades were 13,669; and of the elementary grades 26,169. Students studying the classics were 1,711, those in the scientific 1,200, in English courses 9,724, in business courses 244, and in the normal courses 4,449. There were 167 graduates from the college courses, 859 from normal courses, and 853 from high school courses. In professional courses there were 1,285 students; in theology 560 students and 63 graduates; in law 116 students and 39 graduates; in medicine 342 and 78 graduates; dentistry 43 students and 9 graduates; pharmacy 44 students and 11 graduates. In addition to the figures just given it must be stated that 180 students had qualified themselves as nurses. Further, that of these 42,330 students in the 161 schools for the coloured race, 14,400 were receiving industrial training, of which farming and gardening claimed 1,260, carpentry 1,804, brick-laying 107, plastering 94, painting 130, tin-smithing 47, forging 247, the machine-shop 222, shoe-making 219, printing 685, the millinery department 6,923, cookery 1,922, and other industrial branches 2,414. These schools had in their libraries 237,145 volumes, valued at \$215,908. There were 21,000 Afro-Americans engaged in the work of teaching; more than 15,000 young men and women were attending various colleges. There were more than 50 coloured normal schools; more than 40 schools for secondary education; there were 18 colleges and universities; 45 theological schools, 6 schools for the deaf, dumb, and blind; and several schools of law."

The light streaming upon the darkness of Negro ignorance from the multifarious jets of the great gaselier, betokened by the above diverse centres of instruction, has narrowed the range of his illiteracy 45 per cent. Further, as succeeding the preparatory or incubatory stage, represented by the above centres of learning, we have the following figures relating to the business standing of the Southern Negro, and collected at the instance of the United States Government Exhibition:—

Number of Negroes in business, 20,320; those of them that employ agents and collectors, 1,172; boarding-house keepers, 2,323; druggists, 137; dry-goods merchants, 135; grocers, 1,839; hotel-keepers, 429; hucksters, 2,655; bank officials and insurance agents, 213; undertakers, builders, and contractors, 154; photographers, 596; journalists and publishers, 125; manufacturers, 401; barbers, of whom 5,000 were proprietors, 17,480; butchers, 2,510; blacksmiths, 10,762; watch and clockmakers, 61. Of

these businesses, more than 700 had been established for more than thirty years. The Afro-American has written 300 books; he owns and edits more than 200 newspapers, which are regularly issued every week; he also owns and edits monthly and quarterly magazines.

Particularising these facts, it may be mentioned that there are at least four banks owned and managed entirely by coloured men. These are the Capital Saving Bank at Washington (D.C.), the True Reformer Bank of Birmingham, Alabama, and the A. M. E. Zion Church, Bank of St. Louis (Mo.). On the list of stockholders of the City Bank of Springfield, Ohio, there appeared the names of two Negroes. The People's Auxiliary Hospital and Training School at St. Louis (Mo.) are institutions, I am informed, that are entirely under the management of coloured surgeons; they are also the first in that State that are so controlled. I have also heard that a business men's club, known as the Empire Business Men's Club, and having as president M. N. Brown, as secretary Dr. W. P. Reid, and as treasurer Mr. Rufus Hubert, has been established in New York. Coloured members of the Order of Oddfellows residing at Chicago are said to have recently paid in cash for a site, on one of the leading streets of that city, on which to build a temple, to cost \$16,000. In addition to the large rooms with which the structure is to be furnished, there is to be an auditorium; and a part of the funds for defraying the entire cost of the building and its appointment is said to have been already in hand. It is reported from Kansas City, Missouri, that a co-operative organisation called "The Negro Business League," whose object is to acquire real estate or business enterprises, which promise to be remunerative, has been formed in that place by prominent coloured citizens. It has also been announced that at Concord, North Carolina, Negroes own and control a cotton mill, and that at Fayetteville, in the same State, the operatives of one of the silk mills are exclusively members of the Negro race. In Roanoke, Virginia, there is a foundry owned by a company of Negro gentlemen; originally these gentlemen, in a similar but larger establishment, had themselves been day labourers, but believing that they were competent to undertake an enterprise on their own account, they hired an old building and, in a small way, began. Still retaining their employments, they at first devoted all their spare time to the venture, often working well into the night.

The tentative stage being at length safely got over, cutting themselves adrift from the old moorings, and taking up their berths permanently in the new foundry, they have thus by industry, energy, skill, and prudence, succeeded in bringing up the undertaking to the present size, at which it gives employment to a number of workmen. The records of the American Patent Office show that hundreds of patents, covering all the departments of mechanics, have been granted to Negroes. The Bell Telephone Company, for example, owe their transmitter to the invention of Granville T. Wood, a black engineer, whose electric controller system is that employed on the Manhattan elevated railway. Although not much beyond forty years of age, Mr. Wood has patented already thirty-five important devices, including four kinds of telegraphing apparatus, four electric railway improvements, two electric brakes, a telephone system, a battery, and a tunnel construction for electric roads. Another Negro, by the name of McCoy, has given America its finest lubricating oil. One of the greatest Negro financiers in the United States is Daniel Seales, recently in his seventy-ninth year. Mr. Seales, who is a native of Kentucky, is the owner of extensive property, and in order to inspect the various claims and concerns in which he is interested, has crossed the American continent no less than fifty-six times. The death of a Negro millionaire, Colonel John McKnee, has been reported from Philadelphia. The deceased is said to have owned nearly 400 pieces of real estate in Philadelphia, to have owned in New Jersey 4,500 acres of farm land, and to have owned in Kentucky and Illinois 200,000 acres of farm land, with mineral oil and coal. The value of his estate has been reckoned as being upward of \$2,000,000.

Passing to the fine arts, *belles-lettres*, and general literature, the Negro will be found to be not unrepresented in these walks of life. Mention may be made of Paul Lawrence Dunbar, poet and novelist, whose more recent works include *Lyrics of Lowly Life*, a volume of short stories, and a novel, *The Uncalled*, which has had a remarkably favourable reception. There is also the standard work by the late Colonel George Williams, *History of the Negro Race*; and his other works, *The Suppressing of the African Slave Trade*, etc. There is *The Conservation of Races*, etc., by Professor W. E. Du Bois, of Atlanta University, who is also an authority on sociological questions; a Greek grammar,

used as a text-book, besides several papers on Greek literature, by Professor W. S. Scarborough, of Wilberforce University.

In painting the Negro is represented by Mr. H. O. Turner, who, beginning his life in Philadelphia as a painter, passed on to Paris in 1892. One of the pictures of this well-known artist—"The Raising of Lazarus"—was bought by the French Government for the Luxembourg Gallery; another picture—"Annunciation"—was in the Wilstack of Philadelphia; while the third—"Christ and Nicodemus"—was in the salon.

As to the healing art, among many successful Afro-American physicians and surgeons the name of Dr. Daniel H. Williams, of Chicago, may be given. This gentleman has succeeded in establishing a fine practice, his patients being drawn from all classes of the community; he also holds appointments to several public institutions, and during the recent war between Spain and America he was appointed examining surgeon of volunteers, with the rank of colonel.

Regarding politics, it may be mentioned that the bonds issued for \$200,000,000 as war loan, at the time of the Spanish-American War, bore the signature of Judson W. Lyons, one of the best-known men of colour in the United States, who was Registrar of the Treasury. Other Afro-Americans have also sat in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, and the last African representative in Congress, Hon. George H. White, late member of the House of Representatives, besides discharging the duties of his high office with dignity and credit, is recognised as one of the ablest criminal lawyers in the State of North Carolina.

The coloured American Press, which I have said numbers more than two hundred weekly journals, besides magazines, began life in 1827, with the publication in New York of *Freedom's Journal*. And from among the brave and patriotic band, who, besides establishing in the field of journalism their own reputation, interpret the sentiments of the Afro-American, to whose interests their journals are devoted, I will mention a single name, Mr. T. Thomas Fortune, formerly editor of the *New York Globe*, but now editor of the *New York Age*; this gentleman, in addition to the work he devotes to his own paper, is a constant contributor to some of the chief and best American newspapers, and I believe I am correct in assigning to him the chief part in introducing into current usage the term Afro-American.

For the purpose of estimating the Negro's talent as an educator, the work of such well-known members of the race as W. H. Councill and Gilbert, of Brown University, Jones and Vassa, of the University of Virginia, would be sufficient; but on account of the uniqueness of its success, as well as its world-wide reputation, I will pause that I may offer here a few particulars concerning the educational enterprise of Mr. Booker T. Washington. The Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Alabama, has only recently reached its majority, or the twenty-first year of its age. Of its kind it is not only the most successful among the institutions in the United States devoted exclusively to the training of the coloured race, but also the most successful among similar institutions in that country devoted to the training of the colourless race. Launched in a small rented church twenty-one years ago, with a single teacher and thirty pupils, but not a single foot of land, this undertaking now owns, according to a late return, unmortgaged property valued at \$300,000. Its 42 buildings have almost all been erected by the labour of its students. It has 2,267 acres of land, 88 officers and teachers, an attendance of 1,164 students, of whom, 801 are males, and 363 are females. It is maintained at a cost of more than \$100,000 per annum. Its students are drawn from 24 states and territories, also from Cuba, Porto Rico, England, and Africa. From lack of accommodation it rejected recently a thousand applicants. Tuskegee aims at educating not only the head and heart, but also the hand, and in this latter respect, by means of an efficient staff, including one director of industries and another of the agricultural department, it imparts instruction in the following branches of industry: Agriculture, blacksmithing, bricklaying, carpentry, carriage-trimming, cooking, dairying, drawing—architectural, freehand, and mechanical—plain sewing, housekeeping, harness-making, founding, horticulture, laundering, machinery, mattress-making, millinery, nurse-training, painting, shoemaking, stock-raising, tailoring, tinning, wheelwrighting.

Taking the subject of agriculture to illustrate the thoroughness with which the teaching of Tuskegee is done, it may be mentioned that, in addition to the facilities already possessed, some time in 1897, for teaching practical and scientific agriculture, an experiment station—a gift to the institution by the Alabama Legislature—was secured. By means of these combined facilities, the Department of Agriculture connected with

Tuskegee carries on its work both in the laboratory and in the field. The laboratory work consists in analysing various soils in order to discover what element may be lacking to make them more productive. The discovery being made, the farmer is thereby enabled to select the proper fertiliser, and by it to supply to the soil the ingredient it lacks. Likewise, according to whether the end desired may be to produce fat, milk, or muscle, feeds for cattle are also selected by means of analysis. Besides these items, the student of Tuskegee is well instructed in the qualities of forage plants, foreign as well as native. The fifty and more cows kept by the institution, and which supply the material for purposes of dairying, supply also the demand made in that direction by the laboratory. Similarly, the orchard and market-garden, which furnish Tuskegee with vegetables and fruit, are likewise used for instructing the students in the art of grafting, budding, trimming, and of caring for plants and trees.

The department of Tuskegee, which is devoted to head culture, is no less thoroughly equipped than that which applies itself to the culture of the hands. It draws its instructors and managers from foremost institutions of learning. Nor is the moral aspect of the student's life overlooked; for side by side with the bustle and activities of the industrial and academic departments there is the tranquil and sobering work of the Phelps Hall Bible Institute, a branch of Tuskegee. There are besides, a Sunday-school, a Young Men's Christian Association, a Christian Endeavour Society, a Young Women's Christian Temperance Union, etc. Thus Tuskegee is prepared to assist in equipping the Southern States with an educated coloured ministry, with educated mechanics, and with educated citizens. And to complete the grandeur of its beneficence, it brings its exceptional advantages within the reach of the Negro youth whose only capital is his labour. To him it says, "If you have no money, enter my night-school for two hours each night, and I will feed you, clothe you, house you; and at the end of two years teach you a trade. All this, however, I cannot afford to do gratis; besides, it would be injurious to you, as it would be unprofitable to me. Therefore I stipulate that you should recoup me for my outlay by paying two years' labour." But Tuskegee is the dream, the idea, the inspiration of one man, and this man himself a graduate of the "university of

adversity." Listen while Mr. Washington, in an epitome of his own history, narrates Tuskegee's:—

"I was born a slave on a plantation in Virginia in 1857 or 1858, I think. My first memory of life is that of a one-room log cabin with a dirt floor, and a hole in the centre that served as a winter home for sweet potatoes; and, wrapped in a few rags, on this dirt floor I spent my nights; and, clad in a single garment, about the plantation I often spent my day. The morning of freedom came, and though a child, I recall vividly my appearance with that of forty or fifty slaves before the verandah of the 'big house' to hear read the documents that made us men instead of property. With the long-prayed-for freedom in actual possession, each started out into the world to find new friends and new homes. My mother decided to locate in West Virginia, and after days and nights of weary travel we found ourselves among the salt furnaces and coal mines of West Virginia. Soon after reaching West Virginia I began to work in the coal mines for the support of my mother. While there I heard in some way . . . of General Armstrong's school at Hampton, Virginia. I heard at the same time—and this impressed me most—that it was a school where a poor boy could work for his education, so far as his board was concerned. As soon as I heard of Hampton, I made up my mind that in some way I was going to find my way to that institution. I began at once to save every nickel I could get hold of. At length, with my own savings and a little help from my brother and mother, I started for Hampton, although at the time I hardly knew where Hampton was or how much it would cost to reach the school. After walking a portion of the distance, travelling in a stage-coach and cars the remainder of the journey, I at length found myself in the city of Richmond, Virginia. I also found myself without friends, money, or place to stay all night. After walking about the city till midnight—and I had grown almost discouraged and quite exhausted—I crawled under a sidewalk and slept all that night. The next morning, as good luck would have it, I found myself very near a ship that was unloading pig iron. I applied to the captain for work, and he gave it. I worked on this ship by day and slept under the sidewalk by night till I had earned money enough to continue my way to Hampton. On arriving at Hampton, I had a surplus of fifty cents in my pocket. I at once found General Armstrong and told him what my condition was and what I had come for. In his great hearty way, he said that if I was worth anything he would give me a chance to work my way. At Hampton I found buildings, instructors, and industries provided by the generous—in other words, the chance for me to work for my education. While at Hampton I resolved, if God permitted me

to finish the course of study, I would enter the far South, the black belt of the Gulf States, and give my life in providing as best I could the same kind of chance of self-help for the youth of my race that I found ready for me when I went to Hampton. And so in 1881 I left Hampton, and started the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. . . .”

Such, then, is Tuskegee's history. In accordance with that involuntary yearning after the spiritual, which is so distinctly characteristic of the Ethiopian, many able theologians have from time to time risen from among the Afro-Americans. As a representative of the homiletic side of its aggressive theology, we may for reference single out from a not inconsiderable band the Right Rev. Alexander Walters, Bishop of Zion African Methodist Church. A notable fact in connection with Bishop Walter's ministerial career has been the rapidity of his advancement. Born in Kentucky in 1858, at the age of nineteen he was licensed to preach; at the age of twenty-one he was ordained deacon, made an elder at twenty-four, and bishop at thirty-three. His charges have extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and his administrative ability, conjoined with his breadth of outlook and zeal, has made him to his church a tower of strength. During his pastorate of four years in New York, the membership of the mother church increased to about 700, and for the same church he collected then \$30,000, or £6,000. Bishop Walters is known in this country; in 1889 he was elected delegate of his church to the World's Sunday-school Convention in London. On that occasion, besides accepting many pulpit engagements in Great Britain, he extended his visit to the Continent, to Egypt, and to Palestine.

The reference illustrating the practical side of the Negro's theology may be extended to the great coloured denominations constituted by creedal demarcations. Of these, one, for example, the Negro Baptists, who number 1,700,000, and who have formed themselves into a National Convention, possesses at Nashville (Tenn.), a publishing house, in which fifty men and women are employed, and prosecutes mission work in Cuba and in Africa.

Going back to one of the most momentous periods of the national life of the American Commonwealth, viz. the War of Secession, the question may be fairly asked, What part, if any, did the Ethiopian play in that life-and-death struggle? The part played by the Ethiopian in that tragic drama may to some

extent be perceived, when the fact is stated, that the largest number of coloured troops employed in civilised warfare in modern times was that employed during the War of Secession by the Federal Government. There were 186,000 Ethiopians who enlisted in the Federal army, or nearly one-tenth of all the Northern forces. And at the close of the war, besides the enormous company serving as teamsters, labourers, etc., there were in the Federal ranks 98,000 black infantry, 17,000 black artillery, and 7,000 black cavalry. And, fighting with a sustained and splendid gallantry, distinguishing themselves in many battles, these black troops, as is well known, were second to none. Nor was this the first nor the last time that, heeding his country's call, the coloured American has hastened to answer it with his blood. When the thirteen colonies, out of which the great Republic was ultimately forged, were lying in the fortuitous furnace of the Revolutionary war, the Ethiopian formed a part of that intrepid band by whose operations on the battlefield the molten mass flowed into the Republican mould. And even to-day, when he is but a seventh of the population, such is his valour, his endurance, his fidelity, and his skill, that both in Cuba and in the Philippines he has been requisitioned to fight for the Republic.

But a correct estimate of the position of a race—the present or the future position of that race—presupposes some knowledge of its women. Hence, as regards the Ethiopian, I will impose here a brief respite, in order that this additional gleam of information may be obtained. It will be supplied by the National Association of Coloured Women, which held its second Convention in Chicago, in 1899. Consisting of 145 delegates, the Convention will be seen to have been thoroughly representative. Now concerning this Convention, there are two questions that I wish to ask. The first is, What did these women say when they met? And the second is, How did they say what they said? In answer to the first question, we find that the subject discussed on the afternoon of the first day of the session was, "What are the best methods of establishing schools of domestic science?" And regarding this subject, we have the following comment from the President of the Association, Mrs. Mary Church-Terrell:—

"As the Association," says this lady, "is the only national body of coloured women in the country, we felt that we should carefully and conscientiously study the question of labour. The

Association aims at doing something to arouse our men and women in regard to the alarming rapidity with which they are losing ground in the world of labour; it aims also to make our boys and girls so skilled in the trades, and so proficient in whatever avocation they may follow, that instead of being boycotted as they are at present, they shall be eagerly sought after, and for their labour shall be well remunerated."

On the second afternoon's session the subject of discussion was, "Why the National Association should devise ways and means for establishing Kindergartens." And the sentiment that prompted this proposition was expressed after this manner. "The hope of the race lies in the children. If the Association did nothing else than trying to save the children its mission would be nobly fulfilled."

Other topics deliberated upon by the Convention were temperance, the convict-lease system as it affects child-life, the necessity for an equal moral standard between men and women. From the answers now given to the question, What did the coloured women say at this Convention at Chicago?—answers showing the assembly of women to have had under consideration subjects of the highest economic, social, and moral importance to the commonwealth—we pass to the reply to the other question of, How did these women say what they said? To this end let me quote from the *Chicago Tribune*:—

"The four days' Convention in this city of the Coloured Women's Club," says this paper, "represents a movement which does credit to their people. It is a remarkable evidence on the part of the more forward and more educated coloured women of the country of an intelligent purpose to do their part in the common advancement of their race. Their efforts are calculated to command public respect, and cannot fail to have in many ways far-reaching influence. . . ."

"That within a single generation since the war which gave freedom to the race such a gathering as this should be possible means a great deal. Could Abraham Lincoln have looked in upon nearly two thousand people crowded into Quinn chapel the other evening and seen the representatives of the emancipated, and listened to their addresses, said to have been so admirably spoken, of the President of the Convention, Mrs. Terrell, Mrs. Booker T. Washington, Mrs. Jeffrey, Mrs. B. K. Bruce, Mrs. Thurman, and others, and observed their essential dignity, evident refinement of manner, and noted the breadth of the outlook for their race and for the country, it is difficult to imagine some of the emotion that would have stirred him. . . ."

Let me further quote from the *Times-Herald* of Chicago :—

“The women of colour,” remarks this organ, “were a continual revelation not only as to personal appearance, but as to intelligence and culture. If by a bit of magic the colour of their skin could be changed to white, one would have witnessed a convention of wide-awake women which in almost every particular would favourably compare with a convention of white-skinned women.”

The following are the comments of two white ladies of Chicago who were members of white clubs :—

“I expected,” says one of these two critics, “to see probably a dozen clever women, but instead of twelve I saw nearly two hundred. It was simply an eye-opener.” “After watching these capable coloured women,” said the other white club woman, “three days, I never want to hear another word about there being no hope for the Negro. Another thing, if the Lord helps him who helps himself, these coloured club women will have a good pull with Providence.”

As a fitting although a somewhat humorous summary and endorsement of the remarks made thus far in this chapter regarding the progress of the American Negro, I will subjoin the following paragraph taken from the *Weekly Scotsman* of October 29th, 1904 :—

“The time is past when the only careers in life open to a Negro were to pick cotton, make up berths in a Pullman car, or wait at a table. The study of the Negro population of the United States recently published by the Census Bureau (says the *Philadelphia Sunday Post*) discloses some facts that show very clearly that the coloured race is steadily developing a complete social and industrial system of its own. There is hardly any branch of industry in which Negroes are unrepresented, and that statement includes the women as well as the men. A large city could be founded without a single white man in it, and yet lack for no trade or profession. There are 21,268 Negro teachers and college professors in the United States and 15,530 clergymen. The Negroes could finance a railroad through their 82 bankers and brokers, lay it out with their 120 civil engineers and surveyors, condemn the right of way with their 728 lawyers, make the rails with their 12,327 iron and steel workers, build the road with 545,980 labourers, construct its telegraph system with their 185 electricians and their 529 linemen, and operate with their 55,327 railway employés.

“Coloured people complain that they have to sit in the gallery

in white theatres, but their 2,043 actors and showmen might give them theatres of their own in which they could occupy the boxes in solitary grandeur. They have fifty-two architects, designers, and draughtsmen, 236 artists and teachers of art, 1,734 physicians and surgeons, 212 dentists, 210 journalists, 3,921 musicians and teachers of music, and 99 literary and scientific persons. The coloured baby can be introduced to the world by Negro physicians and nurses, instructed in every accomplishment by Negro teachers, supplied with every requisite of life by Negro merchants, housed by Negro builders, and buried by a Negro undertaker. It is noteworthy that the proportion of self-supporting Negroes is much larger than that of self-supporting whites. Of all over ten years old 84·1 per cent. of the coloured males and 40·7 per cent. of the coloured females are engaged in gainful occupations, against 79·5 per cent. of the white males and 16 per cent. of the white females similarly occupied. These are figures to which the Negro can 'point with pride' when he is accused of preferring the midnight chicken and the surreptitious watermelon to the joys of labour."

FOUR GREAT LEADERS OF THE NEGRO RACE

A correct estimate of the position of a race—the present or the future position of that race—I have observed, presupposes some knowledge of its women. Of this aphorism the complement would be this, viz. a correct estimate of the position of a race, etc., presupposes some knowledge of its ability or its inability to produce great leaders. By great leaders I refer, not to the average, the relative, or the mediocritic, but to the extraordinary, the exceptional, the absolute leader. For in regard to this complement it is a fact that, whether in ancient or modern times, the nations who have been the standard-bearers of civilisation have each of them been made by only a *few* great leaders. Now, among the examples given in this chapter as showing the attitude of the Negro towards Western culture, I have in Mr. Booker T. Washington, who has achieved a world-wide fame, mentioned a great leader.

I shall close the chapter by referring to three other eminent leaders produced in the New World by the African race—one an American and two West Indians—the former Hon. Frederick Douglass, the latter Dr. E. W. Blyden, and Toussaint L'Ouverture. This last, in my opinion, has been the greatest Negro born in the Western Hemisphere, and one of the greatest of the greatest men whom the three races have produced. Before, however, proceeding to sketch the careers of these three great

Negroes, I desire for a little longer to prolong a note struck by the extracts bearing upon "Coloured Women's Association," and particularly by the first two of these extracts. A note referring to culture or refinement, or to those offices between man and man, which, as oases in the desert, or as the purling brook to the thirsty wayfarer, refresh, cheer, encourage. These qualities and their deeds, bearing the generic name culture or refinement, are so essentially a part of human nature that there is no community, including the most barbarous, in which they are entirely lacking. Indeed, to conceive the existence of such a society would be to conceive the working of machinery without oil, whereof, besides the jarring and squeaking noises that motion would evoke, there would be the danger also of combustion.

Having observed the general conduct of the Negro towards Western progress, I wish now particularly to notice his relation towards this essential element, refinement or culture, as it is manifested in the West. For the study I select a festive gathering, a gathering which, because of the reflections it suggested to the sagacious critic, to whom we are indebted for the facts it developed, as well as on account of its composition and the place of its meeting, possesses a singular and a striking interest. This gathering was a banquet, given by the leading coloured citizens of Atlanta, Georgia, in honour of Mr. Booker T. Washington on his return home in 1899 after his visit to Europe. Among the white guests there were the Governor of Georgia and the State School Commissioner. Now when it is remembered that the State of Georgia is among that group of states in the South whose violent propaganda against the Ethiopian from time to time, and the fury of whose periodic outbreaks against him, have earned the reprobation of all right-thinking men everywhere, to be informed that at the invitation of some Negroes of the capital of Georgia, and in honour of a Negro, no less a personage than the chief of the state, attended by some of the most distinguished of his class and race, is among the guests at this banquet, cannot but appear unique, striking, and interesting.

The banquet having begun, we are assured that at the important stage of speech-making, representatives of the two races, doubtless under the influence of such stimulants as lemonade, ginger-beer, kola, and ice-water, as though oblivious of the fact that Judge Lynch had lived, entered upon a most profuse and even

prodigal distribution of compliments and encomiums, each to the race to which the other belonged. But whilst these jasmynes, hyacinths, lilies, and roses, in scattered profusion, had for the moment obliterated all those social distinctions between black and white, more dear to the Euro-American than even his religion, and whilst the senses, overborne by their delicious fragrance, made the rest of the company forgetful of all else save cordiality and amity, one member present, although appreciative, was also critical. That member was Colonel John Temple Graves. Colonel J. T. Graves, although charmed with the beauty and delighted with the aroma of these floral tributes, yet, by the exercise of his penetrating faculties, foresaw that under the swelter of colour-prejudice they must soon decay, be cast into oblivion, and that in consequence the lines of demarcation hitherto existing and enforced between the races would in all their grim hideousness be disclosed to view. And so, in an admirable letter to *The Atlanta Constitution*, appearing subsequently in the *Voice of Missions*, he dwells upon the quality of the speeches delivered at the banquet, upon the manner the Negroes, their hosts, acquitted themselves; upon the questions suggested by the general bearing and behaviour of their hosts, and upon the final conclusion furnished by the answer given to these questions. The questions thus suggested, together with the answer to those questions, and the conclusion inferred from that answer, are not only interesting but of high importance; however, we shall have occasion to return to them; and so, for the purpose of throwing some further light on the attitude of the Ethiopian towards Western culture in its social relations, we shall confine ourselves for the present to the manner in which, as was described by Mr. Graves, the coloured banqueters entertained their guests.

“The Negro on that programme,” proceeds Colonel Graves, “appeared to magnificent advantage last night, and shared in equal measure every laurel of the white men who visited them. If there were any point of difference it is simple truth to say that the honours of the evening were with the darker race. I speak with deliberation now, and weigh my words in the narration of detail. The master of ceremonies was Rev. H. H. Proctor, and no better presiding officer has come under observation in Atlanta. From first to last he was the graceful master of the occasion; dignity, impressiveness, felicity of manner, accuracy of speech, and the keenest and most tactful statement of the meaning of the occasion and of the appropriateness of each

speaker to the programme. We have no presiding officer of either race in Atlanta who could have bettered the performance last night. He was a dark mulatto. In the speech of Dr. J. M. Henderson, an even darker man, the public in attendance was treated to as fine a specimen of fiery and impassioned eloquence as I have ever heard in Atlanta. I say it deliberately, that we have no orator of either race in this city that could surpass in force, in magnetism, in delivery, and in vigorous diction the really magnificent burst of this Negro educator. Booker Washington presented his case with a tact, a courtesy, a plausibility, and a power which no publicist in Georgia has surpassed. And all the exercises of this notable reception were closed by a baritone solo from Lawrence Steel, an extremely black man, whose voice has no natural equal among the vocalists in the capital of Georgia. Now these four Negroes represent the highest development and the highest attainments of their race. They had 'what the white man wanted.' If he wanted eloquence, they had it to burn. If he wanted wit, it was there. If he wanted wisdom, it was on hand. If he wanted common-sense, it was plentiful. If he wanted music, it rolled in waves of melody from the throat of the singer. No white had a greater stock of these qualities. Besides this, the Negroes were well dressed. They wore clean linen. They were amiable, kindly Christian men. . . ."

With regard to these and the other individual cases that have been submitted in this chapter, in order to show what the Ethiopian of the New World has done in respect to Western progress since his freedom, it is hardly necessary to remark that these individual cases represent, not the sum-total of any of the lines referred to, but rather, samples of each line. And when we take these samples, and endeavour to find for each its counterpart in the great whole of which the progress of the white section of the United States is composed, we discover that there is not an element in that highly organised system that has not been reproduced by the Ethiopian. Thus, education, theology, manufacture, invention, agriculture, commerce, finance, politics, military prowess, journalism, music, painting, poetry, oratory, literature, political economy, philanthropy, and refinement of feeling and of manner, are among the objects that have excited his interest; that have enlisted his talents and activities. In relation to Western civilisation, therefore, the position of the Afro-American may be fittingly described as that of complete identification and of complete assimilation. And as the Afro-American adumbrates the African race, that race must also be

said to possess the ability to identify itself with, and to assimilate, Western civilisation. Nor is it in a restricted sense that I refer to this reproduction by the African of what is now the highest type of civilisation; and my certitude for alleging that mastering or reproducing that civilisation, he will ultimately, in conformity with his own genius, enlarge or extend it, rests upon the fact that he is able to produce the quality of leaders requisite for such a development. As I have already observed, I class Mr. Booker T. Washington, who, as we have seen, was born amidst the humblest of circumstances, without the advantages of early mental training, poor, friendless, yet who, at the age of forty-five, is president of an institution with 42 buildings, having 2,267 acres of land, 88 officers, 1,164 students, and valued at \$300,000, or sixty thousand pounds; an institution of which he is the founder—I say that I class Mr. Washington among the type of leaders by whom the foremost peoples of the different races in the past and in the present have been made great.

Of other Negro leaders, in my opinion, who belong to this same class, and whose histories we are now briefly to review, are the late Frederick Douglass, Dr. E. W. Blyden, and Toussaint L'Ouverture. Douglass was born a slave in Talbot county, Maryland, sometime during the century just closed. His life, thoroughly furrowed by the ploughshare of slavery, bristled with bitter recollections of that demoniacal system. Till the age of ten he remained on the plantation of his master, Colonel Edward Lloyd; after that he lived at Baltimore with relatives of his master; from one of these relatives he acquired some knowledge of letters. Afterwards, being allowed by his master, for the sum of three dollars a week, to hire his own time, he found employment in a shipping yard at Baltimore, whence, in accordance with a resolution long formed, in September, 1838, he escaped from bondage. He made his way to New York, then to New Bedford (Mass.), where he remained for two years, supporting himself the meanwhile, by day-labour on the wharves and in various workshops. It was at this period that from Lloyd he changed his name to Douglass. In his effort at self-instruction, he was aided by William Lloyd Garrison, and in the summer of 1841 his public career began. The occasion of this event was his attendance at an anti-slavery meeting at Nantucket, and the making of a speech there; the speech being so well received that he was offered the agency of the Massachusetts Anti-

Slavery Society. In this capacity, for four years, he travelled and lectured throughout the New England States. Large audiences were attracted by his graphic descriptions of slavery, and by his eloquent appeals against it.

In 1845 he visited England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and lectured to enthusiastic and appreciative audiences. In 1846 his English friends subscribed \$750 to secure his manumission, according to law. Remaining in England for two years, on his return to the States, he began at Rochester, New York, in 1847, the publication of the paper then named the *North Star*, but afterwards *Frederick Douglass's Paper*. His supposed implication in the John Brown Raid in 1859 led Governor Wise of Virginia to make requisition to the Governor of Michigan, where he was staying, for his arrest. Thereupon Mr. Douglass again set out for Great Britain; his stay there on this occasion extended only to six or eight months. Returning to the States, and settling again at Rochester, he continued the publication of his paper.

When the Civil War broke out in 1861, he urged upon President Lincoln the recommendation to employ coloured troops, and to proclaim freedom to the slaves. Permission being given (1863) for the employment of coloured troops, in addition to giving his three sons to his country's cause, and to the cause of freedom, he assisted in enlisting the 54th and 55th Massachusetts regiments. After the abolition of slavery he discontinued his paper, and prepared lectures, which he delivered at lyceums and other places. In September, 1870, he started at Washington the *New National Era*, which his sons, Lewis and Frederick, afterwards continued. In 1871 he was appointed assistant-secretary to the Commission to San Domingo; on his return he was appointed by President Grant as one of the territorial council of the district of Columbia. In 1872 he was elected presidential elector at large for the State of New York; also to carry the electoral vote of the state to Washington. In 1876 he was appointed United States marshal for the district of Columbia, an office he retained until 1881. After the post of marshal he became recorder of deeds in the district until 1886, when he was relieved of the office by Mr. Cleveland. Mr. Douglass's published works are, *Narrative of My Experience in Slavery* (Boston, 1844), *My Bondage and My Freedom* (Rochester, 1855), and *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (Hartford, 1881).

Edward Wilmot Blyden was born in the island of St. Thomas, West Indies, August 3rd, 1832. His parents were of decided Christian character and deep piety. Young Blyden received the rudiments of education in the school of his native island, but the stimulus for higher training came from the late Rev. J. P. Knot, of Newtown (L.I.), who temporarily was in charge of the Dutch Reformed Church at St. Thomas. At the instance of this gentleman, young Blyden, with the intention of entering some American institution of learning, sailed in 1847 for New York. But at that time the feeling towards men of colour throughout American colleges was so intensely hostile that he could not, in any of those institutions, find an opening; consequently he decided to return home. Just then, however, he received the offer of a free passage to Liberia, West Africa, from the Colonisation Society of New York; accepting it, he reached Africa in January, 1850. He at once entered the Alexander High School, then under the charge of the Rev. David Wilson, and with the view of preparing for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church, he began acquiring a classical education. In 1858 he graduated at this school, and soon after became its principal.

Very early in life linguistic talents of a very high order were developed by Dr. Blyden, and in that department of learning he has since become distinguished. At the age of ten, during a brief residence at Venezuela, he acquired the Spanish language; and at the Alexander High School he became proficient in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, adding to these, at a later period, French and Italian; and still more subsequently (1876) he learnt Arabic, and in order to improve himself in it, undertook a journey to the Orient.

Dr. Blyden's high attainments have led to his filling many responsible positions in the Republic of Liberia. At the age of nineteen he was editor of the *Liberian Herald*, and in connection with the Church he has held the offices respectively of teacher, then of principal of the Alexander High School; also those of Presbyterian pastor, of professor, and then president of the Liberian College. He was commissioner to the General Assembly of the American Presbyterian Church in 1861, and again in 1880.

In connection with the State he has been Government Commissioner to the coloured people of the United States; he has several times held the office of Secretary of State for the

Interior; and twice, as the representative of Liberia, he has been Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James.

As author Dr. Blyden has published in book form *Liberia's Offering, From West Africa to Palestine, The African Problem and other discourses delivered in 1890 in America, Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race*. In the form of pamphlets the following have come from his pen: *Aims and Methods of a Liberal Education for Africans, Origin and Purpose of African Civilisation, or Correspondence between E. W. Blyden, M.A., LL.D., and Sir J. Pope Hennessey, C.M.G., etc. etc.* In current literature *The Negro in Ancient History, Liberia: Its Status and Field, Islam and Race Distinctions, Africa and the Africans, A Voice for Bleeding Africa*.

Now as to Toussaint L'Ouverture. A review on the biographic sketch of this celebrated Ethiopian, delivered as a lecture by Wendell Phillips, and reproduced in the "International Library of Famous Literature," opens with this question: "Was this the greatest man that ever lived?" This is clearly one of those questions that are not meant to be answered, and this for the simple reason that no uniform standard of measurement exists for determining character, and for the further reason, I suppose, that character itself is not uniform. Yet it is evident that the facts which prompted such a question had produced in the mind of the reviewer a most profound impression. These facts, so cogently and withal so briefly set forth by that master of rhetoric, Wendell Phillips, in the sketch referred to above, I shall, without attempting to alter their form, since that would be but to alter their force and beauty, reproduce here. The tragedy of the Haytian Revolution, which brought upon the stage of history the great actor of whom we are to speak, arose on this wise. Hayti, then a French colony occupying the western third of Santo Domingo, had as its inhabitants a white and a black population. Afterwards, through miscegenation, there was added to these two a third class, viz. mulattoes. Politically the blacks were slaves; the mulattoes, on the other hand, although treated with contempt by the whites, were mostly free, but were without civil rights. The machinery of government being in the hands of the home authorities, the white colonists had no control over the affairs of the colony; this they very properly considered a grievance, and this grievance finally developed into rebellion. The colonists or planters now summoned to their aid the mulattoes whom they had formerly despised, and the struggle between them and the

home authorities proceeded. In the meantime (1791) the French Assembly gave civil rights to the mulattoes, and, in 1794, to the blacks; the conflict between the home authorities and the planters continuing. The local authorities, representing the loyalists, now induced the blacks to join them against the revolted planters and their mulatto allies. It was in this manner that our hero came upon the scene. With this prelude, then, we proceed with Wendell Phillips' oration.

“He had been born a slave on a plantation in the north of the island—an unmixed Negro—his father stolen from Africa. If anything, therefore, that I say of him to-night moves you to admiration, remember the black race claims it all, we have not part nor lot in it. He was fifty years old at the time. An old Negro had taught him to read. His favourite books were Epictetus, Raynal, *Military Memorials*, Plutarch. In the woods he learned some of the qualities of herbs, and was village doctor. On the estate the highest place he ever reached was that of coachman. At fifty he joined the army as physician. Before he went he placed his master and mistress on shipboard, freighted the vessel with a cargo of sugar and coffee, and sent them to Baltimore, and never afterwards did he forget to send them year by year ample means of support. And I might add that all the leading Negro generals each one saved the man under whose roof he was born and protected the family. Let me add another thing. If I stood here to-night to tell the story of Napoleon I should take it from the lips of Frenchmen, who find no language rich enough to paint the great captain of the nineteenth century. Were I here to tell you the story of Washington I should take it from your hearts—you who think no marble white enough on which to carve the name of the father of his country. I am about to tell you the story of a Negro who left hardly one written line. I am to glean it from the reluctant testimony of Britons, Frenchmen, Spaniards, men who despised him as a Negro and a slave and hated him because he had beaten them in many battles. All the materials for his biography are from the lips of his enemies.

“About the time he reached the camp the army had been subjected to two insults. First, their Commissioners, summoned to meet the French committee, were ignominiously and insultingly dismissed; and when afterwards François, their general, was summoned to a second conference and went to it on horseback accompanied by two officers, a young lieutenant who had known him as a slave, angered at seeing him in the uniform of an officer, raised his riding-whip and struck him over the shoulders. If he had been the savage which the Negro is painted to us, he had only to breathe the insult to his twenty-five thousand

soldiers, and they would have trodden out the Frenchman in blood. But the indignant chief rode back in silence to his tent, and it was twenty-four hours before his troops heard of this insult to their general. Then the word went forth, 'Death to every white man!' They had fifteen hundred prisoners; ranged in front of the camp; they were about to be shot. Toussaint, who had a vein of religious fanaticism, like most great leaders—like Mohammed, like Napoleon, like Cromwell, like John Brown, he could preach as well as fight—mounting a hillock and getting the ear of the crowd, said, 'Brothers, this blood will not wipe out the insult of your chief, only the blood in yonder French camp can wipe it out. To shed that is courage, to shed this is cowardice'; and he saved fifteen hundred lives.

"I cannot stop to give in detail every one of his efforts. This was in 1793. Leap with me over seven years, come to 1800; what has he achieved? He has driven the Spaniard back into his own cities, conquered him there, and put the French banner over every Spanish town; and for the first time, and almost the last, the island obeys one law. He has put the mulatto under his feet. He has attacked Maitland, defeated him in pitched battles, and permitted him to retreat to Jamacia; and when the French army rose upon Laveaux, their general, and put him in chains, Toussaint defeated them, took Laveaux out of prison, and put him at the head of his own troops. The grateful French in return named him General-in-Chief. '*Cet homme fait'ouverture partout,*' said one—'This man makes an opening everywhere.' Hence his soldiers named him l'Ouverture, the opening.

"This was the work of seven years. Let us pause a moment and find something to measure him by. You remember Macaulay says, comparing Cromwell with Napoleon, that Cromwell showed the greater military genius, if we consider that he never saw any army till he was forty, while Napoleon was educated from a boy, in the best military school in Europe. Cromwell manufactured his own army; Napoleon at the age of twenty-seven was placed at the head of the best troops Europe ever saw. They were both successful; but, says Macaulay, with such disadvantages, the Englishman showed the greater genius. Whether you allow the inference or not, you will at least grant that it is a fair measurement. Apply it to Toussaint. Cromwell manufactured his own army—out of what? Englishmen—their equals. This man manufactured his army out of what? Out of what you call the despicable race of Negroes, debased, demoralised, by two hundred years of slavery, one hundred thousand of them imported into the island within four years, unable to speak a dialect intelligible even to each other, yet out of this mixed, and, as you say, despicable mass, he forged a thunderbolt and hurled at what? At the proudest blood in Europe, the Spaniard, and sent him home conquered; at the most warlike blood in

Europe, the French, and put them under his feet; at the pluckiest blood in Europe, the English, and they skulked home to Jamaica. Now if Cromwell was a general, at least this man was a great soldier. I know it was a small territory; it was not as large as the continent; but it was as large as Attica, which with Athens for a capital has filled the earth with its fame for two thousand years. We measure genius by quality, not by quantity. Further, Cromwell was only a soldier; his fame stops there. Not a line in the statute-book of Britain can be traced to Cromwell, not one step in the social life of England finds its motive power in his brain. The state he founded went down with him to the grave. But this man no sooner puts his hand on the helm of state than the ship steadied with an upright keel, and he began to evince a statesmanship as marvellous as his military genius. History says that the most statesmanlike act of Napoleon was his proclamation of 1802, at the Peace of Amiens, when believing that the indelible loyalty of a native-born heart is always a sufficient basis on which to found an empire, he said: 'Frenchmen, come home. I pardon the crimes of the last twelve years; I blot out its parties; I found my throne on the hearts of all Frenchmen'—and twelve years of unclouded success showed how wisely he judged. It was in 1802. In 1800 this Negro made a proclamation; it runs thus: 'Sons of St. Domingo, come home. We never meant to take your houses or your lands. The Negro only asked that liberty which God gave him. Your houses wait for you; your lands are ready; come and cultivate them.' And from Madrid and Paris, Baltimore and New Orleans, the emigrant planters crowded home to enjoy their estates, under the pledged word that was never broken of a victorious slave.

"Again, Carlyle has said, 'The natural king is one who melts all wills into his own.' At this moment he turns to his armies—poor, ill-clad, and half-starved—and said to them: 'Go back and work on these estates you have conquered; for an empire can be founded only on order and industry, and you can learn these virtues only there.' And they went. The French Admiral who witnessed the scene said that in a week the army melted back into peasants. It was in 1800. The world waited fifty years before, in 1846, Robert Peel dared venture as a matter of practical statesmanship the theory of free trade. Adam Smith theorised, the French statesmen dreamed, but no man at the head of affairs had even dared to risk it as a practical measure. Europe waited till 1846 before the most practical intellect in the world, the English, adopted the great economic formula of unfettered free trade. But in 1800 this black, with the instinct of statesmanship, said to the committee who were drafting for him a constitution, 'Put at the head of the chapter of commerce that the ports of St. Domingo are open to the trade of the

world.' With lofty indifference to race, superior to all envy or prejudice, Toussaint had formed this committee of eight white proprietors and mulatto—not a soldier nor a Negro on the list, although Haytian history proves that, with the exception of Regaud, the rarest genius has always been shown by the pure Negroes. Again, it was in 1800, at a time when England was poisoned at every page of her statute-book with religious intolerance, when a man could not enter the House of Commons without taking the Episcopal Communion, when every state in the Union, except Rhode Island, was full of the intensest religious bigotry. This man was a Negro. You say that is a superstitious blood. He was uneducated. You say that makes a man narrow-minded. He was a Catholic. Many say that is another name for intolerance; and yet Negro, Catholic, slave—he took his place by the side of Roger Williams, and said to his committee: 'Make it in the first line of my constitution that I know no difference between religious beliefs.' Now, blue-eyed Saxon, proud of your race, go back with me to the commencement of the century and select what statesman you please. Let him be either American or European; let him have a brain the result of six generations of culture; let him have the ripest training of university routine; let him add to it the better education of life; crown his temples with the silver of seventy years, and show me the man of Saxon lineage for whom the most sanguine admirer will wreath a laurel as embittered foes have placed on the brow of this Negro—rare military skill, profound knowledge of human nature, content to blot out all party distinctions, and trust a state to the blood of its sons; anticipating Sir Robert Peel fifty years, and taking his station by the side of Roger Williams before any Englishman or American had won the right. And yet this is the record which the history of rival states makes up for this inspired black of St. Domingo.

"It was 1801. The Frenchmen who lingered on the island described prosperity and order as almost incredible. You might trust a child with a bag of gold to go from Samana to Port-au-Prince without risk. Peace in every household; the valleys laughed with fertility; culture climbed the mountains; the commerce of the world was represented in its harbours. At this time Europe concluded the Peace of Amiens, and Napoleon took his seat on the throne of France. He glanced his eye across the Atlantic, and with a single stroke of his pen reduced Cayenne and Martinique back in chains. He then said to his Council, 'What shall I do with St. Domingo?' The slaveholders said, 'Give it to us.' Napoleon turned to the Abbé Gregoire, 'What is your opinion?' 'I think those men would change their opinions if they changed their skins.' Colonel Vincent, who had been private secretary to Toussaint, wrote letters to Napoleon, in which he said: 'Sire, leave it alone; it

is the happiest spot in your dominions. God raised this man to govern; races melt under his hand. He has saved you this island, for I know of my knowledge that when the Republic could not have lifted a finger to prevent it, George III. offered him any title and any revenue if he would hold the island under the British crown. He refused, and saved it for France.' Napoleon turned away from his Council, and is said to have remarked, 'I have sixty thousand idle troops; I must find them something to do.' He meant to say, 'I am about to seize the crown; I dare not do it in the face of sixty thousand Republican soldiers. I must give them work at a distance to do . . .' It is said the satirists of Paris had christened Toussaint the Black Napoleon, and Bonaparte hated his black shadow. . . .

"So Napoleon resolved to crush Toussaint from one motive or another, from the promptings of ambition or dislike of this resemblance, which was very close. If either imitated the other, it must have been the white, since the Negro preceded him several years. They were very much alike, and they were very French—French even in vanity, common to both. You remember Bonaparte's vainglorious words to his soldiers at the Pyramids: 'Forty centuries look down upon us.' In the same mood Toussaint said to the French captain who urged him to go to France in his frigate, 'Sir, your ship is not large enough to carry me.' Napoleon, you know, could never bear the military uniform. He hated the restraint of his rank; he loved to put on the grey coat of the 'Little Corporal' and wander in the camp. Toussaint also could never bear a uniform. He wore a plain coat, and often the yellow Madras handkerchief of the slaves. A French lieutenant once called him a maggot in a yellow handkerchief. Toussaint took him prisoner next day, and sent him home to his mother. Like Napoleon, he could fast many days; could dictate to three secretaries at once, could wear out four or five horses. Like Napoleon, no man ever divined his purpose, penetrated his plan. He was only a Negro, and so in him they call it hypocrisy. In Bonaparte we style it diplomacy. For instance, three attempts made to assassinate him all failed from not firing at the right spot. If they thought he was in the north in a carriage, he would be in the south on horseback; if they thought he was in the city in a house, he would be in the field in a tent. They once riddled his carriage with bullets; he was on horseback on the other side. The seven Frenchmen who did it were arrested. They expected to be shot. The next day was a saint's day. He ordered them to be placed before the high altar, and when the priest read the prayer of forgiveness, he came down from his high seat, repeated it with him, and permitted them to go unpunished. He had that wit common to all great commanders, which makes its way in the camp. His soldiers getting disheartened, he filled a large

vase with powder, and scattered grains of rice in it, shook them up and said, 'See, there is the white, there is the black; what are you afraid of?' So when people came to him in great numbers for office . . . he learned the first words of a Catholic prayer in Latin, and repeating it, would say, 'Do you understand that?' 'No, sir.' 'What! want an office and not know Latin? Go home and learn it.' Then, again, like Napoleon—like genius always—he had a confidence in his power to rule men. You remember when Bonaparte returned from Elba, and Louis XVIII. sent an army against him, Bonaparte descended from his carriage, opened his coat, offering his breast to their muskets, and saying, 'Frenchmen, it is your Emperor!' and they ranged themselves behind him, his soldiers shouting, 'Vive l'Empereur!' That was in 1815. Twelve years before, Toussaint finding that four of his regiments had deserted and gone to Leclerc, drew his sword, flung it on the grass, went across the field to them, folded his arms, and said, 'Children, can you point a bayonet at me?' The blacks fell on their knees, praying his pardon. His bitterest enemies watched him, and none of them charged him with love of money, sensuality, or cruel use of power. The only instance in which his sternest critic has charged him with severity is this: During the tumult a few white proprietors who had returned, trusting his proclamation, were killed. His nephew, General Moise, was accused of indecision in quelling the riot. He at once assembled a court-martial, and on its verdict ordered his own nephew to be shot, sternly Roman in thus keeping his promise of protection to the whites.

"Above the lust of gold, pure in private life, generous in the use of his power, it was against such a man that Napoleon sent his army, giving to General Leclerc, the husband of his beautiful sister Pauline, thirty thousand of his best troops, with orders to reintroduce slavery. Among these soldiers came all of Toussaint's old mulatto rivals and foes. Holland lent him sixty ships; England promised by special message to be neutral, and, you know, neutrality means sneering at freedom and sending arms to tyrants. England promised neutrality, and the black looked out upon the whole civilised world marshalled against him. America, full of slaves, of course, was hostile. Only the Yankee sold him poor muskets at very high price. Mounting his horse and riding to the eastern end of the island Samana, he looked out on the sight, such as no native had ever seen before. Sixty ships of the line crowded by the best soldiers of Europe—soldiers who had scaled the Pyramids—rounded the point. They were soldiers who had not yet met an equal, whose tread, like Cæsar's, had shaken Europe—soldiers who had scaled the Pyramids and planted the French banners on the walls of Rome. He looked a moment, counted the flotilla,

let the reins fall on the neck of the horse, and, turning to Christorphe, exclaimed, 'All France is come to Hayti; they can only come to make us slaves, and we are lost!' He then recognised the only mistake of his life—his confidence in Bonaparte, which had led him to disband his army. Returning to the hills, he issued the only proclamation which bears his name and breathes vengeance. 'My children, France comes to make us slaves. God gives us liberty. France has no right to take it away. Burn the cities, destroy the harvests, tear up the roads with cannons, poison the wells; show the white man the hell he comes to make.' And he was obeyed.

"When the great William of Orange saw Louis XIV. cover Holland with troops, he said, 'Break down the dykes; give Holland back to the ocean'; and Europe said, 'Sublime!' When Alexander saw the armies of France descend upon Russia, he said, 'Burn Moscow; starve back the invaders'; and Europe said, 'Sublime!' This black saw all Europe marshalled to crush him, and gave his people the heroic example of defiance. It is true the scene grows bloodier as we proceed; but remember, the white man fitly accompanied his infamous attempt to *reduce freedom to slavery* with every bloody and cruel device that bitter and cruel hate could invent. Aristocracy is always cruel. The black man met the attempt as every such attempt should be met, with war to the hilt. In his first struggle to gain his freedom he had been generous and merciful, saved lives and pardoned enemies (as the people in every land and clime have always done), when rising against aristocrats. Now, to save his liberty the Negro exhausted every means, seized every weapon, and turned back the hateful invaders with a vengeance as terrible as their own, though even now he refused to be cruel. Leclerc sent word to Christorphe that he was about to land at Cape City. Christorphe said, 'Toussaint is governor of the island. I will send to him for permission. If without it a French soldier sets foot on shore I will burn the town and fight over the ashes.' Leclerc landed. Christorphe took two thousand white men, women, and children, and carried them to the mountains in safety; then, with his own hands, set fire to the splendid palace which French architects had just then finished for him, and in forty hours the place was in ashes. The battle was fought in the streets, and the Frenchmen driven back to their boats. Wherever they went they met fire and sword. Once, resisting an attack, the blacks, French-born, shouted the Marseilles hymn, and the French soldiers stood still; they could not fight the 'Marseillaise.' And it was not till their officers sabred them on that they advanced, and then they were beaten. Beaten in the field, the French took to lies. They issued a proclamation saying, 'We do not come to make you slaves; this man Toussaint tells you lies. Join us, and you shall have

the rights you claim.' They cheated every one of his officers except Christophe and Dessalines and his own brother Pierre ; and finally these also deserted him, and he was left alone. He then sent word to Leclerc : 'I will submit. I could continue the struggle for years—could prevent a single Frenchman from safely quitting your camp. But I hate bloodshed. I have fought only for the liberty of my race. Guarantee that ; I will submit and come in.' He took the oath to be a faithful citizen, and on the same crucifix Leclerc swore that he should be faithfully protected, and that the island should be free. As the French general glanced along the line of his splendidly equipped soldiers, and saw opposite Toussaint's ill-armed followers, he said to him, 'L'Ouverture, had you continued the war, where could you have got arms?' 'I would have taken yours,' was the ready reply.

"He went down to his house in peace ; it was summer. Leclerc remembered that the fever months were coming, when his army would be in hospital, and when one motion of that royal hand would sweep his troops into the sea. He was too dangerous to be left at large. So they summoned him to attend a council, and here is the only charge made against him—the only charge : They say he was fool enough to go. Grant it ; what was the record ? The white man lies shrewdly to cheat the Negro—knight-errantry was truth. The foulest insult you can offer a man since the Crusaders is, You lie. Of Toussaint, Hermona, the Spanish general who knew him well, said : 'He was the purest soul God ever put into a body.' Of him history bears witness : 'He never broke his word.' Maitland was travelling in the depths of the woods to meet Toussaint, when he was met by a messenger and told that he was betrayed. He went on and met Toussaint, who showed him two letters—one from the French general, offering him any rank if he would put Maitland in his power, and the other a reply. It was : 'Sir,—I have promised the Englishman that he shall go back.' Let it stand, therefore, that the Negro, truthful as a knight of old, was cheated by a lying foe. Which race has reason to be proud of such a record ? But he was cheated. He was under espionage. Suppose he had refused ; the Government would have doubted him—would have found some cause to arrest him. He probably reasoned thus : 'If I go willingly I shall be treated accordingly,' and he went. The moment he entered the room the officers drew their swords, and told him he was a prisoner ; and one young lieutenant, who was present, says, 'He was not at all surprised, but seemed very sad.' They put him on shipboard ; weighed anchor for France. As the island faded from his sight, he turned to the captain, and said : 'You think you have rooted up the tree of liberty, but I am only a branch. I have planted the tree so deep that all France

can never root it up.' Arrived in Paris, he was flung in jail, and Napoleon sent his secretary, Caffarelli, to him, supposing he had buried large treasures. He listened awhile, then he replied: 'Young man, it is true I have lost treasures, but they are not such as you have come to seek.' He was sent to the Castle of St. Joux, to a dungeon twelve feet by twenty, built wholly of stone, with a narrow window high up on the side looking out on the snow of Switzerland. In the winter ice covers the floor; in summer it is damp and wet. In this tomb the child of the sunny tropic was left to die. From this dungeon he wrote two letters to Napoleon. One of them runs thus: 'Sire,—I am a French citizen. I never broke a law. By the grace of God I have saved you the best island of your realm. Sire, of your mercy grant me justice.' Napoleon never answered the letters. The commandant allowed him five francs a day for food and fuel. Napoleon heard of it, and reduced the sum to three. The luxurious usurper, who complained that the English Government was stingy, because it allowed him only \$6,000 a month, stooped from his throne to cut down a dollar to a half, and still Toussaint did not die quick enough. This dungeon was a tomb. The story is told that in Josephine's time a young French marquis was placed there, and the girl to whom he was betrothed went to the Empress and prayed for his release. Said Josephine to her: 'Have a model of it made and bring it to me.' Josephine placed it near Napoleon. He said: 'Take it away—it is horrible.' She put it on his footstool, and he kicked it from him. She held it to him the third time, and said: 'Sire, in this horrible dungeon you have put a man to die.' 'Take him out,' said Napoleon, and the girl saved her lover. In this tomb Toussaint was buried, but he did not die fast enough. Finally, the commandant was told to go to Switzerland, to carry the keys of the dungeon with him, and to stay four days. When he returned Toussaint was found starved to death."

Thus was the greater soul extinguished by the lesser. After this revelation of a character, which in the immensity of its massiveness is so overpowering, is it surprising that standing in its presence, a reviewer, as if enthralled by the grandeur of its magnitude, should have inquired whether this was the greatest man that has ever lived?

SUMMARY

We have been viewing the African, the Negro, the Ethiopian from diverse points of vantage; from the point away in the distant past, when our planet first appeared on the horizon of history. Next from the vantages of native and Mohammedan

culture; and thirdly, from the eminence of Christian culture. Now what have these elevations severally revealed? The first, in the Ancient Egyptians, discloses the brain of the Negro as being the fountain-head, whence the great river system, Western civilisation, has had its origin. The second reveals Africa, heathen, with a culture purely native, which in quality is higher than that possessed by Europe, heathen, at the time of the Roman Conquest. From the Mohammedan states, stretching along the great Soudan belt of the continent, it is further revealed that the Ethiopian has been able to adjust himself to the higher culture of the Arab. And this ability of the Ethiopian to assimilate a culture higher than his own, finds its most striking confirmation in our study of him under Christian culture.

In the American Commonwealth the Negro, as we have seen, in attaining to his present position of intelligence and comparative prosperity, started from a depth of ignorance and poverty unsurpassed in the history of any people. And from the outset he has encountered during the ascent, the ruthless and the most relentless opposition and obstruction that the forces of avarice, vainglory, jealousy, envy, hate, and fear could command. Yet within the brief period of forty years he has succeeded in so qualifying himself to perform in the great transatlantic orchestra of civilisation, that with proficiency he plays every instrument of the band—theology, painting, poetry, oratory, philanthropy, commerce, agriculture, journalism, authorship, etc., etc. So that, as regards quality, no difference can be detected between the harmonies he renders and those that the older performers render.

Finally, we have seen four men of the African race, three of whom had been slaves, the fourth only removed from that accursed institution probably by a step; we have seen, that notwithstanding the impediments with which their paths have been strewn, and the disabilities that dogged their every advance, these men—one as a great orator, another as a great scholar, a third a great philanthropist and organiser, the fourth a military genius and a great statesman, and all of them men of shining integrity—we have seen these four men by their own inherent talents, their force of character, their industry, and their nobility of life, surpassing the average, not only of their own race, but of the other races also; they have risen to the height of international fame.

And here I would linger for a moment to inquire, whether the race calling itself the "superior race" could under circumstances similar to these, and during a period of the same extent, have produced a record worthier than this. But it will be remembered that we started this section with two sets of propositions (p. 173), by which alone the superiority of the colourless race and the inferiority of coloured races could be sustained. First, that there must be evidence to show, either that the colourless race has always been progressive or that when unprogressive its barbarism was less intense than is the barbarism of the coloured races. Second, that there must be evidence also to show that the coloured races have been uniformly unprogressive, that their barbarism is of a deeper hue than has been the barbarism of the colourless race, and that they show no capacity for assimilating any higher culture. Selecting the Negro race, the most backward of the races, as that upon which the inquiry should be founded, we have seen, in the first place, that neither has the colourless race been always progressive nor has its barbarism been less intense than the barbarism of the Negro. Thus, the first set of propositions has been disposed of. And now, from the facts we have just considered, seeing that Western culture had its origin in the intellect of the Negro, that the native culture of barbarous Africa is higher than was the native culture of barbarous Europe, and that the Negro has completely assimilated both Arabian, or Moham-medan, and Western, or Christian culture, we are able to say, in reply to the second set of propositions, that neither has the Negro been always unprogressive, neither is his barbarism greater than was the barbarism of the colourless race, nor is he incapable of assimilating higher forms of culture. Therefore, in virtue of these facts, there exists no evidence in support of the assertion, that between the Negro and the Caucasian there are mental differences of a racial character. And since the alleged superiority of the colourless race, and the alleged inferiority of the coloured races, are professed to be founded on these differences, I conclude that no ground exists for the assertion, that intellectually the Caucasian is superior to the Ethiopian or superior to the coloured races. For the purpose of amplifying this conclusion, I purpose in the next chapter to inquire into the development of civilisation.

XXV

To what is Civilisation Primarily Due?

IN support of the assertion of its own superiority and of the inferiority of the coloured races, one of the chief arguments upon which the colourless race relies, in addition to the alleged physical differences between it and the coloured races, is, that whereas the great and imposing fabric of civilisation is the result of its genius, the coloured races in the field of human progress have either done nothing at all, or that the results of their attempts are rudimentary. Hence, with a view of discovering how far civilisation, as it is found among the white race, is due to the mental superiority of that race, and how far its absence among the dark races is due to the mental inferiority of those races, I purpose in this chapter to consider, first, the subject of the primary cause of civilisation, or to what is civilisation primarily due. In the next place, I purpose to consider the subject of the evolution of civilisation among the races.

Before entering upon the discussion of the first of these two subjects, it is well that I should mention the senses in which I shall employ certain terms in this chapter—they being the senses also in which these same terms have been employed in the preceding parts of this work—as well as the senses in which they will be employed in the succeeding parts. The terms are race, nation or people, and tribe. By race is meant the largest or primary division of mankind, classified according to the colour of the skin, the colour and structure of the hair of the head, according to the features, and according to language, the human family being thus divided into the three groups, Caucasian, Mongolic, and Ethiopic. By people and nation, which I use synonymously, is meant all human beings—whether they be of the same race or of different races, whether they all

speak the same or different languages—that are under one and the same government. By tribe is meant one or more savage clans having a common name, a common dialect, a common government, and a common territory. The single exception to the above rules occurs in the use of the phrase “white, or colourless race.” This phrase, according to the definitions just given, should be Caucasian peoples or nations, white section of the Aryan race, white section of the Indo-European, the Indo-Germanic, or of the Japhetic race. But the frequent use of either of these terms being somewhat inconvenient, I have substituted for them the simpler phrase “the white race.” It being remembered, then, that by the phrase “the white race” is really meant the Caucasian peoples or nations, whereas by the terms Indo-European, Indo-Germanic, Aryan, or Japhetic race, Ethiopian, Negro, African, or Hamitic race, and Mongolic or Semitic race, are meant the primary divisions of the human family, we proceed to discuss the subject, To what is civilisation primarily due?

As regards their importance, I will rearrange the three terms race, nation, or people and tribe, into two classes, making nation or people, and tribe—which will henceforth be represented by the general expression community—to indicate one of these two classes, and race to indicate the other. In this order the term race is set forth as being of less importance than the term community. And the reason for this distinction, is the fact that whereas the term community is an idea of personality, the term race implies an impersonal idea. The term race, in connection with which the words Japhetite, Hamite, and Shemite are used, implies the presence of certain differing qualities, physical and linguistic, in three sections of the human family; whilst the term community, besides implying the existence of these racial qualities, centred in the colour of the skin, the structure of the hair, and in language, possesses also personality. Thus, whereas it would be no less an absurdity—although it is constantly being done—to say of the Hamitic, Semitic, or Japhetic race that it possesses this good or that bad quality, as to attribute to the Milky Way either of these qualities, yet it would be in perfect accord with facts so to characterise a community.

A community, then, is an organic, conscious, and intelligent unit, which thinks, feels, plans, and executes; whilst a race is but a boundary, a combination of qualities, devoid of personality. Hence, whereas to a community the application of terms

such as industrious, courageous, strong, weak, rich or poor, young or old, is intelligible, their application to a race would be meaningless. Suppose, in a real and not a figurative sense merely, we should apply the term courageous to one of the three races as one of its chief characteristics: we should probably find that there are tribes or nations belonging to that race which are cowards. In the same way, if we should apply to that race the quality of being learned, we should find communities learned and an equal number which are ignorant. Thus in the same race we should have the inconsistent qualities of courage and cowardice, wisdom and ignorance, among its chief characteristics. But we know that the existence of these inconsistent and contradictory qualities in one and the same object at one and the same time would be altogether illogical. Therefore, the application to a race of the terms courageous and cowardly, learned and ignorant, must be erroneous. And for the reason that the application to the race of any other epithet involving issues that are contradictory, would lead to inconsistencies, similar to those just noticed, the application of those epithets must also be erroneous. But whereas to the race, the application of such qualities as we have been observing leads to inconsistencies and contradictions, their application to the community is unattended by inconsistent and contradictory results. Thus there would be no danger of the description becoming an inconsistency on account of the likelihood of ignorance being also a chief characteristic of it, if a community which has learning as one of its chief characteristics were described as learned. And the reason for the appearance of this contradictory result in the race, and for its absence in the community, would be the fact that whereas a community is a unity, a race is a plurality. In the term race we have the representation or focus of certain qualities which are common to a number of communities. Race, then, as consisting simply of a combination of qualities, possesses no personality. It is immaterial. Thus, as there are qualities, which in the different communities constituting the race are opposed to one another, the one set in one community to the other set in the other community, the attribution of any one of these opposed qualities to all the communities, *i.e.* to the race, necessarily results in an inconsistency.

We must notice further that epithets which we have declared as applicable to the community but inapplicable to the race—epithets such as courageous, industrious, strong, weak, rich,

poor, etc.—are likewise applicable to the individual. Consequently it may be laid down as a rule that qualities which are applicable to the community are also applicable to the individual, and *vice versa*, but that such qualities may or may not be applicable to the race. And it may be noticed in passing that the reason why qualities which are applicable to the community are applicable to the individual, but may not be applicable to the race, is that the community and the individual are each material and personal, but that the race, as representing qualities only, is immaterial and thereby impersonal. In dealing, then, with the higher qualities of mind, we are concerned with the individual and the community alone, not with the race. And in these respects the analogy between the community and the individual is so complete that the former may be regarded as the latter magnified. Thus, in the same way as there being in the individual a combination of qualities, talents, or endowments, and amidst this combination one talent standing out more prominently than the rest, we characterise the individual by it, so we have a community exhibiting diverse gifts or endowments, of which, in like manner, one, standing out more strikingly than the rest, forms that whereby we rate and characterise the community. By means of a single individual and a group of nations, let me illustrate this statement. The individual will be Sir William Herschel.

William Herschel (1738-1822), the son of a musician in somewhat straitened circumstances, was born in Hanover. At the age of fourteen he had qualified himself for a position in the band of the Hanoverian Guards, and as a member of the band accompanied his corps, in 1757 or 1759, to England. Having resolved to remain in Britain, he settled in London: there he encountered many difficulties. Afterwards, in different parts of England, he spent several years as a teacher of music. In 1765 he obtained a situation as organist at Halifax; this was followed in the next year by his appointment as organist of Octagon Chapel, in Bath. Had Herschel's inclination leaned towards the increase of his income, his position was now favourable to such a result. However, we find him at this juncture in the north of England, devoting his leisure to perfecting himself in English, and to acquiring a knowledge of Latin, Greek, Italian, and French. Applying himself further to the mastery of a learned treatise on harmony, the reasoning of which, through lack of mathematical knowledge, he found himself unable to follow, he there-

upon turned his attention to the study of mathematics. In this new pursuit he soon became so thoroughly absorbed, that although his engagements as professor of music at Bath had greatly multiplied, yet the hours he devoted to mathematics increased rather than decreased. Thus, after sixteen hours of labour with his pupils in music, he found relaxation in mathematics; as the result of this complete application to the subject, Herschel after a time was competent to pursue all those branches of science wherein mathematical deductions are largely required; and of these sciences, those of astronomy and optics especially attracted him.

Herschel's partiality for astronomy asserted itself in 1772, in the beginning which he then made to manufacture lenses, and afterwards, to construct telescopes. And so successful was his work on these instruments, that those he produced were far superior to any that had been made. In 1774 Herschel finished a reflecting telescope, modelled after Newton's plan; this instrument, however, was but the first of a long line of brilliant successes gained by him in this particular department. The focal length of his first telescope was five feet, but others ranged to seven, ten, and twenty feet, until they were finally capped by his great telescope, which was erected at Slough, near Windsor.

After Herschel had definitely entered upon the career of practical optician and astronomical observer, he became so immersed in these scientific pursuits, that notwithstanding the loss of revenue which the step entailed, he began to limit his musical engagements, and to restrict the number of his pupils. In preparing the mirrors for his increasingly large telescopes, his perseverance and labour were almost incredible. For example, he soon discovered that when the focal length was considerable, it was impossible to give the true figure to his mirrors by means of any mechanical contrivance. For a mirror of more than six feet focal length, the exact form can only be finally given, it is said, by delicate touches with the hand after repeated trials, but that with all the care and skill with which the operator may be equipped by practice, the chances against the correct form being given at any single operation are very great.

Thus Herschel's practice was to cast three metallic mirrors for the telescope, and having worked at the three, to place into the instrument the best one of them. Following this selection, he would continue to work upon the other two, when the best one would be again put into the telescope, and so on. In this way

a great number of mirrors were examined before choice was made of the one that was finally regarded as the most perfect. We are informed that in giving the final polish to a mirror, a single rub that is wrongly applied spoils its shape; and that the difference thereby occasioned would to trained eyes, when objects are viewed in the telescope, be distinctly perceptible. So careful, therefore, was Herschel to bring his mirrors up to the highest point of finish, that without quitting his occupation for even an instant, he would work at them continuously for twelve and fourteen hours; and so convinced was he that "when his hand was in," any interruption would spoil his labour, he would not pause even to take food; his sister having on these occasions to put his food into his mouth. It is said that of mirrors of seven feet focal distance, Herschel ground 200, that of ten feet focal distance, he ground 150, and that of 20 feet focal distance, he ground 80.

Herschel was still living at Bath, and was still dependent on his profession as a musician, when he completed his first reflector of seven feet. The mirror, consisting of an alloy of tin and copper, was brought by him to a degree of perfection that had hitherto been believed to be impossible. He had also carried the magnifying power of his eye-pieces to a range that had been considered to be altogether beyond the power of the eye to bear. And so complete was his knowledge of this mechanical part of his work, that his subsequent telescopes, no less than his first, which was the smallest he made, were manipulated with an ease, as considerable as that experienced in adjusting the ordinary field-glass, for purposes of observation. Herschel's eagerness for studying the heavens was so intense, that for several years, both in winter and summer, he literally spent his nights out of doors. And the reward of this star-gazing habit, was that most brilliant series of discoveries that have won for him the title of the "Columbus of the Heavens." By means of his great telescope of forty feet, he discovered and mapped out in the Northern Hemisphere nearly 2,500 nebulae.

After close observation for five-and-twenty years, he had discovered scattered over the heavens 500 double stars, of which a few only had been previously known. He had explained their motion to be subject to the laws of gravitation, and their revolution to take place around each other and around a common centre. He had also shown the varying luminosity of these stars to be due to their proceeding towards, and then receding

from, the line of our vision. Herschel's theory concerning the constitution of nebulæ, that some nebulæ are masses of luminous vapour, out of which stars are produced, and that others are clusters of stars, has been confirmed.

In the course of the years of his observations, he had computed nearly twenty-nine million stars. He propounded the hypothesis that our system belongs to the Milky Way, and with it, is moving towards λ of Hercules, being attracted thereto at the rate of 150 millions of miles in the year by a cluster of 14,000 suns. He explained the probable constitution of the sun, which, however, is no longer accepted. Herschel, in March, 1781, discovered the planet Uranus and its six moons, together with their westerly motion. He measured the planets Ceres, Juno, Pallas, Vesta, announced that the streaks of Jupiter and Saturn were due to clouds that were driven by winds resembling our trade-winds. In 1787 he discovered an active volcano in the moon. But no less than by the discoveries now mentioned, is Herschel to be remembered by these three: (1) that binary stars are very numerous; (2) that nebulæ in thousands are existing throughout the heavens; and (3) that the Newtonian law of gravitation is universal. As a physicist, his work appears in the construction of catoptric telescopes with reflecting mirrors, instead of dioptric telescopes with refracting mirrors. Herschel was the first to study the solar spectrum, and by that means he inaugurated in the field of research a distinctly new era. The progress of optics was particularly quickened by this new study. Thus, besides being the greatest astronomical observer of his age, and one of the greatest of any age, Herschel was also one of the founders of astronomical physics. This, then, is the individual example that we set out to notice.

Concerning the group of nations which we have also to notice, it will be remembered that in the chapter entitled "Europe as seen in the Present" (p. 175), making Britain the representative of all the other great nations who are the leaders of human progress, we observed that, connected with the fields of science and art, the following, as inventions, discoveries, or improvements, are among the outcome of her activities, viz. the steam-engine, the application of steam to navigation, railways, the electric telegraph, the microscope, telescope, spectroscope, medicinal and surgical appliances, anæsthetics and antiseptics. In chemistry the discoveries of laws, as, for example, the atomic theory, and in physics the law of

the conservation of energy. Also work done in geology, botany, biology, painting, sculpture, architecture, poetry, music. Now as forming the group of which I spoke, I associate Germany, France, and Italy with Britain. And with regard to the four I observe that in its general features the outcome of their activities is the same.

So much for our group; we return to the individual. And what have we to say about him? We say, that he had the following qualifications: a linguist, a musician, an optician, a mathematician, a physicist, and an astronomer. We say, further, that of these qualifications he achieved distinction in, at least, five. Besides perfecting himself in English, we are told that he had acquired a knowledge of Latin, Greek, French, and Italian; and these, of course, in addition to his own native language, which, as we know, was German. As a musician, he had originally qualified himself for a post in the band of the Hanoverian Guards, and, as we saw, it was as a member of that band that he first came to Britain. At Halifax, where he was afterwards appointed organist, he won the appointment by defeating the competitors who also were candidates for the post. And when he settled, subsequently, at Bath as organist of the Octagon Chapel, we find him engaged, during many years, directing concerts and oratorios, composing anthems and chants, and giving music lessons to an increasing number of pupils. Hence, in this department, Herschel may be said, I think, to have gained distinction. As an optician, the singular merit of his workmanship, in both the manufacture of lenses and the construction of telescopes, is recognised in the discoveries, at that time unparalleled, which he, by means of these instruments, had made; also by the fact that his instruments were far superior to similar instruments which, until then, had existed. We are thus entitled to conclude, I believe, that, as an optician, Herschel had likewise gained distinction. As a mathematician, his proficiency is summed up in the statement already made, that as a result of his mathematical studies he felt himself competent to investigate all the branches of science that were chiefly composed of mathematical deductions. Consequently, as a mathematician, no less than as an optician, Herschel appears to me to have also gained distinction. As a physicist, his work on the solar spectrum and his catoptric telescopes, in my judgment, likewise confer distinction upon Herschel; whilst as an astronomer, in addition to his great stellar discoveries which we have been recounting in

the recent sketch, one would need only refer to the following estimate of Professor Holden, of this branch of Herschel's work, in order to be convinced that here, too, he had won distinction. Professor Holden observes: "As a practical astronomer he stands without an equal. In philosophy he has few superiors. . . . His is one of the few names which belong to the world." So that, of the six qualities, or qualifications, which we have said Herschel possessed, it may be affirmed that in five, at least, he was distinguished. But is his fame preserved equally by each of these five qualifications? No. In which of them, then, does he live in history? He lives in history by his astronomical achievements. It is as a great astronomer that Herschel's genius is preserved in history. His astronomical distinctions, standing out more boldly than his other four distinctions, become the embodiment of the rest, and accordingly he is characterised by them.

This is true of the individual, but it is also true of the community. Taking our four examples, the Italian, the German, the English, and the French, we have already noticed that besides those subjects in which Herschel was distinguished, each of these nations has obtained distinction in geology, botany, biology, architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry, etc., etc. But is it by these qualifications, severally, that the aforesaid nations are known to fame? No. As in the case of the individual (Herschel), so in the case of each of this group of communities, one distinction, standing out more boldly than the rest, becomes the representative of the entire group of distinctions achieved by each nation. Thus, I should say that the achievements of the Italians are represented by fine art; that those of the Germans are represented by research; those of the English by enterprise; and those of the French by high ideals; or, in other words, I should say that the Italians excel in the representation of form, the Germans in the representation of thought, the English in foresight, and the French in taste. Of course, among a nation's achievements, the particular achievement, which, on the ground of its exceptional prominence, should be selected as the representative of the group, will vary with observers; to different observers, different ones of the nation's achievements would doubtless be presented as the most prominent.

Thus the application of my principle is subject to variation, but the principle itself appears to me incontrovertible. The principle that the national characteristic, like the personal char-

acteristic, consists of a variety of qualities or qualifications, of which the less conspicuous are masked under the name of the most striking quality or qualification. In the subjects of inquiry in which Herschel was distinguished, in those in which the group of nations is distinguished, and in the characterising of the distinctions of Herschel and the distinctions of the group, the only difference that is discernible is that of range; the subjects in which the communities have won distinction being more numerous than those in which the individual won distinction. In other respects Herschel and the group are precisely the same.

Thus is the statement confirmed that has been made already, that a community is but an individual magnified; that qualities which are possessed by the community are likewise possessed by the individual, and *vice versâ*. But the achievements which we have thus identified in the individual and the community, are they also perceivable in the race? Can it be said that the Japhetic race has excelled in poetry, music, mathematics, and geology; that the Semitic race has excelled in astronomy, biology, and theology; and that the Hamitic race has excelled in botany, architecture, painting, and mechanics? No, it cannot be so said, for these races have not so excelled. Nor can they so excel. It is only individuals and communities belonging to each of these races that have thus excelled. And the reason why these races could not excel in any of these and other branches of knowledge, is, as I have observed before, that they are simply ideas or qualities, not personalities. They are, as races, representations simply of three different groups of peculiarities, physical and linguistic, found in individuals and communities embraced by mankind. The race, therefore, is not an organic whole; it is destitute of either corporal or corporate form, by which alone these achievements are attainable. And it is because of this impossibility of the race as a race to effect or affect anything, good or bad, that on the subject of prolificacy between black and white peoples, I described as an absurdity the assertion so often made (page 75), that the offspring of black and white parentage usually inherit the bad qualities of *the parent races*. The race being, then, an immaterial thing, and not a corporate entity, my frequent affirmations in other parts of this work attributing various accomplishments to the Hamitic, Japhetic, and Semitic races, are to be regarded in a metaphorical sense, in the same way in which personality is attached to a ship for example, and to the moon and sun. The

literal applications of such references are to communities. But, again, those achievements of Herschel, of which that in astronomy, standing out the most conspicuously, has, so to speak, given the rest its name, of what are they the outcome? I reply that they are the outcome of Herschel's talents, that they are the expression of his endowments. But if these achievements be the outcome of Herschel's talents or endowments, then, since the only difference between them and the achievements of Britain, France, Germany, or Italy, is one of degree only, or one of range, not of kind, the achievements of any of these nations represented by the most striking element of the group of achievements, must likewise be due to the talents or endowments of that nation. It cannot be otherwise, for the national endowments are but the aggregate of the endowments of the individuals composing the nation. Thus, if the individual talent or endowment be admitted, then of necessity that of the nation must also be admitted. This, therefore, is my conclusion, that since the achievements of Herschel and of the group of nations of which we have been speaking constitute what is known as civilisation, then to the question, To what is Civilisation primarily Due? I reply that it is primarily due to national endowment.

But in his *History of Civilisation*, a work marked by industry and independence, Dr. Reich takes strong exception to this view. He says:—

“People, as a rule, cherish the idea that nations are like individuals, and that accordingly nations have their childhood, their youth, their old age, their death, just as we are used to see individuals. . . . This entire idea is utterly false. The whole simile, *the whole comparison between nations and individuals is absolutely wrong*. There is no such parallel development. A nation is a mental thing only.”

That the examples that I have just alluded to, of nations and individuals excelling in the same intellectual pursuits, are true, I believe will hardly be questioned. For not only might the reader himself be able to identify among modern nations one which as the summit of its attainments, or as the most striking feature of its achievements, has gained pre-eminence, say, in the department of mechanical inventions, another in music, a third in the pursuits of commerce, each finding its counterpart in the individual, who in the same direction has manifested a like aptitude, but he could also extend the list of predominating

national attainment with its corresponding individual facsimile. Now, if this be granted, then the intellectual resemblance, or analogy between nations and individuals, must also be granted; and this resemblance being granted, if the progressive knowledge or civilisation of the individual be primarily due to his talents or endowment—and no one, I presume, would question that it is due to that—then national civilisation must, in like manner, be due to national talent or endowment. I attach great importance to this inference, hence I will illustrate it further.

The life-history of an individual may be divided into three chief periods or stages, viz. juvenescence, adolescence, and senility; or, in other words, immaturity, maturity, and decay. During the first period the powers of mind and body are gradually unfolded or developed. It is the period of inexperience, of dependence, of unconscious effort. In the second period the powers of mind and body attain their maximum. It is the period of experience, of independence, and of conscious effort. It is the period wherein the individual receives that mark or stamp whereby he will for all time be known. The third period is characterised by a gradual dissolution of the powers, both of body and of mind; it is the ebb time, and links itself to the great unknown. In all these respects the community exhibits the same features.

By way of illustration we will take a community, and will present to the reader three views, illustrative of the three periods or stages, in the life of this community. The first view shows a tribe occupying a territory of no more than 700 square miles (an area which is said to be hardly larger than the present canton of Zurich) situated on the central plain of Italy, between the Tiber and the sea. This tribe is known as the Latins. It is not the only occupant of the Italian peninsula, but has on both its northern and southern borders, other tribes. It is divided into thirty villages or cantons, of which each is under the headship of a warrior. For defensive, if not for offensive purposes, these cantons are joined into a confederation. They further unite for the annual or Latin festival, at which an ox is slaughtered as an offering to the Latin deity. The worshippers representing each village contribute towards the sacrificial feast by payment made in cattle, milk, and cheese, in a fixed proportion. Agriculture is the principal avocation of the Latins; they are acquainted with copper and silver, also with the

art of weaving. The essential part of their dwelling, and that which constitutes the whole interior accommodation, is the "atium," that is the blackened or smoke-begrimed chamber, built of wood; its roof pointed and covered with straw and shingles, containing an opening for letting out the smoke, with a corresponding hole in the ground for carrying off the rain. In this chamber the household altar is situated; in it the gods are worshipped, the table for meals is set, and the bier set out. It also contains the marriage bed; in it the husband receives his guests; there the wife, amid the circle of her maidens, sits to spin. Without being divided into apartments, without stairs, without stories, without porch, there it stands, a simple, a single, an inelegant room.

Our next view reveals the fact that this tribe of Latins has grown beyond recognisable proportions. Its territorial fragment of 700 square miles has expanded into an empire, covering the greater part of Europe, North Africa, and Western Asia, that is to say, an empire stretching from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, and from the Rhine and the Danube to the desert of Africa. Its population, previously comprised in thirty villages, has multiplied to some hundred and twenty million souls, with an army of 340,000 men. An arterial system of roads conveys us to the remotest extremities of the mighty empire into which this tribe has now grown. The warm blood of law, of rights, and immunities, of commerce, culture, and general intercourse, flows from its great heart; and energy, influence, and protection radiate from its great nerve-battery, viz. Rome. From this proud eminence when Rome rises, the world holds its breath; when she resumes her seat, it heaves a sigh of relief.

We come to the third view. And what is the spectacle now presented to the vision by this magic city? The product of a struggling clan, this city which, in 390 B.C., the Gauls had captured and sacked; whose inhabitants, in acknowledgment of their defeat and subjection, B.C. 321, were compelled by the Samnites to pass under the yoke; this city to which Hannibal, B.C. 216, delivered one of the most crushing defeats it ever sustained; this people that rose from disaster after disaster, with their purpose only the more firmly riveted in their soul; a people which, starting like a ripple in a pool, continues like it, their expansion, till a mighty empire is encircled; an empire, welded into a cohesion equalled only by the might that had

crushed its component parts. Her frontiers, her provinces, Spain and Gaul, are ravaged by the Franks on the Rhine, and Asia Minor and Greece, by the Goths on the Danube; while the Persians, seizing Armenia, advance into Syria and burn Antioch. Further, the Goths occupy Dacia, and from the Cimmerian Bosphorus they send forth predatory bands, which, plundering cities, including Athens and Corinth, carry off to their homes on the Danube, immense stores of booty. Nor is Rome herself immune from these humiliating spoliations to which her provinces are a prey, for Alaric the Goth, after a siege, takes that city, relaxing his hold thereon, only after the payment of a heavy ransom. He again sacks Rome, while the Vandals, Suevas, and Alans divide Spain between them. In the reign of Valentinian III. (423-455 A.D.) Africa is conquered by the Vandals, and Gaul and Italy by the Huns. In 455 Rome by Genseric is once more besieged and sacked. And on the deposing of Romulus Augustulus, the last of the Roman emperors, A.D. 476, by Odoacer, who then assumed the title of King of Italy, the western division of the Roman Empire ceased to exist. Latterly, so feeble had Rome become that the emperors in whose reigns these territorial excisions transpired were compelled not alone to witness, but also to sanction them. At times, such as the reign of Diocletian (284-305), flashes of her former power returning to her, Rome would arise and from her borders hurl the invading hordes. But, alas! by the emphasis they laid upon the fact that her glory had departed, these lucid moments lent to the succeeding gloom only added intensity.

I think there will have been no difficulty in perceiving the three distinct stages which this reference to Roman history indicates. In the first stage we have one district among several districts; in the second we have one city over an empire. The first represents its population by villages, the second by provinces; the first, with its village chieftains, its councils of elders, and assemblies of warriors, is immaturity; the second, with its senate and tribune, its magistracy of consuls, prætors, censors, tribunes, etc., and its twelve tablets of law, is maturity: the dwellings of the first are rude and primitive, the dwellings of the second are elaborate and imposing; the first is without a literature and is devoid of the arts and sciences, the second has a literature and a full equipment of the arts and sciences; in the first the community is small and unknown, in the second it is great and well known. I therefore describe the first as the stage

of insignificance and obscurity, the second as that of power and influence. But note the contrast between the second and third stages, for, as a lioness which in the vigour of her powers collects great stores of booty and sedulously and successfully protects them until, enfeebled, she can only watch the seizures of the hoard by smaller animals, by whom she herself ultimately is devoured, so Rome, after founding a great empire, for a time successfully maintains its integrity, until afterwards enfeebled, she could but watch the process of its dismemberment by barbarous tribes, by which ultimately she herself is destroyed. Having characterised the second stage as powerful and influential, I represent this third stage by the terms exhaustion and impotence.

But it will be noticed that the three stages of the Roman Empire are comparable with the three stages of the life of the individual. Hence, if the terms describing these stages be correctly applied, then (1) the analogy between an individual and a nation must be conceded; (2) the analogy between an individual and a nation being conceded, then, if the power or fame of the individual be primarily the product of his mind or individual endowment, the power and fame of the Roman nation must also have been the product of national endowment. But laying aside the belief of "national" as well as "individual endowment," if we should ask Dr. Reich to account for the invincibility of the Romans—for during the second stage of their existence they were really invincible—while admitting that it could not have been on the ground of greater, bravery, because the Samnites and their other enemies were equally as brave as they, he would reply, "I cannot explain the fact."¹ On the other hand, after comparing the comparatively barren result of the Romans in the field of science, with the splendid achievement of the Greeks in the same field, and adding that the majority of historians would account for this difference on the ground of "race gifts," which he designates an absurdity, Dr. Reich, in the following extract, professes to give the cause:—

"It will suffice to remark," he says, "that Rome abounded in single powerful offices, the possession of which could justly form the subject of many a profound ambition. In addition to that came the large conquests of the Romans, which gave rise to the coveted position of a provincial governor. In short, all the talent and ambition of Rome and Italy found their natural and satisfactory vent in political channels."

¹ *History of Civilisation*, p. 259.

Then, after mentioning that there was scarcely any Roman that was prominent in literature who had not filled some political office, he continues :—

“ But if we compare that to the state of things in Greece, what do we find? The very opposite thing. In Grecian states there was scarcely a place for genius, except in the case of war. In peaceful times the offices were filled with masses of the people; there was no room and no need for great men; the part played by the individual man in office was far too insignificant as to be coveted by a man of genius.” “All the abundant surplus of genius, therefore, unable to find an outlet in politics or in any other external way, was thrown back on its own resources, on its inner world, and hence gave itself to a devoted cultivation of ideas of science.”

To this last extract, in which the cause of the difference in mental attainment between the Roman and Greek is said to be given, my remarks, which will be very few, and which will be in the form of two questions, will be directed. First, if the high offices held by Cæsar, Cicero, Sallustius, Pliny, and others named by Dr. Reich, did not prevent them from cultivating their literary or artistic talents, how could those offices have prevented them, and other Romans, if they had had the scientific talents, from, in like manner, cultivating them? Secondly, why did not those high offices prevent the Romans from developing that science or art for which they have won a pre-eminent renown, viz. jurisprudence or law?

So, then, with respect to Reich's objection to the statement that civilisation is primarily due to national endowment, it must be noticed, in the first place, that in his attempt to account for the difference between the civilisation of the Romans and that of the Greeks, he has declared concerning the invincibility of the Romans—which invincibility was an essential feature in the development of their civilisation—that he is unable to give a reason for it. In the next place it is to be noticed that the cause he assigns for the fertility of the Greeks in science, and for the sterility of the Romans in that same field, is insufficient; inasmuch as the possession of colonies and the availableness of public offices did not prevent the Romans from excelling in the development of jurisprudence; and inasmuch as the filling of public offices by Romans did not prevent some of them from cultivating letters. To give validity to his argument, Dr. Reich would have had to prove the inferences implied by it, viz. that

although favourable to the cultivation of art, the political offices of the Romans were unfavourable to the cultivation of science; that none of the Romans whose bent of mind was scientific would have foregone the emoluments and honours of political careers in order to gratify their stronger impulses towards the pursuits of science. Lastly, Dr. Reich would have had to prove that if the Greek scientists had filled political offices they could not have made any of their discoveries. But whilst, on the one hand, Dr. Reich, in his denial that nations as well as individuals are endowed, is reduced to the necessity of furnishing the above proofs if he would establish that denial, on the other hand I, by showing how nations and individuals excel in the same fields of the intellect, also, by illustrating the likeness between the three most important stages of individual existence and of national existence, have striven to establish the parallel between the individual and the nation (a parallel which, of course, Dr. Reich rejects), and on that parallel to prove, by analogy, that since the achievement of the individual is due to personal endowments, that of the nation must be due to national endowments. How far I have succeeded I leave for my reader to judge.

But in addition to Dr. Reich, we are confronted by another antagonist—an antagonist whose theories, owing to their flattering tendencies, to the encouragement they lend to the superiority assumed by the colourless race, owing also to the glow of plausibility and the literary charm attending their presentation, have gained a wide, if an uncritical acceptance, and have in consequence exercised a profound influence. I refer to Henry Thomas Buckle. Concerning the primary cause of civilisation, the views of this author, in his *History of Civilisation in England*, are opposed alike to "Political Institutions," which Dr. Reich teaches, as being the primary cause, and to "National Endowments," as advocated by myself. In his view, the primary cause or causes of civilisation are climate, food, soil, and the general aspect of nature. With respect to some observations that I shall make on the subject of civilisation, it is important not only to have noticed Dr. Reich's objection to national endowment as the primary cause of civilisation, but also that we should notice what Buckle assigns as the principal cause. Accordingly I must crave the reader's indulgence whilst I enter, as briefly as possible, upon a consideration of this author's position.

The great need, in order to produce a civilisation, Buckle affirms, is the production of an intellectual class, but as the creation of such a class can be brought about only when it possesses leisure, as leisure is the result of a previous accumulation of wealth, and as the accumulation of wealth depends upon food, climate, and soil, he concludes that to these, along with the aspects of nature—which I will reserve for later remarks—civilisation is primarily due. Here are Buckle's own words:—

“Of all the great social improvements, the accumulation of wealth must be first, because without it there can be neither taste nor leisure for that acquisition of knowledge on which, as I shall hereafter prove, the progress of civilisation depends. Now, it is evident that among an entirely ignorant people the rapidity with which wealth is created will be solely regulated by the physical peculiarities of their country.”

The physical peculiarities by which the creation of wealth is regulated are the fertility of the soil, and the influence of climate upon labour. The fertility of the soil is controlled by adjuncts, such as artificial manure, irrigation, the heat and humidity of the atmosphere; and climate controls labour by the intense heat which indisposes or unfits the labourer to undertake the exertions that in milder latitudes he might perform, and by affecting his habits. As to the relative value of the two factors, soil and climate, in originating civilisation, Buckle, referring to his illustration in support of the theory that the accumulation of wealth produced by fertile soil is more rapid than that produced by climate, continues thus:—

“These considerations clearly prove that of the two primary causes of civilisation the fertility of the soil is the one which in the ancient world exercised most influence. But in European civilisation the other great cause, that is to say, climate, has been the most powerful. . . . Laying this down as a principle that . . . the only progress which is really effective depends, not upon the bounty of nature, but upon the energy of man,”

Buckle further proceeds to show that the civilisations of Asia, Africa, and America were products of soil or bounties of nature, while that of Europe was produced by climate or the energy of man, concluding:—

“Therefore it is that the civilisation of Europe, which in its earlier stage was governed by climate, has shown a capacity of development unknown to those civilisations which were originally governed by soil.”

Again, he accounts for the earliest civilisation of Asia and Africa, and the later civilisation of Europe, as follows:—

“In Asia and in Africa the condition was a fertile soil, causing an abundant return; in Europe it was a happier climate, causing more successful labour. In the former case the effect depends on the relation between the soil and its produce; in other words, the mere operation of one part of external nature upon another. In the latter case the effect depends on the relation between the climate and the labourer, that is, the operation of external nature not upon itself, but upon man. Of these two classes of relations, the first, being the less complicated, is less liable to disturbance, and therefore came sooner into play. Hence it is that in the march of civilisation the priority is unquestionably due to the most fertile parts of Asia and Africa. But although their civilisation was earliest, it was very far indeed from being the best and most permanent.”

In these ways it is affirmed that climate and soil affect the creation of wealth. Another point which Buckle considers to be of superior importance, and which he treats, is “the distribution of wealth.”

“The institution of wealth,” he says, “is the distribution of power in an early-formed society; the distribution of wealth is between the class representing labour and the class representing capital. Such a distribution to the former is called wages; to the latter it is called profit. Any agency that tends to increase or to decrease the wages or the profits of the labourer or the capitalists tends to increase or to decrease the power of that class. The increase of population by overstocking the labour-market, and so reducing wages, transfers power from the labourer to the capitalist. The diet of hot countries, by its cheapness, the ease with which it is procured, and the smallness of the amount required for the individual, increases population; while the diet of cold countries, for reasons the very opposite of those just given, restricts the growth of population. The result being, in the case of the labouring class in the tropics, poverty and submission, whereas in colder climates the democratic spirit has prevailed, manifesting itself in revolutions, popular insurrections, etc.”

In this way climate is also said to influence the distribution of wealth.

In regard to “Aspects of Nature,” the following are Buckle’s words:—

“It now remains for me,” he proceeds, “to examine the effect of those other physical agents to which I have given the collective name of Aspects of Nature, and which will be found suggestive of some very wide and comprehensive inquiries into the influence exercised by the external world in predisposing men to certain habits of thought, and thus giving a peculiar tone to religion, arts, literature, and, in a word, to all the principal manifestations of the human mind. . . . The Aspects of Nature, when considered from this point of view, are divisible into two classes, the first class being those which are most likely to excite the imagination, and the other class being those which address themselves to the understanding commonly so-called. . . . Looking in this way at the human mind as affected by the Aspects of Nature, it is surely a remarkable fact that all the great civilisations were situated within, and immediately adjoining, the tropics, where nature is in every respect most dangerous to man. Indeed, generally in Asia, Africa, and America, the external world is more formidable than in Europe. This holds good not only of the fixed and permanent phenomena, such as mountains and other great natural barriers, but also of occasional phenomena, such as earthquakes, tempests, hurricanes, pestilence, all of which are in those regions very frequent and very disastrous. . . . The mind is thus thrown into a timid and anxious state, and men witnessing the most serious dangers, which they can neither avoid nor understand, become impressed with their own inability and of the poverty of their resources. . . . In exactly the same proportion the imagination is aroused, and a belief in supernatural interference actively encouraged. Human power failing, supernatural power is called in; the mysterious and the invisible are believed to be present, and there grow up among people those feelings of awe and of helplessness on which all superstitions are based and without which no superstition can exist.”

As further illustrating the predominant sway of nature in hot countries over the imagination, compared with its milder rule in cold countries, India and Greece are contrasted. Siva, a Hindoo god, for example, from the effects of fear produced upon the mind by nature, it is said, is connected with images of terror, being represented as a hideous personage, encircled by a girdle of snakes, with a human skull in his hand, and waving a necklace of human bones. “He has besides three eyes, and the ferocity of his temper is marked by his being clothed in tiger’s skin; he is represented as wandering about like a madman, and over his left shoulder the deadly cobra *di capella* rears his head.” Among the Greeks, on the other hand, where

nature is less awe-inspiring, the gods, we are told, had not only human forms, but also human attributes and human tastes, and they followed human pursuits. As further proof of the extraordinary power exerted by nature on the imagination in warm countries, the great longevity which the Hindoos have given to human existence is quoted:—

“Thus it is recorded,” says Buckle, “that duration of the life of common men is 80,000 years, and that holy men lived to be upwards of 100,000 years. Some died a little sooner, others a little later, but in the most flourishing period of antiquity, if we take all classes together, 100,000 years was the average.”

Such, then, is a very brief, but, I believe, a correct summary of Buckle's opinions on the causes of civilisation. It will probably have been observed that in their cast, as well as in their quality, the opinions thus summarised in these extracts possess the merits of both ingenuity and plausibility.

The question, however, that I would now ask is, whether the primary causes of civilisation are, as Buckle affirms, soil and climate, or whether they are what I have said they are, viz. national endowments or talents. If the fertility of the soil were the main cause of the civilisations that flourished in tropical and subtropical lands, in Peru, Mexico, Central America, Egypt, and India, then we should expect that in other tropical and subtropical regions, where the soil is fertile, and where there is an absence of those impediments said by Buckle to have hindered Brazil from evolving a civilisation, there would have been growths of civilisation also. The impediments before which Brazilian civilisation aborted—if there had been such an abortion—were, according to Buckle, great and impassable rivers, huge forests, etc., teeming with ferocious beasts, and swarming with noxious insects. Now it is well known that there are many tropical and subtropical lands which are as fertile as Peru, Mexico, Central America, India, and Egypt, lands which most probably were peopled as early, at least, as they, and which, at the same time, are free from these impediments. Northern Australasia, for example, and the numerous islands of the Pacific, such as Hawaii, Sumatra, Borneo, New Guinea; also Siam and California, lands with prolific soil, and which are no less amenable to the pursuits of agriculture than Egypt, India, Peru, etc., were. Other parts, too, in Central and South America, in Africa—the Great Soudan

belt, and southward from it, towards the Cape of Good Hope. I repeat, that if the civilisation which appeared in certain places of the American continent, in Egypt, and in India, were the result chiefly of soil, then in these other tropical and subtropical lands just named, civilisation, because of their fertility, and because of the absence in them of those hindrances said to be inimical to growths of progress, should also have appeared. Further, if the civilisation of the northern temperate zone has been the product of climate, then how is it that in North America, which is of the same latitude as Europe, the kinsmen of the Peruvians and Mexicans failed to produce civilisations?

Again, alluding to the effect of climate upon the quality and the continuity of labour, Buckle makes the statement that people living in very cold climates have never that steady and unflinching industry which those of temperate latitudes manifest; that the same is true of the inhabitants of warm regions; and in support of these statements he refers to Norway and Sweden, Spain and Portugal, whose peoples he describes as being remarkable for their instability and fickleness of character. The deduction from these statements is that the inhabitants of countries situated in northern latitudes, such as Norway and Sweden, and in southern latitudes, such as Spain and Portugal, are remarkable for their instability and fickleness of character. But Canada is situated in the same northern latitude as Norway and Sweden, and the United States is situated in the same southern latitude as Spain and Portugal, therefore the Canadians and Americans are remarkable for their instability and fickleness of character. If this conclusion is wrong, then the premises also must be wrong. But it is only the first premise that can be wrong, and there are only two ways in which it can be wrong, viz. either that the inhabitants of Norway and Sweden, and of Spain and Portugal, are not remarkable for instability and fickleness of character, or that their instability and fickleness of character are not due to climate. But in either case, as far as this proof is concerned, Buckle's contention, that climate is a primary cause of civilisation, falls to the ground. Yet again, seeing that Italy and Greece are in the same latitudes as Spain and Portugal, and that whatever may have been the national defects of the ancient Greeks and Romans, those of instability and fickleness of character cannot be attributed to them; then if the Portuguese and Spaniards be unstable and fickle, it cannot be the result of climate.

In addition to soil and climate, the last point that I shall touch upon at this juncture is the Aspects of Nature. I shall make only two references to it. As supporting the proposition that the most superstitious peoples are those dwelling in places where nature appears in her sublimest and most gorgeous attire, Buckle instances Italy, Spain, and Portugal; and on the ground that artistic development and superstition are products of the imagination developed in excess of the intellect, he adds that "all the greatest painters, and nearly all the great sculptors, modern Europe has produced have been Italians and Spaniards." Assuming that in her pristine manifestations, nature appeared to the ancient Romans in Italy, as dazzlingly magnificent as she has appeared to modern Italians, we find that, as regards superstition, the ancient Roman and modern Italian are on a par, but that as regards the artistic sense they are at the poles. Now, if nature's profusion were responsible for the artistic achievements of the Italians, would it not have similarly inspired the Romans? Therefore, in the face of results so distinct—nay, so opposite—as the dominating artistic sense of the modern Italian, and the entire lack of that sense in the ancient Roman, what warrant is there for attributing the artistic distinction of the former to nature's profusion? And if there is no warrant in regard to the Italian, can there be any warrant in regard to the Spaniard and the Portuguese?

The other criticism that I am to make against the theory of the aspects of nature, as it is applied by Buckle, concerns that riotous display of Hindoo imagination on the subject of the longevity of human life, with which the consecutive series of quotations given above ends. The contention of Buckle, that the aspects of nature are less exciting in Europe than in tropical and subtropical lands, rests, it will be remembered, on the idea that in cold regions the intellect dominates, whereas in hot countries it is the imagination that dominates (p. 302). Hindoo philosophy is thus called in to demonstrate the excess of the tropical and subtropical imagination, while the Greeks are summoned to illustrate the sobriety of the European imagination.

In order that the reader may be enabled to gauge more readily the value of the distinction thus drawn by Buckle, between the imagination in temperate climates and that in hot climates, I will now quote from his book a paragraph of mediæval history relating to King Arthur. After referring to an equally meritorious history of Charlemagne, Buckle proceeds:—

“On the history of Arthur the Middle Ages possessed information equally authentic. Different accounts had been circulated respecting this celebrated king, but their comparative value was still unsettled when, early in the twelfth century, the subject attracted the attention of Geoffrey, the well-known Archdeacon of Monmouth. This eminent man, in A.D. 1147, published the result of his inquiries in a work which is called *History of the Britons*. In this work he takes a comprehensive view of the whole question; and not only relates the life of Arthur, but also traces the circumstances which prepared the way for the appearance of that great conqueror. In regard to the actions of Arthur the historian was singularly fortunate, inasmuch as the materials necessary for that part of his subject were collected by Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, who was a friend of Geoffrey, and who, like him, took great interest in the study of history. The work is therefore the joint composition of the two archdeacons; and is entitled to respect, not only on this account, but also because it was one of the most popular of all the productions of the Middle Ages. The earlier part of this great history is occupied with the result of those researches which the Archdeacon of Monmouth had made into the state of Britain before the accession of Arthur. With this we are not so much concerned, though it may be mentioned that the Archdeacon ascertained that after the capture of Troy Ascanius fled from the city, and begat a son, who became father of Brutus. In those days England was peopled by giants, all of whom were slain by Brutus, who, having extirpated the entire race, built London, settled the affairs of the country, and called it after himself by the name Britain. The Archdeacon proceeds to relate the actions of a long line of kings who succeeded Brutus, most of whom were remarkable for their abilities, and some were famous for the prodigies which occurred in their time. Thus, during the government of Rivallo, it rained blood for three consecutive days; and when Morvidus was on the throne the coasts were infested with a horrible sea-monster, which devoured innumerable persons, and at length swallowed the king himself. These and similar matters are related by the Archdeacon of Monmouth as the fruit of his own inquiries; but in the subsequent account of Arthur he was aided by his friend the Archdeacon of Oxford. The two archdeacons inform their readers that King Arthur owed his existence to a magical contrivance of Merlin, the celebrated wizard, the particulars of which they relate with a minuteness which, considering the sacred character of the historians, is rather remarkable. The subsequent actions of Arthur did not belie his supernatural origin. His might nothing was able to withstand. He slew an immense number of Saxons; he overran Norway, invaded Gaul, fixed his court at Paris, and made preparations to effect

the conquest of Europe. He engaged two giants in single combat, and killed them both. One of these giants, who inhabited the mount of St. Michael, was the terror of the whole country, and destroyed all the soldiers sent against him, except those he took prisoner in order to eat them while they were yet alive. But he fell a victim to the prowess of Arthur, as also did another giant named Ritho, who was, if possible, still more formidable. For Ritho, not content with warring on men of the meaner sort, actually clothed himself in the furs which were entirely made of the beards of kings he had killed."

To imagine that the two ecclesiastics who stated that Britain derived its name from Brutus, the grandson of Ascanius; that England was peopled by giants; that for three consecutive days during the reign of Rivallo it rained blood; that a sea-monster infesting the coasts during the reign of one Morvidus, after devouring an innumerable number of persons, devoured the king himself; that Arthur's existence was due to the miraculous contrivance of a renowned wizard; that in single combat Arthur slew two giants, one of whom had destroyed the soldiers sent against him, except those that he had spared for to feast upon while they were yet alive; and that Ritho, another giant who fell a victim to Arthur's valour, had clothed himself with the beards of kings whom he had slain in battle—to imagine, I say, that the two ecclesiastics who stated these things as facts, and that the readers of their history—which Buckle assures us "was one of the most popular of all the productions of the Middle Ages"—who received these things as facts, were less imaginative than the Hindoo philosophers, who taught that in ancient times the common duration of human life was 80,000 years, and that in the most flourishing period of antiquity the average among all cases was 100,000 years, etc., is not only to prove the contrary, but also to prove that the imaginative powers of Buckle himself were of an order neither inferior to those of the ecclesiastics "nor to the philosophers." Buckle has also instanced what he regards as the saner characteristics of the gods of the Greeks, compared with the extravagant and grotesque manifestations assigned to Hindoo deities, as another of his proofs that European civilisation is less imaginative and more intellectual than the civilisation of warm latitudes. But the fact that the *gods of the Greeks were Egyptian in origin*, deprives this proof of validity, and thus the theory of civilisation being the product

of soil, climate, etc., is discredited by still another of its own proofs.¹

Now, to sum up. We have seen that certain places on the American continent, *e.g.* Mexico, Peru, and Central America ; on the African continent, *e.g.* Egypt and Ethiopia ; on the Asiatic continent, *e.g.* India, etc., developed civilisations. We are told that these civilisations are the result primarily of fertile soil, coupled with the absence in those places of certain natural phenomena. But situated in the same latitudes, equally favoured by soil, and by the absence of restrictive natural phenomena, are regions, which, in their sum-total, quadrate with those other regions that have produced civilisations. Yet these regions have remained uniformly barbarous. Therefore, is it logical to conclude that the civilisations of those more enlightened states are due to soil? If so, then to what is the backwardness of the uncivilised regions due? For they are in the same latitudes as the civilised ; they have the same fertility ; and they also enjoy, like these civilised regions, immunity from oppressive aspects of nature. Secondly, we are told that the civilisation of Europe is chiefly the result of its temperate climate, and that its extreme cold in the north, and its severer heat in the south, have produced in the inhabitants of those parts fickleness and instability of character. But seeing that the same temperate climate as that of Europe failed to produce a civilisation among the North American Indians, seeing that civilisations (Roman and Grecian), as high as those in the more temperate parts of Europe, have likewise been produced in the south, seeing that those peoples were neither unstable nor fickle, and seeing also that in latitudes corresponding, on the American continent, to the area of extreme cold and to the area of extreme heat in Europe, civilisations (Canadian and American) like those of the more temperate regions of Europe have been reproduced, and that the peoples are neither unstable nor fickle, is the theory sustained, that makes the temperate climate a chief cause of civilisation? Buckle, as we have seen, regards soil and climate as two of the chief causes of civilisation.

Passing to the other two of these chief causes, viz. food and

¹ The Egyptian origin of the religion of the Greeks being by some called in question, I give the following authorities in support of it. Blackwell's *Life of Homer*, pp. 49, 84, 168, 193, etc. ; Burnet's *Origin and Progress of Language*, vol. i. p. 445 ; Mitford's *History of Greece*, vols. i., ii. p. 14 ; Herodotus, translated by Gaisford, p. 170 (146). See note ; Diodorus, translated by Booth, p. 40.

aspects of nature, I would remark upon the first, that while I do not believe food to take a chief part in the evolution of civilisation, I am of the conviction that it plays therein an important part. Lastly, as for the aspects of nature influencing the imagination to an abnormal degree in hot countries, we have taken the Italians, who are said to have been so influenced; we have compared them with their sires, the ancient occupiers of the peninsula, and we have seen that upon the ancients the phenomena of nature produced no such effect: hence, granting that the Italians are specifically imaginative and superstitious, the assertion that the excessive growth of the imagination is due to climate is disproved, and since there is no better proof regarding the Spaniards and Portuguese, this same assertion with respect to them is likewise disproved. Again, taking India, whose superstition Buckle has cited in order to prove the predominating power of the imagination in tropical and sub-tropical peoples, we have compared a specimen of that superstition produced by its imagination, with a specimen produced by the imagination of Europe, and I believe it will not be honestly denied, that a similarity, rather than a dissimilarity, exists between the specimens. Therefore, from all these facts, I conclude, that the proposition brought forward by Buckle that food, climate, soil, and the aspects of nature "originated the most important consequences in regard to the general organisation of society," or are the chief causes of civilisation, is not only not proved, but is, by the very arguments with which he supports that proposition, disproved.

Now, proceeding from the negative to the positive side of the conclusion, what do we see? We see the American continent inhabited from north to south by peoples of the same race, and yet civilisation is produced by a few communities only, of those peoples; we conclude, perhaps, that the failure of the rest, in making the same progress, is due to unfriendliness of the climate, or of the soil, or perhaps to both. But to these seemingly sterile wastes, there come peoples of another race, and these peoples in the places that appeared to us as barren wilds develop a civilisation that is at once successful, brilliant, and imposing. What would be said if after A had begun a business, and succeeded only in reaching the bankruptcy court, B purchasing the business, and conducting it practically in the same manner, and under the same conditions as A, succeeded in amassing a princely fortune? I think it would be said that this

difference in the results of the business was due to the difference in the ability of the two men ; for in both cases the business was conducted practically in the same way and under the same conditions. And so, when the Indians in Central and South America developed civilisations, while their brethren in the north lived only in a state of savagery, till displaced by members of the Anglo-Saxon race, who there built up a civilisation, I think one is justified in saying that the failure of North America and the success of Central and South America are due, not to the soil, climate, or food, etc., but to the communities, to the men, to the difference in their endowments or talents. And crossing over to Europe, when the achievements of the Italians and the Greeks of to-day are contrasted with the achievements of their ancestors, the ancient Romans and ancient Greeks, the latter are found to rise to the height of celebrity, while the former are found to fall to the depth of mediocrity.

But to what are we to attribute these differences? To climate? To soil? To food? To "Aspects of Nature"? So far as we know, these factors have remained constant. And inasmuch as these factors are constant, the differences must be due to a change, or to changes, in the individuals themselves. But these changes in the individuals must be in part, at least, and that part not secondary, intellectual. And characterising these differences in intellect between the Greeks and Romans of the past and the Greeks and Italians of the present, as differences in endowments of the communities, then, to the question with which we started, namely, whether the primary causes of civilisation are climate, soil, food, and the aspects of nature, or whether they are national endowments—or in other words, to what is civilisation primarily due?—we are enabled unhesitatingly to reply, that it is due, primarily, to national endowments.

Before taking our leave of this branch of the subject, let me refer to a very prevalent statement with regard to the progress of Great Britain—a statement closely allied to the theory of soil, climate, etc., advocated by Buckle, as being the primary cause of civilisation. The statement is that which makes the development of British civilisation to depend upon the possession of coal and iron. So that, had there been no coal and iron, there had been, according to this statement, no civilisation that could be regarded as distinctly British.

Now I do not wish in the very least, to be understood as

underrating, in the smallest degree, the importance and the influence which the possession of these products has had upon the development of British civilisation. That that importance and that influence have been enormous, I readily admit. But the assertion which regards these products as the chief cause of British civilisation, inferring thereby that without them there had been no civilisation which in a special sense could be called British, I deny. And this, for the following reasons: because it implies that civilisation cannot be produced without coal and iron, whereas we have had the civilisations of Egypt, Greece, Rome, etc., produced without these industries. For the fact that those nations, in the absence of the coal and iron industries, developed civilisations, disproves, in the first place, the assertion that civilisation can be produced only by the possession of coal and iron; it disproves, in the second place, the idea, that the iron and coal industries of a community that has produced a civilisation, are necessarily the cause of its civilisation; and, in the third place, this fact disproves the assertion, that but for its coal and iron, England could not have produced a civilisation. Without coal and iron British civilisation might have taken a longer time to mature, and certain elements which it possesses might have been lacking, nor might the absence of such elements have been evils, unmixed. But having its national talents or its endowments, the British people, with the possession of coal and iron, or without these accessories, would have produced a civilisation. Climate, soil, food, etc., as secondary causes, have, when acting hostilely, baffled communities in the onward march of their talents towards progress; but history has revealed instances (among the most notable of which are the Teutonic migrations into Europe) of communities migrating to places of more congenial environments from those where the barriers have been found insuperable. So that it may be questioned whether there has ever been a highly endowed people, which, because of unfavourable surroundings, has, concerning progress, failed to give vent to its talents. Having now completed the first of the two subjects which we set out at the beginning of this chapter to consider, viz. "The Primary Cause of Civilisation," we pass, in the next chapter, to the second subject, which is, "The Presence of Civilisation among the Races."

XXVI

The Presence of Civilisation among the Races

ONE of the inferences furnished by the preceding chapters of this work, is that the unfoldings of human progress have not been the exclusive prerogative of peoples representing any one of the three great divisions of mankind. And in the discussion upon which we are about to enter, and in which this fact will be explicatively set forth, it will also be seen, that between all the civilisations evolved by different peoples of the different races, under different conditions, the great characteristic feature is a common likeness. Indeed, not less than religion, ethics, metaphysics, and anatomy, one of the great truths laid bare by the history of civilisation is this, that the differences apparent in the civilisations produced by the peoples of each of the three races, are merely adventitious. Thus it is that whereas it is indubitably true that civilisation, evolved by a community, will reflect the endowments or genius that may be peculiar to that community—a distinctive character being thereby given to its civilisation—and that each civilisation will be influenced by the conditions amidst which it is developed, yet, beneath the crust of difference of soil, moisture, food, temperature, etc., and beneath the stamp of national idiosyncrasy, all civilisations will be found to possess a common likeness. The presence of civilisation among the races will be more conveniently studied under the broad question of the manner in which all civilisations have been produced. And my answer to this question is, that the modes by which the talents of communities or nations have been quickened into those higher forms of activity, designated civilisation, are two: (*a*) by spontaneity, *i.e.* civilisation produced without models; (*b*) by imitation, *i.e.* civilisation produced from models. For illustrating the first

of these modes, I shall take a people on the American continent, another on the continent of Asia, and a third on the continent of Africa.

In America I select the ancient Peruvians. Inhabiting the valleys and plateaus of the Cordilleras from very early times, were agricultural communities, belonging to a common stock. Some of these communities had made considerable progress in the arts of civilised life. Among these more advanced tribes was that of the Quichuas, who, after having subdued the other tribes, founded the empire of the Incas. Cieza de Leon, whose interesting narrative¹ about this remarkable people grew out of his sojourn of many years amongst them, describes these people as a fine and well-developed race, short in stature, with square shoulders, broad chests, small hands and feet, and comparatively large heads; having little or no beard, but long black hair, arranged in minute plaits; horizontal eyes, arched brows, high foreheads though somewhat receding, aquiline noses, and large thick lips. They are said to be good husbands and fathers, to be patient, industrious, intelligent, sociable, dwelling in villages rather than in scattered huts. The mass of the people are either shepherds or farmers.

To each family the state apportions a piece of land, which is used either for growing crops, such as gourds, maize, potatoes, or fruit-trees, or for pasturing their flocks of llamas. Their dwellings are of stone or mud, with neatly thatched roofs; they weave warm clothing from the wool of the llamas; fashion earthenware and stone vessels, with taste manufacture ornaments of gold and silver, and for purposes of agriculture employ implements, such as the plough, the hoe, and the rake.

Their upper classes, as the ruins of Cuzco the ancient capital, with their spacious and massive walls, indicate, lived in luxuriance. These magnificent remains composed of huge stones, adjusted most accurately, although for the most part plain and even sombre in aspect, not unfrequently bear marks of ornamentation. "Such were the rows of recesses with sides sloping inwards," and the cornices, the serpents, and other figures carved in relief upon the stones. And the roofs of these dwellings, although merely thatched, were executed with much skill, in addition to being durable.

In the furnishing of their dwellings, and in their personal attire, the Quichuas exhibited the same high degree of refine-

¹ Translated for the Hakluyt Society by C. K. Markham.

ment. The walls of solid masonry, cut and polished, were provided with small square windows and small recesses. Upon the walls were hung rich vicuña fringed with bezant of gold and silver, llama cloth dyed with rich colours and woven into beautiful patterns; and into the recesses were deposited gold and silver statues, and vases moulded in imitation of the llama, of birds, and of fruit. The floors were covered with rich carpets and rugs, and the seats and couches plaited with gold. Into the great hall of each of these mansions, numerous small chambers opened. The metal spouts, by which the baths were filled, and water flowed into the basins of stone, were formed in the shape of serpents. Clothing was made of cloth woven from the wool of the llama, alpaca, and vicuña; this last, which was of a rich chestnut, and as fine as silk, was not dyed. Their robes, tunics, rugs, and blankets were ornamented with fringes, borders of feathers, and by sewing on them rows of thin plates of gold and silver, which were either of the shape of squares, of leaves, or of flowers.

From this description, it will be readily understood that the Quichuas were proficient in the arts of weaving and dyeing. Their cloth, which was woven with tasteful designs, was dyed either flesh colour, yellow, grey, blue, green, or black; and they were acquainted with the methods of extracting dyes from vegetable substances, and so fixing them that the colour of the cloth remained permanent. Their pottery, which bore imitations of nearly every form of nature, was remarkable for its chasteness of execution and beauty of design. Their cutlery, made of copper, was hardened with silica or tin. The intellectual accomplishments of the Quichuas are thus alluded to by Cieza de Leon:—

“The intellectual advancement of the Quichuas people had kept pace with the increase of their material comforts; and their religious beliefs, their literary culture, their discoveries in the science of astronomy and mechanics, and their administrative talents, if not of a very high order, at least prove very clearly that they were not incapable of attaining a respectable rank amongst civilised nations. During the last two centuries of their existence as an independent people their progress was very rapid.”

The religion of the Incas, and of their nobles, was the worship of the celestial bodies, but particularly of the sun. The agriculturists and shepherds worshipped such objects of nature as the

llama, corn, fruits, hills, and streams, but worshipped especially, the mummies of the dead. The vast empire of the Incas, founded by the Quichuas people, was connected by a system of splendid roads, radiating from the capital Cuzco, east, west, north, and south, and affording easy and rapid communication between the capital and its distant parts. Each branch of the public service was organised with a thoroughness that revealed a high standard of administrative ability.

The general policy pursued by the government, aimed at preserving the people from oppression, and securing to them comfort. The testimony borne by the intelligent young soldier, Cieza de Leon, according to Markham, to the excellence of the government of the Incas is, "that the Incas ruled with such wisdom that few in the world ever excelled them." And in another place Cieza de Leon came to the conclusion that "if the ancient policy had been preserved . . . it would not have failed to bring the Indians nearer to the way of good living and conversation; for few nations in the world have had a better government than the Incas."

Their laws, evincing solicitude for everyone living within their jurisdiction, were humane; their language rich and polished; they differentiated between the solar and the lunar year; introduced intercalary days to reconcile the difference; they observed the periods of the equinoxes and solstices, and watched and recorded the courses of some of the stars and comets. They possessed a complete system of numerals, and a perfectly balanced pair of scales. They divided the year into twelve months, and by great festivals celebrated the equinoxes and solstices. Their magnificent roads, irrigating channels, aqueducts, and other public works were superior to anything of the kind that then existed in Europe. Their architecture was imposing, and their pottery and ornamental work very little removed from those of the Greeks or Etruscans.

Passing now from this bird's-eye view of the ancient Peruvians, a representative of the pioneer nations of civilisation on the American continent, we proceed to the Chinese. There is evidence to show that as early as 2,356 to 2,206 B.C. the Chinese existed as a collection of tribes, or clans; that these clans were ruled by a sovereign, nominated by his predecessor and approved by the people, as a person worthy to rule over them. This federal organisation was followed by the *Feudal state*, which, under three dynasties, extended from 2,205 to 221 B.C.—the time that the

empire came into being. Thus it will be seen that long before the nations of Modern Europe were even formed, China was already well on the road of civilisation.

The population of China proper numbers some 347,000,000 souls. The government is a centralised autocracy; the Emperor is the absolute head of the empire; the claims of his position are founded, however, not on hereditary or divine right, but on ability to rule; hence the ruler is not always the eldest son. The Emperor is assisted by two councils—the inner or Privy Council, and the General Council; this latter corresponds to the British Cabinet. The administrative machinery, which is perfectly organised, has a governor or imperial delegate over each of the nineteen provinces into which China is divided. This functionary, besides being the head of the civil administration of the particular province over which he has been appointed, and besides possessing, in the case of certain offences, the power of life and death, enjoys the prerogative of corresponding with the Cabinet Council, and with the Emperor. Under the governor, who is assisted by many other officials—judicial and administrative—are the superintendents of provincial finance, the criminal provincial judge, and the provincial examiner of education. Each of these officers communicates with his special board at Peking. A province is again divided into districts, departments, and circuits; each division having its full quota of officials.

Education, being the high road to employment in the public service, and to rank, wealth, and influence, is eagerly sought after by all classes of the people. Hence, everywhere throughout the empire proficiency in letters is held in the highest repute, and schools for disseminating primary instruction penetrate to the remotest village. The schools are self-supporting, the Government providing only the State examiners.

The religion of the Chinese consists principally of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Tâoism: the first and last are indigenous, but Buddhism is an exotic from India. Confucianism, which is no less a philosophy than a religion, concerns itself with answering questions relating to the duty of the citizen towards his neighbour, and to the state. To the Confucian system the most celebrated men among the Chinese have adhered. In addition to the organisation of their government, and their enlightened system of education, another evidence of the advanced civilisation of the Chinese centres in their literature.

Printing from wooden blocks was invented in China at the close of the sixth century, or four centuries before these blocks were used in Europe.

On the important subject of Chinese literature, Professor Legge states in *Chambers's Encyclopædia* that a very brief and imperfect catalogue *raisonné*, ordered to be printed or reprinted, of works collected in the K'ien-lung reign in 1722, in order to form a great national library, is divided into four parts. The first part, consisting of forty-four chapters, contains works on the classics, and the dictionaries necessary for their study. The classics, with a few exceptions, are the Confucian books, and on the whole collection, Confucian and others, commentaries have been written, which, for voluminousness, no less than for diligent care, compare most favourably with those written on our own sacred Scriptures. Nor has time yet succeeded in bringing to a close the toils of this class of writers; thus, in 1829, during the present dynasty the output of commentaries prepared by scholars, and published at Canton, amounted to 1,400 chapters. The second part into which the catalogue is divided consists of forty-six chapters, and relates to works on history, the histories being those of China itself. In these histories the first place is given to the correct and authentic treatment of the dynasties; and Professor Legge mentions that his copy of the dynastic history, bound in English form, amounts to sixty-four thick volumes, imperial octavo size.

"In general," he continues, "each dynastic history contains an account of the several reigns, followed by treatises on chronology, rites, music, jurisprudence, food, and goods, or political economy, state sacrifices, astronomy, the five elements, geography, and especially topography, and the literature."

Following these records is a host of biographies of the most remarkable men of the dynasty, then the history ends with an account of the foreign peoples with whom there may have been any intercourse. Of the forty-six chapters comprising the history division the dynastic histories occupy only two chapters. In the subdivisions of the remaining forty-four chapters are three books on the constitution, containing works such as Ma Twan Liu's *General Examination of Records and Scholars*, said by Rémusat to be a library in itself, and the Penal Code of the present dynasty. The third part of the catalogue, which contains fifty-seven chapters, deals with the works of writers on

military affairs, with legislation, agriculture, horticulture, the mulberry tree, medicine, astronomy, mathematics, divination, painting, music, engraving, and other arts; it deals also with ink and inkstones, tea and the tea-plant, with articles of diet, the works of several of the Roman Catholic missionaries, concluding with works on Tâoism and Buddhism. In addition to these subjects, five chapters are given to works on mythology, etc. The last, or fourth part of the catalogue, containing fifty-three chapters, treats of poetry and *belles-lettres*. This part, says Professor Legge, comprehends the various classics of polite literature, of analytical and scientific works. Chinese poetry has no epic, but is rich in ballads, lyrical and descriptive pieces, rhythmical effusions and songs, eulogies and elegies, and monumental inscriptions. The poets, continues this high authority, have been without number, and the poetesses not a few. One of the Confucian classics is "the book of poetry," and poetry is one of the standing subjects of competitive examination. Some of their best novels have been translated into European languages.

Printing, gunpowder, and the mariner's compass, which are justly considered to be among the most important objects of modern invention or discovery, notwithstanding the high state of efficiency to which their development in the West compared with that in China, has been carried, are reasonably believed to have their home in the Flowery Land; and to have travelled westward by way of Asia Minor or the Red Sea, through the channels of commerce. Silk and porcelain also are ascertained to have been introduced into Europe from China. In certain of the mechanical arts, in chemistry, natural history, metallurgy, architecture, agriculture, horticulture, etc., the Chinese display wonderful skill. Of their manufactures one authority thus speaks:—

"The principal manufactures of the Chinese are silk, cotton, linen, and pottery, for which latter they are especially celebrated. The finest porcelain is made in the province of Keang-se. . . . Their skill in handicrafts is astonishing. Their rich silks and satins, light gauzes, beautiful embroidery, elaborate engraving on wood and stone, delicate filigree work in gold and silver, carvings on ivory, fine lacquered ware, antique vessels in bronze, and their brilliant colouring on the famous pith paper, command our admiration."

I think that sufficient has now been said to suggest the high state of civilisation which the Chinese have reached.

Having thus seen something of the ancient as well as the modern civilisation of Asia, and having by the preceding reference to Peru seen something also of America's past civilisation, in accordance with the plan with which we set out at the beginning of this chapter, we proceed next to Africa.

For the purpose of glancing at the ancient civilisation of the African continent, I select Egypt. It will, however, be remembered that we have had Egypt under review before; so, then, we have touched upon the ancient civilisations of Asia, Africa, and America. But what is the object of these observations? It is to call attention to this one fact, viz. that these civilisations were produced without models: each has been a spontaneous growth. In contradistinction to the indigenous civilisations evolved by Egypt, China, Peru, etc., is the exotic type represented by Europe, ancient as well as modern. I proceed to verify this statement; and to that end I divide the civilisation of Europe into the two familiar parts of ancient and modern. Commencing with the modern, we start from the point that was set forth under the heading of "Europe as seen in the Present": a point where some of the great minds of Europe are grouped in national series, and which, like the constellations of the Zodiac illuminating the heavens, fill the firmament of human existence with the beneficence of their intellectual rays.

Starting from this point, we journey backwards to the fifth century of our era. And what do we perceive here? The successive invasions of barbarian hordes into the western section of the Roman Empire, resulting, in the fifth century, in the final extinction of the Imperial rule and the establishing of one of the savage chieftains as king; that as a consequence, Italy, which had been as a lamp in Western Europe, was plunged into the chaos of mental darkness. In the folds of this deep gloom all Europe, except the eastern division, cowered during the course of dreary centuries. The professors of Christianity had generally despised the classic literature, and altogether rejected science and philosophy. Even the great Gregory could, in writing, ignore the rules of grammar, and boast that he was doing so. The Latin tongue, whose range was singularly circumscribed, embodied the learning of the Middle Ages, and, owing to the ignorance of the age, Greek, which was the repository of science and philosophy, remained, as it were, a sealed chamber. At length, in the

seventh century, the Saracenic power, springing from its desert wilds in Arabia, appeared in the West; and by the lightning-blows of a series of the most dazzling and decisive victories, subdued Syria, Persia, Asia Minor, North Africa—from Egypt to Morocco—and Spain—from Gibraltar to the Pyrenees. These Arabians, who originally were one of the most barbarous of Asiatic peoples, having now founded an empire, and therein established the Mohammedan faith, settled down to the pursuits of literature, science, and philosophy, their desire for knowledge being kindled, doubtless, by the rich stores of Greek literature which they found in Egypt, and which they afterwards translated into Arabic. Through their incessant and painstaking labours in connection with astrology and alchemy, the Arabs have rendered to the sciences of astronomy and chemistry the most enduring service. Astronomy as left by the Greeks was, by the greater accuracy of observation by the Arab, as well as by the improved methods of trigonometry which they introduced, decidedly advanced. Geber, one of their chemists, is justly regarded as the founder of the exceedingly useful science of chemistry. The preparation of nitric acid, a most powerful reagent that is constantly in use in the laboratory, was first described by him; aqua-regia also, by which gold is dissolved, was discovered by this chemist: and these two most useful acids form only part of the objects of his discoveries which are still in use.

In the tenth century circumstances led to the threefold partition of the Mohammedan Empire. Henceforth one Khalifate ruled at Baghdad, on the Tigris, another in Egypt, and a third at Cordova, in Spain. Among the literary and scientific enterprises carried on at Baghdad during the eighth century (755–775), mathematics, medicine, and astronomy held a foremost place. The works of the Greeks being translated into Arabic greatly aided the Arabs in their studies. The reign of Khalif Al Mamun in the ninth century may be regarded as the Golden Age of learning in the East. To his court philosophers, poets, and mathematicians, the most celebrated, repaired. He despatched learned men to all parts of the world to collect ancient manuscripts, and it is recorded, that during his reign it was no uncommon spectacle to behold a train of camels laden with the lore of the earlier ages, entering Baghdad. Cairo rejoiced in the possession of a library containing a vast collection of works, in the possession of bronze globes which Ptolemy Claudius had

used for his astronomical observations, and in the possession of another globe of silver valued at a fabulous sum. In addition, Cairo was the seat of a great medical school, at which the students, before being allowed to practise, had to pass regular examinations. Like Baghdad and Egypt, Spain also, under Arab rule, was well advanced in the art of civilisation. Contrasting the brilliance of its culture with the intellectual stupor that then prevailed throughout the rest of Europe, Dr. Draper says:—

“ Scarcely had the Arabs become firmly settled in Spain when they commenced a brilliant career. A list . . . might be made of important inventions and improvements in the arts for which we are indebted to the Arabs. Improved preparation of gunpowder, cultivation of silk, fabrication of finely tempered weapons, as in the famous Toledo blades; preparation of the best kind of leather still called Morocco and Cordovan; training the horse, so that the world obtained a variety of that noble animal possessing the highest development of its finest qualities; use of the mariner's compass—these are but a few of the advances in the art of civilised life which we owe to the Arabs. We must not omit to mention another invention of theirs which has in no slight degree contributed to the diffusion of learning, and that is, paper made from linen to take the place of the far more costly parchment. Adopting what had then become the established policy of the commanders of the ‘ Faithful ’ in Asia, the Emirs of Cordova distinguished themselves as patrons of learning, and set an example of refinement strongly contrasting with the condition of the native European princes. Cordova under their administration at its highest point of prosperity boasted of more than 200,000 houses and more than a million inhabitants. After sunset a man might walk through it in a straight line for ten miles by the light of the public lamps. Seven years after this time there was not so much as one public lamp in London. Its streets were solidly paved. In Paris, centuries subsequently, whoever stepped over the threshold on a rainy day stepped up to his ankles in mud. Other cities, as Granada, Seville, Toledo, considered themselves rivals of Cordova. The palaces of the Khalifs were magnificently decorated. Those sovereigns might well look down with supercilious contempt on the dwellings of the rulers of Germany, France, and England, which were scarcely better than stables—chimneyless, windowless, and with a hole in the roof for the smoke to escape, like the wigwams of certain Indians. The Spanish Mohammedans had brought with them all the luxuries and prodigalities of Asia. Their residences stood forth against the blue sky, or were embosomed in woods. They had polished marble

balconies overhanging orange gardens, courts with cascades of water. . . ."¹

Spain had her libraries, her schools, her colleges, and her universities. Her public libraries numbered seventy, and the library of the Khalif comprised 600,000 volumes. Compare this with the condition of Christian Europe during the same period, when even the kings could not sign their names, priests could hardly read, and sick people had no other hope than that of miracle cures. In all Europe, it was in the Moorish universities alone that Gerbert, who afterwards in the tenth century became Pope Sylvester II., could obtain a knowledge of geometry and astronomy, etc.; also that acquaintance with Arabic numerals which enabled him to introduce their use to the rest of Europe. A century later Adhelard, an English monk, following the example of Gerbert, studied at the Moorish university; there he acquired a knowledge of Arabic, which he employed in translating into Latin the Arabic version of Euclid's elements. This translation was the first Latin version of the immortal treatise of the Alexandrian geometer. Campanus, whose translation of Euclid from Arabic into Latin became more widely known than Adhelard's, and from which the earlier printed editions that came into general use in the rest of Europe were made, studied at a Moorish university. And while Christian Europe, pronated by intellectual somnolence, remained mentally motionless, many other English youths, in order to cultivate the arts and sciences, repaired to Moorish universities. On the rolls of these seats of learning there have been found inscribed such well-known English names as Clement Langstown, William Shell, Robert of Reading, Daniel Morley, Robert of Lincoln, etc. Thus during the darkness of ignorance in which we found Europe in the fifth century, a light appeared from the East—a light kindled by Semitic hands, and one which, increasing in power by the events that followed the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in the fifteenth century, reilluminated Europe.

From this necessarily limited sketch of the modern division of civilisation, which I have designated exotic, we pass next to the ancient division. This division is embraced by the histories of Rome and Greece. Rome, which fell in the year 475 of the Christian era, has risen since into many cities, into many states. Just as a great colosseum, that has fallen, supplies materials for

¹ *Intellectual Development of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 30. Routledge.

the erection of numerous edifices, so this city, fallen, provided materials for the founding of other cities, for the founding of other states. Ancient Rome exists to-day in modern Europe, for in their languages, their laws, their literatures, their legislatures, their armies, in the procedure of their public bodies, and in their ecclesiastical and civil polities, European states are but outgrowths of Ancient Rome. And as non-European civilised states are generally framed on European models, nearly all civilised states of modern times may thus be reckoned as outgrowths of Ancient Rome. It will be remembered that in my description of the national life of the Romans, one of the three great stages of their development was that of infantile life; another was that of vigorous manhood, and the third was the stage of senile decay. Under the first of these stages, Rome comes before us as a collection of village communities whose circumstances were entirely primitive.

The statement made by me that Europe has produced no indigenous civilisation will also be recalled. Therefore we must conclude that Roman civilisation could not have originated from within, and so the question arises, From whom did the Latins receive the rudiments of their civilisation, which, as a legacy, they bequeathed to Modern Europe? Of the nations who at this time, because of the high standing of their civilisations, could have supplied to the Latin communities those elements which they worked out to such momentous and stupendous issues, three, because of their comparative nearness to Italy, and of the three, two, because of the nature of their calling, in addition to their geographical position, could have furnished to them those elements. The three nations are the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Phœnicians; but the Egyptians not being a maritime nation, the two nations, who could have most influenced the Latins, are the Phœnicians and the Greeks. The Egyptians and Phœnicians did sow the seeds of civilisation among the Latin tribes, but when the relative extent and the permanence of their operations are considered, there is justification—as I hope to show—for conferring upon the Greeks practically the entire credit of supplying to the Latin tribes the germs of civilisation.

We proceed to some of the facts bearing out this statement. The Phœnicians and Hellenes were probably the first two nations who, on the errand of trade, dotted the Mediterranean with their sails. And from the prominent position of the Italian

peninsula, as well as the facilities it affords to shipping, we should expect that Italy would become a place of rivalry between the two commercial nations. But concerning the Phœnicians, there is no clear proof that they were represented on the peninsula by more than one factory or station—that factory being Caere. Yet even if there were other stations, they were of an ephemeral character, and that will be understood when it is related that, like Caere itself, they disappeared without leaving a vestige behind. Whereas the Hellenes, who at that time had settled in Italy, and who probably hailed from the Æolian and Ionian coasts of Asia Minor, where maritime traffic among their countrymen was most active, and whence voyages to the interior of the Black Sea and to the Italian coast were being made, had established in their adopted country several permanent towns. Among them are Syracuse, Tarentum, Curnæ, and the greater part of the cities of Magna Græcia. As to the time when these settlements were formed, it is impossible to determine with certainty; but inasmuch as during the Homeric period the horizon of Hellenic knowledge of the West had hardly extended beyond the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean, and as at the time of Hesiod Sicily and Italy were by that knowledge apprehended only in dim outline, whereas, after the Hesiod period the whole coast of Italy was familiar to Greek literature, it seems reasonable to conclude that they were founded subsequent to the time of Hesiod. The colonies were situated chiefly on the straits Rhegium; extending on the one side along the whole southern and western coast of the mainland as far as Vesuvius, and extending on the other side of the straits along the eastern half of the island of Sicily.

Of these settlements, those in the neighbourhood of Vesuvius reached a moderate prosperity, whilst those that were the most easterly, rapidly rose to splendour. Chief among the latter was Tarentum. This city was famous for its flourishing fisheries, for the manufacture and the dyeing of its rich wool with the purple juice of murex, which rivalled that of Tyre. Tarentum was also famous for the excellence of its harbour, to which shipping in consequence was attracted. The two industries mentioned had been introduced from Miletus in Asia Minor. But in addition to introducing industries into Italy, the Greeks were also the medium of a brisk trade between the East and the inhabitants of the Italian peninsula, and they and the Latins dwelling side by side, the influence which, by these means, they

exercised over them can to some extent be realised. As regards the size that these commercial transactions reached, it is impossible to say, but with respect to their composition, much knowledge has been collected, from articles found in the primitive tombs, and from Greek names representing articles of commerce, which have been preserved in the language of the Latins.

Among articles found in the tombs are plates of gold with winged lions stamped upon them, and other ornaments of Babylonian manufacture. Even if these articles were of native manufacture, their original models must have come from the East. Other relics supplied by these sepulchral chambers are gold ornaments, vessels of bluish enamel, or greenish clay, impressed with hieroglyphics, indicating their Egyptian origin; perfume-vases of alabaster, of which several are in the form of Isis; ostrich eggs, with painted or carved griffins, and beads of glass and amber. (Mommsen thinks that the articles that are distinctly Egyptian may have come by the land route from the north, but that the others, such as the perfumes and ornaments of all descriptions, are of Eastern source.) Other contents exhumed, are linen used as fillets, etc., purple, and ivory—the former employed as the dress, the latter as the sceptre, of kings—and frankincense, used for sacrificial purposes.

Among the words in Latin representing objects of commerce between the Latins and the Hellenes, and derived from the language of the latter, are "linen," "oil," "feasting," "a dainty dish," "dough," "various names of cakes," and "jugs." In the same way the leatherwork of the Greeks, which, in the form of armour, and called "*σκῆτος*," the Greek for leather, made its way into Latin, as "*scutum*," which means a shield. A number of nautical terms, likewise used by the Latins, had been borrowed from the Greeks.

As regards the Latin standard of measurement, whilst those of surface, according to Mommsen, survived the advent of the Hellenes into Italy, the measures of length, of weight, and above all, those of capacity were so influenced by the presence of the strangers, that as a consequence the old Roman foot was replaced by the Greek hand-breadths, and finger-digits. The Roman weights were brought into fixed proportional relation to the Attic system, and measures of capacity, both in their names and proportions, were remodelled after the patterns of the foreigners. Like their measures, which had begun an independent existence, but afterwards, under the transforming

power of the Hellenes, were recast, the Roman calendar was likewise amended.

And what is as important as the most important of the objects mentioned, as having been introduced among the Latins by the Greeks, is the alphabet. Nor was this all that the Greeks in the domain of letters did for the Latins, for by them Latin poetry was altered, Latin declensions fixed, Latin literature stimulated, Latin youth trained, and a literary pattern supplied. Continuing on the line of art, it may be also remarked that the early Hellenic influence in Latinum is further seen in the use of the seven-stringed lyre, in the identity of the chief Roman festival—the city festival—celebrated in honour of Capitoline Jupiter and his associate gods, with the national festival of the Greeks; the essential idea of likeness being, the combination of a religious solemnity with the competition in warlike sports. So that in music, gymnastic competition, and, according to Mommsen, poetry also, the Latins became possessed of those same elements out of which Hellenic culture grew.

Of Roman architectural art, we are told by Mommsen, to whose siftings and gleanings, so masterly in their thoroughness, we are already deeply obligated for facts relating to the Latins, that it began to be affected by the Greeks from the earliest times. "The very oldest architecture with which we are acquainted," this author states, "is not much less under the influence of that of Greece than the architecture of the Augustan age." Indeed, so deep down into the substance of Latin architecture did that of the Hellenes penetrate, that even its ancient tombs, "roofed over with covers of stone placed one above the other, gradually overlapping, and closed by a large stone cover," were modelled after the style of the Greeks. The work of imitation reaching so low down as that of the tombs, it will not be surprising to learn that ancient building, tunnels for purposes of draining, and ring-walls, all conformed to the Greek prototype. In the field of Latin jurisprudence the Hellenes found no room for making any additions; on the contrary, it is possible that they made useful excerpts therefrom.

In religion the Romans had a system of their own, and in it a large supply of divinities: they had their Jupiter and Juno, the abstractions of manhood and womanhood; Dea and Ceres were those in whom the creative power was symbolised; Minerva was the personification of memory. They had a divinity also for marriage, for birth, for fallowing, furrowing, harrowing; indeed,

every engagement and condition of life possessed its divinity. Yet the Romans were ever on the look-out for new gods, and the earliest importation of fresh blood among their deities—which, however, was the result of peaceful intercourse and not of predatory exploitation—was from the Greeks. Such were Apollo, Hercules, Castor, Pollux, which were the barbarous corruptions of the Doric Apellon, also of the Greek Heracles and Polydeukes. But it was with the Greek oracles that the innovation began. Such, then, are the facts justifying the statement that the Romans derived their civilisation from the Greeks.

Having now seen that it was the Greeks who laid the foundation upon which the genius of the Romans built the magnificent pile, referred to in my allusion to the second or manhood stage of their national life, the further interesting question arises, viz. : Since the Greeks were not the originators of the civilisation which they raised to that remarkable pitch of excellence to which it afterwards attained, then, by whom was the foundation of their civilisation laid? The answer to this question will be studied from three aspects. The southern corner of Europe, lying between the thirty-sixth and forty-fifth degrees of latitude, towards the north, adjoining Epirus and Macedonia, and surrounded on either side by the sea, was inhabited (according to Hellenic tradition) about eighteen centuries before the Christian era, by small tribes of hunters and shepherds, of whom the Pelasgi and Hellenes were the most numerous and the most powerful. Of these two tribes, which probably were both of Asiatic origin, the Pelasgi, who at first were the stronger, and who also were the first to emigrate into Greece, were ultimately almost wholly expelled from that country by the Hellenes. It is to the latter tribe, which, under the four divisions of Æolians, Ionians, Dorians, and Achæans, peopled Greece, that that pre-eminence in intellect which she afterwards gained, is due. The following remarks, therefore, will refer to the Hellenes. Our earliest acquaintance with the Hellenes reveals them as being in a state of perfect savagery. Hence, speaking of their early condition, Mitford says :—

“ If we may believe traditions very generally received in the polished age, the people of Attica were in knowledge of civilisation below the wildest savages discovered in modern times.”

Their country, though rough and tenanted by beasts of prey of which they were in constant fear, was endowed with a genial

climate and fertile soil, which brought to perfection the rich harvests of fruits entrusted to its care by nature. But while nature thus, by the example of peace and frugality, strove to direct their footsteps into similar paths, they, the inhabitants, restless, and struggling in the bonds of internecine conflicts, like the Bedouins of the desert, wandered incessantly in search of new seats. Ignorant of the most elementary and necessary arts, subsisting on roots and on the resources of the chase, not following the pursuits of either manufacture, commerce, or even agriculture, and dwelling in an indulgent and stimulating climate, their settlements soon became overpeopled. This congestion they relieved by the sending forth of colonies to places that were often remote. Hence from very early times it frequently occurred that there were peoples dwelling in Greece who could not be satisfactorily accounted for by even the most enlightened authors. These seemingly new peoples mixed with the older inhabitants; but at other times they expelled them. In the absence of agriculture, the valleys supported great herds of cattle, and being the territories that were most coveted, were constantly changing hands. Of the tribes expelled, some, wandering in quest of fresh abodes, would in their turn, provided they felt themselves equal to it, drive out from their settlements the inhabitants whose territories first seemed to them to be suitable for occupation. Others would take to the neighbouring mountains, whence they would harass the invaders till—as it not infrequently happened—they regained their possessions. But generally it seems that when pressed by a superior force the inhabitants quitted their settlements with light heart, “thinking,” if Thucydides is right, “that a livelihood might be gained anywhere, and anxious for nothing more; for being always uncertain when a more powerful clan might covet their territory, they had little encouragement to build, plant, or provide in any way further than for present need.”¹

Still another direction in which the Hellenic propensity for taking French-leave of their neighbours' property resulted in bloodshed, was the sea. The Phœnicians, by their industry, ingenuity, love of adventure, and of commerce, early explored the Mediterranean to its furthest coast, and even beyond. During these explorations, they discovered, in some of the islands of the Ægean and on its northern coast, gold and silver mines. The discovery led to their settling in several of the

¹ Mitford's *History of Greece*, by Devenport, vol. i. p. 12.

islands; and Thasos, whence an easy access to the most prosperous of the mines was afforded, became the seat of their principal factory. But upon the Greeks the effect of these industries was an incitement to piracy. In these ways, Greece in her earliest days was ever in a turmoil of marauding and piratical warfare.

And now comes the interesting point, that is, How was this course of strife, thriftlessness, and rapine, so resolutely pursued by the Greeks, changed? The answer is, that it was changed by the settlement of strangers among them. But what strangers? Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Phrygians. The time of the settlement of these strangers in Greece is believed to have been from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century, B.C. Regarding the Egyptians, it is believed that some unrecorded revolutions led to a large exodus, of which a certain portion settling on the island of Crete, civilised it. The fact that Greece also received accessions of these emigrants is supported by some of the best of ancient Greek traditions; and besides being in accord with these Greek traditions, it is also confirmed, according to Mitford, by such weighty authorities as Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus; with the further evidence of the popular poets Æschylus and Euripides. I have already alluded to the settling of the Phœnicians in Grecian territory. The presence of the Phrygians in Greece is said to have been due to the want of success of their leader, Pelos, son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, in a warlike expedition, and that being pressed, he in consequence quitted his native land at the head of his partisans, in the hope of finding better fortune in a strange country. Confirmed by Strabo and Pausanias, Polybius informs us that Pelos settled in Laconia, or Peloponnesus, which has borne his name, and that he was attended thither from Thessaly by a body of Archaïans. That the Phrygians were able to lift up the Greeks to a higher plane of existence appears evident from the fact that the western provinces of Asia Minor had advanced, prior to Greece, in the arts of civilisation. Besides, it is related by Thucydides, that while the Greeks were yet barbarians, and their country poor, Pelos, bringing with him treasures to an amount unknown before, quickly acquired an influence superior to that of any native. Cadmus, the leader of the Phœnicians, founded Thebes, in Bœotia, while Cecrops and Danaus, the leaders of the Egyptians, settled respectively in Athens and Argos. Thus, while the descendants of Deucalion, the original Hellenic

chieftain, ruled in Thessaly, Thebes, Athens, Argos, and Sparta, which in subsequent ages were the chief cities of Greece, were the dominions of foreign lines of princes.

The Phœnicians are said to have given the Greeks the alphabet, and to have taught them the use of metals; so that cattle, which as a medium of exchange had hitherto been the most convenient standard of value, gave way to the precious metals. The knowledge of commerce and of navigation is also believed to have been taught the Greeks by the Phœnicians. Cecrops, the Egyptian, prevailing on the wandering herdsmen, warriors, and hunters, to add to these pursuits that of husbandry, united them into villages of husbandmen. Knowledge of the cultivation and of the use of the olive, the preparation of cheese, the domestication of bees for their honey and wax, are said to have been brought from Egypt into Greece by Aristæmeus. Thucydides assures us that Attica, founded by Cecrops, was the province in Greece that was first settled, and that wherein the earliest progress towards civilisation was made.

RELIGION

Among the Greeks, Cecrops introduced marriage, law, government, and religion. In religion, according to Herodotus, the tenet of the immortality of the soul was borrowed by the Greeks from the Egyptians. Bearing on the subject of the origin of Greek civilisation, I have now shown the first point of view. What I shall call the second point of view, or the second point of contact of the Hellenes with civilisation, is not, as we have been noticing, Egyptian colonies settling in Greece, but Greek colonies settling in Egypt. Eliminating the legend that is incorporated with the narrative of this latter settlement, the facts appear to be, that after the death of Sethos, the Egyptian priest-king (see dynastic history of Egypt), Egypt was divided among twelve rulers, one of whom was Psammitichus. Deposed by the other eleven, Psammitichus, by the aid of Greek mercenaries whom he had called in, succeeded, not only in regaining his throne, but also in wresting from his former colleagues their dominions, which he united under his own sway.

It was in this manner and at this time that Egypt, which, until then, had been closed to the settlement in it of Greeks and other foreigners, became accessible to them. And as may be gathered from these remarks, the first Greek settlement in Egypt was that of the mercenaries. Their services having not

only restored to Psammitichus his portion of the dodecarchy, but made him sovereign of the whole of Egypt, were rewarded by gifts of land on the Pelusiac, or eastern branch of the Nile, a little below Bubastis. But to this political consequence there was soon added also that of commerce, for the settlement of Greek merchants in Egypt soon followed the settlement there of the military auxiliaries. Greek merchants being allowed to locate themselves on the right bank of the Kartopic Nile, founded there the town of Naucratis. This town for a long time enjoyed the monopoly of Grecian commerce with Egypt, no Greek merchant being permitted to discharge goods at any other port, or to enter into any of the mouths of the Nile, except the Kanôpic. These privileges to Greek merchants, begun by Psammitichus, were extended by a succeeding monarch, Amasis, whose philhellenic predilections were very pronounced. Thus, to those Greeks who did not care to dwell at Naucratis, and whose visits to Egypt were purely for purposes of trade, Amasis assigned districts in which they could rear to their divinities altars and temples. Of the temples, the Hellenium, jointly built by nine Greek states, was the most extensive and the most celebrated. The constitution for a formal and organised emporium, or factory, possessing commercial privileges, and armed with authority, which officers, regularly chosen, exercised, was also granted to the Greeks by this monarch. And Herodotus relates that after the destruction of the temple of Delphi by fire, a contract having been concluded with the Amphictyons to rebuild the temple for three hundred talents, the Delphians, who were to contribute a quarter of the amount, after soliciting subscriptions from various Greek towns, obtained in Egypt the largest donation, of which the share of Amasis was a thousand weight of alum, and of the Greeks dwelling in Egypt, twenty mines. Now, from the material or commercial contact of the Greeks with the higher civilisation of Egypt, we pass on to observe very briefly the effect that that contact produced upon their minds. In this matter we will allow Herodotus and Diodorus to speak for their countrymen. Speaking of Egypt, at the close of his remarks about the Nile, Herodotus says: "That country contains more wonders than any other country, and may vie with all other regions in the works it exhibits, admirable beyond the powers of description. . . ." Again: "The Egyptians themselves, those that dwell in the arable part of

the country, attend of all mankind the most to the memory of past events, and are by far the most erudite in history of all with whom I have ever had communication."

The last quotation that I shall here make from this author relates to the labyrinth in Egypt, of which he says:—

"I myself have seen the labyrinth, which is beyond the power of words to describe, for were one to sum up all the buildings of the Greeks and all the works they have performed they would manifestly be inferior in labour and costliness to this labyrinth, although the temples of Ephesus and that of Samos are no doubt deserving of admiration. The pyramids are indeed beyond description, and each of them separately may be regarded as vying with many of the great works of the Greeks put together; but the labyrinth exceeds even the pyramids."

Herodotus also describes the upper part of the labyrinth as "the mightiest of human works." He adds that he "has passed from the courts to the chambers, from the chambers to the vestibules, from the vestibules to other buildings, and from the chambers to other courts, beholding the ceiling and walls of all these chambers garnished with fretted work of stone, the walls also full of carved figures, each court built of stone, joined together with the utmost nicety, with a peristyle running round it," etc., and that beholding all these things "he was filled with infinite amazement."

To the same effect, Diodorus, after stating that the cost to the Egyptian parent to bring up a child to man's estate was only about twenty drachmas, and referring to the enormous population of Egypt as one of the results of this low cost of living, adds this as the other result, viz. that Egypt "excels all other places in magnificent structures." Relating to the question of the origin of Greek civilisation, this aspect of our review constitutes the second point of observation. We now pass to the third or last point.

The third point of our survey, concerning the origin of Greek civilisation, has reference to the visit made to Egypt by certain Greek philosophers. The circumstance which no doubt facilitated these visits, as well as that which made the establishment of trade relations between Greece and Egypt practicable, was in both cases the same, namely, the opening of the latter country to foreigners. So that the permission given to foreigners to settle in Egypt, and the founding of

Greco-Egyptian commerce, may be regarded as contemporaneous; both events transpired at about the seventh century B.C. But each event being in its nature distinct from the other, the one material, the other intellectual, and the effects of their operations being also distinct, I have preferred to treat them as two points of view. Thales, a native of Miletus in Asia Minor, was the first among Greek philosophers to visit Egypt. After completing his Egyptian studies, he settled in Ionia, and there imparted to his countrymen such knowledge as he had acquired abroad.

From the high level reached by the Egyptians in science and in art, as is shown in the historic sketch given of Egypt, under the heading of "Africa as seen in the Past" (p. 230), it would appear only natural that the Greeks for their first lessons in these higher branches of knowledge should have resorted to Egypt. Among most of our modern historians, the prevailing habit is either to deny, to ignore, or to depreciate the fact that the Greeks were thus obligated to the Egyptians. In this way, one author, inveighing against the assertion that the Greeks learned the science of astronomy from the Egyptians, remarks: "We may judge of the state of Egyptian astronomy from the circumstance of Thales having first taught them how to find the heights of the pyramids from the length of their shadows"; adding further on: "Thales is generally considered as the founder of astronomy among the Greeks." The knowledge of astronomy is certainly not bound up in that of being able to find the height of pyramids by means of their shadows; hence, although Thales may have taught the Egyptians this useful bit of mathematics, it does not follow that they did not lay the foundation of his astronomical knowledge. Harvey went to Padua to study anatomy under Fabricius Aquapendente, but the famous professor was ignorant of the circulation of the blood, so that the student, that is, Harvey, who afterwards discovered this important anatomical fact, was then in a position to instruct his teacher. Yet, does Aquapendente's ignorance of the circulation of the blood prove that he knew no anatomy, and that, therefore, Harvey derived from him no knowledge of that science? Another author has written:—

"There has been a great deal written about the science of the Chinese, Indians, and Egyptians, but I shall not tell you anything here about them, because their knowledge has had very little to do with the science which has come down to us."

“ Their knowledge has had very little to do with the science which has come down to us,” eh! Why, Egyptian civilisation is to modern civilisation what oxygen is to the air we breathe, it is its basis. Here is an example of this taken from the columns of a daily newspaper :—

“ The Egyptians . . . have been at their old tricks. One would have thought that the recent transference of a swing bridge on the Sackawanna Railroad at Newark, U.S.A., would have been effected by some modern method. This structure, consisting of a double-deck steel span, weighing about 1,700,000 lbs., was lifted to a height of twenty inches, transported for a distance of thirty-five feet, and finally lowered upon a new pier ten feet six inches lower than that on which it was formerly pivoted. This remarkable piece of engineering was performed by the aid of an enormous ‘ sand-box ’ plant. And now *The Builder* reminds us that the principle is really that employed in Egypt thousands of years ago. Until a few years ago no one could explain by what means the ancient Egyptians were able to deal with the heavy stone slabs covering the sarcophagi of their illustrious dead. It is now known that the sand-box, familiar to every bridge engineer, permitted the heaviest slab to be lowered into position with ease and safety.”

Upon the same subject, Burnet, in his *Origin and Progress of Language*, says :—

“ It is a fact, which I think likewise cannot be denied, that all religion and policy, arts and sciences, came originally from Egypt into the different parts of Europe, and they appear to me to have been conveyed and propagated in two several ways, and by two several nations; by the Phœnicians by sea, and the Pelasgi by land.”

And Blackwell, in his *Life of Homer*, has the following remarks :—

“ I shall soon have occasion,” he observes, “ to make a stricter inquiry into the origin both of the Grecian religion and learning. At present it is sufficient to say that they came from the great parent of sacred and civil institutions, the kingdom of Egypt. That wise people seem to have early observed the curbs of human passions, and the methods of governing a large society. They saw the general bent of mankind, *to admire what they do not understand*, and to stand in awe of unknown powers, which they fancy capable to do them great good or ill. They adapted their religious belief and solemn ceremonies to this disposition; made their rites mysterious, and delivered their allegorical doctrines under great ties of profound and pious secrecy.”

But evidently the two authors I have quoted before (p. 333), together with the large company they represent, are more Greek than the Greeks, for whereas they deny to Egyptian science a place in Greek science, and thereby a place in modern science, Herodotus, the Greek historian, with obvious concurrence states, concerning the science of astronomy, that he had been informed by the Egyptians that they were the first nation that invented the year, marking in it twelve divisions, at the end of which the seasons come round again, and that they asserted that they owe this invention to their knowledge of the stars. Then he adds this significant comment :—

“ They manage, in my opinion, more cleverly than the Greeks, inasmuch as the latter insert an intercalary month every third year on account of the seasons ; whereas the Egyptians, making all their months of thirty days, add to every five supernumerary days, so that with them the circle of the seasons always comes to the same.”

Further, while these historians and their clients deny that modern science owes any obligation to non-European races, particularly the African race, and while they thereby make Thales the father of geometrical science, Herodotus, the Greek, after relating the circumstances which he believed led to the discovery of geometry, adds this : “ Hence I think,” says he, “ that is how geometry took its origin, which has since passed over into Greece.” Diodorus Siculus, besides indicating in the first of the two following extracts the familiarity of the Egyptians with arithmetic and geometry, also their application of these sciences to land surveying and to astronomy, tells us in the second extract of the accounts given him by the Egyptians—accounts which they confirmed by showing him mementoes that the visitors had left behind—of the visits made to Egypt by certain Greek philosophers.

“ The priests,” observes Diodorus, “ instruct the youths in two sorts of learning ; that which they call sacred, and the other, which is more common and ordinary. In arithmetic and geometry they keep them a long time. For in regard the river every year changes the face of the soil, the neighbouring inhabitants are at great difference among themselves concerning the boundaries of their land, which cannot be easily known but by the help of geometry. And as for arithmetic, as it is useful upon other occasions, so it is very helpful to the study of geometry, and no small advantage to the students of astronomy ;

for the Egyptians . . . are very diligent observers of the course and motion of the stars, and preserve remarks of every one of them, for an incredible number of years, being used to this study, and to endeavour to outvie one another therein from the most ancient times. They have, with great cost and care, observed the motions of the planets. . . . Diodorus was informed, he tells us, that Lycurgus, Solon, and Plato borrowed from Egypt many of the laws which they established in their several commonwealths; and that Pythagoras learnt the mysterious and sacred expressions, the art of geometry, arithmetic, and transmigration of souls in Egypt." "They are of opinion," he continues, "that Democrates was five years in Egypt, and in that time much improved himself in the art of astrology. So they say that Cœnopides, by his familiar converse with the priests and astrologers, gained . . . especially the knowledge of the periodical motion of the sun, and came to know that his course is contrary to that of the stars. . . ." ¹

The spring of European art, no less than of European science, is Egypt, and not Greece. Thus the scarabæus beetle, for example, which was the model of the Etruscan lapidaries, and which was borrowed by them from the Greeks, had in the first place been borrowed by the Greeks from the Egyptians, by whom it was regarded as an emblem of fertility and of resurrection. Gems upon which the beetle was inscribed were used by the Egyptians as seals and amulets. Similarly the so-called porto-Doric columns of the Greeks are seen from those found at Beni-Hasan to have been in use among the Egyptians as early as the twelfth dynasty.

On this same subject of Egyptian art being the parent of Greek art Diodorus relates

"that they say" ² (that is, the Egyptians) "that the most famous of the Greek sculptors of ancient times lived amongst them for some time, as Telecles and Theodorus, the sons of Rhæcus, who made the statue of Apollo Pythius in Samos, for it is said that one half of this statue was made by Telecles in Samos, and the other part was finished by Theodorus in Ephesus, and that there was such an exact symmetry of parts that the whole seemed to be the work of one and the same hand. Which art they say the Grecians were not at all acquainted with, but that it was in frequent use among the Egyptians, for with them the exact cut of a statue is not judged only by the eye and fancy (as it is by the Greeks), but after that they have cut out the stone and wrought

¹ *Historical Library of Diodorus Siculus*, tr. by T. Booth. Book i. p. 42.

² *Ibid.* p. 51.

every part by itself then they measure the exact proportion of the whole from the least stone to the greatest, for they divide the whole body into one-and-twenty parts and one-fourth, which makes up the symmetry and entire proportion, upon which, after the workmen have agreed among themselves of the bigness of the statue, they go away, and every one of them carve their several parts so exactly according to their just proportions that the singular skill of these workmen is wonderful and amazing. And this statue of Apollo in Samos, which (according to the art and skill in Egypt) was cut in two from the head to the privities exactly in the middle, yet notwithstanding was equally proportioned in every part. And they say that it exactly resembles the statues in Egypt, having its hands stretched out and its thighs in a walking posture."

This, then, completes the three points of view from which the answer to the question has been derived as to the origin of the civilisation of the Greeks. From the first of these three points of vantage, we behold Greece, in the first instance, receiving at the hands of her foreign guests the rudiments of civilisation. Of these foreigners the largest donor is undoubtedly the Egyptian, for it is from Egypt that Greece obtains her knowledge of agriculture and of letters. I have already mentioned that the Greeks received the alphabet from the Phœnicians, but the Egyptians being the inventors of that most wonderful and useful symbol of speech, are primarily they from whom the Greeks received it.

Comparing the Hieratic and Phœnician characters, it is difficult to understand how anyone, who without prejudice has carefully studied them, could arrive at a conclusion other than that the Phœnician is an outgrowth of the Egyptian characters. But when the Hieroglyphic, Hieratic, and Phœnician characters are compared, the line of development from the first to the third becomes so strikingly obvious that the conclusion that the Egyptian alphabet was derived from the Phœnician, as some aver, instead of the Phœnician from the Egyptian, becomes altogether incomprehensible. To anyone desirous of pursuing the subject further, I would recommend the article on the alphabet, in the first volume of *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, p. 185. In addition to agriculture and letters, the Greeks in their first contact with the Egyptians obtained also from them certain social institutions.

From the second point of vantage we see Greece, now on the way of intellectual progress, again in contact with Egypt. The

meeting, which is of a political and commercial character, discloses three incidents. The import of the three incidents is the intellectual and material superiority of Egypt to Greece, also the readiness of the older country to help the younger. The incident showing the intellectual superiority of the Egyptians to the Greeks at this period, appears in the astonishment excited in the mind of the much-travelled and observant Greek historian Herodotus, not only by what he had heard in Egypt, but more especially by what he had seen there. The same is also true of Diodorus, who flourished three hundred years after the time of Herodotus.

Of the greater material prosperity of the Egyptians as compared with the Greeks, one glimpse is supplied us by the fact, that for the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi, the contribution collected in Egypt was more than that which was gathered in all the Grecian states, also by the commercial concessions which Egypt made to Greece. The readiness of the older state to help the younger, is seen by the contribution just now alluded to.

Third and lastly, the Greeks having mastered the alphabet of knowledge, which they had already obtained from the Egyptians and others, and now eager to acquaint themselves with the deeper secrets locked up in the volumes of nature lying about them, set out for Egypt in order to find the key. On this quest such philosophers as Thales, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, and Plato, undertook the journey. Obtaining, through the media of Egyptian science, art, and religion, the object of their visit, and fortified thereby, they returned home, entered the field of independent research, and reared therein the monument of their undying renown. Therefore, to the question, From whom did the Greeks obtain their civilisation? I reply, on the strength of the evidence thus adduced, that it was from the Egyptians.

XXVII

Lessons Taught by the two Types of Civilisation

AT the beginning of the previous chapter, I divided all civilisations into two great classes: those that are spontaneous, or that have been produced without models, and those that are imitative, or that have been produced from models. The earlier civilisations of Peru, China, and Egypt, have been cited in order to illustrate the first of these two classes. And in order to show that European civilisations belong not to the spontaneous, but to the imitative, or to the class derived from models, I have sketched the rise of the three ancient civilisations of Europe, viz. the Saracenic, Roman, and Grecian, from which modern European civilisation is derived. Now I wish to point out two or three inferences that are to be drawn from these two types of civilisation. But before proceeding to these inferences, I would ask leave to make a prior deduction from three of the members forming these two types of civilisation, in order to support further a principle referred to under the subject of "Prolificacy between Black and White," beginning at page 70, and enlarged upon indirectly, under the subject of "To what is Civilisation primarily Due?" beginning at page 283; the principle that concerning mankind, real or characteristic differences are to be found, not in races, but in communities or nations; for the differences between race and race are only apparent. The three members to which I allude, as those whose histories supply the deduction that I am about to make, are the Greeks, the Romans, and the Saracens. What is there in the histories of these three peoples that supports the principle just mentioned? The Greeks, so to speak, have been the instructors, as we have seen, of both the Romans and Saracens. The Romans were of the same race as the Greeks, whilst the Sara-

cens were Semitic. But although linked in the one case by the affinity of race, yet, which of these two peoples, trained by the same master—the Greeks—has in mental calibre borne the closer resemblance to its teacher? Certainly it is the Saracens, who in poetry, philosophy, science, and letters, revealed the Greek cast of intellect.

As another illustration of this same principle I may instance the Japanese nation. Everyone knows that the Japanese and Chinese are not only members of the same race, but members of the same stem of that race, yet I venture to say that hardly anyone would deny that in mental habit and general mode of procedure the Japanese resemble certain nations of the West, more closely than they resemble their kindred the Chinese. Similarly, the counterpart of Chinese character, as a whole, would be more readily discovered in Europe than in Japan. In the same way it may be stated that the homologues of certain African peoples are to be found among the peoples of Europe, Asia, or America, rather than on the African continent, and that the homologues of certain European peoples are to be found rather among the tribes or peoples of Asia, Africa, or America than among those of the kindred of their race.

Returning now to the subject of the two types of civilisation, we begin with the spontaneous. If not the chief characteristic, it is certainly true that one of the chief characteristics of the civilisations that have been indigenous or spontaneously derived is their great antiquity. Of the Egyptians, one high authority, as we saw in the chapter on Egypt, places the epoch of Menes—first king of Egypt—as that of over three thousand years B.C. According to another authority that epoch was over four thousand years, while a third places it at five thousand years B.C. Coming to China we find its history also stretching back to over two thousand years; and while in the case of Peru, the index of its antiquity cannot be set forth in the symbols of figures, yet certain products of its civilisation, such as the cultivation of plants and the domestication of animals, range towards a like high antiquity. The same antiquity, spreading beyond the bounds of two thousand years B.C., holds good with regard to the civilisations of Assyria, Media, Babylon, Phœnicia, Persia, Phrygia, and of India, also of the Canaanitish nations of Syria.

Some authorities, Vogt for example, hold that the entire human race, during its earliest history, was in a state of absolute

savagery, so that the nations of antiquity, as well as those of later periods, have climbed from that hideous depth to the pinnacle of progress to which they severally attained. But the gleams of light shed upon the subject by the Mosaic portraiture of the earliest condition of man upon the earth, as a community, appear to be more in accord with the state of the peoples who perfected these very early civilisations, than are the conceptions of Vogt and Menzies (p. 134 *et seq.*). Take the case of the Hindoos: there is evidence to show that when they arrived in India from their original home, probably north-western Asia, and at least two thousand years B.C., they were in a comparatively high state of culture. And most probably the same was also the condition in which all the other nations mentioned above, were at this time, and even earlier. So that if it be granted that before the tide of final separation set in, the bulk of the human race dwelt together, perhaps as scattered communities, but in the same territory, and was more or less in a comparatively high state of civilisation, we should conclude that the outcome of the final separation was that one section carried forward to perfection the work of progress commenced in the original home, while the other section lost practically all that appertained to that progress. The result was that while the one progressed to the higher stages of civilisation, the other retrogressed to the lower depths of savagery. Hence, when we consider how comparatively uniform is the date at which the one class perfected its civilisations, and that during the long intervals that intervened between the perfecting of these civilisations and the imparting of them by the civilised class to the lapsed class, none of the latter had by its own initiative taken any decided step towards civilised progress, the conclusions would seem to be (*a*) that peoples who by their inherent genius were to develop their civilisations, did so in the earliest times; (*b*) that like those of the lapsed class who have already been civilised, none of the peoples that are yet uncivilised will succeed in spontaneously evolving a civilisation, but that they will be civilised only by the introduction of civilisation amongst them, from without. This appears to me to be the first lesson to be drawn from the two types of civilisation.

We pass on to observe in the next place, that while in regard to time of development the spontaneous or original type of civilisation exhibits the striking characteristic of great regularity, the imitative or the type which was to develop from models, presents,

in regard to time of development, the equally striking characteristic of great irregularity. Thus, taking as an example the Indo-European family, while in conformity to what may be called the law of spontaneous evolution, the Hindoo branch of this family, in common with the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Mexicans, Peruvians, Chinese, etc., was probably in possession of a fully developed civilisation long before what is called historic times; the other members of this same family did not only develop their imitative civilisations at much later dates, but at irregular periods during those times. In this way the intellectual life of the Hindoo, as revealed in the Vedic hymns, was operating on the higher planes of knowledge more than 2,000 years B.C.—according to some authorities, 4,000 years; whereas, the visit of Thales, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, and other Greek philosophers to Egypt, did not begin until 640 B.C. Similarly, the maturity of Roman literature being taken as the time when the Roman nation reached the highest rung of its intellectual career, is to be put down at 240 B.C.

And, lastly, the manhood of modern European intellect, as shown in signs such as the withdrawal of politics from ecclesiastical control, the consolidating and individualising of states, great maritime discoveries, great extension of commerce, inauguration of the industrial age, power secured by the middle classes, development of European languages and literatures, and the more potent influence of Christianity in its ethical aspects, in the bringing about of reforms, and furnishing a motive-power to philanthropy, was reached in the fifteenth century (1450 A.D.). So that, as representing on the one side the nations who developed their civilisations contemporaneously or regularly, we have the first member of the Indo-European family developing its civilisation 1,360 years before the second—the Greeks; 1,760 years before the third—the Romans; and 3,450 years before the modern nations of Europe, whom I will call the fourth member, and who, on the other side, represent the peoples whose civilisations are developed irregularly. The disparity between these civilisations, in their time of development, is chiefly due, I think, to the fortuitous circumstances upon which the causes of these civilisations depended for their operations. Thus the cause of Greek civilisation, as we have seen, rested initially on the accidental settlement of civilised foreigners in Greece.

The civilisation of the Romans, being obtained mainly from

the Greeks, remotely depended upon the accidental settlement of these foreign colonies in Hellas, but proximately depended upon the accidental settlement of the Greeks in Italy; since the Greeks, for the pursuance of trade, the purpose for which they settled in Italy, might have found markets in other quarters, that were quite as remunerative as those they found in Italy. And the fortuitous circumstances which gave to modern European civilisation its incipient impulse, were such as that from which the evangelisation of Britain proceeded, viz. the accidental meeting of a slave boy—a native of Britain—by Gregory the Great, at Rome.

Now the facts that we have just been considering appear to me to warrant the following further deductions: (*a*) that if the Greeks, the Romans, and the modern nations of Europe had possessed the power of spontaneity like their Hindoo kindred, their civilisations would probably have been synchronous with those of the Assyrians, Mexicans, Egyptians, etc.; (*b*) that if at the time when the strangers settled among the Greeks, similar colonies had settled among the Romans, among the Celts, who probably were then inhabiting the other parts of Europe, and among the Teutonic tribes while dwelling in their earlier seats, modern European civilisation would, in all probability, have been contemporaneous with that of the Greeks; (*c*) conversely, if those foreigners had not settled in Greece, and Greece had been cut off from all foreign influence, the civilisations that it and Rome produced, would probably have been postponed until modern times; (*d*) added to the last contingency, if Christianity had remained exclusively in the East, Modern Europe would probably have been still in the hold of barbarism.

And from these four deductions, I would lay down two propositions, one of which includes my former conclusion made in this chapter, on page 341. (1) That the civilisation which for the early stages of its evolution depends upon the genius inherent in a people, is prehistoric. (2) That civilisation, which for its initial stage of growth depends upon a model, may be produced in any age. And now, as hitherto, we shall apply these two propositions to the case of the Ethiopian, which, at the present time, is the most backward of the races, and which, in consequence, I have selected, in order to test the validity of the term "inferior," etc., as applied to the coloured races. As would also be the case with the European nations, both past and

present, the first of these two last propositions excludes the Ethiopian from its scope. And in regard to the barbarous state of many of the tribes of the African continent, the second proposition recognises nothing that is either incongruous or extraordinary. For it realises that in common with the European these barbarous African tribes, being destitute of the power of spontaneity, and thereby dependent on models from which to produce a civilisation, come under its rule—a rule which declares that “a civilisation which, for the initial stage of its growth, depends upon a model, may be produced in any age,” and the proposition itself is established upon the rock of historic facts; for it is a fact that whereas the coloured branch of the Aryan race developed its civilisation at least 2,000 years before the Christian era, the largest division of the colourless branch—the Teutonic peoples—did not develop its civilisation until 3,450 years after.

I have said that the existence of this enormous gap between the two civilisations is on account of (*a*) the lack of the power of spontaneity, on the part of the colourless branch of the Aryan race, to produce an indigenous civilisation; (*b*) that it is on account of the fortuitous circumstances upon which imitative civilisation usually depends for the cause of its development; fortuitous circumstances which occur in any age. These two sets of conditions, of course, are equally applicable to African peoples, exclusive of the ancient Egyptians and ancient Ethiopian nations, which belong to the spontaneous class; consequently, if the development of civilisation by the colourless branch of the Aryan race 3,450 years after the coloured division of that race had founded its civilisation, can be regarded as neither incongruous nor extraordinary, then the development of civilisation by one branch of the Ethiopian race, 4,000 or 5,000 years after its production by another branch of the same race, viz. the Egyptians, cannot be regarded as either incongruous or extraordinary. Hence, the conclusion of those who profess to see, in the backwardness of many of the African peoples, an undeniable proof of their “inferiority,” is as historically false as it is politically mischievous, and scientifically absurd. Having noticed the lessons that are taught by the two types of civilisation, we proceed to inquire, in the next chapter, into the causes immediately concerned in producing civilisation.

In the chapter wherein the inquiry is made: “To what is

Civilisation primarily Due?" the answer is given that national endowment is the primary cause. But now I wish to inquire what are the factors which, rousing the national talent or endowment into activity, form the immediate or secondary cause or causes of civilisation.

XXVIII

The Immediate or Secondary Cause of Civilisation

THIS secondary or immediate cause of civilisation I believe to be made up of two elements—necessity, and the desire to emulate. In his work on *The Theory of the State*, Bluntschli remarks under the head of climate that—

“Long ago it was noticed that the hot tropical countries (up to $23^{\circ} 28'$) and polar zones (beyond $66^{\circ} 23'$) are less favourable to the development of states than the temperate zones which lie between them.”

This statement evidently takes Modern Europe as its criterion, for just preceding it, the same author having remarked that in the East the Romans were effeminate, continues, that the Germans on the African coast lost their vigour, and that in India the English easily become lazy and sensual. As long as we keep within the limits of modern times, the inference deduced from the European criterion, “that hot tropical countries and the cold polar zones are less favourable to the development of states than the temperate zones which lie between them,” appears to be perfectly justifiable; for are not all European states civilised? Norway and Sweden, Germany and Austria, Italy and France, Spain and Portugal, Holland, Switzerland, and Belgium, etc. Crossing over the Atlantic to the New World, the most vigorous civilisation that we meet with there, is found in Canada and in the great American Republic. Now these are not all civilised states, and are they not also almost wholly situated within the temperate zone? Further, with regard to the majority of the countries in tropical and subtropical lands that are being translated into civilised states, has not the dynamic power of their translation been exclu-

sively supplied by the modern civilisation of the temperate zone? Hence, as long as we keep to modern times, the statement “. . . that tropical countries . . . are less favourable to the development of states than the temperate zones,” appears to be well founded.

But when from modern, we revert to ancient times, the scene is completely changed, for we then discover, that the centres of civilisation are no longer confined to the temperate, but are also in tropical and subtropical zones. Commencing with the tropics, we have Peru, Central America, and Mexico.

In the earlier reference to Peru, I indicated the height to which culture in the New World, at a very early period, had risen. Here, let me also very briefly point out a few of the features of the ancient culture of Mexico. The general needs of man, in all climes and in all ages, as we have already had occasion to notice, are so identical, that in the past, even when isolated, he has been led to discoveries and inventions, which it is oftentimes difficult to imagine were not the outcome of intercourse. Yet these aboriginal American civilisations were each built, not of materials imported from without, but of materials native to the soil.

The Mexican monarch wore a crown resplendent with gems; he discharged the duties of his high office with the aid of a Privy Council, and his great lords, who, in fief, held lands from him, discharged their fealty by rendering to him military service. The judges held office independently of the ruler, and were not subject to removal by him. The laws reduced to writing by means of their alphabet—one of the five original systems of ideographic writing—answered their purpose so well, that in the courts the Spaniards were obliged to admit their validity, and to found a professorship for their inculcation. Divorce was obtained only with difficulty. Slavery was confined to prisoners of war, debtors, and criminals; but no man in Mexico could be born a slave. The distinction of caste was unknown. Official and public news were published throughout the empire by a well-organised service of couriers. These were able to cover two hundred miles in a day. The profession of arms was the business of the nobles, and the maintenance of military establishments, whether in the field, or in garrisoned towns, was derived from taxes imposed on produce, or manufacture. The Mexican army was divided into corps, each of ten thousand men, and the corps was divided into regiments of four hundred.

The army had its standards and banners, performed its evolutions to the sound of music, and was provided with hospitals and a military staff.

The religion of the Mexicans found its counterpart in the religious systems of Europe, Asia, and Africa (Egypt and Ethiopia), its observance being attended with gorgeous ceremonies. Thus the religion of the common people was polytheism, and that of the upper classes monotheism. Of the former the chief divinity was that of war; it was believed to be of virgin birth, and to have been mysteriously conceived of a ball of bright colourless feathers floating in the air. The upper classes acknowledged one Almighty and Invisible Creator. Infants were baptised by priests, in order that their sins might be washed away. A paradise for the good, and a hell of darkness for the wicked, were the rewards taught concerning the future state. The priesthood, which descended from the chief-priests, was very powerful, wielding an authority that was only next to that of the sovereign. Thus, in the eye of the law, absolution by a priest was an acquittal for civil offence. In their monastic institutions the inmates prayed thrice in the day. The clergy were permitted to marry.

The Mexicans wrote on cotton cloth, skins, or the papyrus, obtained from aloes. At the conquest by the Spaniards, immense stores of this kind of literature were found; but by the order of the Archbishop of Mexico, a mountain of such manuscripts, which the zealous but bigoted prelate designated as magic scrolls, having been collected, was burnt in the marketplace. By their attainment in astronomy, the Mexicans divided the year into eighteen months, each month into twenty days: five complementary days were added to make up the three hundred and sixty-five. The month had four weeks, the week five days; the additional six hours of the year were provided for, by the intercalating of twelve and a half days in every fifty-two years.

It is said that at the conquest, the Mexican calendar rested on a basis that was distinctly more scientific than the Spanish calendar of that period. The day had sixteen hours, for which a sundial was in use. For determining the equinoxes and solstices, they possessed other instruments. The globular form of the earth, also its obliquity and eclipse, had been ascertained. Their agriculture was in advance of that of Europe; nor was there anything in the Old World comparable with the men-

ageries and botanical gardens of Huaxtepec, Chapultepec, Ixtapalapan, and Tezcucó. With considerable skill also, the more delicate of the mechanical arts, such as jewellery and enamelling, were practised. From the aloe the Mexicans manufactured pins, needles, thread, cord, paper, and also obtained food, as well as an intoxicating drink. They fashioned earthenware, knew and practised the art of wood-varnishing, and used cochineal as a scarlet dye. In the weaving of fine cloth they were likewise skilful, and excelled in the production of feather-work, for which the plumage of their rich humming-bird furnished the material. In the science of metallurgy they were behind the Old World, for they were unacquainted with the use of iron; but when the Old World had no knowledge of the use of bronze, that alloy was in use among the Mexicans. They understood the art of transporting huge masses of rock; in this way the great calendar-stone of porphyry, weighing more than fifty tons, was borne over a distance of many miles. Their trade was followed, not in shops, but in market-places or fairs held on the fifth day of the week. Their currency consisted of gold dust, pieces of tin, and bags of cocoa.

In their social relations polygamy was practised, but the custom was confined to the rich. Exempted from laborious toil, women found their sphere in spinning, embroidering, and music. Ablution was performed before and after meals, and perfumes had a place in the toilet. It was the Mexicans who taught Europe the use of tobacco, cochineal, chocolate, and snuff; and from them it obtained also the turkey. Like other civilised communities, they served up at their meals and entertainments solid dishes with condiments, gravies, and sauces. They had their chafing-dishes of silver and gold, knew the use of intoxicants, frequently drank to excess, and heightened the pleasures of their festivities with music and dancing. They also indulged in such diversions as theatrical and pantomimic performances.

Tezcucó, the city in North America where spontaneous culture reached the empyrean of progress, possessed its council of music, which, moreover, exercised censorship over works of philosophy, astronomy, and history. The king's palace is represented as being a wonderful work of art; and two hundred thousand men are said to have been engaged in its construction. Exquisite tapestries of feather-work adorned its harem, and a garden ornamented with fountains, cascades, baths, statues, alabasters,

cedar groves, forests, and a wilderness of flowers, completed its magnificence. In the repose of seclusion, stands a temple in one part of the city, its dome of polished black marble studded with stars of gold, in imitation of the sky, dedicated to the omnipotent and invisible God. The offerings in this sacred edifice consisted not of sacrifice, but of sweet-scented flowers and gums.

One of the many Mexican monarchs, who prided themselves on their poetic achievements, thus expressed the prevailing sentiment: "Let us aspire to that heaven where all is eternal and where corruption never comes." This monarch is said to have taught his children not to confide in idols, but to conform to the outward observance paid to them, only in deference to public opinion.

Such, then, was the height of culture, which, unaided, the inhabitants of tropical America worked out. No one, unprejudiced, will, I assume, deny, that at the high level of general progress shown in this brief sketch, the Mexicans, no less than other nations of ancient and modern times, to whom the term civilised is constantly applied, are entitled to be considered as civilised. And the civilisations of Peru and of Central America being in quality equal to that of Mexico, I therefore describe these ancient nations of the tropics as civilised.

Now from the ancient civilised lands situated entirely within the tropics, we pass to those that are subtropical, or that are both within the tropics and temperate zones. These are India, Nubia, Egypt, and China. Third and lastly, concerning the ancient civilised regions that are not subtropical, but that are situated in the hottest part of the temperate zone—that is, in the south—we have Babylon, Assyria, Persia, Media, Phrygia, Phœnicia, etc.; and whilst these civilisations for centuries or millenniums remained in tropical, subtropical, and in the southern temperate regions, the northern part of Europe, of Asia, and of America remained intellectually in the abyss of midnight. Hence, whereas with regard to modern times the statement that "hot tropical countries and polar zones are less favourable to the development of states than the temperate zones which lie between them" is so far correct, as regards ancient times, the opposite statement, that regions situated in the northern temperate zone are less favourable to the development of states than those that are in the south temperate, subtropical, and tropical zones, would also be correct. Therefore

this statement, that "hot tropical countries and polar zones are less favourable to the development of states than the temperate zones," etc., is really of no value; for while the fact is that in the present epoch, the dominating centres of civilisation are in the north, it remains equally true, that in past epochs the dominating centres of civilisation were in the south—that is, in tropical as well as in subtropical and south temperate lands. Thus the statement is disproved by the civilisations of the past. And further, these facts, by which we see civilisation, in the past cycle of ages, confined to the south, and in the present cycle, confined to the north, confirm my contention, that climate or latitude is not a primary cause of civilisation. Nay, I go still further, and I allege that climate is not at all a cause, but a condition of civilisation. In civilisation, climate occupies the place which in agriculture, soil occupies. Given the primary cause, national talent or endowment, the province of climate, as I believe, lies chiefly in the production of food for the inhabitants or in the production of materials in exchange for which food is procured. And the unfavourable climatic condition for the production of food, or the means for procuring abundant food-supply, is probably the main reason why it is, that although civilisations have been evolved in tropical, subtropical, and temperate zones, none have been produced in the arctic circles. But the truth being now, I believe, established that the torrid, like the temperate zone, is the home of civilisation, the argument that tropical Africa, on account of the heat of its climate, is not amenable to civilisation, is thereby falsified.

The way is now open for us to pursue the subject that we set out to discuss, viz. the immediate or secondary causes of civilisation. The immediate or secondary causes of civilisation are, in my judgment, as I have before stated, necessity and the desire to emulate. Necessity is called, and rightly called, the mother of invention. For it is a fact, that from the time of man's appearance upon the earth, to the time of his migration over it, and onwards, the demands made upon him by this exacting and insatiable mother have been so constant and urgent, that his energies have been invariably taxed to their utmost extent. But inasmuch as, to most of her children, the power of response was restricted, few communities only could at the outset, in any high degree, comply with her demands. These few responsive communities, constituting that class which we have already noticed, as the producers of original or spontaneous culture, have,

by means of their inherent power of spontaneity, through necessity, risen step by step till they reached those sublime heights of achievement that have won the admiration and gratitude of a thoughtful and unbiassed posterity. The many, who constitute the other class alluded to under the title of imitative civilisation, could but feebly respond to the calls of necessity ; hence, instead of those interpretations of, and familiarity with, the workings of natural laws, that disclose themselves in the highly organised systems of the former class, in its political institutions, its agricultural department, with its mode of irrigation and use of the plough, its knowledge of weaving and of dyeing, its knowledge of the use of metal, its magnificent architecture, its literature, sculpture, painting, music, and religion—instead of such developments as are produced by the spontaneous class, we have, in this second or imitative class, the rough thatched hut of straw, and the rudimentary knowledge, if knowledge at all, of agriculture, the clothing with skins, or clothing with a garment woven from grass. Politically, with this class, the patriarchal system of government prevails ; it is without knowledge of letters, without knowledge of the metals, or next to none, and society at large is disorganised, rude, and uncouth. Thus we have the two classes ; the one which, by means of its power of spontaneity responding to the calls of necessity, rises to great heights of progress ; the other, destitute of originative power, responds only in the rudimentary stages of knowledge and of art.

Now, at the starting-point of their culture, a striking difference between these two classes is the complacency of the one, and the activity of the other. The first class, or the communities with the gift of spontaneity, such as the Egyptians, Mexicans, and Phœnicians, at the appeal of necessity, commenced the work of developing their social, political, industrial, and commercial institutions, rising from one degree of proficiency to another, and occupying in the process probably many centuries, if not millenniums, till at length each attains the altitude compatible with its capacity. On the other hand, the imitative class, such as the Greeks, the Romans, the Teutonic, Celtic, and African tribes, after a feeble response to the summonses of necessity, remained inert and unprogressive, and, but for the fortuitous circumstances noticed before, they all, unto this day, might have remained in the primitive state of savagery, wherein they had been in bonds. But, as we have previously observed, individuals and colonies, from among the first, or civilised class, led at long and irregular

intervals by the caprice of circumstances, settled in one of the communities of the second, or barbarous class, and imparted to it their cultures. This community now begins to work out on various lines, the knowledge it has thus acquired; adding here, modifying there, perhaps, suppressing elsewhere, but everywhere conferring upon its work the impress of its own genius. Elaborating in this way the civilisation imparted to it, this community, now civilised, next passes on to another community the results of its labours; this next community also elaborates and passes on; the next recipient does the same; and so on, and so on. Thus did the colonies, which settled in Greece, impart their civilisations to the Greeks; thus did the Greeks, elaborating those civilisations, pass the sum of it to the Romans; thus did the Romans to Modern Europe; and thus is Modern Europe returning to the coloured races the civilisation they had originally given to it. But concerning two statements that I have made in the last paragraph, let me ask a question. The statements are: First, that with regard to the dwarfish or abortive civilisations produced during many ages by the imitative class of mankind, in response to the demands of necessity, all its members lived in utter complacency. Second, that after those of this class who, as a result of the civilisation communicated to them from without, had themselves become civilised, they are found absorbed, each in the most strenuous endeavour to elaborate the civilisation thus received; each excelling in particular features connected with the elaboration.

And now comes the question. If the Greeks, Romans, Celts, and Teutons of ancient times, as the Africans of modern times, had been perfectly satisfied, as indeed they were, with their barbarous modes of existence, with their thatched huts, their garments of skins, or grass cloth, and with eking out a precarious subsistence from roots, the chase, and plunder, what great motive-power impelled them afterwards to exchange their former uncertain—but then, according to their tastes free and enjoyable—life for the strain and stress of civilised existence? The answer to this question has already appeared at the beginning of this chapter: it was, the desire to emulate, to be like other people. This was the wedge that divided the past from the future, of the formerly uncivilised and subsequently civilised peoples. When the Egyptians appeared among the Greeks, or the Greeks among the Romans, or the Romans among the Celts and Teutons, or when the Anglo-Saxons

appear among the untutored Africans, the native in each case has been, and is, invariably impressed with the superior knowledge, wealth, and power of the strangers. He perceives the marks of superiority in the size and style of the stranger's house, and its appointment, in the stranger's dress, his knowledge of letters, his merchandise, galleys, or men-of-war, legions or battalions, etc., and for the first time becomes conscious of his own poverty, his own ignorance, his own impotence. The third mental act is the question, whether he himself cannot rise to a height corresponding to that which the stranger occupies. He settles in his mind that he can, but perceives that it can be done only by revolutionising his former mode of life, and by submitting himself to arduous and incessant toil. And so completely is he dominated by the desire to emulate the stranger, that laying aside all those traditions and customs of his ancestors, that would hinder or hamper his progress towards the cherished goal, he, in the fourth mental act, definitely abandons himself to the new régime. Thus, savagery in this sense may be regarded as the smaller form of human existence, and civilisation the larger form, or the existence of increased responsibility. The motive-power that prompts the savage to pass from the one to the other, is, as we have already observed, the desire to be like some other person or persons, whom he sees occupying the larger sphere, and who become his model. The means he employs to reach that larger arena, and when there to abide, is, the sustained habit of industry.

XXIX

The British Empire and Coloured Labour

NOW in relation to the two spheres of human activity, of which we have spoken in the preceding chapter, viz. civilisation and barbarism, together with the propulsive force, emulation, by which transference from the smaller to the larger of these two spheres is accomplished, I desire to make some remarks in this chapter, upon Negro labour in the British Empire. In pursuance of these remarks, I would notice at the outset, that inasmuch as some of these people, from a desire to emulate, have, by means of sustained industry and its results, the acquisition of property, education, and other accomplishments, qualified, and are qualifying, themselves for the larger sphere, or larger responsibility, the entire division ought to be considered as consisting of two distinct classes—civilised and uncivilised—occupying separate and precise spheres. Hence the practice of referring to, and of treating, Ethiopian communities—British, American, and others—as though they all belong to the uncivilised class is arbitrary and unjust.

Having called attention to this very important consideration, respecting the civilised and uncivilised classes of which the Ethiopian race is comprised, I proceed to remark upon the latter, or the class filling the smaller sphere of responsibility. In doing so, I begin with the simple proposition, that the members of every community are, directly or indirectly, responsible for its well-being. That, therefore, in every community, if, in addition to the class representing the larger responsibility, there be also that of more primitive habits, usually called uncivilised, the latter, as well as the former, must be held responsible for the welfare of the state. In such a community, one of the most convenient modes, whereby the active, as distinguished from the passive obligations of its mem-

bers would be discharged, would be taxation. But the taxes which the two portions of the community should thus render the state, ought, as it seems to me, to be regulated by the three following principles: (1) That such taxes should be for the requirements of the state; that is to say, they should be for the good of the two classes composing the state, and not primarily or exclusively for promoting the welfare of one of the classes as against that of the other. (2) That owing to the smaller capacity of the uncivilised section, for absorbing those benefits which the state may offer to its citizens at large, the burden of public responsibility which this section should bear, should in consequence be less than that borne by the civilised section. (3) That as long as in its smaller sphere of activity, the less civilised class does not infringe upon the rights of the other class, or upon the rights of the state, it should not be coerced by the state, or by the members of the other class, through the state, into passing from its smaller sphere of activity to the larger sphere. I apprehend that no fair-minded person will call in question the reasonableness of these propositions. One of the several problems that the recent war in South Africa has brought in its train, is the supply of native labour for the mining industry of the Transvaal. Public opinion has been much divided on the subject, but the members of the mining interest have represented that by many thousands, the demand for native labour is in excess of the supply. Proposals, such as the employment of white labour, the importation of Asiatics, and the enactment of coercive legislative measures for compelling the natives to work, have each had their advocates; and those of the two last of these proposals have prevailed.

Leaving for the present the subject of the importing of Asiatic labour, I would remark that the other highly significant act connected with this matter, has been that of the Pretoria Government in passing an ordinance which, amending the native law of taxation, has imposed upon each adult male a capitation tax of two pounds, and, one wife excepted, a further tax of two pounds for each additional wife that he may have. Those exempted from this tax are natives who are outside the jurisdiction of native law, or who, by means of age or chronic bodily ailments, are incapacitated for work. In a speech delivered in the House of Commons in August, 1901, Mr. Chamberlain, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, after assuring the House that "the Government intended to secure for the natives just treatment,"

proceeded to advocate the imposition of a tax upon this class of persons, in the following terms:—

“He believed,” he said, “it was a good thing for the native to be industrious, and that we should, by every legitimate means in our power, teach him to earn. Sir Harry Johnston, whom no one would accuse of cruelty to the natives, in an article the other day, wrote to the effect that if the native of Africa could not be persuaded to till and work his dirty continent and clear it from the weeds which grow up there, there was nothing for it but his extinction or his return to the servitude from which he had emerged. He thought it was very wise. Therefore, in the interest of the natives, they ought to teach them to work. If by indirect taxation they could persuade the native to take to industry, we should be doing one of the best things for the natives as well as for ourselves. He was profoundly sensible of the gravity of the problem, and did not believe there would be any difficulty in establishing a system to which no humane man could take exception, but which would secure opportunities to the labourers to earn fair and even handsome wages.”

Sir Harry Johnston, whose administrative, literary, scientific, and artistic achievements have raised him to that place of popular favour which he so deservedly enjoys, began his brilliant public career in Africa. To him, therefore, Africa has been a land of good fortune. Sir Harry Johnston was Vice-Consul in West Africa when I first met him. His courtesy and consideration had won for him the respect and esteem of the people among whom he had sojourned there; and the success of his administration in West Africa—a success founded largely upon the just recognition of the rights of the natives—led me, after his transference to East Africa, to watch, with lively and appreciative interest, the humanity, energy, and sagacity that seemed there to mark the discharge of his difficult and somewhat delicate duties. It was with pain, therefore, if not with disappointment, that I learned, that the land which conceived, gave birth to, and matured his fame, Sir Harry Johnston can now designate by no worthier epithet than that of a “dirty continent.”

Mr. Chamberlain, we are told, expressed his hearty concurrence with this designation. The right hon. gentleman is represented as one who never wastes his words, but I venture to affirm, that that representation is not absolutely correct, for in the declaration that he endorsed this expression

of Sir Harry Johnston's he is guilty of that rhetorical offence called redundancy; for who having the slightest acquaintance with the right hon. gentleman's mode of speech, whether it be in Parliament or out of Parliament, would believe for a single moment, that he would have disapproved of the epithet "dirty continent" as applied to Africa, and perhaps to anywhere else not inhabited by the Anglo-Saxon? When from the floor of the British House of Commons, a member of Parliament asserts that "the Negro is a useless article," and when the chief minister of one of the great departments of State publicly declares his satisfaction that a portion of His Majesty's dominions is described as "dirty" because it is inhabited by black men, although highly regrettable, it is not a cause for wonder, that subordinate public servants should be found pandering, even against their better judgment, to this form of taste.

The Johnstonian prediction, that as the retribution of their "indolence" the calamity of extinction will overtake the people of Africa, Mr. Chamberlain also characterises as being "very wise"; but I presume to add, that there are some people to whom this prophetic utterance will appear as the reverse of being "very wise." For they will say this: "Seeing that the present natural conditions in Africa are the same as in the past, and that the amount of labour now engaged in by the natives there is also the same as in the past; if under these same conditions they escaped extinction in the past, why should they not escape it in the future?" The white man is the sworn enemy of dirt, at least, so he says; hence as an outcome of his intense abhorrence of everything that savours of defilement, he denounces Africa as a "dirty continent." Yet rumour has it, that not only does the white man sojourn in the very heart of this "dirty continent," but that he is so thoroughly dissatisfied with the slowness of his progress to the centre of dirt, that lately he has actually expended millions of pounds in the construction of a railway, to expedite his journeyings thither. I am unable to account for this anomaly, except on the thesis, that gold is hidden in the heart of the "dirty continent," for who does not know that the white man cherishes for gold an inordinate love? But why was the late Secretary of State for the Colonies so solicitous that the native should work?—for with the monotony of this ever-recurring monologue his speeches ring. Why should he represent the alleged indolence of the native as a "problem" of whose "gravity he was profoundly sensible"? Does the

native not really work? If he does not work, then how does he live? It has certainly never been reported that the natives of South Africa are dying of starvation, or that, as a result of the poverty to which they have been reduced by their indolence, the Government has been forced into establishing relief works. On the contrary, I hear of natives going off to cultivate their farms; I hear also that some of these natives own immense herds of cattle. Can the ownership of cattle and of farms have been obtained without labour? The fact that although the native supports himself solely by his own exertions, yet Mr. Chamberlain, with bitter lamentations, bewails the indolence of the native, and in his desperate search for a pretext with which to lure the popular will into sanctioning the forcing of the natives into the mines, has been *driven* into declaring a crusade against *polygamy*, suggests that the right hon. gentleman had once more fallen under the spell of the hypnotist.

However, leaving for the time being this suggestion, we will proceed on the assumption, that in his lamentations, the late Secretary of State for the Colonies was genuinely concerned that the native should undertake the larger responsibility of the community in which he lives, or, in other words, that the native should adopt the white man's standard of labour. There are two reasons, it seems to me, why the native—that is, the uncivilised native, for I am still speaking of this class—does not work as the white man. Of course, it is not to be imagined that all white men are industrious, for, despite his unwearied repetition of catch-phrases such as “the dignity of labour” and “the gospel of work,” it is probably true that the majority of white men are naturally lazy. As showing that all kinds of work are not really regarded by the white man in the manner that he professes to regard them, viz. as dignified, and also that work in general is not received by him as a “gospel,” I quote the three following instances. The first, as will be seen, transpired at the Antipodes, and is as follows:—

“The necessity for employing black labour on the Queensland sugar plantations is shown by the following incident. A sugar contractor, who arrived recently at Cairns with white labour to feed the cane carriers, relinquished his contract after a few weeks' trial. His men struck, saying that the work is not fit for white people, though there were nineteen employed for the same work which fifteen Hindoos had accomplished.”

Concerning the second, which relates to South Africa, we read :—

“The proposal to utilise the Boer refugees as labourers has been favourably entertained, but difficulty is anticipated in getting them accustomed to work regularly. As a recent typical instance will show, four starving Dutchmen asked for charity from a philanthropic resident, who offered them a job at gardening, promising to pay each of them five shillings a day. On the first day he found the four Boers smoking under a hedge. They had hired two Kaffirs at half a crown a day to do the work for them.”

The third example, which was reported on May 12th, 1904, is to this effect :—

“A man sentenced at Marylebone” (London) “a few days ago to three months’ hard labour for begging, admitted, that the only work he had done in the last twenty-five years was three days’ board-carrying.”

These three instances furnish a true index of the attitude of the white man towards work, both as regards its “dignity” and as an “evangel.” To him work assumes the aspect of “dignity,” or “good-tiding,” only when it is being performed by the coloured man, so that when he works with his own hands, the cause is neither the “dignity” nor the “evangelism” of work, but rather the impetus of an inflexible and inexorable necessity. Speaking in the House of Commons in July, 1902, of the effort that was being made to increase white labour, of the employment of which in the mines in South Africa he had expressed his cordial approval, Mr. Chamberlain said this :—

“It has been in the prejudice which invariably springs up when a white race is brought into close contact with a coloured race, and when it is considered, therefore, a degradation for a white man to do the labour which a black man is performing.”

But if work were really believed by the white man to be “dignified,” how could it become to him a degradation simply because it is being done by a black man? Why does not the white race, on the same ground, give up the pursuit of knowledge? Why does not the white man give up eating and all other acts which the black man shares with him? The “natural” dislike he professes to entertain towards work that is being done by black men, would be worthy of credence, if, on the ground,

that knowledge and wealth, for example, were being pursued by black men, and that, therefore, it was a degradation for him or his to continue their pursuit, it were seen that white men were abandoning those fields, and that they were also declining to allow their children to enter them. But perceiving that this is not the case, and that it is the coarse forms of work only that are singled out for this exceptional treatment, I find myself drawn to the conclusion, that the real cause of the white man's revolt against this class of work is his innate dislike of work in general ; that being compelled to do work of some sort, and finding himself in a place where he can get the black man to do for him the kind of work that he most abhors, he professes that because that class of work is being done by black hands, he regards it as degrading.

But let us return to the subject of the tax imposed upon the native of the Transvaal. In order that we may the more clearly discern its significance, we shall take a glance at one of the centres in which, for some years, a similar tax has operated. That centre is Cape Colony. In 1894 the Legislature of Cape Colony promulgated a statute known as the "Glen Grey Act." The object of the Glen Grey Act, as the following excerpt from a speech made at Cape Town in 1894 by the late Mr. Rhodes, the chief engineer of the Act, demonstrates, was to force the native into the Kimberley mines. In the speech referred to, the late astute financier is reported as saying :—

"We have all got to think over the proposition why the English labourer works at the rate of twelve shillings a week, why the Indian works at twopence a day, and why we pay, including food, four pounds a month. . . . And if you ask me for a big foreign policy, it is the question whether we can bring the natives to understand the dignity of labour, and whether we can make arrangements with neighbouring states to co-operate in bringing that about."

And the manipulations by which the Glen Grey Act "brought this about," or forced the natives into the mines, are after this manner. The aborigines in the Glen Grey and certain other districts of Cape Colony had held their lands on the communal system ; thereby, each tribe was practically able to live within itself. By vesting these districts in the Government, the Act now proclaimed made it penal for any natives to occupy land hereafter, in any of them, without the sanction of the Government.

Further, the Act splits up into allotments the districts thus proscribed; these allotments, it makes available to the natives, on payment of surveyors' fees, on payment also of a sum for quit-rent-title, amounting to between four and five pounds. In addition to the fees named, each allotment-holder has to pay an annual quit-rent of fifteen shillings, and a rate-tax of five shillings. Now, the chief sources whence the money for paying these fees, taxes, etc., is to be obtained are the Kimberley mines and individual white employers. Hence the native, in order to find the money for his taxes, is driven chiefly to the mines, where labour is most in demand. But the surveyors' fees, fee for title, annual quit-rent, and rate-tax, etc., are not all that are embraced in the labour-tax of the Glen Grey Act, for upon all able-bodied men, who are not holders of allotments, an annual tax of ten shillings, besides a rate-tax of five shillings, is also imposed. If the non-allotment-holder is able to show a certificate of having worked for three months, preceding the time that his labour-tax is due, he is exempted for that year from the tax, but failing this certificate, and in default of payment of the tax, should his effects after distraint be insufficient for furnishing the amount required for the tax, he suffers imprisonment, which, on a second conviction, is twelve months, with hard labour. But the allotment-holder, who has now to rent the land that he formerly owned, and the non-allotment-holder, who are taxed that they may know the "dignity of labour," and the privilege of working for the capitalist, we will now accompany to the Kimberley mines. Prospectively holding out to them the tempting wage of twopence per day, the Glen Grey Act, now that they have arrived, leads these natives into its spacious prison called the "compound." I think it proper thus to designate this establishment, for the native on passing within its gates is under lock and key; by no pretext whatever may he leave its grim enclosure. And here are a few sidelights concerning the life led by the native in the compound. They are taken for the most part from the report of the Registrar of Native Affairs, issued in 1899.

" . . . The compound manager," we read, "is a perfectly indifferent individual, and does not appear to trouble himself about natives in the compound . . . he is not in touch with them, does not give them the opportunity of airing their grievances to him, and appears not to care a fig what happens." As a result of this disposition of the compound manager, we have

the further statement: "Many and constant complaints are made by the natives of the rough usage they are subjected to by guards when rousing them to work in the mornings. Sticks and boots are brought into action." Further: ". . . There is much complaining about being compelled to go to work in the face of their declaration that they are not well enough." ". . . it is admitted that there is much shamming, but it is not all shamming, and as it is generally on the certificate of the doctor that they are permitted to remain from work, it is to be feared that many have to work who are unfit." "Again, large numbers of natives are to be found lying about the compound suffering from various complaints and injuries, very often from two to three weeks at a time, some of them bearing evidence of being seriously ill. . . . At a meeting recently held of the Kimberley Hospital Board the medical officer reported that the natives were sent to the hospital as late as six or seven days after they became ill." Concerning wages: "I regret to say that the natives working in some mines are not treated as well as they might be, not that there are many complaints of cruelty or violent treatment, but great dissatisfaction is apparent and declared on account of the non-payment of wages. I have had several cases brought to my notice during the past year of most glaring injustice with respect to the natives' wages, and this in the case of large gangs of labourers; and it is no wonder that for these mines there is such shortness of labour."

On the subject of intoxicants, Mr. J. A. Hobson, in his book *War in South Africa*, quotes from the Cape Blue Book Mr. Scully, the resident magistrate, of Nquamakwe district, as saying:—

"On the one hand, we are able to record a satisfactory advance in the direction of education and church building; on the other a deplorable demoralisation on the part of the young men who go out to work in large numbers and return from the mines brutish in their knowledge."

Mr. Hobson also observes that upon the natives, the effects of sexual vice are even worse than those of strong drink, supporting the observation with this further remark: "Many cases of syphilis are introduced from Johannesburg and Kimberley." Thus the land, formerly his own, is taken from the native and then rented to him; failing the rent and taxes, or the fees connected with this rented land, his goods and chattels are seized and sold. Should these prove insufficient for recovering the amount, he himself is taken and

thrown into prison. For the purpose of securing the amount, should the native elect to work in the mines, he must surrender his liberty. In addition to that surrender, he is liable to be flogged, and to be forced to work when ill. As a savage he enters the compound, yet it is as a savage, possessing the priceless heritage of an unblemished physique ; but in the compound, corroded by the vitriol of strong drink, and poisoned by the virus of venereal, he becomes a wreck, and at the end of it all, his hard earnings are arbitrarily retained. Such, then, is the aim, such the accompaniments, and such the effects, of the tax now imposed upon the natives of the new colonies, for, despite the unctuous declarations with which the shackling of the native with this tax has been attended, it must not be imagined that the abuses which have existed at the Kimberley mines and in the Transvaal mines prior to the war, will under the new régime of the Transvaal, be absent. Of the two places mentioned as those where the natives have contracted specific disease, one, as we have just noticed, has been the Transvaal. And of the effects of life in general upon the character of the natives working in these mines in the Transvaal, particularly as regards intoxicants, we have from Mr. J. A. Hobson the following summary :—

“I have found,” says Mr. Hobson, “a virtual unanimity among missionaries and native commissioners as to the demoralising influence which life at the mines, particularly in the Transvaal, is exercising upon native life. The habit of strong drink, which few, if any, Kaffir can resist, is first contracted at the mines, and then introduced into the tribal and domestic life. It is true that the mines are generally in favour of a prohibition policy, and are strong opponents of the demoralised liquor traffic, which robs them of twenty per cent. of the working of the ‘boys.’ But it is practically impossible to keep down a trade so profitable as the liquor trade over an area so large as the Rand. In spite of well-attested endeavours to enforce the law prohibiting the sale of liquor to Kaffirs, drunkenness has been widely prevalent, and will continue.”

Mr. Hobson refers to a mining engineer as saying that “last Sunday out of 950 ‘boys’ at work, he had only 250.” Of course, flogging is practised.¹ And as bearing out the statements relative to the other forms of ill-treatment which the natives suffer at the mines of the Transvaal, I refer the reader to the debate in

¹ See *Annual Report Chamber of Mines*, 1899, pp. 92 and 94.

the House of Commons on the 5th May, 1904. Concerning pay, the reduction of wages was of course one of the boons which the capitalists of the Transvaal looked forward to receiving from the war. Nor did they make that expectation a secret. Indeed, so reckless in its boldness is the language generally employed when the subject is that of the coloured races, that one of the intimates of the mining ring, unabashed, made this statement at a public meeting in the metropolis of London :—

“There are in South Africa millions of Kaffirs, and it does seem preposterous that we are not able to obtain 70,000 or 80,000 Kaffirs to work upon the mines . . . with good government there should be an abundance of labour, and with an abundance of labour there will be no difficulty in cutting down wages, because it is preposterous to pay a Kaffir the present wages. He would be quite well satisfied—in fact he would work longer—if you gave him half the amount (laughter). His wages are altogether disproportionate to his requirements (renewed laughter).”

This speech was followed by one of the gold-kings, who on the same theme, and upon the lines laid down by the preceding speaker, further illumined the intelligence of the audience. From Johannesburg also there came the echo of this same sentiment, from another mine-owner, a Mr. Abu, who before the Industrial Commission said in the evidence he gave :—

“The native at the present time receives wages which is far in excess of the exigencies of his existence. . . . I think if the native gets enough to save five pounds a year, that sum is quite enough for his requirements, and will prevent natives from becoming rich in a short space of time. It is in the control of the mining industry to regulate the wages of the Kaffir.”

The white man may become rich in a short space of time, but the native may not. And this is freedom! It is justice! But it will be seen that these gentlemen have triumphed, and triumphed completely; for a labour-tax, doubling that which had been proposed for Rhodesia, and nearly trebling that of Kimberley, has been imposed in the Transvaal. Thus, by this tax to force the natives into the mines, by the cutting down of native wages in accordance with the declaration of the mining interest, and by the introduction of the methods of the press-gang into Central Africa, to make up to the mines the deficiencies in the labour-supply that the lowering of wages might

cause, the mine speculators have, to the full, realised the fruits of their boast. But all this, we are told by the late Colonial Secretary, is for the benefit of the native. It is for the native's benefit that one of the gentlemen in whose hands the destiny of the native rests states that the native's annual savings shall not exceed five pounds. It is for the native's benefit that in the mines he is deprived of his liberty; that he is there flogged; that his uncivilised nature is further degraded by the orgies of alcohol, his physical powers ravaged by venereal. But nay! it is not for the native's benefit that he is thus outraged: it is for the benefit of the capitalist; it is for the benefit of the white section of the community generally. For in addition to ending his term of service on the Rand, debased in body and in mind, the native started that service with an inadequate wage—a wage the balance of which passes into the pockets of the capitalist. Nor is this all, for besides being an economic means, operating upon the native through the maximum of taxation and the minimum of pay, to the enrichment of the colourless class, this labour-tax, keeping the native by these means permanently poor, removes from him the possibility of ever obtaining the franchise. Thereby, as well as being economic, this tax is political.

This, then, is the meaning of the announcement which during the recent conflict, was so persistently reiterated by the religious as well as the secular Press—that the war was undertaken in order to improve the condition of the natives. In like manner, it is the meaning of Mr. Chamberlain's statement in the House of Commons, already alluded to, that "the Government intended to secure for the natives just treatment." And expressed in a word, the meaning of all those announcements, assurances, and promises made to the natives during the war, according to the facts we have just been considering, is serfdom. The serfdom thus established is the reward to the native for that restraint which during the dreary course of the strife he imposed upon himself. It is also the reward of that loyalty which throughout the momentous struggle he manifested to the Crown. And this serfdom is established by the British Government; for the minister who is responsible for its introduction refers thus to the event:—

"He believed it was good for the native to be industrious, and that we should use every legitimate means in our power to teach him to earn. . . . Therefore, in the interests of the natives

themselves they ought to teach them to work. If by industrial taxation they could persuade the natives to take to industry, we should be doing one of the best things for the natives as well as ourselves."

As Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Chamberlain appeared thus to have evinced great perturbation of soul, lest that by not adopting the European standard of industry, the uncivilised African should become extinct. Yet I read that three thousand labourers of the Pacific islands, resident in Queensland, forwarded to His Majesty the King, a petition, protesting against the operation of the Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1901, under which provision is made for the gradual cessation of coloured labour in Queensland, and for the deportation of Kanakas to the islands whence they came. I read further that in the said petition there appears this argument, that "they" (the three thousand Pacific islanders) "will plunge back into the barbarism which we were induced to leave, and" the Act "will involve for hundreds, if not for thousands of us, misery, starvation, and death."

Now, to this pathetic appeal, made by men, who, in the honourable pursuit of their calling as labourers, were to be expelled from a country professedly free—a country professedly Christian, a country, moreover, that originally belonged to the very stock that they represent—on grounds no firmer, and for reasons no saner, than that the colour of the skin, which it had pleased the Almighty to give them, is not white, to the pathetic appeal made by these men, observe the callousness, of the very form of the language, in which the reply was couched. Mr. Chamberlain, in a despatch dated August 30th, 1902, addressed to the Governor, Sir H. C. Chermiside (Queensland), says:—

"It has been decided not to advise His Majesty to disallow the Act. That decision was taken on the broad constitutional ground that the Act involves no Imperial public interest, and that in other matters His Majesty's Government are not prepared to take upon themselves the function of a court of appeal from the Parliament of a self-governing colony."

Thus, while this minister, forcing the African natives into the South African mines by means of taxation, declares that it is to civilise them, when 3,000 Australian natives, fearing that an Act threatening their deportation would give them back to savagery, seek His Majesty's clemency, this same minister declares: "It

has been decided not to advise His Majesty to disallow the Act." Such are the vagaries of opportunism. No doubt, from his excessive desire to promote thrift among Negroes, had these unfortunate petitioners been African labourers, who had been threatened with deportation by an African ruler, whose country abounded in minerals, the right hon. gentleman would have seen his way to advising His Majesty's interference.

Now, if the principles be correct, which I have already laid down: (1) That in a community consisting of a civilised and an uncivilised class, the taxes imposed should be for the requirement of the state, that is to say, they should be for the good of the two classes composing the state, and not primarily for promoting the interest of one of the two classes, to the detriment of the other class; (2) that owing to the capacity of the uncivilised section of the community for absorbing the benefits afforded by the state being less than that of the civilised section, the burden of public responsibility borne by the one should be proportionately less than that borne by the other; (3) that as long as in its smaller sphere of activity, the less civilised does not infringe upon the rights of the other class, or upon the rights of the state, it should not be coerced by the state or by the other class, into passing from its smaller sphere of activity to the larger sphere. If these principles are right, then the Transvaal labour-tax, being imposed primarily in the interest of the mining industry, and to keep the native from ever coming into political competition with the civilised class, being moreover excessive, and a means to civilise the native by coercion, is wrong, and is an outrage upon the rights of the native. It is not the business of a government to become a labour agent, much less to employ its enormous engine of power to force labour into the market, for then, becoming a partner to the abuses with which such a system is bound to be identified, it thereby abdicates its functions of a protector, and adopts those of a persecutor. Nor would it appear—judging from certain incidents that have transpired during the brief history of the labour question on the Rand, since the Transvaal became a British colony—that having adopted the rôle of a labour agent, the Imperial Government can hope to escape these consequences. For what do we see? We see the Imperial Government imposing a heavy tax upon the native in order to force him into the mines. Having forced labour, the capitalist felt himself at liberty to reduce the rate of wages paid to the native; accordingly he reduces it. The

native thereupon absents himself from the mines. At this, the Imperial Government comes forward again, and now opens up to the capitalist the labour markets of Central Africa. Quieted for a brief space of time by this great attention, the capitalist is soon heard clamouring again for labourers. This time it is for Asiatic labour; and once more the indulgent Imperial Government, taking up his cause, goes to China, arranges for the emigration of the said labourers, and the subjoined extract, taken from the *Standard*, represents the Imperial Government on its way to deliver the emigrants to the capitalist.

“The mode in which the first batch of Chinese have been brought into the colony has revived a good deal of the opposition which the proposal provoked at its inception. There is something extremely repellent to English notions in this immigration of a draft of labourers under precautions and restrictions which would seem better suited to convicts than to free working men. The smuggling in of coolies under guard, their virtual imprisonment *en route*, and the obvious denial to them of their personal liberty may be necessary, but all these things have an ugly look.”

It is the duty of every state to widen the range of responsibility among its citizens; for to the extent that it succeeds in so doing, to that extent will its own stability be secured, and its general prosperity, according to the limits of its capacity, be assured. However, in the following section of this work, I hope to show, that in mixed communities the white sections, and particularly such as are of the Anglo-Saxon stock, systematically contravene this axiom, by the policy which they pursue, of restricting, rather than of widening, the responsibility of the coloured races. Here I will be content to observe, that viewed as a theory, Mr. Chamberlain's solicitude to develop, in the uncivilised African, habits of industry, according to the civilised standard, appears to be in conformity with the axiom just propounded; for sustained industry is the channel by which the passage is made from the smaller, or uncivilised, to the larger, or civilised, sphere of activity. But viewed in practice, this solicitude is a denial of the axiom. Indeed, his attitude, on the one hand, of forcing the natives into the mines, by means of a penal tax, and, on the other hand, of ignoring the brutalising effect of the mines upon the native, exposes Mr. Chamberlain to one or other of two charges, which, to one filling the office that he occupied, is of

the gravest import. The attitude of the right hon. gentleman in this matter, exposes him either to the charge of a criminal indifference concerning the welfare of the millions of natives entrusted to his care, or of a culpable ignorance of the means necessary to secure an ordinary public benefit. I do not in the least wish to contend that the native should not work in the mines, but I do most emphatically state, that it should not be by compulsion, direct or indirect. To make the uncivilised native shoulder the burden of a greater responsibility in the state, the means used must be, as I have pointed out before, to create in him the spirit of emulation as regards the larger sphere of progress. This spirit, however, is not cultivated by oppressive taxation, the alcoholic habit, venereal disease, flogging, and the cutting down of wages, but by the inculcation of high moral principles, by education, instruction in handicrafts, and fair wages—in a word, by raising the native's standard of living. When this spirit is so kindled, then there will not be, I venture to predict, any lack of mine or other kinds of labour. But at his present standard of living, why should the savage native work continuously, merely to enrich the capitalist and the colonist, the capitalist and colonist, who, as a class, regard him as little better than the brute; the capitalist and colonist, whose policy toward him is that of the vampire? Should the native work continuously mainly for the purpose of developing the gold mines, the farms, and the commerce of this class, or, should he work continuously, mainly for his own benefit? But when there is no motive power, why should he even work continuously for himself? Is it to be thought that when the inhabitants of Europe were uncivilised, they worked according to the standard of the present inhabitants? By no means. It was only after that they had learned to desire a higher ideal of living, that there began among them that evolution of which the present standard is the climax. Concerning the uncivilised African, the same will be the result, as it is already the result, in the case of those Africans, or peoples of African descent, who are civilised. Therefore, I repeat, first create the desire of a higher ideal of living.

But it is not against the uncivilised Ethiopian alone that the charge of indolence is made, it is made against the civilised class also, or, at least, against a section of that class; and in this connection it might be interesting to observe how the accusations vary that are brought against the

civilised Ethiopian. In the United States, for example, viciousness is the form of brand employed for his vilification ; in West Africa, it is insolence ; and in the British West Indies, laziness. However, were these accusations true, their variety would suggest, as their cause, local peculiarity, rather than racial idiosyncrasy.

To this subject of laziness, of which the civilised Ethiopian is accused, I purpose now to refer, and I do so, in order to make this chapter, dealing with the theme of coloured labour in the British Empire, the more complete. Here is a description of the civilised Ethiopian of Jamaica ; it is from the pen of an Englishman, and appeared in one of the dailies of the London Press. After commenting upon the influence that the Americans have acquired in Jamaica, the writer proceeds :—

“English visitors very naturally expect to find among the coloured and black population a tendency to American sympathies and a desire for increased American control, but such is not by any means the case. As far as the ‘nigger’ is concerned, he is in his happy, thriftless way satisfied with any control that will bring him just enough to keep the life in him. He knows that he is a British subject, and that for a quattie he may buy rum, and he does not know much else . . . he perhaps in his lazy, loafing way looks to this country for whatever good may come to him.”

Preceding this description, the writer relates his adventure with a bottle of whisky. He tells how, on a lovely Sunday in March, he with this potent bottle, and accompanied by a friend, wended his way to the Titchfield Hotel, owned by the United American Fruit Company ; how that at their arrival his companion sought in vain to escort the friendly bottle to the luncheon table, and how that after being frustrated in the attempt, through the vigilance of the “cold-eyed” American official, they, in something akin to despair, with tumbler and corkscrew in hand, resorted to a fastness in the garden, where, we are led to infer, they made merry.

Now this description of the Jamaica Negro, in which his mental, moral, and material condition appears to be reflected, is so blindly and mischievously wide of the mark of truth, that I had regarded it as the result of a transient aberration, produced by the whisky episode, and aggravated by the fierce heat of a tropical sun, and so had dismissed it as the act of one who for the moment had been rendered irresponsible, had I not recognised in it a certain familiar note—a note which,

although uttered by a new instrument, has lost none of its wonted intensity; a note, therefore, which deprives the author of the description of all claim to originality, degrading him thereby to the level of a mere echo; a note which ordinarily proceeds from a mind chronically diseased by spite and hate towards the Ethiopian, and which, in season and out of season, delights to spew upon him the gall and the slime of its choler. Discovering, then, this familiar note, I am obliged to give the description at least a passing notice.

I will not dwell here upon the form of the language used in the description, by this cultured gentleman; a form of language which, alas! is now ordinarily employed in all classes of literature of which the subject is people of colour. As to the subject-matter, it could not be more effectively refuted than by referring to a fact mentioned in a letter that appeared in a Jamaica paper—the *Jamaica Advocate*—and then adding the testimony of Mr. Robert Hill. The letter is dated September 25th, 1900. The writer, Mr. H. D. Graham, is, I understand, a Presbyterian minister. The letter begins: "Allow me space in your columns to express a few remarks about the exodus of labourers from this island to Ecuador." The writer proceeds to declare his sense of displeasure at the Governor's action, or want of action, in not bringing Ecuador under the Emigration Act. He strongly objects to the emigration of these labourers to Ecuador, on the ground that the stimulus to agriculture, that the starting of the line of fruit steamers between Great Britain and Jamaica will supply, will require their services at home.

Mr. Graham also contrasts the action of the Jamaica Government, in allowing these labourers to emigrate to Ecuador, with its action, less than six months before, in importing, or in sanctioning the importation into Jamaica, of nearly 800 East Indian labourers. But the fact in the letter that I wish particularly to emphasise is this, that notwithstanding the sacrifice and risks, such as the leaving of their families for a term of years, the inconvenience of living and working in a country whose language and habits are foreign to them, and the risks of succumbing to the endemic diseases that lurk in the soil of South and Central American states, notwithstanding these risks and inconveniences, 5,000 Jamaicans voluntarily entered into a contract for two years to go to work at Ecuador, on the railway that was then being constructed there. Now, I would ask whether the action of these 5,000 labourers of Jamaica, an

action that may be regarded as typical of this class throughout the West Indies, bears out the description given by the first quotation, that ". . . he, 'the nigger,' is in his happy, thriftless way satisfied with any control that will bring him just enough to keep the life in him," etc.

As still further illustrating the industrious habits of the Jamaica or West Indian peasantry, the following are the observations of Mr. Robert Hill, recorded in his book, *Cuba and Porto Rico*.

"All in all," says this writer, "agriculture in Jamaica is in a far more healthy condition than in other islands; the blacks no longer depend upon imported rations of rice and codfish, with which their former masters fed them, but nearly all have little homes, surrounded by fields of ground provisions—yams, sweet potatoes, bananas, and corn—which together with a few pigs and chickens furnish an ample livelihood. . . . Jamaica Negroes are sought far and wide throughout the tropics as labourers, and thousands of them have gone to open up the Panama Canal, the railways of Costa Rica and Guatemala, and the banana plantations of Honduras and Nicaragua."

This also, does it bear out the reckless slander quoted above? With the subject of the stagnation of the British West Indies I shall deal later, but I may remark here, that instead of heaping aspersions upon those who have no means of self-defence, and because they have no means of self-defence, Englishmen would render to those colonies real service, if, when writing about them, they would put the blame for their backwardness upon the shoulders responsible for it. As pertinent to the subject that we have in hand, the last two items which we shall discuss in this second section, according to the order in which they will be treated, are, "Some Facts concerning Modern Civilisation" and "The Future of Modern Civilisation."

XXX

Some Facts concerning Modern Civilisation

THE progress of civilisation is but another name for the progress of science; for the advancement of civilisation is primarily the result of applying to human affairs and human needs the principles of science.

In my remarks under the title of "Europe as seen in the Past," I referred to the great architects and builders of the temple of modern science—representatives of different European states—as constellations in the great firmament of life. And in the endeavour to find out the principle, to which the achievements of this galaxy of scientific intellects conform, I have arrived at the conclusion that the principle is that of growth or gradual increase. Let me illustrate this principle or law of growth by a reference to Sir Isaac Newton. Investing the subject of the composition of forces with his profound, and prodigious, mathematical erudition, Newton was able to deduce the following universal proposition: *A body projected in a straight line, and subject to the action of a central force, will revolve in some one of the conic sections, if the intensity of the force be inversely as the square of the distance from the centre, which will be at a focus of the curve.* This proposition he now pressed to a vast number of issues, of which, we have the laws regulating bodies moving in elliptical orbits, and the periods wherein such orbits must be completed. Moreover, as a consequence of these laws we have also this relation, viz. that the squares of the periodic times are to each other as the cubes of the major axes. But behind these laws, there lies the question of their theory, whereof their deduction was the terminus.

This brings us to the famous story of the falling apple. The great philosopher, we are told, having observed an apple fall in his orchard at Woolsthorpe, Lincolnshire, 1666, was led into a train of thought, whence he ultimately emerged with the report

of the system of the universe. This common-place event of a falling apple led Newton to reflect that the power which draws bodies to the earth extends above its surface, that it extends to the tops of mountains, and to the highest region of the atmosphere. Further, he supposed that this power might even extend to the moon, that, in fact, it may be by this very force, that the moon retains her orbit. He was also led to conclude, that this force of attraction of gravitation could not be everywhere the same; so that while near its surface the force with which the earth pulls other bodies towards itself, may be uniform, at a distance, like that of the moon, that force may vary. Using Jupiter and his satellites as his guide, Newton thereupon began the endeavour of discovering, if possible, this law of variation. The time taken by the satellites of Jupiter to revolve around that planet being known, their distances from Jupiter being also known, Newton soon calculated the amount of attraction that would be necessary to keep these attendant moons from flying off at a tangent, from their planetary lord. The diminution or variation of attraction was thus discovered to be inversely as the square of the distance from the centre of attraction.

With these data Newton proceeded next to investigate whether the same law holds good between the earth and its satellite; that is to say, whether the moon is held in her orbit by gravitation or the weight of the earth. For the computation which this inquiry demanded, two quantities were needed: one was the distance to which the moon was deflected from the straight line, during each second, her revolution round the earth being due to such a deflection. Newton found this distance to be one-eighteenth of an inch in the second. The other question was the distance of the moon from the earth; a distance now known to be sixty semi-diameters of the earth, but at first unknown to Newton, until a French mathematician had made the necessary calculation. The moon's distance being known to be sixty semi-diameters of the earth, the effect of gravity at that distance would be $\frac{1}{3600}$ of that at the earth's surface. And the power of gravity being represented by the space through which it will cause the moon to fall from rest in one second, would be less than that which would cause a body at the surface of the earth to fall in one second, in the proportion as the square of the distance from the centre, in the latter case, is less than in the former. Thus, Newton was enabled to announce that the force holding the moon in her orbit was the

same as that which caused a stone to fall, it being diminished only in the ratio of the square of the moon's distance. Demonstrating that the moon is held in its orbit by a force exerted upon it by the earth, inversely as the square of its distance, Newton proceeded next to show, that as the moon, as the result of the earth's action upon it, is kept in its orbit by a force inversely as the square of its distance from the earth, so the earth, as the result of the sun's action upon it, in common with its planet-comrades, is kept in its orbit by a force inversely as the square of its distance from the sun. Advancing still further, he also proved that in its course, the moon is attracted, not only by the earth, but also by the sun. Thus did he succeed in deducing this the greatest and most general of physical laws ever yet discovered: that *every particle of matter in the universe attracts every other particle with a force which is inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them.*

Shall we pass from the presence of this mighty intellect, content with laying at its feet the homage of an admiring and grateful world? Nay, we may not so pass, since such an act, tending to create a false impression, as to the real scope of this giant's labours in connection with this particular point of the field of science, would cast upon the memory—even of him who spent his life in the demonstration of truth—a shadow. Then was not the huge mass of data forming the groundwork of this masterly discovery of the law of gravitation, as well as that forming its superstructure, all prepared by the illustrious Newton? Certainly not. In his celebrated deduction, just quoted, as setting forth one of the primary laws of matter, is embedded the truth which the labours of Kepler, regarding the form of the revolution of the heavenly bodies, had brought to light. It embraces besides, the telescopic revelations of Galileo, and the dynamical laws of Galileo and Huygens.

Tracing backwards the splendid work of Galileo and of Kepler, incorporated in Newton's law of gravitation, we find them receiving their shape from the prior discoveries of Copernicus. In a similar pursuit, the brilliant discovery of Copernicus, which has for ever destroyed the notion that the rest of the solar system revolved around the earth, is found to have had its root in the teaching of the Greek philosopher, Pythagoras. And an examination of the career of the founder of the Pythagorean sect, discloses the fact, that it was in Egypt, where he had passed many years, that he acquired a knowledge of astronomy.

But the knowledge of astronomy, which has done so much for navigation, geography, and chronology, would itself have continued hidden in the bosom of the skies, but for the ladder supplied by another science, a ladder by which, in every age since its discovery, men have climbed to the heavens to learn the secrets of the stars, and returning, have in later times allayed the fears of the unlearned, to whom every strange celestial phenomenon was a portent of vengeful retribution. The science by which the students of astronomy have ascended to the heavens, is mathematics; therefore without mathematics, geometry, and arithmetic, Newton would never, probably, have been able to make his sublime discovery of the law of gravitation. Mathematics was his ladder of ascent; it was the vessel in which he made his eventful voyage. But whence did the philosopher acquire his mathematics? To answer this question, we will present a parallel case to that noticed during our remarks upon the source of Newton's astronomical data. Then we saw that, starting with Copernicus, Newton obtained the fundamental part of this knowledge from the astronomers of modern times. Tracing these backwards, we also saw that the authority, whose theory led Copernicus finally to reject the universal belief of his age—that the sun, planets, and stars revolved around the earth—and to accept that which has since prevailed, was Pythagoras. But the great moralist had himself learnt his astronomy from the Egyptians, concerning whom, it will be remembered, I quoted Herodotus, who had travelled in Egypt, as alluding to their advanced and superior knowledge, in the science of astronomy, as compared with the Greeks.

In the same way among moderns, we trace Newton's knowledge of geometry—the highway to the physical sciences—to Wallis, Barrow, Descartes, and others; and beyond the moderns to the ancients, to Euclid, Apollonius, Archimedes, Plato, Pythagoras. But Plato, Thales, and other Greeks had studied in Egypt, where, like Pythagoras, they acquired their geometrical knowledge, for, as we are told by Herodotus, geometry was introduced into Greece from Egypt. So that this most useful branch of mathematics, of which the Egyptians were the inventors, and for which Egypt, prior to the Macedonian conquest, was renowned, held its commanding place subsequent to that event. Thus we are made acquainted with the fact that the astronomical data, and the mathematical means, by which the data were applied by Newton, and also his epoch-making

law of gravitation deduced, had been contributed, in the first instance, by the Egyptians—the inventors and discoverers—then by the Greek philosophers and scientists, and then by moderns. Hence, in the facts on astronomy and geometry, which the Egyptians handed on to the Greeks, in the additions made by the Greeks to these sciences, in their transmission of them to the Saracens, in the additions made by the Saracens—such additions as those of trigonometry, algebra (which are believed to have been borrowed from India), and chemistry—in the transmission, to Modern Europe, of these sciences, thus inherited and augmented by the Saracens, and, lastly, in the additions made to these sciences by Modern Europe—both by the discovery of new facts and the development of those they inherited—in it all we perceive that gradual *growth* of civilisation of which I spoke at the outset of this chapter.

Modern Europe has done well, but she began well; she has done well, but not better than the Egyptians and other ancient nations, for if each of the European states, now famous in the annals of science, had been like Egypt, Peru, or China, in a condition of isolation, and in that condition had had to work out her civilisation, by discovering such arts as agriculture, house-building, weaving, and the use of the metals, I wonder what the aggregate of European civilisation would have been.

Thus, in estimating the real progress of European civilisation, allowance must be made for the height at which it began, for the many ready-made facts with which it started, borrowed from the other races; also for the enormous advantage accruing from concerted action in scientific pursuits, fostered by the unrestrained intercourse, between European states. But although so deeply indebted to the ancients of the three races, particularly to the African race, for the earlier developments of science and art, not omitting in this latter category even the alphabet, with the bulk of the colourless race the practice now is, not only to ignore the obligation, although that had been bad enough, but, affecting an air of supercilious and disdainful incredulity, to inquire whether the darker races—particularly the African—are capable of scientific and artistic culture. Some of these inquirers, with characteristic magnanimity, not however devoid of sagacity, passing beyond the bounds of inquiry, have boldly announced to the Ethiopian, that his mission in the world is to exemplify the virtues of faith—a very profitable doctrine, no doubt, for the teacher to inculcate—the underlying inference

of this announcement being, that the brain-power of the Ethiopian is inadequate for scientific research. For the continued repose of the sottish complacency responsible for this announcement, I could almost wish that the Roman and Greek historians had not written.

The sceptics, by whose condescending communication the Negro has been informed that his mission in the world is that of faith, fall into two categories: the one strives to identify the beginning, as well as the growth, of human knowledge, exclusively, with ancient and modern white communities. The other, to identify that knowledge with modern white communities, alone. The quotations given on page 333, wherein two authorities deny that the Greeks were indebted to the Egyptians for their science, include the first of these two classes. For the purpose of adding a brief supplement to what has already been said on the subject, let me recall here the words of the second of these authorities:—

“There has been a great deal written about the science of the Chinese, Indians, and Egyptians, but I shall not tell you anything about them here, because their knowledge has had very little to do with the science which has come down to us. . . .”

This statement is certainly not borne out by the facts which we have just been considering. In connection with these, as well as with the other facts that we have noticed before, I would ask the reader to remember three things. First, the high state of culture, scientific as well as artistic—I use the term artistic here in its widest sense—which the Egyptians possessed. Secondly, to remember that, contemporaneously with this high state of Egyptian culture, was the primitive, not to say barbarous condition of the Greeks. Thirdly, to remember the historical as well as traditional and documentary information we possess, declaring that the Greeks received the religious, scientific, and artistic portions of their civilisation from the Egyptians.

Now, then, putting these three things together, there can be no difficulty in inferring that the civilisation of the Greeks originated with the Egyptians. So that even if Alexandrian civilisation were purely or directly Hellenic in its origin, which is very unlikely, inasmuch as Hellenic civilisation was in the first instance Egyptian, Alexandrian civilisation must indirectly have been in its origin Egyptian. Hence the statement that “Egyptian science has had very little to do with us” cannot be true. Nor can it be true that Hindoo science has had

very little to do with modern science, if, as it is generally believed, and there seems to be good ground for this general belief, the Hindoos were the discoverers of the Arabic notation, algebra, and trigonometry.

Passing to the other class, whose aim is to identify all branches of human knowledge with modern white communities, I name Buckle as its representative. Of the Romans, whose institutions of politics, law, military affairs, procedure, etc., form the bed-rock of the institutions of European states, and of the states of European descent, this is what Buckle has to say: "The Romans were, with rare exceptions, an ignorant and barbarous race; ferocious, dissolute, and cruel." Concerning the Egyptians, of whose progress in the arts and sciences I have, in an earlier chapter, submitted a summary, whose civilisation, as we have seen, excited the wonder of the Greeks, and who, besides many useful mechanical implements, models of the fine arts, astronomical data, etc., bequeathed to modern civilisation two of the chief keys employed in scientific research and scholastic training, viz. arithmetic and geometry; concerning India, hoary with the traditions of antiquity, rich in philosophic lore and artistic grandeur, to whom the science of the West is indebted for trigonometry and algebra; and concerning Mexico and Peru, who also are among the donors to European civilisation, after the statement that both in Mexico and Peru the arts, and particularly those branches of them which minister to the luxury of the wealthy classes, were cultivated with great success, that "the houses of the higher ranks were filled with ornaments and utensils of admirable workmanship," that "chambers were hung with splendid tapestries, their dresses and their personal decorations betrayed an almost incredible expense," that "their jewels were of exquisite and varied form, their rich and flowing robes embroidered with the rarest feathers collected from the most distant part of the empire—all supplying evidence of the possession of unlimited wealth and of the ostentatious prodigality with which that wealth was wasted"—etc., Buckle passes upon these four countries the following comment:—

"It will now be easily understood," he proceeds, "why it was that in all important respects the civilisations of Mexico and Peru were analogous to those of India and Egypt. In these four countries, as well as in a few others in Southern Asia and Central America, there existed an amount of knowledge despicable if tried by an European standard," etc.

"An amount of knowledge despicable if tried by an European standard." This author evidently overlooked the important fact that the European standard has derived its height from previous standards; that had these standards not existed, the European standard could not have been so high. Indeed, this remark of Buckle is as if one were to say, when speaking of the lower stories of a four-storied house, "that, judged by the standard of the fourth story, the three lower stories are, indeed, most despicable." The reply, no doubt, would be this: "Quite so. But were it not for the standards of the three stories, where would that of the fourth story be?"

Of course, the principle actuating those who constitute the two classes of which we have been speaking, is the same, viz. to establish the pretension of white "superiority" and that of coloured "inferiority." To this end both classes are united in the endeavour to suppress the claims of the coloured races, as those who have had a share in the production of civilisation. The difference between these two classes being, that the one class, by depreciating the civilisations of the Greeks and Romans, glorifies Modern Europe as having alone constructed the great edifice of human progress, while the other class adds the Greeks and Romans to the list of architects. It will be remembered that during our examination of the arguments supporting the assertion, that certain structural differences of a radical character, accounting for the "superiority" of the colourless race, and for the "inferiority" of the coloured races, exist in the two great racial divisions, we observed such procedures as that of concluding that a difference in size and shape exists between the crania of the coloured and colourless races, while in the premises from which this conclusion was drawn, we are told that both in size and shape, or in their variations and varieties, the crania in each of the races are the same. It will also be remembered that proceeding to the subject of the racial origin of the Egyptians, we saw that the white man, who appears never to have experienced either fatigue or satiety in dilating upon what he is pleased to call the "ugliness" or repulsiveness of the Negro, and who, in order to account for the Negro's "ugliness" and difference of colour from the Caucasian, assigns to him a simian ancestry, and descent from a separate member of the anthropoid group, yet, after describing the Egyptians as belonging to this "ugly" and "repulsive" Negro stock, concludes that the Egyptians were Europeans.

In the chapter headed "Arguments Supporting Race Differences" (p. 216) I referred to these descriptions and their diametrically opposite conclusions, as given by Heeren and Nott. Let me now furnish one more example; it is taken from the Egyptian Catalogue of the British Museum, and is given already in this work, as a quotation, in connection with the subject of the cranium, on page 39. After observing that according to ancient writers, the Egyptian people descended the Nile from Ethiopia, and adding that modern science is satisfied that it was the Caucasian family from which they sprang, the author, by the following description of the Egyptians, proceeds to verify his statement. "He" (the Egyptian) "was tall and square, the skin red, the hair dark, the head large, the forehead square; 'nose short and round,' 'cheeks full,' 'the eyes large,' 'the mouth wide,' and 'the lips thick but not turned back,' 'shoulders square,' the hands and feet long."

Now, as touching this description of the Egyptians, which, as the reader will gather from those given in the chapter entitled "Arguments Supporting Race Differences," is confirmed by Heeren and Nott, if the question were asked whether the "red skin," "the dark hair" (which Heeren, Nott, and others concur was "curly" as well as "black"), "the short round nose," "the thick lips," represent the Caucasian or Ethiopian, I feel sure that there could be only one answer, that being, that these forms of features represent, not the Caucasian, but the Ethiopian. And proceeding from the racial origin of the Egyptians, to this subject of the origin of modern science, after having seen that the Egyptians were in a position to teach the white race, who were then savages; after receiving the further testimony "that the Egyptians were skilled from a very early period of their history, in astronomy, in mathematics, in medicine, in philosophy, in poetry, and in fiction"; after seeing these Egyptians, in the first instance, teaching the white race agriculture, giving to it the institution of marriage, the principles of organised government, the alphabet, etc., and later instructing this race in science and religion; and after witnessing the Hindoo in like manner imparting to the white race the knowledge of algebra and trigonometry—and then inquiring what would have been the state of science, commerce, literature, and general progress to-day, if the white race had not received geometry, arithmetic, and letters from the Egyptians, and algebra and trigonometry from the Indian, I am told "that

modern science has very little "to do with the science developed by these people! And the white man who thus orates, professes himself to be even sceptical that either the Hindoo, or the Negro, has the capacity for scientific pursuits.

As far, then, as we have gone, such are the arguments supporting the "superiority" of the colourless race and the "inferiority" of the coloured races; a mangled medley of sophistries, prepared on the Procrustean plan, by mutilating facts, which are either lengthened or shortened, in accordance with the requirements of the bed, "Caucasian superiority." But from these illogical and jarring irrelevancies, let it not be imagined that the white man is by any means deficient in logical faculty, for it was he who first embodied the laws of thought into the system called logic. Nay! in the singularly unhappy relations which we have uniformly seen to prevail between the premises and conclusions of these his arguments—the relations of a pair of odd boots—the evil is to be traced, in the first place, to the fact, that in its operations, reason has, by the ascendancy of prejudice, vanity, and conceit, been overborne and stultified. Thus it is that Heeren and Nott—typical representatives of the class whose theories we have been traversing—the one, simply because he *thinks* it impossible that Negroes could have accomplished such works of art as the monuments, sculptures, tombs, etc., of Egypt reveal, and the other because the Negro origin of the Egyptians implies "that we must begin with Africans at the top of the Nile, and come down with civilisation, instead of commencing with Asiatic and *white men* at the bottom, and carrying," etc.—rejecting the facts of reality, have substituted the fancies of ideality. In the second place, instead of deficient reasoning power of the white man, the cause of these logical miscarriages is to be traced to the nature of the task he essayed to perform. For in the endeavour to prove that *one race* is "superior" to the others, or that the other races are "inferior" to one race, the white man has undertaken the impossible; and so, like one who, attempting to soar to the moon on a flying machine, vanquished by the forces of gravitation, lies struggling in the ditch, we behold the white man, the victim of his own temerity, lying in the ditch of these amazing fallacies.

XXXI

The Future of Modern Civilisation

THE preceding chapter demonstrates the fact, that modern civilisation is a continuity, and not a creation; a continuity with its foundation deep down in the soil of antiquity. In that chapter we have also repeated the observation, that the Negro Egyptians were the chief originators of European civilisation. Further, we have seen in the preceding chapter that these Negro Egyptians, as the earliest and chief promoters of Western progress, were succeeded by the Greeks, that the Greeks were succeeded by the Romans, that the Romans were succeeded by the Saracens, and that the Saracens were followed by Modern Europe.

In comparing European and extra-European civilisations of both ancient and modern times, one is struck by, at least, two differences. One is the difference existing between the conditions under which the civilisation of extra-European growth was stimulated and fostered, and those under which European civilisation was similarly stimulated and fostered. The other difference appears between the kind of discoveries and inventions made in ancient times, and those made in modern times. Concerning the first of these two differences we have, as characteristic of extra-European civilisation, single states, as, for example, Peru, Mexico, Tyre, China, etc., each, almost in absolute isolation, working out its own civilisation; whereas, in contrast to this—the solitary exception being probably the Romans—we have, as a prominent feature in the evolution of European civilisation—formerly among the Grecian states, and now among Modern European states—the confederation of communities.

After giving the fullest credit to these ancient civilised states, for what they have achieved single-handed, there seems to be hardly room for doubt, that had they all occupied the same

geographical area, and been knitted together by bonds of intercommunication, their civilisations would have been less stereotyped, and less rigid. It seems too, as I have before hinted, that had the European states each, singly, instead of jointly, developed their civilisation, the rigidity of extra-European civilisation would have also characterised their own. And the difference in kind, between ancient and modern civilisation—European as well as extra-European—centres chiefly in the nature of the discoveries and inventions made in modern times, and those made in ancient times. For example, the difference made between ancient and modern warfare, by the discovery of gunpowder; between ancient and modern culture, by the discovery of printing; between ancient and modern modes of travel, through the invention of the steam-engine, and the use of the mariner's compass; between ancient and modern commercial enterprises, by the employment of steam and the mariner's compass in navigation, and the development of chemistry. Further, observe, for example, the difference that there is between the ancient and modern modes of treating disease, for which the microscope is so largely responsible. These inventions and discoveries, taken in conjunction with those others that have been made in electricity, magnetism, optics, in hydraulics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, etc., have given to modern civilisation a complexion quite distinct from that of the ancients.

And now we have come to the subject of the future of modern civilisation. Modern civilisation, which is the continuation of ancient civilisation, is, in the range of its investigations, wider, and in the thoroughness of its researches, profounder, than was ancient civilisation. But has modern civilisation reached the limits of human knowledge, or is the striking expression given utterance to by Newton still true, when, nearly three centuries ago, he referred to himself, "as a child playing on the sea-shore; now finding a pebble rather more polished, and now some shell rather more agreeably variegated than another, while the immense ocean of truth extended before me unexplored"? If it be still true that the great reaches of knowledge are, as in the days of Newton, practically untapped (and I believe the learned men of to-day would say that they are), then we are confronted by questions such as these: Will the progress of knowledge continue? Will it be continued by the race, or rather, by that section of the races which has carried it to its present eminence, or which, so to say, has been superimposing

the second layer? And if not by this section, then by which will the next layer be probably laid? Lastly, will the third layer be as magnificent as the second?

Accepting Newton's aphorism as true, that there are still fountains of knowledge unopened, I think that by the aid of analogy, we may succeed in answering the first of these questions, whether knowledge will continue its progress. As is well known, the skeleton or backbone, so to say, of our globe consists of rocks. These rocks, or sheets of rocks, are of two kinds, one having its origin in water, and known as aqueous rocks, the other having its origin in fire, and known as igneous rocks. The aqueous rocks are made up of layers or strata, superimposed one upon another, of which the older are situated below those of more recent formation. Each layer is derived from the débris washed from the land into the sea, lakes, and estuaries; and lies like a great sheet, which, by the process of solidification, under the water, ultimately attains its well-known hardness. And it is the successive deposit of layer upon layer, of this débris, at different epochs, which, becoming solidified, builds up the rock masses. Aqueous rocks, according to their different layers, are usually divided into a series of ten layers, or systems. These, from above downwards, are:—

10. Quaternary	}	Cenozoic	5. Carboniferous	} Paleozoic time
and Recent			4. Devonian	
9. Tertiary	}	Mesozoic	3. Silurian	
8. Cretaceous			2. Ordovician	
7. Jurassic			1. Cambrian	
6. Triassic				

Beneath the Cambrian, or the lowest of these systems, there are other rocks, which may have been formed in the same way as these superimposed series. And so the question fairly arises as to why this series alone has been singled out for tabulation. The answer is of great significance. It is this, that each of these ten systems contains the remains of animal and vegetable organisms, called fossils; whereas, so far, research has failed to reveal any fossil remains in the strata lying below the Cambrian system. Hence it is that the ten layers alluded to have been named, and the others unnamed. But in these stratified rocks, what has been the chief feature in the distribution of their fossil remains? The chief feature has been that of progression. Thus, dividing the ten systems, according to the

character of their fossil contents, into the three groups seen above, in the Cenozoic, or more recently formed rocks, fossils are found representing species homologous to those now living, whereas, in Mesozoic times, life holds a place intermediate between the more recent Cenozoic period and the older Paleozoic time.

Again, in the Paleozoic epoch, the organisms represented are those of extinct genera. Specifying this law of progression still more, according to the forms of life that are dominant during certain epochs, we get the following result. From the Cambrian to the Devonian system, the prevailing form of fossils found preserved in the rocks, practically represents invertebrates; while in the latter there occur also the fossils of fishes. The Carboniferous system is that to which the amphibians belong. The second age, *i.e.* Mesozoic epoch, is the age of reptiles; these creatures, gigantic in structure, in that epoch ruled air, sea, and land. Mammals of weak type also appeared in Mesozoic times; but the dominant period of fully developed mammalian life was the third age, or Cenozoic era. Thus is the gradual progress from a lower to a higher form of life established. But that law of progression is rendered still more striking when we try to contemplate that stupendous system, of which the earth itself is, as regards its size, an insignificant unit.

According to the splendid hypothesis of Laplace, known as the "Nebular Hypothesis," by which a rational explanation of the origin of the sun, planets, moons, comets, and meteors, is furnished, our solar system, in some remote eon, had its existence in the womb of a mist. This immense nebula, or mist, is supposed to have extended beyond the region in which the most distant planet of our system now revolves, and to have consisted of matter, which, by a very high degree of temperature, was highly and uniformly diffused. In the centre of the nebular mass, raised to the gaseous state by heat, the influence of gravitation, through the cooling of its particles, would have begun. The particles, condensed into solid or liquid by cooling, would become the centre of attraction for other particles, which successively condense; and, with the increase of condensation, there would be, as a result, centripetal attraction. Rotation, with increased velocity, would result from a variation in the substance of the nebula, produced by conditions such as the greater radiation of heat from one of its sides than from the other. A period would arrive, when the rotary speed of the outermost parts of

the mass would overcome the attraction of the central nucleus, and this, together with their condensation, would enable these parts to separate into a ring. Separated, this outermost part of the mass, now constituting the ring, would retain the velocity it possessed at the time of its separation. Similar separations of revolving rings are conceived to have followed. But while revolving in nearly the same plane, all the rings, according to their nearness to, or distance from, the central mass, would be endowed with different velocities. Thus, moving in nearly the same plane, those nearer in proximity to the nebular body would have greater velocities than those more distant from it. But these rings, in order to continue their existence throughout as rings, would have had to be of perfectly uniform structure. Hence, facilitated by their fluidity, they would have broken up into several spheroidal masses, which would likewise have revolved around their own axes, from west to east. Enveloped by a vaporous atmosphere, these spheroidal masses, moreover, would, in their turn, have also given off rings, from which the ring of Saturn, and the satellites of the earth, Saturn and Jupiter, would result. In this way the nebular hypothesis accounts for the sun as centre, for the spheroidal planets at various distances and with various velocities revolving around it; for the satellites which attend the larger planets; for the ring of Saturn, for the revolution of planets and satellites upon their own axes; besides illustrating the fact, that all these revolutions are performed in one direction—from west to east.

In addition to the number of facts which this theory thus harmonises, and thereby is itself verified, there is the following fact, which by experiment has been established, viz. that all solid and liquid substances would be capable, if only the conditions of temperature and pressure were favourable, of being reduced to the gaseous state, and conversely that all gaseous substances are capable of being liquefied and solidified. So that the three varieties of matter which the nebula is said to have assumed, and which constitute our planet, are actually demonstrable by experiment. According, then, to this very reasonable theory, a vast nebular disc, gradually condensing, throws off a series of rings; these break up into globes, the globes give off satellites, and all in a common direction, and in nearly the same plane, revolving around the central mass, constitute with it the solar system. A member of this system, viz. the earth, through the process of condensation, remains, a part as water, a part as air, and a part land. In the

land there are remarkable changes; by these changes there appear terraces of rocks, the result of débris washed from the land and solidified under water as vast sheets, these sheets having, at different epochs, been superimposed one upon the other. Examining the rock-terraces, we find them to contain, in a definite gradation, remains of plant, and of animal life, ranging from below upwards, from the simplest to the most complex forms. Thus, as a gaseous extrusion, from the great nebular mass, our earth, by means of condensation, progressed from the gaseous to the liquid and solid forms. The law of progression following the line of greater complexity, proceeds by a double course, to elaborate the solid form of the earth's structure. First, the spreading of an aqueous rock-sheet, and then, the studding of it with the lowest forms of organisms. Fulfilling its purpose, this tier, by the natural process of decay, passes into extinction. A second tier is laid on, upon the first, with the same consequences. Then a third tier, upon the second, and so on, and so on, until we have a chest of drawers of rocks, consisting of some ten tiers, with contents ranging from the lowest form of life to that of the genus *homo*. Thus, from the gaseous state, with which we began this review of matter, to the present plexiform organism, forming part of it, the law of progression is unmistakably exemplified.

Now, since the formation of the material world reveals a series of progressive steps, it cannot be inconsistent, that the unfolding of its laws should also reveal a series of progressive steps. Hence, since there are fountains of knowledge still unopened, it is most probable that the course of knowledge will be continuous or progressive. But this brings us to inquire next, whether the succeeding cycle of discoveries, in nature's laws, will be on a scale of magnificence equalling or surpassing the present cycle.

In the last chapter I referred, not only to the difference between modern and ancient civilisation, but also to the superiority of the former over the latter. Of course, I am dealing entirely with the material side of civilisation. The ancients did well—the Egyptians in science and art, the Alexandrian Greeks in science, and the Hellenic Greeks in art and philosophy—so well, indeed, have they done, that in certain of their achievements, not only has modern civilisation been unable to rival them, but it has been content to keep them still as models. Yet in range, and on the whole, in depth, the work done by the moderns is greater than that done by the ancients. Owing to the lowness of

the plane whence the ancients viewed nature, the outlook of their vision was necessarily circumscribed. This being so, the records of accurate scientific facts, collected by them, have been comparatively small. Still, it has been these very facts, which, constitute that higher vantage, whence the successors of the ancients behold nature, they have been able to make their marvellous discoveries.

But since the discoveries of modern civilisation have not by any means exhausted nature's hidden stores, since it is most probable that the progress of knowledge will thereby be continuous, since each progressive step of nature, as is illustrated by our planet, has been that of advancement from the less complex, and less extensive, to the more complex, and more extensive forms, and since this principle is also confirmed by the evolutionary modes of the two cycles, of ancient and modern civilisations, it is highly probable that the third cycle will be on a scale of magnificence as superior to the second as the second is to the first.

Coming now to the third question, whether the next stage, or cycle of civilisation, will be performed by the same section of the races that has founded and carried modern civilisation to the present pinnacle of vantage, I shall attempt to answer this question, by asking two other questions. First, did the founders and promoters of ancient civilisation take part in the commencement of modern civilisation? The materials they had prepared were used as the foundation of modern civilisation, but did they themselves take actual part in starting modern civilisation? We know that they did not; and, concerning the next cycle, I can see no reason for thinking, that the case of the modern builders, in respect to a future cycle, will be different from that of the ancients in respect to the modern cycle.

The other question is, After a progress of four centuries, has the later output of scientific discoveries equalled the earlier? In other words, has the volume of scientific discoveries increased or diminished? My answer to this question is given with the greatest diffidence, for I do not feel that I have given to it that consideration which would warrant my answering it in a tone of assurance. Yet such attention as it has received, has inclined me to the opinion, that rather than breaking up new ground, as was the case during the first two or three centuries of the present scientific cycle, the more recent labours of

scientific research have been in the direction of perfecting the discoveries, or carrying out the suggestions of those earlier centuries. So that as far as the discovery of new laws is concerned, the ebb tide of the modern scientific cycle would seem to have set in. Thus, seeing that with the completion of their cycle the builders of ancient science ceased their operations, and that modern science appears now to have reached the stage of shrinkage or routine, it does not appear improbable, that as the ancient workers did not carry on their researches indefinitely, neither will the moderns do so.

This brings us to the fourth point, viz. this, that if the operations of modern scientists should not pass beyond a certain point, then by whom will the future edifice of science be constructed? If the founders of the second or modern civilisation should be eliminated in the inauguration of a third form of civilisation, then, I think, the construction of a future cycle must chiefly devolve upon two classes. These are among the coloured and colourless communities, who as yet have evolved no civilisations. In this I am assuming one thing, viz. that communities such as Austria and the Balkan States, which have contributed nothing to modern science, have not the necessary endowment: and that, therefore, they will take no part in the evolution of a future civilisation.

Passing now to refer to those peoples, who as yet have developed no civilisations of their own, we have seen that they are white and non-white. Of these peoples, the whites generally are civilised, and are represented chiefly by communities of Anglo-Saxon descent, inhabiting North America, Australia, and South Africa, and by those of Latin origin, dwelling in Central and South America. The intellectual labours of these communities consist only, hitherto, in a repetition and elaboration of the labours of European states: they have so far achieved practically nothing in the direction of original scientific research. Concerning the United States, there is something in the sum of its intellectual output, that is peculiarly American, something American, and not European. So much are this difference and this advancement recognised, that they not infrequently form topics of conversation.

Some time ago, in crossing from Ireland to Liverpool, the author heard two gentlemen earnestly discussing these subjects; they were both agreed that the United States was in advance of Europe, but there was not quite the same unanimity as to the

cause of the superior progress of the Americans. One gentleman was inclined to attribute it to habitual reflection; the other, to the ambition to do something different from other people. But whereas either or both of these reasons may not be wrong, still the subject seems rather to suggest the question, of whether the Republic is veering towards the course of the evolution of a new scientific cycle. However, American civilisation, as far as it is the outcome of her genius, is almost exclusively artistic: its chief scope is mechanical art. Besides Romford and Franklin, America has not yet produced any scientist that is worthy of notice; and as the future layer of civilisation must depend upon the discoveries of fresh natural laws, rather than upon the greater extension and elaboration of the laws already discovered, America has still to produce a civilisation that is substantially in advance of modern civilisation.

In addition to the section of the colourless race, upon whom, as we have observed, the future development of civilisation may depend, there are the coloured races. These include the two great divisions, the Mongolic and the Ethiopic. Of the Mongolic stock, is the bulk of the peoples inhabiting the Asian continent. It is also represented by the aboriginal peoples of the Western Hemisphere, and by those principally of the Pacific islands. The ancient Peruvians, Mexicans, and Central Americans, who produced indigenous civilisations, are extra-Asian branches of this race. In Central and South America, as a result of the Spanish conquest, they have become, through intermarriages with the conquerors, greatly mixed, whilst in other parts of the New World, and in the Pacific, succumbing to the influences of their altered environments, they have been greatly decimated. In Asia, conspicuous among those of this race, who have wrought out there, indigenous civilisations, are the great Chinese people. And of its members which, obtaining models, have produced a high civilisation, are the Saracens; whilst another member, which, in its astounding bravery, its brilliant feats of arms, and its avid assimilation of the culture of the West, evinces the endowment of its Saracenic kindred, a member that promises to influence the civilisation of the future, no less decidedly than did its great prototype influence the civilisation of the past, is the Japanese. The peoples of the Mongolic race then, who in the development of the past and present cycles of civilisation have had no part or lot, exist, as possible candidates for the development of the future cycle.

Of the other division, the Ethiopic, or Negro, one, judging from the types of slander ordinarily levelled against this race, would conclude that there are at least three great reasons that would militate against the hypothesis that it could possibly take any leading part in the development of a future civilisation. The reasons are—mental unfitness, climatic incompatibility, and indolence. As regards the Negro's mental unfitness for taking a prominent part in evolving a new scientific cycle, I think that it has been conclusively shown, under the head of "Europe as seen in the Past," that the barbarism, degradation, ignorance, or whatever other epithet that might be employed to describe the present state of the Negro, reveals a condition that is by no means greater, deeper, or denser than that which has been described in connection with the former inhabitants of Europe.

In another chapter I have also shown that inasmuch as Europe was not civilised until thousands of years after peoples of the dark races had been civilised, the fact that Africa's civilisation—that is to say, the civilisation of the greater part of Africa—has been so long deferred, does not prove the Negroes' incapacity for civilisation, but points rather to the same fortuitous circumstances, that so long delayed European civilisation, as being the cause.

Again, in the chapters under "Africa as seen in the Past" and "Who were the Ancient Egyptians?" the Negro has been shown to have been the chief pioneer and founder of European civilisation; and these, together with those facts bearing on his present progress, facts which we have discussed in the section dealing with the Negro as seen under Christian and Mohammedan Culture, disprove effectively the assertion of the Negro's mental unfitness to take part in the founding of a new cycle of civilisation.

And as for the announcement that the great heat of the torrid zone would make the growth of civilisation there impossible, I have only to recall the fact of having already observed that long before its progress towards the northern part of the temperate zone—now its stronghold—civilisation had had its habitat, not only in the southern part of the temperate zone, but also in the subtropical and in the torrid zones. Hence, when Bluntschli makes the statement as being true that "long ago it was noticed that the hot tropical countries (up to $23^{\circ} 28'$) and the cold polar zones (beyond $66^{\circ} 23'$) are less favourable to the development of states than the temperate zones which lie between them," he is,

as has been already pointed out, in serious error. The African climate imposes an insuperable barrier to the building up of a civilisation in torrid Africa by the white race; but this climate, which in such an enterprise is the white man's bane, is therein the black man's boon, for it is his habitat. Therefore the impossibility of a white man's civilisation in torrid Africa is not also, as Bluntschli's statement connotes, the impossibility there of a black man's civilisation. For, in the first place, civilisation, as we have seen, did not originate with the white race, and in the next place the African race, from whom European civilisation chiefly sprang, is still native of the soil.

Lastly, to the assertion that the Ethiopian's indolence would be inimical to his ever producing a civilisation, I have only to refer to the industry of the Mohammedan Negro, noticed during our treatment of the Mandingoes, to refer also to the progress of the Afro-American, and to the thrift of the Afro-West Indian—these last, in their thousands, and at the hazard of their lives, flocking to labour on the railways, and at other arduous pursuits in Central America. Hence, from the fact that the Negro possesses the endowment, the energy, and the industry, from the fact that a hot climate is not inimical to the evolution of civilisation, we have a right to expect that as peoples of the other races, at the presentation of models and after the slumber of millenniums, have, through the desire to emulate, worked out civilisations, each according to the genius peculiar to itself, so will the civilised and the barbarous peoples of the Negro race of the future work out civilisations.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

With a view to verifying, or to disposing of, the alleged superiority of the colourless race and the alleged inferiority of the coloured races, claimed to be founded on a natural difference in the mental capacity of the two great divisions, we started with the propositions, that if, on the one hand, it be shown (1) that the colourless race has not been always progressive, (2) that during its condition of unprogressiveness it was as barbarous as the most savage of the coloured races; or that if it be shown (1) that the coloured races have not been uniformly unprogressive, (2) that their barbarism has not been greater than that of the colourless race, also (3) that the coloured races are amenable to progress—in other words, that if both Europe and Africa, in the primal stage of their mental condition, be found

to be the same, if the means employed for their mental elevation be also the same, and if the results following the use of such means be in both cases alike, then I should conclude that between the coloured and colourless races there is no mental difference, to support the arrogation of the term "superior," to the one race, and the application of that of "inferior," to the other races.

Using the former condition of Europeans for deciding the first of these two sets of propositions, we have discovered, by that condition, that they have not been always progressive; also, that their mental state was on a level as low as that occupied by the lowest savage. Lastly, we have noticed that after several thousand years of mental catalepsy, instructed from without, they began the work resulting in the present civilisation. In the next place, using the present and past conditions of the Ethiopian race for deciding the second set of propositions, we have seen that the ordinary African savage of to-day, uninfluenced by outside culture, occupies a position higher than that which the ordinary European savage occupied.

We have further seen that as a result of certain African tribes coming into contact with Arab civilisation in the seventh century A.D. or later, there are several African communities, civilised and flourishing, of which the Mandingo and Haussa states are examples.

Again, we have found that during the century just closed the vista of Christian culture, being thrown open to the Ethiopian, has been completely appropriated by him, as is shown by the Negro communities of the United States and the West Indies. Thus, in the primal stage of their mental culture, Europe and Africa are found to be the same; the means employed for the mental resuscitation of each, that is, external means, are also found to be the same. The difference between the time when Europe, and the time when Africa came into contact with this higher culture, is apparent in the subsequent progress made by each in developing the culture thus received.

In the case of Europe, contact with a higher culture began in the first century B.C.; in the case of Africa in the seventh century, and in the nineteenth century A.D. But this difference between Europe and Africa in the time of their contact with a higher culture, is, as I have before shown, entirely due to fortuitous circumstances; therefore it affords not the slightest

ground for the inference of a mental inequality between the two races. For as the civilisation of the Hindoo branch of the Aryan race, developed thousands of years before that of the Teutonic branch, affords no ground for the inference that the former is, intellectually, superior to the latter, so the civilisation of the Caucasian, developed thousands of years before that of the African, affords no ground for the inference that the former is, intellectually, superior to the latter.

In the next place, the difference in the progress made by the European and that made by the Ethiopian must be considerable, for whereas the contact of Europe with a higher civilisation began, as we saw, a century before the Christian era, that of a section of Africa was six centuries after, and that of the other section nineteen centuries after. But the completeness with which the Ethiopian, commencing at the later intervals, has assimilated Christian and Mohammedan cultures, evinces no difference whatever between his intellectual capacity and that of the European. Thus, it becomes highly probable, that with time equalling in duration that which the European race took to evolve its civilisation, the Ethiopian too will have produced a civilisation. And this probability gains further support from the fact that, like the two other races, the Ethiopic race in Egypt and Ethiopia developed spontaneous civilisations.

Therefore, from the facts that in the primal stage of their mental culture, in the means employed for their mental elevation, and in the result of the use of those means, the Caucasian and the African are precisely the same, I thereby conclude, that mentally these two races are potentially the same, and that on the ground of a difference in their intellectual capacity, no valid reason exists for designating the non-coloured race as "superiors" and the coloured races as "inferiors."

This, then, concludes our inquiry into two of the three aspects—the physical, mental, and moral—of the subject, the "superiority" of the colourless race, and the "inferiority" of the coloured races.

INDEX

A

- "Abiogenesis," 85, 206
 Abu, on native wages, 365
 Abydos, 224
 Adhelard, studied at Moorish University, 322
 Aeby, Prof., system of cranial measurement, 47
 Æschylus, on colour of Ancient Egyptians, 208
 Africa—
 As seen in the past, 221 *seqq.*
 As seen in the present, 236 *seqq.*
 Coloured missionaries in, 35
 Africans—
 Ability to assimilate a higher culture, 250, 251
 All work in iron, 250
 Belief in God, 126, 140
 Civilisation depends on a model, 344.
 See also Ethiopians, Natives, Congoese, Kaffirs
 Agesilaus, 230
 Agricola, 176
 Al Mamum, Khalif, Golden Age of learning, 320
 Albinos, 13 *seqq.*, 22, 166
 Alphabet introduced by Greeks among Latins, 326
 Alphabet, origin of, 337
 Altruism, 103
 Amasis, 229
 Philhellenic predictions, 331
 Amenemhat I., III., 225
 Amenhotep I., II., III., IV., 226
 America—
 Civilisation in, 303, 308-10, 391-392
 Savant of, 177
 War of Secession, 260
 Amici, 176
 Amun, 222
 Anaxagoras, 338, 342
 Ancestor-worship, 117, 120
 Angström, 177
 Animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, identity between, 85
 Animals—
 Dissimilarities to man, 87 *seqq.*, 91, 93, 95, 159, 171

Animals—

- Prolificacy among different species, 70
 Similarities to man, 80 *seqq.*, 93, 95, 159, 171
 Variations of colour in, 28
 Ape contrasted with man, 88, 94
 Appolonius, 377
 Apries, 229
 Aquapendente, Fabricius, 333
 Arabic numerals, 322
 Arabic spoken by Berbers, 218
 Arabs, 207
 Study of astronomy and chemistry, 320
 Arbousset on Kaffir notion of deity, 132
 Archgathus, his fame as physician, 105
 Archimedes, 377
 Ariovistus, 188
 Artaxerxes I., 230
 Arthur, history of King, 306
 Ashtoreth, 223, 227
 Asiatic labour imported into Transvaal mines, 356, 369
 Astronomy, 376
 Attica, earliest progress towards civilisation in, 330
 Australian aborigines' belief in Supreme Spirit, 128, 130, 140
 Avogadro, 176

B

- Baal, 223, 227
 Babylonians, study of astronomy, 90
 Bacon, Roger, 176
 Baghdad Khalifate, 320
 Baïre, 107
 Bankes, description of albino, 15
 Bantu dialects, 201
 Bantus, 214
 Barrow, 377
 Bartlett, J. R., 194
 Beauty—
 Among races, 57 *seqq.*
 Definition of, 57
 Natural and artificial, 57, 62, 64
 Bekenrenf, or Bocchoris, 228
 Belgium, savant of, 177
 Bell Telephone Co., 255
 Berbers, 192, 195
 Origin of, 218
 Bergman, 176

Berzelius, 177
 Bigati, 180
 Birch, Dr., on Egyptian civilisation, 234
 Blackwell, *Life of Homer*—
 Egypt the cradle of Greek religion
 and learning, 334
 Blumenbach, Professor, on—
 Albinos, 14, 19
 Bronzing of artisan, 29
 Colour produced by sun's heat, 37
 Influence of climate on complexion, 25
 Nature of melanin, 24
 Negro's bodily structure, 68
 Noses of infants being depressed, 61
 Bluntschli, *Theory of the State*—
 Climate, 346
 Effect of climate on civilisation, 393,
 394
 Blyden, Dr. W. E., 264
 Sketch of career, 270
 Works, 271
 Boer refugees as labourers, 360
 Bonnett, 177 [231
 Book of the Dead; Egyptian ritual, 224,
 Bourias, xanthous among, 18
 Brahe, Tycho, 177
 Brain, average weight of, 50
 Brinton, Professor, on craniology, 43
 Brinton, Professor, on skull being easily
 moulded, 48
 British Empire and coloured labour, 355
 seqq.
 British West Indies, stagnation of, 373
 Britons, 174
 Their treachery, 180
 Unprogressiveness, 185
 Broca examines skulls from Paris ceme-
 teries, 44
 Bubastis, temple of, 228
 Buckland on monogenist theory, 152
 Buckle, Henry Thomas, on—
 History of Arthur, 306
 Civilisation of Mexico and Peru and
 European, 380
 Primary causes of civilisation, 299
 seqq., 308, 309
 Buddhism, 316
 Buffon, 176
 Bulloms, 58
 Bunsen, 176
 Burmeister, on Negro foot, 9
 Burmeister, on organic differences be-
 tween Ethiopian and Caucasian, 68
 Burnet, *Origin and Progress of Learn-*
 ing—
 Religion, arts, and sciences come to
 Europe from Egypt, 334
 Burns, Robert, 78
 Bushman not an idolater, 123, 124
 Byron, Lord, 78

C

Cadmus founded Thebes, 329
 Caere, Phœnician station, 324

Cæsar, Julius—
 Description of Ancient Briton, 185
 Expedition to Britain, 179, 184
 On ignorance of Germans, 179
 On superstition of Gauls, 181
 Cairo—
 Library at, 320
 Medical school, 321
 Callaway, Canon, on Kaffir notion of
 deity, 132
 Campanus, translation of Euclid from
 Arabic into Latin, 322
 Camper, Professor, employs "facial
 angle," 56
 Cambyses, 229
 Cannibalism in Europe, 189
 Cape Colony, Glen Grey Act, 361
 Carbon in human body, 24, 26, 31
 Carchemish, Necho defeated at, 229
 Cardau, 176
 Casalis on Kaffir notion of deity, 132
 Cato, History of Rome, 104
 Caucasian races, 148
 Cavendish, 176
 Cecrops settled in Athens, 329, 330
 Cell in animals and vegetables, 83, 86
 Cells, forms of, 150
 Ceylon, albinos in, 15
 "Chakerals," 15, 16
 Chamberlain, Joseph—
 On prejudice against white working
 with black men, 360
 On taxation of natives, 357, 366, 369
 Reply to labourers' petition from
 Queensland, 367
 Chemmis, linen manufacture at, 233
 Chermiside, Sir H. C., 367
 Chicago, Odd Fellows' Temple, 254
 Chicago *Tribune* on National Association
 of Coloured Women, 262
 Chinese—
 Civilisation, antiquity of, 340, 378
 Literature, 317
 Manufactures, 318
 Religion, 316
 Sketch of history of, 315 *seqq.*
 Christianity, 137-9, 142, 162, 168
 Introduced by fair to coloured races, 2
 Church-Terrell, Mary, on National Asso-
 ciation of Coloured Women, 261
 Cieza de Leon, on Quichuas, 313, 314, 315
 Civilisation—
 American, 391-392
 Among the races, 312 *seqq.*
 Development of Pagan deism and,
 136 *seqq.*, 141
 Difference between European and
 extra-European, 384
 Due to climate, food, soil, aspects of
 nature, 299 *seqq.*, 308, 309, 311
 Due to national endowment, 293, 294
 seqq.
 European standard, 381
 Evolution of, 90

- Civilisation—
 Exotic type represented by Europe, 319, 322
 Imitative, 312, 339, 340, 342 *seqq.*, 352
 Lessons taught by two types of, 339 *seqq.*
 Modern, a continuity, 384, 385 *seqq.*
 — facts concerning, 374 *seqq.*
 — future of, 385 *seqq.*, 391
 Not the prerogative of any one race, 312
 Origin of Greek, 337, 338, 379
 Primary cause of, 283 *seqq.*, 293, 299 *seqq.*, 345
 Science and, 374
 Secondary or immediate cause of, 346 *seqq.*, 351, 353
 Spontaneous, 312, 339, 340, 342 *seqq.*, 351 *seqq.*
- Climate as influencing—
 Development of states, 346 *seqq.*
 Civilisation, 300, 304, 308, 393-394
 Complexion, 24 *seqq.*
- Coal and iron influencing civilisation in Britain, 310-311
- Colchians, origin of, 208
- Colour—
 As protection from heat, 35 *seqq.*
 Cause of, 13, 17
 Chief factors in production of, 31
 Function of, 34 *seqq.*, 37
 Influenced by climate, 24 *seqq.*, 152
 Nature of, 24 *seqq.*
 Seat and origin of, 21 *seqq.*
 Time of production, 24, 27 *seqq.*, 32, 33
 Variation among races, 13 *seqq.*, 23, 25, 150, 163, 165
 Varies among dark races, 213 *seqq.*
See also under Egyptians
- Coloured race—
 Alleged "inferiority," 5 *seqq.*, 173 *seqq.*, 282, 381, 383, 394, 396 *passim*
 In tropics, 35
 Intercourse with white races, 1; results, 2
 Radical distinctions between fair races and, 11, 165, 166, 172, 173 *seqq.*
 Unprogressiveness of, 3, 173, 190, 394
- Commerce between Latins and Hellenes, 325
- Community—
 Analogy between individual and, 291, 293, 294 *seqq.*, 297
 Definition of term, 284
 Epithets applicable to, 285, 286
 Qualities possessed by, 291-292
 White section restrict the responsibility of coloured races, 369
 Who developed civilisation regularly, 342
 Who have not yet developed civilisation, 391-3
- Complexion, three varieties, 13, 22, 166
- Concord, cotton mill owned by Negroes, 254
- Confucianism, 316
- Congoese chieftain's account of religious belief and practices, 121, 126, 140
- Congoese native priests, 122, 155, 156
- Conscience—
 As inherent faculty of the soul, 102
 Growth of, 98, 103 *seqq.*, 111
 Illustrations of working of, 97, 99, 102
 Origin of, 96
 Story of native Christian and, 99
- Cook, Captain, on albinos in Otaheite, 15
- Copernicus, 177, 376, 377
- Coptic language, 203, 204
- Coptos, fortress of, 225
- Copts, 198, 205
 Physical characteristics, 216
- Cordilleras, colour of inhabitants, 25, 28
- Cordova, Khalifate at, 320
- Cornius, King of the Atrebatians, 180
- Cotton, 239
- Coulumb, 176
- Councill, W. H., 257
- Crania—
 As guide to race qualities, 42
 As standard for classification of races, 39, 51
 Difference in size and shape, 381
 Measurements of, 6, 39 *seqq.*; how measured, 40
 Three forms, 41, 44, 48, 51, 166
 "Varying" among races, 39 *seqq.*
- Curnæ, 324
- Cuvier, 176
- Cuzco, ruins of, 313, 315
- D
- Daily News*, July 4th, 1902. Leader on Dumas *per se*: Creole characteristics, 77
- Danaus settled in Argos, 329
- Darius, 230
- Darwin, *Descent of Man* quoted on
 Conscience, 96, 101 *seqq.*
 "Ennobling belief in God not universal," 98, 114, 116, 121, 126
 Evolution, 80 *seqq.*
 Moral and intellectual growth. *seqq.*, 111
 Negroes' dislike of white skins, 101
 Origin of life and mental powers. *note*
 Origin of moral instinct in man, 96-97, 98
- De Candolle, P., 177
- Delphi temple destroyed by fire and rebuilt, 331, 338
- Denmark, servants of, 177
- Descartes, 176, 377

Diodorus on—

- Cost of living in Egypt, 332
- Egyptian and Greek art, 336
- Egyptian learning, 335, 338
- Irish cannibalism, 189
- Red-haired Egyptians, 18
- Discoveries, difference between ancient and modern, 385
- Douglass, Hon. Frederick, 264
- Sketch of career, 268
- Works, 269
- Dourand, M., on Mandingoes, 58
- Draper, Dr., on—
 - Cannibalism in Belgium, 190
 - Spain under Arab rule, 321
- Drebbel, 176
- Du Bois, Professor M. E., *Conservation of Races*, 255
- Duallas, 214
- Dubois on Hindoo albinos, 15
- Dunbar, Paul Lawrence, poet and novelist, 255

E

Ecuador, Jamaica immigrants to, 372

Egypt—

- Ancient religion, 221 *seqq.*
- Civilisation in, 303, 308, 319 *seqq.*, 379
- Decadence of, 228
- Foreigners settle in, 228, 229
- Greece obtains knowledge of agriculture and letters from, 337
- Greek colonies in, 330
- Intellectual and material superiority to Greece, 338
- Labyrinth, 332
- Lower, early settlers in, 220
- Population, 221
- Religion, arts, and sciences come to Europe from, 334
- United under Psammitichus I., 229
- Upper and Lower, 221
- Egyptian galleries of British Museum, official guide quoted, 39
- Egyptians, ancient—
 - Amusements, 234
 - Architecture, 231
 - Astronomy, 90, 333, 376-378
 - Attainments in science and art, 230 *seqq.*, 234, 333, 334, 379
 - Banquet, 233
 - Bas-relief, "intaglio," 232
 - Belief in God, 133, 140
 - Campaigns against Ethiopians, 226
 - Characteristics of Ancient, 39
 - Chariots, 234
 - Civilisation, 221, 352, 396
 - antiquity of, 340, 378
 - date of, 344
 - Colour, 18, 192, 197, 205, 208, 209, 213
 - Commerce, 233
 - Divinities, 192, 206
 - Division of time, 230, 335
 - Dynastic history of, 223 *seqq.*

Egyptians, ancient—

- Education, 234
- Educators of modern Europe, 235
- Engineering—use of sand-box, 204, 334
- Glass and pottery, 232
- Hair, 18, 197, 205, 209
- Hebrews and, 207
- Hieroglyphs, 232
- Idols, 220
- Industrial art, 232-233
- Khalifate, 320
- Knowledge of geometry and astronomy, 376-378
- Language, 199 *seqq.*, 207, 208.
 - See also* Hamitic language
- Literature, 231
- Measures for land and distance, 230
- Mechanical and artistic excellence, 225, 232
- Military art, 233
- Music, 232
- Occupations, 233
- Origin of European civilisation, 336, 378-379, 384, 393
- Painting, 232
- Poetry, 232
- Physical characteristics, 382
- Racial origin, 191 *seqq.*, 206, 208, 216 *seqq.*, 221, 381, 382
- Sculpture, 231
- Settlers in Greece, 329
- Sowed seeds of civilisation among Latin tribes, 323
- Temples, 231
- Under Persian yoke, 229
- War with Assyria, 228-229
- Weights and measures of capacity, 230, 234
- Elements found in animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, 160, 168
- Emulation, 353, 355, 370
- Engineering, modern, and Egyptian use of the sand-box, 334
- England—
 - Career of progress, 175
 - Discoveries in science and art, 289-290, 291
 - Iron and coal influencing civilisation, 310-311
 - Savants, 176
 - Englishmen at Moorish Universities, 322
- Epirotes, Gauls and, 182
- Esquimaux, their religious notions, 123, 125
- Ethiopians, 146, 192
 - Brain peculiarities, 46
 - Curse upon, 34
 - Features, 54
 - Views on beauty in white men, 59, 61, 62, 63
 - See also* Negroes
- Euclid, 377
- Euclid's elements, Latin translation of Arabic version, 322

- Euro-American aversion to Afro-American, 64
- Europe, as seen in the past, 178 *seqq.*
- Europe as seen in the present, 174 *seqq.*
- European civilisation—
 Ancient and modern, 319
 Difference between extra-European and, 384
 Its incipient impulse, 343
 Originated in Egypt, 336, 378-379, 384, 393
 Real progress of, 378
- European features, 54
- European standard of civilisation, 381
- European States, out-growths of ancient Rome, 323
- Europeans—
 Ancient, compared with Africans, 249, 250
 Date of contact with higher culture, 395, 396
- Evolution, 5, 11, 12, 151
- As a criterion of origin of race, 79 *seqq.*, 113
- Bases disproved, 159 *seqq.*, 165 *seqq.*, 171, 172
- How term is employed, 154
- Makes physical side of man the most important, 161, 170
- Monogenesis and, 154 *seqq.*, 165 *seqq.*
- "Natural selection" and "variation," 158
- Eye, colour of, 22, 28
- F
- Face, projection of, 41, 42
- Faces peculiar to different races, 53 *seqq.*
- "Facial angle," 51, 56, 57 and *note*
- "Faculty" defined, 114, 116, 124
- Fantis, 214
- Faraday, 176
- Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, quoted on—
 Ancient Egyptians, 195, 196, 206
 Colour of Kaffirs, 215
 Religion of Esquimaux and Hottentots, 125
- Features—
 Ethiopian, European, and Mongolian, 54
 Peculiarities in different races, 16, 53 *seqq.*, 152, 165
 Permanent types in family, nation, and race, 56
- Fetishism, 117, 118, 119, 121, 122
- Finns, xanthous, 18
- Food as influencing civilisation, 299, 301, 309
- Fortune, T. Thomas, editor of *New York Globe* and *New York Age*, 256
- France, discoveries in science and art, 290, 291
- France, savants of, 176
- Franklin, 177, 392
- Fuegians without religious impulses, 100
- Fulah tribe, 58
- G
- Galileo, 176
 Work of, 376
- Gallus, Gaius Sulpicius, studies in astronomy and mathematics, 105
- Galvain, 176
- Gauls, their—
 Ignorance, 179
 Instability, 182, 183, 184
 Superstition, 181
 Unprogressiveness, 184
- Geber, founder of chemistry, 320
- Geometry, 376
 Introduced into Greece from Egypt, 377
 Origin of, 335
- Georgia, 265
- Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II.), studied at Moorish University, 322
- Germanic or Teutonic nations, 174
- Germans (ancient)—
 Colouring in time of Tacitus, 17
 Ignorance, 179
 Matrimony among, 188
 Slaves, 188
 Superstition, 181
 Unprogressiveness, 185
- Germany, discoveries in science and art, 176, 290, 291
- Gesner, 177
- Gilbert, of Brown University, 257
- Glen Grey Act, Cape Colony, 361
- Gliddon, George. *Types of Mankind*, 6
 Negroid, 210, 212, 217
 Object of, 217
 Views on origin of Ancient Egyptians, 193, 196, 206, 216 *seqq.*
See also under Nott, Dr. J. C.
- God, native names for, 127, 128, 129, 140
- Golberry, M., on Mandingoes, and tribe of Fulah, 58
- Goldsmith, Dr., account of white Negro, 19
- Goldsmith, Oliver, 78
- Graham, H. D., on Jamaica labourers, 372
- Graves, Col. John T., on Negroes at banquet to Washington Booker, 290
- Gravitation, law of, 375
- Greece, early history of, 327 *seqq.*
- Greece, foreign settlers in, 329
- Greek—
 And Roman, difference in mental attainment, 297 *seqq.*
 Civilisation, origin of, 337, 338, 379
 Colonies in Egypt, 330 *seqq.*
 Colonies in Italy, 324, 325
 Influence on Latins in literature and art, 326, 339

Greek—

Philosophers in Egypt, 332, 333, 338,
342, 377
Religion, 330 *seqq.*

Egyptian origin of, 307, 308 and *note*

Greeks—

Adopt Egyptian sciences and arts, 235
Affected by higher civilisation of
Egypt, 331 *seqq.*
And Latins, commerce between, 325
Four divisions, 327
Supplied germs of civilisation to Latin
tribes, 323 *seqq.*, 327

H

Hair, structure of, 21

Haller, 177

Hamitic languages, 201, 203

Hamitic race, classification of, 210 *seqq.*

Harvey, 176

Studied at Padua, 333

Haussas, 121, 395

Haytian Revolution, 271 *seqq.*

Hebrews, Ancient Egyptians and, 207

Heeren, on—

Origin of Ancient Egyptians, 191, 192,
193, 196 *seqq.*, 205, 213, 216, 220

Physical characteristics of Ancient
Egyptians, 382

Height, ascertaining the average, 45

Heliopolis, 225

Hellenes. *See* Greeks

Hellenium, the, 331

Helmholtz, 176

Hercynian Forest, 179

Herhar, high-priest of Amen-ra, 228

Herodotus on—

Egyptians, 331, 338

Colour, 208, 209

Division of year, 335

Labyrinth in Egypt, 332

Introduction of geometry into Greece
from Egypt, 377

Origin of geometry, 335

Rebuilding temple of Delphi, 331

Tenet of immortality of the soul, 330

Xanthous Budines, 18

Herschel, Sir William, 176

Discoveries, 288, 289, 291

Qualifications, 290, 291

Sketch of career, 286 *seqq.*, 290

Telescopes, 287

Hesiod, 324

Hezekiah, 229

Hhagara, colour of, 26

Hill, Robert, *Cuba and Porto Rica.*

Jamaica Negroes, 373

Hindoos, 198

Antiquity of civilisation, 341, 342

Civilisation, 396

Discovered Arabic notation, algebra,
and trigonometry, 380, 382

Hittites, 226, 227

Hobson, J. A., on effects of drink and
vice on natives, 363, 364

Hodgson, on dialects of Berber tribes,
218

Holden, Professor, on Herschel as a
practical astronomer, 291

Holland, savants of, 176

Honeman, on colour of Kollouvy and
Hhagara, 26

Hoshea, king of Israel, 228

Hottentot, not an idolater, 123, 124, 125

House of Commons, debate on native
labour in mines, 365

Howitt, A. W., on Australian Abo-
rigines' belief in Supreme Spirit,
128, 130, 131, 140

Human organism and human race, anal-
ogy between, 144, 151, 160

Human organism, three cellular pro-
genitors, 145, 148

Human race. *See* Mankind

Humboldt, on Ancient Egyptian language,
207

Hunter, John, 176

Huyghens, 176

Dynamical laws of, 376

Hybrids, 70

Hyksos irrupt into Lower Egypt, 225

I

Iboes, 214

Idleness, examples of, in white men,
359, 360

Idleness, Negroes accused of, 359, 371

Idolatry, 117, 118, 119, 121, 155

Idols, their divine attributes, 122, 123,
155

Igjas, 214

Ignorance of early Gauls and Britons, 178

Imagination, sway of nature over, 302,
303, 305, 307

Incas, empire of, 313, 315

Incas' religion, 314

India, civilisation in, 303, 308, 309

Indigo, 239

Individual, analogy between nation and,
291, 293, 294 *seqq.*, 297

Individual, three stages of life-history,
294, 297

Indo-European languages, 199, 202, 218

Indo-European race, how distinguished,
213

Instability of Gauls, 182, 183, 184

Intellect, growth of virtue and, 103 *seqq.*,
111, 112

Intercourse between white and coloured
races, 1

Inventions, difference between ancient
and modern, 385

Iphicrates, 230

Iron age in Africa, 250

- Iron and coal influencing civilisation in Britain, 310-311
- Italians, 309
- Italy, discoveries in science and art, 290, 291
- Italy, savants of, 176
- J
- Jamaica, mulattoes of, 73, 75
- Jamaica Negroes, 371-373
As labourers, 372, 373, 394
- Japanese nation, 340
- Java, albinos in, 15
- Jeroboam flees from Solomon, 228
- Jews sometimes fair, 17
- Johnson, Sir Harry, on natives of Africa, 357, 358
- Jolofs, 58
- Jones, of University of Virginia, 257
- Joseph, storehouses built by, 226
- Josiah, king of Israel, 229
- Judaism, 137, 138, 139, 142
- K
- Kabyles, difference of complexion among, 26
- Kaffirs—
Colour of, 215
Effects of drink and vice on, 363, 364
Notion of deity, 132
Wages, 365
See also Native
- Kalmuks, some xanthous among, 18
- Karnak, portico of the Rubastis, 228
- Katesh, Battle of, 227
- Keane, Prof. A. H., *Man, Past and Present, Ethnology*. Chambers's *Encyclopaedia*, 6
- Classifications of human race, 10, 146
- On cranium as standard of classification, 39, 40
- On "genuine Negro," 210
- On value of cranial measurements, 44
- Theory of ascent of man, 10, 79, 94, 144, 160
- Kelvin, 176
- Kepler, 176
Work of, 376
- Khafra, 224, 225
Statutes of, 225, 231
- Khem, 222
- Khufu (Cheops), 224
- Kimberley mines, native labour in, 361
- Kingsley, Mary, on African's religion, 126
- Kirchoff, 176
- Knot, Rev. J. P., 270
- Knowledge, progressive, 385, 386, 389 *seqq.*
- Kola-nut, 240, 243
- Kollouvy, colour of, 26
- Kurnai, secrecy about religious belief, 131
- L
- Laing, Major, on—
Mandingoes, 58
Tymaney, 58
- Lamarck, 176
- Landor, Dr., story of Australian's sense of duty to his dead wife, 97
- Lanepole, S., on Egyptian civilisation, 234
- Language, effect of difference of, 153
- Language: Indo-European, Semitic, Hamitic, 199 *seqq.*
- Laplace, 176
"Nebular Hypothesis," 387 *seqq.*
- Laplancers melanous, 18
- Latham, on "genuine Negro," 211, 212
- Latin—
and Greeks, commerce between, 325
— — difference in mental attainment, 297 *seqq.*
- Architectural art, 326
- Civilisation, origin of, 323 *seqq.*, 339, 343
- Community, three stages of life, 294 *seqq.*
- Intellectual and moral state of, 104 *seqq.*
- Jurisprudence, 326
- Literature, maturity of, 342
- Opinion of grey-eyed child, 17
- Religion, 326
- Slaves, 35
- Tongue embodied learning of Middle Ages, 319
- Weights and measures, 325
- Lavoisier, 176
- Le Page Renouf, on Egyptian belief in God, 133
- Leeuwenhock, 176
- Legge, Professor, on Chinese literature, 317
- Lehmann, 176
- Leibnitz, 176
- Lepsius, drawings of ancient Egyptians, 206, 216
- Lepsius on ancient Egyptian language, 207
- Leucous (Albinos), 13 *seqq.*, 22, 166
- Liebig, 176
- Linnæus, 177
- Logic, 383
- Lubbock, Sir John (Lord Avebury), on general existence of religion, 115, 125, 130, 132, 140, 141
- Lyell, 176
- Lyons, Judson W., 256
- M
- Ma Twan Liu, *General Examination of Records and Scholars*, 317
- McKnee, John, Negro millionaire, 255
- Maghâra copper mines, 226
- Malacurry, albino at, 16

- Malpighi, 176
Manding or Jalakonda, 236
Mandingoes, 395
 A progressive people, 249, 250
 Account of, 236 *seqq.*
 Agriculture, 239
 Annalists, 243
 Burial, 245
 Cereals, 239
 Class distinction, 246
 Commercial activity, 242
 Compared with ancient Europeans, 249, 250, 281
 Dances, 243, 248
 Description of, 58
 Division of year and day, 242
 Domestic animals, 240
 Dress, 238
 Education and training of children, 245
 Etiquette, 242
 Food and meals, 239
 Fruits, 240
 Game, 240
 Government, 246
 Houses, 237, 238
 Industrial enterprises, 240-2, 249, 394
 Leather workers, 241
 Manufacture of cotton cloth, 240
 Marriage, 243
 Mohammedans well educated, 242
 Mohammedans with Pagan customs, 247
 Mosques, 238
 Musical art, 243
 Physical and moral characteristics, 236, 239
 Polygamy practised, 244
 Pursuits, 239, 240
 Slaves, 246
 Smelting iron, 241
 Towns, 237
 Warfare, 246
Manetho, History of Egypt, 223
Mankind—
 Alleged differences between white and coloured races, 218 *seqq. passim*
 Analogy between lower animals and, 158, 171
 Attitude towards worlds of sense and faith, 154 *seqq.*, 167, 169
 Brachycephalic, or shortheads, 41, 48
 Civilisation not the prerogative of any one race, 312
 Common descent supported by analogy, 144 *seqq.*, 151, 163
 Constructed on same general type as animals, 80 *seqq.*
 Differences in races, 33, 79, 149, 150, 152, 163, 165, 166, 172 *passim*
 Dissimilarities to lower animals, 87 *seqq.*, 91, 93, 95, 159, 171
 Distribution of, 37
 Dolichocephalic, or longheads, 41, 48
 Early civilisation and savagery, 341
 Mankind—
 Link between two worlds, 164, 168
 Mesaticephalic, or medium heads, 42, 48
 Physical resemblance and difference, 53 *seqq.*, 163
 Racial characteristics, 76
 Real differences found in communities, not in races, 339
 Similarities to lower animals, 80 *seqq.*, 93, 95, 159, 171, 172
 Three groups, 146 *seqq.*, 163, 169, 283, 292
 Three varieties of colour, 13, 22, 23
 Two classes, 1
 Universal belief in God, 126 *seqq.*, 140, 142, 159, 168
Manioc, 239
Mant, 222
Maraboos, 245, 247, 248
Mathematics, 377
Matkara, colour of, 26
Matter, elements of, 85
Megiddo conquered, 226
Melanin, 32
 Carboniferous nature of, 26
 Distribution of, 21, 22, 24, 27
Melanous, 13, 22, 166
Memphis, 192, 224, 227
 Founded, 224
 Taken by assault, 225
Menes, dynasty of, 224
Menziès, Dr., *History of Religion*—
 Egyptian religion, 134
 Monotheism, evolution of, 134, 136, 139, 141
 On savagery of human race, 341
Merientah (Amenophis, Pharaoh), 227
Meroë, 192, 218
Mesopotamia, 226
Mexico—
 Ancient culture of, 347 *seqq.*, 352
 Calendar, 348
 Civilisation, 303, 308, 380, 392
 Literature, 348
 Religion, 348
 Social life, 349
Meydûm, sculpture found at, 231
Mitford, on authorities for Egyptian settlers in Greece, 329
Mitford on Hellenes, 327
Moeris, Lake, 225
Moffatt, Dr., on Kaffir notion of deity, 132
Mohammedan conquest, 156
Mohammedan Empire, threefold partition of, 320
Mohammedanism, 137-139, 142
Mollien, M., on Jolofs, 58
Mommson, *History of Rome*, quoted on—
 Latin measures, 325
 Roman architectural art, 326
 Roman slavery, 108
 Mongolian features, 54

- Mongolic race, civilisation among, 392
 Mongolic races, 147
 Monkeys, diseases of, 81
 Monogenesis, 5, 12, 151, 152
 Evolution and, 154 *seqq.*
 Theory of, 162 *seqq.*, 166 *seqq.*, 170
 Monotheism as developed from pagan
 deism, 136, 138, 139
 Moorish universities, 322
 Moral sense, nature and growth of, 95
 seqq. See also *Conscience and Religious*
 instinct
 Mordonians xanthous, 18
 Morrison, on pigment deposits in Negro's
 skin, 33
 Merton, Dr. Samuel—
 Collection of crania, 47
 On cranial measurements, 6
 On racial origin of Ancient Egyptians,
 194, 206
 Mulattoes, 71 *seqq.*
 Of Jamaica, 73, 75
 Of United States, 74
 Murring tribe, 128
 Initiation of youths, 129, 130, 131
 Musschenbrock, 176
- N
- Nassau, Dr., *Philosophy of Fetishism*,
 quoted, 122, 127
 Nation, or people, definition of term, 283
 National and personal characteristics and
 achievements, 291, 293, 294 *seqq.*,
 297
 Native Christian, story of, 99
 Native labour for mines, 356, 361
 Native life in mine compounds, 362 *seqq.*
 See also *Kaffirs*
 Native serfdom, 336
 Natural world, man's triumphs in, 155,
 167
 Nature, aspects of, influencing civilisa-
 tion, 302, 305, 309
 Naturism, 117, 122; reasons for, 118
 Naucratis, 331
 Nebuchadnezzar, 229
 "Nebular Hypothesis," 387 *seqq.*
 Nectanebes, I., II., 230
 Nef, Nû or Nûm, 222
 Nefert, sculpture found at, 231
 Negroes—
 Ability to assimilate culture, 281, 282
 Accused of laziness, 359, 371
 Brain, 10
 Civilisation of, 393
 Civilised and uncivilised, 355
 Cranium and Orang's, 8
 Definition of term, 210
 Foot, 9
 Fountain head of Western civilisation,
 281, 282
 "Genuine," 210 *seqq.*
 Negroes—
 In United States. See *that title*
 Labour in British Empire, 355 *seqq.*
 Mission in the world, 378, 379
 Not uniformly unprogressive, 394, 395
 Physical characteristics, 66 *seqq.*, 215
 Qualities for civilisation, 394
 Skeleton and German, 8
 Skull, 40, 45
 Time of contact with higher culture,
 395
 Under Christian culture, 251 *seqq.*
 Under native and Mohammedan cul-
 ture, 236 *seqq.*
 See also *Ethiopian*
 Negroes (Egyptian), 191, 195, 206, 208,
 209, 216 *seqq.*, 221
 Negroes in United States, 251 *seqq.*, 281
 At banquet to Washington Booker, 265
 Banks, institutions, and businesses
 owned and managed by, 254
 Baptists, 260
 Education, 252
 Educators, 257
 Financiers, 255
 Four great leaders, 264 *seqq.*, 281
 In relation to Western civilisation, 267
 Journalists, 256
 Millionaire, 255
 National Association of Coloured
 Women, 261 *seqq.*, 265
 "Negro Business League," 254
 Number in business, 253
 Painter, 256
 Patents granted to, 255
 Physicians, 256
 Poets and authors, 255
 Politicians, 256
 Property of, 252
 Refinement and culture, 265
 Soldiers, 261
 Theologians, 260
 "Negroid," 210, 211, 212, 213, 215, 217
 New National Era, Washington, 269
 New York, Empire Business Men's
 Club, 254
 Newfoundland annexed, 175
 Newton, Sir Isaac, 176
 Discovers and investigates law of
 gravitation, 374-376
 Reference to himself, 385, 386
 Universal proposition, 374
 Nicholson, Prof., on animal and vegetable
 organisms, 84
 "Nigritian," 218
 Nile, navigation of the, 233
 Nott, Dr. J. C., *Types of Mankind*,
 quoted on:
 Cranial measurements, 6
 Cranium as standard of classification,
 39, 40
 Creation of races in "provinces," 160
 Description of "Nigritians," 218
 Difference between Negro and Orang, 8

Nott, Dr. J. C., *Types of Mankind*,
 quoted on :
 Hybridity of animals, 7
 Mulattoes, 71
 Negroid, 210, 212, 217
 Number of skulls examined by
 Morton, 47
 Physical characteristics of Ancient
 Egyptians, 382
 Views on origin of Ancient Egyptians,
 193, 194, 196, 198, 206, 216-18

O

Organism, 149, 150, 166, 169
 Organisms, animal and vegetable, 83,
 84, 86, 87
 Origin of human race ; three theories of, 5
 Origin of life and mental powers, 158
 and *note*
 Osiris, 222-223
 Osirtasen I., III., 225
 Osorkon II., 228
 Otaheite, albinos in, 15

P

Pacific Island Labourers Act, 1901, 367
 Pactus, Sextus Ælius, *The Tripatita*, 105
 Pagan religious evolution, 136, 138, 139,
 141
 Palestine conquered, 229
 Palissy, 176
 Paracelsus, 177
 Park, Mungo, on colour of Soudanese
 tribes, 214
 Pascal, 176
 Pasteur, 176
 Pelasgi, 327
 Pellase, description of white Negro, 19
 Pelusium, battle of, 229
 Peru, civilisation of, 303, 308, 340, 347,
 378, 380, 392
 Peruvians, ancient, 313 *seqq.*
 Pharnabazus, 230
 Philadelphia, story of coloured Church
 and their minister, 59
 Phillips, Wendell, oration on Toussaint
 L'Ouverture, 272 *seqq.*
 Phœnicians—
 Civilisation, 352
 Influencing Greek civilisation, 330
 Settlements in Mediterranean Isles,
 328, 329
 Sowed seeds of civilisation among
 Latin tribes, 323
 Photophobia, 36
 Phrygians settle in Greece, 329
 Pindar, on Colchians, 208
 Plato, 338, 342
 Studies in Egypt, 377
 Pliny, on variation of complexion, 25
 Plutarch, on Cæsar's expedition to
 Britain, 185

Poeta, 176
 Poland, savant of, 177
 Polybius, on—
 Instability of Gauls, 182, 183, 184
 Mode of life among Gauls, 184
 Pelos settling in Greece, 329
 Polygamy, 188
 Polygenesis, 5, 11, 79, 206
 Polytheism, 139, 142, 155.
See also Idolatry
 Portuguese in West Africa, their colour,
 30
 Prichard, Dr. J. C., *Physical History of
 Mankind*, quoted on—
 Albinos, 14, 15, 16
 Anatomical differences between nations,
 68
 Colour produced by sun's heat, 37
 Common origin of Berber tribes, 218
 Complexion influenced by climate, 25
 Bronzing of artisan, 29
 Fair Jews and Greeks, 17
 Origin of Ancient Egyptians, 208,
 209
 Size of skull in Negro and in other
 races, 49
 Strabo's reports of cannibalism in
 Ireland, 189
 White Negroes, 18, 19
 Priestley, 176
 Procastes, legend of, 219
 Progress, what constitutes, 137
 Progression of knowledge, 385, 386, 389
seqq.
 Prolificacy between black and white, 70
seqq., 166
 Pruner Bey, on Negro brain, 10, 46
 Psammitichus I., II. (Necho), 229, 330,
 331
 Psusennes II., 228
 Pthah, 222
 Ptolemy Claudius, bronze globes, 320
 Ptolemy Philadelphus, requests Manetho
 to draw up a history of Egypt, 223
 Puteoli, 107
 Pyramids built, 224, 225
 Pythagoras, 338, 342, 376, 377

Q

Queensland, black labour in, 359, 367
 Quichuas, 313 *seqq.*

R

Race, definition of term, 283, 284
 Differences, arguments supporting,
 216 *seqq.*
 Immaterial, 285, 286, 292
 Ragoes, 58
 Rajpoots, 198
 Ramses I., 226
 Ramses II., 227
 Alliance with Hittites, 227

- Ramses III., 227
 Rankin, on Tymaneys, 58
 Raphia, battle at, 228
 Ratzel, on "Negro," 211
 Ratzel, on "stone" and "iron" ages in Africa, 250
 Reade, Winwood, on Negroes' admiration of black skins, 62
 Ridi, experiments on "spontaneous generation," 86
Reveree, quoted on Negro, 51
 Reich, Dr., on:—
 Comparison between nations and individuals, 293
 Greek cultivation and science, 298
 Talents and ambition of Rome, 297
 Religion—
 Definition of, 115
 Its language, 162
 Its sway over mankind, 157
 Religious faculty in man, 114 *seqq.*, 124, 125, 161, 164
 Religious instinct in man and animals, 91 *seqq.*
 Scope of, 98
 Rengger, on diseases of monkeys, 81
 Retzius, division of peoples, 44
 Retzius founded craniological school, 40, 45
 Rhamadan, 247-248
 Rhodes, Cecil, on native labour for mines, 361
 Richmond, property owned by Negroes in, 252
Richmond Times, on educated Negroes and their property, 252
 Roanoke, foundry owned by Negroes, 254
 Rocks, systems of, 386-387
 Rollins, on origin of Ancient Egyptians, 208, 209
 Romans *See* Latins
 Rome, ancient, the foundation of European states, 323
 Romford, 392
 Rougé, de la, on Egyptian religion, 134, 135
 Rudolphi, on prolificacy among animals, 70
 Russia, savant of, 177
 Russians, light-haired, 18
- S
- Sabaco, king of Ethiopia, 228
 St. Jerome, on cannibalism, 190
 Salem (Jerusalem), 227
 Santo Domingo, 271
 Saracenic civilisation, 320, 339, 392.
 See also Arabs, Mohammedan, Moorish
 Saracenic victories, 320
 Saracens reveal Greek cast of intellect, 340
- Sargon, king of Assyria, 228
 Scarabacus beetle, 336
 Scarborough, Prof. W. S., Greek grammar, 256
 Scheele, 176
 Science, ancient and modern, 333, 334
 Science, civilisation and, 374
 Scientific research, ancient and modern, 390
 Schwann, 176
 Schweinfurthe on "genuine Negro," 210
 Seales, Daniel, 255
 Semitic languages, 200, 203
 Senegambia, 236
 Sennacherib, 229
Serrati, 180
 Set, or Typhon, worship of, 227
 Seth, 222-223
 Seti I. (Sethos), victories of, 226, 227
 Seti II., 227
 Shabatok, supreme in Egypt, 229
 Shashank I. (Shishak), invaded Israel, 228
 Shaw, Dr., on difference of complexion among Kabyles, 26
 Shelahs (Shuluh), difference of complexion among, 25
 Silures, melanous, 17
 Sindi, people of, 198
 Siva, representation of, 302
 Slavery, 2
 Colour and, 34
 German, 188
 Roman, 108
 Slavonians, melanous, 18
 Slavonic nations, 174
 Slough, Herschel's telescope erected at, 287
 Soil, fertility of, as influencing civilisation, 300, 303, 308
 Solander, Dr., description of albino, 15
 Solomon, imports from Egypt, 233
 Soudan, Central, natives of, 248
 Spain, public libraries, 322
 Spain under Arab rule, 321
 Spallanzani, 176
Spectator, June 1st, 1901, origin of peoples of India, 51
 Spencer, Herbert, on ancestor-worship, 120
 Spirit, worship and, 124
 Spirit-worship, 117, 121
 Spiritual world, man's triumphs in, 158, 167
Standard, Chinese coolies in Africa, 369
 Stanley, Sir Henry, 63
 On colour of Wagandas, 214
 Strabo, on—
 Cannibalism in Ireland, 189
 Cimbrian women, 182
 Gaul's yellow hair, 17
 Suez, canal across isthmus commenced, 229
 Sugar-cane, 239

Sun, worship of the, 119
 Superstition of ancient Gauls and Germans, 181
 Sweden, savant of, 176
 Switzerland, savants of, 177
 Sylvester II., Pope, knowledge of geometry and astronomy, 322
 Syracuse, 324
 Syria subdued, 226

T

Tacitus, on early Germans, 179, 181, 185, 188
 Tanis, 224, 226
 Taoism, 316
 Tarentum, 324
 Taxation of natives of Transvaal, 361, 365, 368, 369
 Taxation, principles of, 356, 368
 Taylor, Governor Hodge, on his black mammy, 67
 Teos or Tachos, 230
 Teutonic or Germanic nations, 174
 Date of civilisation, 344
 Tezcuco, spontaneous culture in, 349
 Thales, visits Egypt, 333, 338, 342, 377
 Thasos, 329
 Thebes, 192, 224, 226
 Founded by Cadmus, 329
 Memorials found at, 225
 Thomson, on pigment granules in Negro skin, 33
 Thothmes I., II., III., 226
 Thucydides, on—
 Earliest progress towards civilisation being in Attica, 330
 Early Greeks, 328
 Pelos in Greece, 329
 Tibur, 105
 Tiedemann, on cranial capacity of African and other races, 49
Times-Herald, Chicago, on National Association of Coloured Women, 263
 Tirhaka, 229
 Tissues, 84, 149
 Tobacco, 239
 Tombs, articles found in, 325
 Topinard, on average weight of brain, 50
 Torentium, fisheries and dyeing works, 324
 Torricelli, 176
 Toussiant L'Ouverture, 264
 Sketch of career, 271 *seqq.*
 Transvaal, labour tax, 365, 368, 369
 Transvaal, native labour for mines, 356
 Treachery of ancient Britons, 180
 Tugwell, Bishop, on natives in central Soudan, 248
 Tungusians, xanthous and melanous, 18
 Tura, quarries of, 225
 Turner, H. O., "Raising of Lazarus," 256
 Tusculum, 105

Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Alabama, 257 *seqq.*
 Teaching of agriculture, 257
 Tymaneys, 58
 Tyndall, experiments on "spontaneous generation," 86

U

United States, Negroes in, 251 *seqq.*
 Unprogressiveness of early nations, 184 *seqq.*

V

Vanderkemp, on Kaffir notion of deity, 132
 Vassa, 257
 Veddah, spirit-worship, 123, 125
 Vedic hymns, 342
 Virginia, property tax of negroes in, 252
 Vitruvius, on variation of complexion, 25
 Vogt, Dr. Carl, *Lectures on Man*, 6, quoted on—
 Cranial measurements, 44
 "Craniel peculiarities" of Negro race, 219
 Cranium as standard of classification, 39, 40, 45
 Measurements of Ethiopian skeletons, 46
 Negro and German skeletons, 8
 Negro brain, 10
 Negro foot, 9
 Negro's physical structure, 66, 68
 Religious instinct in animals, 91
 Savagery of human race, 341
 Volney, on origin of Ancient Egyptians, 208, 209
 Volta, 176
 Von Baer, 177
 Von Helmont, 177
 Votiaks xanthous, 18

W

Wady Halfa, 226
 Wafer, description of American albinos, 14
 Wagandas (Ugandus), 214
 Wagner, R., on organ of faith in man, 91
 Wahuma, 214
 Waitz, on—
 Bronzing of artisan, 29
 Colour produced by sun's heat, 37
 Complexion influenced by climate, 25, 26
 Descent of human race from one pair, 149
 "Genuine Negro," 210, 211
 Walker, Dr. C. T., on education of Negro children in United States, 252
 Wallis, 377

- Walters, Alexander, Bishop of Zion African Methodist Church, 260
- Wankapong, albino at, 16
- Wankapong, white Negro woman near, 19
- War-chariots, 233
- Washington, Booker T., founded Tuskegee Normal Industrial Institute, 257, 259, 264, 268
 Banquet to, 265
 Dines with President Roosevelt, 51
- Washington, Lieut., on difference in complexion among Shelahs, 25
- Watt, Isaac, 176
- Wealth, institution of, 301
- Weekly Scotsman*, October 29th, 1904, Negroes of United States, 263
- White, Hon. George H., 256
- White man's views of Ethiopian beauty, 58, 59, 62, 63
- White Negroes, 16, 18, 19, 22, 36
- White races—
 Alleged superiority, 282, 381, 383, 394-396 *passim*
 Attitude towards coloured, 2-4
 Civilisation and, 220
 Definition of term, 284
 In tropics, 35
 Intercourse with coloured races, 1; results, 2
 Not always progressive, 173, 190, 395
 Progressive, 3, 394
 Prolificacy between black and, 70 *seqq.*, 166
 Radical distinctions between coloured races and, 11, 165, 172, 173 *seqq.*
- Whitney, Prof., on old Egyptian and Coptic and South African languages, 204, 207
- Wilkinson, on Moses and future state of man, 223
- Willebrordtnell, 176
- Williams, Dr. Daniel H., 256
- Williams, Col. George, *History of the Negro Race*, 255
- Wilson, Rev. Daniel, 270
- Wilson, Rev. J. L., *Western Africa*—
 On African's belief in God, 127, 140
 On difficulty in understanding native beliefs, 132
- Winterbottom, Dr.—
 Description of African albinos, 16
 White Negro woman, 19
 Xanthous Africans, 18
- Witchcraft in Europe, 189
- Wood, Granville T., electric controller system patents, 255
- Work, white men's attitude towards, 359 *seqq.*
- Worship, 157
 Definition of, 116, 124
 Hypothetical development of Pagan systems, 122 *seqq.*
 Spirit and, 124
 Two classes, 117, 120, 123
- Wyman, Dr. Jeffries, on Negro and Orang crania, 8
- X
- Xanthous, 13, 17 *seqq.*, 22, 166
- Xerxes I., 230
- Y
- Yorubas, 214