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ORDINARY MEETING, JANUARY 3, 1870.

JAMES REDDIE, ESQ., HONORARY SECRETARY, IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed, and the presentation of the following books was reported :—

“Handbook of the Year 1868.” *From Messrs. Wyman & Sons.*
 “Decandolle’s Botany.” (18 vols.) *From Dr. Fraser*
Saturday Review. (From the commencement, in 28 vols.)
From J. Reddie, Esq.

The CHAIRMAN.—Before calling on the Rev. Mr. Titcomb to read his paper on the “Origin of the Negro,” I beg leave to congratulate the Society upon the fact that we take our place to-night in our new rooms. It must not however be supposed that we have got everything perfectly in order. The seats we now have are only temporary seats, and there will have to be other alterations in our arrangements ; but I am sure that all those who are in the habit of attending our meetings must feel that we have made a change decidedly for the better. Bye-and-bye, this room will be opened as a reading-room, and we have had the promise of several periodicals which will be laid on the table ; and I hope that our members in town as well as those in the country may find this a convenient place for meeting. I am sorry that I am again compelled to occupy the chair this evening. I had hoped that Mr. Mitchell would have made his reappearance among us on this occasion, when we are taking our place in our new premises. He wrote to me to say that he hoped to do so, but he had made a mistake of a week, and as he is busy reorganizing his new parish of Purton he will not be able to be with us to-night. At our next meeting I hope he will be able to take the chair.

The Rev. Mr. TITCOMB then read the following paper :—

*THE ORIGIN OF THE NEGRO : AN INQUIRY INTO
 THE DERIVATION OF THE NEGRO RACE FROM
 OUR OWN PRIMEVAL STOCK. By the Rev. J. H.
 TITCOMB, M.A., M.V.I.*

1. **A**MONG all those physical varieties by which the human family is marked off into separate branches, none are more peculiar and none more difficult to account for than those which distinguish the Negroes. To say that these people are unlike any other division of mankind would not be enough.

Their characteristics are so exceptionally and intensely divergent from the rest of us, that there have not been wanting persons even to advocate the theory of their origin by a distinct and independent creation.

2. It will be readily allowed that a speculation so short and summary as this at once cuts the knot of many scientific difficulties. Whether, however, it be really philosophical, may be much doubted, for true philosophy never takes refuge from difficulties by hastily theorizing; its highest office being to labour patiently by observation, inquiry, and experiment; to argue through analysis, analogy, and induction; and only to decide upon results when every available method of investigation shall have been exhausted. That those who deny the possibility of the derivation of the Negro race from our own primeval stock have neglected these fundamental conditions of scientific study, will appear, I think, in the sequel. At all events, it will be one object of this paper to prove that they have done so. I say *one* object of it only, because, much as I may indirectly wish to bring out that fact, I hope I write with a higher and a nobler purpose than to be personally antagonistic, or rudely self-asserting. I would ever desire to cherish upon the forefront of all papers read within this *Institute* the spirit of free, full, and searching inquiry after truth; not, however, for the purpose of confounding an adversary or of triumphing in successful argument, but simply out of homage to truth itself. For it appears to me that honour rendered to truth is at once the best and purest offering which Science can bring into the temple of Nature, or lay down before the footstool of God.

3. The chief divergences of the Negro race from the rest of the human family are *structural*, rather than *physiological*. It would be a great mistake indeed to press this latter element of variation. For with the exception of freedom from the fatal influences of certain malaria, to which all other races succumb, the Negroes are one with the rest of mankind. In longevity, in the period of dentition, the duration of pregnancy, and many other particulars, we discover no difference between this race and others. Some writers maintain the existence of specific psychological differences among them, but these seem accidental rather than specific, resulting from long oppression and degradation. The Negro child is acknowledged by all as not inferior in intellectual capacity to the white child, when properly educated, being both as docile and as quick of apprehension. But it is alleged that when the age of puberty arrives, he becomes incapable of making any further progress; becoming indolent, apathetic, and obstinate. These pecu-

liarities, however, seem accidental rather than specific ; resulting from long oppression and degradation, and from the incidents which are naturally peculiar to centuries of savage life in hot, damp, and depressing climates. The fact that we now have a Negro bishop, of the purest African blood, who is not only a native philologist, but one who is exercising his offices with recognised administrative ability, is amply sufficient to prove that the Negro race has no specific inferiority to others, either mentally or morally.

4. *First* and foremost comes the Colour of the Skin, which, unlike that of the ordinary dark tawny races, shines with a bright jet blackness. This colour (which is not actually born with the child, but develops itself gradually a short time afterwards) arises from a black pigment seated between the *epidermis* and the *cutis vera*, in a thin substance commonly called the *rete mucosum*. There seemed, for a long time, to have been considerable difficulty in deciding whether this substance was merely mucus or a distinct reticular tissue ; but according to the evidence of the latest microscopists, it is now believed that the *rete mucosum* is an actual part of the *epidermis* itself, of which it is only the innermost layer.* It exists, indeed, among all races of men as the constant seat of colouring matter for the skin ; but in no case, except that of the Negroes (and of certain other sub-varieties which may be viewed ethnologically as cognate with them), is this pigment absolutely and intensely black. I am quite aware that many persons point out a long series of links or gradations in colour among the different races,—from those whose skins are fair, to those which are jet-black,—passing through changes so imperceptible that, as they contend, there is no possibility of saying where the lines of distinction are to be drawn. But the origin of the extremely black divergence being in question, the approximating shades must not be necessarily assumed as having been produced in graduated succession from the fairest. On the contrary, it is far more probable that the jet-black races should have first appeared suddenly, and then through occasional intercourse with fairer people have afterwards generated into variable shades of lesser or greater darkness, than that the original fairer race should have become gradually *self-developed* into varieties which were coloured off subsequently by insensible degrees toward Negro blackness. For, as far as I am able to judge by reading, we have no analogical instances within our present range of experience which

* See *Manual of Human Histology*, by A. Kölliker (Busk and Huxley's translation), vol. i. p. 132.

would bear out the theory ; there is not the slightest evidence, that is to say, at the present moment, of any *self-tendency* among the fairer races of mankind to propagate darker colours than their own. Whereas, the other supposition might be shown as coming within the range of possibility at any period of the world ; inasmuch as by the mixture of the fairer races with those which are already established as black, almost every shade of variety can now be generated and perpetuated. I feel bound, therefore, to place this black pigment of the Negro skin as the first, if not the greatest, of those abnormal characteristics which separate that race from the rest of mankind.

5. A *second* peculiarity of the Negroes is the Texture of their Hair, which, at first of a chestnut-brown, straight, and only curled at the ends, afterwards invariably grows black, short, and crisp, and has often been compared to wool. Not that there is any real analogy between the two ; for the surface of the filament of wool is rough, whereas in hair, and even in Negro hair, as far as the visible eye is concerned, it is smooth ; added to which, all human hairs drop off singly and periodically, while wool falls off in masses. While, therefore, it cannot be said that the Negro race have wool upon their heads in place of hair, yet the harsh, crisp, and short frizzled covering which they possess is certainly a most divergent and abnormal characteristic. It is true that sub-varieties of the Nigritian families may be found with longer and more luxuriant locks, produced, in all probability, either by climate or other exceptional causes ; but, on the other hand, there is not a single group to be found among the rest of mankind which is marked by any such woolly fleece ; so that this portion undoubtedly stands out as one of their most noteworthy peculiarities.

6. We come now, in the *third* place, to the Skull of the Negro, which, regarded in its true typical character, as exemplified among the indigenous tribes of Western Africa, is marked by a combination of the most striking peculiarities. Described in popular rather than anatomical terms, the forehead is depressed, the cranium contracted, the jaws project, the upper teeth are oblique instead of perpendicular, the chin recedes, and the nasal cavity is large, the nose consequently broad and flat, and the lips thick ; features by which the intellectual characteristics of man are reduced, and the animal proportionately exaggerated. All those parts of the skull, for example, which are connected with the organs of sense are unusually large ; while the facial angle, which is an unmistakable measurement of brain-power, is unusually small. Add to this an extreme thickness of skull, so that it is often used in quarrels for butting purposes, after the manner of rams and

sheep. Here again we have a feature which distinguishes the Negro race from the rest of mankind. For, although there may be a few individual specimens among other races in which we discover some approximation to this debased and prognathous skull, and although there may possibly be a few individual instances of Negro approximation to the elliptic or pyramidal skull of other nations, yet, taking each in the mass, there is a decided separation between them; a separation so entire and decided, that the Negro race must still be regarded, in these respects, as a solecism in the midst of humanity.

7. There is a *fourth* difference, which ought not to be overlooked in a paper of this kind, viz., the size of the Pelvis. After very careful measurements, it has been found that in many instances the Negro pelvis is smaller in both its diameters than the European. Dr. Vrolik, of Amsterdam, indeed, has remarked that the pelvis of the male negro, in the strength and density of its substance, and of the bones which compose it, resembles the pelvis of a wild beast; while that of the female combines lightness of substance and delicacy of form and structure. The same distinguished writer asserts the existence of several other specific differences; but as the number of cases tested is as yet insufficient for the formation of any satisfactory judgment, and as Professor Owen is of opinion that such differences are not necessary characteristics of race,* I will not enter further into them.

8. Other structural peculiarities have been also noted, such as a greater length in the lower arm in proportion to the upper arm and the height of the body; the flatness also of the hands and feet, and the flexibility of the fingers and toes. The bones also of the legs are bent outwards, under the condyles of the thigh-bone, so that the knees stand further apart, and the feet are turned more outward than in Europeans.

9. The problem which ethnologists have to solve is, How were these structural peculiarities originated?

To this question five answers may be given:—

I. *By an act of independent and separate creation.*

II. *By a miraculous judgment on the person of Canaan.*
(See Gen. ix. 25.)

III. *Through the action of food, climate, and other external causes.*

IV. *Through the principle of Methodical selection, by which new varieties of animals are often artificially produced.*

V. *Through the operations of Natural selection, after some*

* Owen's *Comparative Anatomy*, vol. ii. p. 578.

unexpected appearance of a congenital variety bearing this peculiar Negro character.

10. (I.) The theory of an origin of the Negro race by means of a SEPARATE CREATION is one which can only be fairly arrived at by negating the possibility, or, at all events, the slightest probability, of any other theory. It may be contended that all the five or more leading varieties of mankind were created in distinct zoological centres of the earth, the Negro race having been one of these. This theory, as I have already remarked, at once cuts the knot of our present difficulties; but still it is a theory, and one which has been solely invented as an escape from the apparently insoluble nature of the problem now before us. This idea will not, therefore, be argued on any merits of its own, but simply eliminated from consideration by the proofs which I hope to adduce in favour of an origin of the Negro variety through natural processes. If such a view can be established, falling in as it does with the testimony of revelation, I think it will be quite superfluous to go on further by inventing a speculative theory, which must then become both unnecessary and impertinent.

11. (II.) The next theory may be as quickly put out of view, viz., that of a MIRACULOUS JUDGMENT ON THE PERSON OF CANAAN. For if the origin of Negro diversities be miraculous, of course we can dispense with any further inquiries. The bare supposition, however, is so pre-eminently gratuitous and unwarrantable, that I scarcely have patience to name it; the more so, because, to those who know anything of ethnic genealogy, it directly contradicts the plainest facts of the case, the African Negro being only a small subsection of Canaan's posterity, and therefore no proper representative of this curse, even if it had ever fallen in this manner upon Canaan. Independently, however, of this, I think it will be generally allowed that where Holy Scripture is silent on the subject of miraculous agency, we have no right to invent fresh miracles for ourselves in order to get rid of scientific difficulties. No course of conduct can be more fatal to the interests of Divine truth; none more calculated to alienate men of science from theology; none more likely to increase those unfortunate barriers, which already too much separate philosophy and revealed religion.

12. (III.) The next, indeed the first theory which demands serious discussion, is THE ACTION OF FOOD AND CLIMATE, OR OTHER EXTERNAL FORCES. That in the animal kingdom such causes often operate largely in modifying size, colour, and even structure, admits of no doubt.

13. With respect to *Food*, it is well known that hemp-seed

given to birds of the finch tribe will turn them black. Rich and plentiful food, also, when given to young swine, directly tends to make their heads both broader and shorter; whereas poor food works the contrary result. Horses, too, fed on fat, marshy grounds, grow to a large size; while on strong soils or dry heaths they remain small.

14. With respect to *Climate*, it is equally well established that among domesticated swine, living under constant shelter from the weather, the bristles become much diminished. In the same way, exposure to, or protection from, the influences of climate, will more or less affect the hair of all animals. Mr. Darwin says that in the West Indies, about three generations are enough to produce a very great change in the fleece of sheep. In Africa their fleece degenerates into a coarse hair. The mastiff and goat from Thibet, when brought down from the Himalaya mountains to Kashmir, lose their fine wool. At Angola, not only goats, but shepherd dogs, and even cats, have fine fleecy hair; the thickness of their fleece being attributable to severe winters, and its silky lustre to hot summers. Karakool sheep lose their peculiar black curled fleeces when removed into any other country. Indeed, cases have been known, even within the limits of England, of two breeds of sheep having been slightly changed in consequence of being pastured in different localities.*

15. That results of an analogous nature extend to the human species, is indisputable. Thus the Turks now in Europe, whose ancestors came originally from Mongolia, and who, before their settlement in the West, possessed all the Turanian characteristics of physiognomy, are at present possessed of fine oval skulls and other corresponding features. The Hungarians also, whose ancestors came originally from the Uralian mountains, and were of the same stock with the degraded Ostiaks and Ugrians, and who, when they first made their appearance in the ninth century on the river Danube, had yellowish-red hair, broad noses, and were of small stature, are now a handsome people, with regular European features. It will, perhaps, be said that both these cases may have been influenced by intermarriages with members of the Indo-European family; and, of course, so far any special argument drawn from the action of climate, food, &c., as having modified their original form, will fail. But, to say the least of it, these intermixtures of race were not likely to have been sufficiently general as to have permeated the whole of each nation. Whereas, arguing analogically

* Darwin's *Variation of Animals and Plants*, vol. ii. p. 278.

from the cases just mentioned out of the animal kingdom, nothing is more natural than to suppose that a change from the wild life of savage hunters and nomad wanderers, for the fertile plains, rich harvests, and more civilized life of a settled people in the south of Europe, would prove amply sufficient for this modification in physical form and appearance.

16. The condition of the Jews in various parts of the world presents us with similar results; for in Saxony we find that blue eyes are not infrequent among them, and that in Spain and Portugal their skins are darker than in Britain, while in Russia and Poland they not infrequently have red hair. I will not lay stress on what are called the black Jews of the Malabar coast, because the colony there consists both of white and black members, and, according to the best evidence I can collect, the Hindu complexion of the latter, and their very imperfect resemblance to the European Jews, indicate that they were detached from their parent stock in Judæa many ages before their brethren in the West, and that, during that time, they have intermarried with the Hindus;* indeed, the white Jews look upon the so-called black Jews as an inferior people; and Dr. Wolff affirms that the latter are either Hindu proselytes or a mixed race.†

17. But if climate did not blacken these Malabar Jews, it may be asked, What made many of the natives themselves black? How are we to account for the more than tawny—the almost African—darkness of many of the Hindus throughout different parts of India? Any full answer to this question would take me so far from my present subject that I dare not enter upon it; but I may observe in passing, that if the opinion of several illustrious writers (Sir W. Jones, Professor Ritter, and others) be true, viz., that the aboriginal population of India from the Himalayas to the Deccan was more or less of Negro origin,‡ the difficulty is easily solved.

18. Reverting, however, to the effects of climate, let me refer to the alteration which has been produced upon the typical physiognomy of the English in the United States, where a few centuries of localization on that continent has been enough to produce a distinct sub-variety of mankind. Long-continued residence in a new climate has also not been without an effect even on the Negroes themselves. Dr. Carpenter says that in our old West-Indian colonies, the

* This was the opinion of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, who spent some time among these persons, and investigated the subject fully.

† Dr. Wolf's *Missionary Researches*, p. 308.

‡ See this question slightly discussed in Prichard's *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iv. p. 228.

physiognomy of some of the present Negroes, as far as bony structure is concerned, now approximates to that of Europeans. And he rightly intimates that such an alteration must obviously be the result of climate, education, and other external causes; for if it were produced by any intermixture of blood, it would be apparent at once by an alteration in colour also. Changes of an exactly opposite nature may be equally remarked. Dr. Carpenter says:—"Want, squalor, and ignorance have a special tendency to induce that diminution of the cranial portion of the skull, and that increase of the facial, which characterize the prognathous type, as cannot but be observed by any one who takes an accurate and candid survey of the condition of the most degraded part of the population of the great towns of this country; and as is seen to be the case with regard to the lowest of our Irish immigrants."* It is well known, indeed, that after the English forces had, in 1641 and 1689, driven away the native Irish into the extreme west and north-west districts of Ireland, where they became exposed to hunger, ignorance, and all the elements of uncivilized life, they so degenerated physically that their descendants can, at the present moment, be distinguished from their countrymen in the adjoining parts by their exceptionally projecting jaws, high cheek-bones, depressed noses, and bandy legs. Such are the operations of nature on the same race when placed under different external conditions of human life!

19. Admitting, however, on these general considerations, that climate, food, and newly-acquired habits of life may have exercised a physical influence upon some of the early descendants of primeval man, it is, nevertheless, very questionable whether those extremely abnormal types which now mark the Negro, more particularly the jet-black pigment of his skin and his wool-like fleece of hair, could ever have been thus produced.

20. For, if so, one might reasonably have looked for a development of similar physical characteristics within the vast territories of North and South America, where the same tropical heats, fluviatile swamps, jungle damps, are to be found, and where all the same barbarous conditions of human life must have been in existence for many ages. Yet no such characteristics are discoverable. There is not a single native tribe from Terra del Fuego to the Rocky Mountains or Greenland snows which really corresponds with the Negro variety.

21. Indeed, coming even to Africa itself, how can we, on this principle, account for the fact that in certain parts the white and black races have lived for centuries unchanged in

* Carpenter's *Principles of Human Physiology*, p. 858.

actual juxtaposition? In the country of the Senegal, for example, we find the Moorish race on the left banks, and the Wollofs or Jollofs—an intensely black sub-Negro variety—on the right, between the Senegal and the Gambia.

22. Again, if this climatological theory be correct, how is it that Negroes can pass into other climates, and continue there for many generations, subject to conditions of life quite distinct from those of their remote ancestors, and yet exhibit the same permanent characteristics of skin and hair? In ancient Egypt, for example, we have full monumental proofs of a fixed population of Negroes from the time of Moses to the Ptolemies (a period of twelve centuries); yet their portraiture throughout is one and the same, no climatological or other adventitious circumstance appearing to have modified them in the slightest degree. They have also dwelt upon the continent of America, for about three hundred years, without the least alteration,—I will not say in skull or bony structure, for education, freedom, and civilization do, no doubt, alter that, as I have already remarked; but, at all events, in the colour of their skins and the texture of their hair. It will be said, perhaps, that this survival of their original type is to be accounted for by the constant importation of fresh natives from Africa. To a certain extent that argument may have weight, but I think it can scarcely overthrow the whole force of the preceding observations. For the late slave population of the United States was reared on many plantations as a domestic institution, and yet, when left unmixed with European blood, facts abundantly prove that no influence of food or climate has ever had the slightest tendency to alter the character of its skin or hair.

23. In proportion, then, as these inherent and constitutional powers of race can thus prove themselves superior to all the influences of food and climate, continued throughout centuries, it appears to me to be the less probable that any such aboriginal causes could ever have produced these intensely potent and obstinately permanent characteristics.

24. At all events, should this theory be established, it can only be reasonably substantiated by extending the chronology of the human race to a period of indefinite antiquity. For centuries, which have produced so little change by way of reversion, must be multiplied enormously in order to calculate the probable rate at which they produced an origination of these abnormal characteristics. Egyptian paintings are to be seen coeval with the time of Moses, if not of Joseph, in which the Negro features are as plainly marked as at present. At Medinet-Abou, among the bas-reliefs of Rameses III.,—at Abou Simbel, among the portraits of bound prisoners driven before

Rameses II.,—and at Karnak, among heads which are represented as smitten by Sethos I.,—we find Negroes true to their present type in all particulars. If, then, the whole Negro variety had been climatologically thrown off from the parent stock between the Flood and the time of Moses or Joseph, that interval must have greatly exceeded all our conceptions of the period as derived from the pen of Moses,—an apparent discrepancy between Scripture and scientific research which I have no wish to establish, if, by adopting any other theory, all the phenomena of the case can be otherwise satisfactorily explained.

25. It may possibly be urged that the influences of climate were at that time much more likely to develop physical changes in man with rapidity than they have been since. But every candid mind will acknowledge that this is mere speculation, and that in arguments of a scientific nature all speculation ought to be dismissed which cannot be rendered probable by some form of presumptive proof. I go forward, therefore, into other grounds of observation, with a view to see whether we cannot find certain processes of nature, through which physical varieties can be now produced, which are quite as divergent from the ordinary types of animal life as the Negro variety is from the rest of mankind.

26. For this purpose let us look into (IV.) THE EFFECT OF SYSTEMATIC WEEDING, UNDER THE PRINCIPLES OF METHODOLOGICAL SELECTION.

27. Every one who has studied Natural History must be aware that new varieties of animals may be artificially produced by crossing breeds through carefully-selected pairs. I shall *first* illustrate this fact, and *afterwards* consider whether such a class of phenomena can be fairly adapted to any other theory of Negro origination.

28. Perhaps the best illustration of this part of the subject may be taken from the family of swine. All the known breeds of swine may be divided into two groups: the one group going by the name of *Sus Scrofa*, and the other of *Sus Indica*, between which breeds there are well-known differences, especially in the conformation of their skulls. Now, as a matter of fact, it is found that when any two of these opposite breeds are crossed, the one so modifies the other that the greatest changes are very quickly produced. It is stated, indeed, by one of the very best authorities,* that $\frac{1}{32}$ nd part of the blood of the *Sus Indica* infused into a breed of the *Sus Scrofa* is sufficient to produce a distinct modification of the

* Nathusius, *Schweinschädel*, s. 138. Quoted in Darwin's *Variations of Animals and Plants*, vol. i. p. 69.

skull of the latter variety. This fact at once illustrates the power which careful and scientific agriculturists have in changing the character of particular breeds—a practice which they are pursuing constantly. “The improved Essex pigs, for example, chiefly owe their present excellent qualities,” says Mr. Darwin, “to crosses originally made by Lord Western with the Neapolitan race, and to subsequent crosses with the Berkshire breed.”* So with our British sheep. The Oxfordshire downs, which now rank as an established breed, were produced about the year 1830, by crossing Hampshire or Southdown ewes with Cotswold rams. So with our fowls. The Sebright bantam fowl was formed about sixty years ago, by a complicated cross, which I need not here describe.†

29. It should be remarked, however, that for the production of new breeds through complex crosses, the most careful and unremitting selection of well-chosen pairs through continuous generations is required. This remark is especially important as bearing upon the human problem now under discussion; for that simple and temporary modifications of form may be produced by occasional crossings, whether among animals or men, no one who knows anything about the subject will entertain a doubt. But to produce permanent uniformity in a crossed breed, careful selection and rigorous weeding are in the highest degree necessary, without which any particular variation desired will be always intermittent and uncertain.

30. Sometimes an abnormal specimen, which the owner desires to perpetuate, unexpectedly and spontaneously makes its appearance. In this case, the necessity for crossing it with other breeds is not so important as its careful propagation through the occasionally transmitted specimens of its own type; under which circumstances a new and more strongly-marked variety may be established than could possibly have been produced, even with the greatest skill, under other circumstances. Thus, in one recorded case, when a rabbit produced among her litter a young one having a single ear, the owner afterwards established a breed which steadily produced one-eared rabbits.‡ Again, in Massachusetts (United States), a ram having been accidentally born with short crooked legs and a long back, it was (for reasons which need not here be explained) soon multiplied and raised into a new stock, known by the name of the Ancon breed.§

* See Darwin, *Variations of Animals and Plants*, vol. i. p. 78.

† See Darwin, *idem*, vol. ii. pp. 95, 96.

‡ Anderson's *Recreations in Agriculture, &c.*, vol. i. 68.

§ This Ancon breed has since been allowed to die out, having been supplanted by the Merino breed.

31. By the same valuable process of methodical selection, there is no doubt that many permanent varieties of domesticated animals might be formed, if breeders only thought it worth their time and trouble. A mare has been known (*e. g.*) to produce three foals successively without tails; so that, "if necessary," says Mr. Darwin (and I perfectly believe him), "a tailless race of horses might have been formed." Again, in Paraguay, horses are occasionally born with hair like that on the head of a Negro; and the same peculiarity is transmitted even to half-breeds. These animals are generally destroyed at their birth; but if they were bred under careful selection, with a view to their permanent establishment as a separate variety, nothing would be easier than to obtain a new breed of horses different from anything we have ever yet seen in the world.

32. Facts of a similar nature might easily be brought forward from other departments of the animal kingdom. Who can look among pigeons—at the carrier, the pouter, the fan-tail, and the tumbler,—or at Polish, Hamburg, and Cochin China fowls,—without at once perceiving that all these specimens of domesticated birds must have been either slowly originated by a methodical selection of similar pairs, propagated until their respective peculiarities became established, or else more rapidly produced (as in the case of the Ancon sheep) by judicious methods of weeding, after some unexpectedly abnormal specimens had arisen which were found capable of transmitting their own exceptional characteristics?

33. But the question we now have to decide lies in the application of these phenomena to the human race. What we wish to know is, whether this principle of methodical selection can afford us any probable theory for the origin of the Negroes.

34. That, regarded from a merely scientific point of view, such a theory would be possible, seems very clear. But can we regard the question in this scientific manner? Are we at liberty to assume it as in the least degree probable, that at any period of the world there could ever have existed a state of society in which so artificial and natural a system of human generation was practised? From all the evidences which are furnished, either by history or experience, no principle has ever yet regulated the choice of pairs, and the propagation of the human species, but the working of natural affections, or of self-willed interests. Now of natural affections, it is simply absurd to say that they could ever have been guided or coerced mechanically, according to the required laws of methodical selection. The bare notion of any human beings, thus arti-

ficially shutting up the natural flow of their affections, and denying themselves the objects of their free choice, in order to experiment upon their race, and to work out scientific problems in biology or ethnology, is ridiculous. Nor can this idea be at all more reasonably entertained, if we take it in connection with any possibly supposed motives of self-interest. There can be no doubt that in every country, both civilized and savage, such motives do very often influence the choice of men in marriage. But in all such cases the secret is to be found in a desire to obtain rank, or riches, or some other coveted interest; and has never yet been traceable in connection with a wish to form new varieties of the human race, nor even to perpetuate particular family characteristics. What self-interests could be served by such desires? Least of all, what, by the perpetuation of such unlovely characteristics as those which mark the Negro race? When reduced to terms like these, all application of the preceding principles of biology fails; and the argument for a Negro origin by means of analogies with the various origins of domesticated varieties in the lower animal life, becomes hopeless and impossible.

35. Beside which, even if any analogies were thus capable of being sustained, it is very questionable how far they could be made successfully applicable to the problem now before us. For, although we have a right to speak of these different breeds of pigs, sheep, fowls, &c., when thus artificially produced, as distinct and permanent varieties, so long as they live in a state of induced domestication, yet it is open to considerable doubt whether, if taken out of that state of domestication, and allowed to become feral, they would not speedily revert to their primitive stock, or at all events become so essentially altered that the parallel we seek to establish would no longer hold. Take our domesticated pigs as an example; which, whenever they have been allowed to become feral, have everywhere re-acquired the dark colour, thick bristles, and large tusks of the wild boar. Those which were imported from Spain to the West Indies in 1509, degenerated into a monstrous race, with toes half a span long; while some grew twice as large as their European progenitors. These instances, to which many others of the same kind might be added, seem to imply a tendency in domesticated animals, which have been bred through the principle of methodical selection, always to revert to their primordial condition, as soon as they are left to themselves in a wild and uncultivated state. Impossible, therefore, as the supposition was at first, that the Negro race should represent a variety of mankind produced through methodical selection, it becomes so in a

much greater degree by the reflection that, if the analogy on which it is founded were traced out far enough, this race ought, when transported from its native soil, to revert to its primordial elements, and become assimilated with that more ordinary type of mankind from which, according to this theory, it must have been eliminated.

36. (V.) What then remains? There is only one other theory to be considered; viz., that which refers the origination of the Negro to

THE OPERATIONS, NOT OF METHODICAL, BUT OF NATURAL SELECTION, AFTER AN UNEXPECTED APPEARANCE OF CERTAIN CONGENITAL VARIETIES AMONG SOME OF THE HAMITIC RACE AT A REMOTE ERA OF THE WORLD.

37. I have already spoken of the occasional appearance of congenital varieties among animals and birds. The same thing occurs among men. We cannot understand it or explain it. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that, according to some mysterious laws of nature, certain abnormal features occasionally make their appearance at the birth of particular individuals. Nay, more. Such peculiarities may be hereditarily transmitted, even through marriages with others of the ordinary type. Upon these two grounds of observation, each properly supported by authentic facts, I shall endeavour to show that we are furnished with data, on which we may fairly and reasonably base a theory of the origin of the Negro race, without being under any necessity for attributing it to a separate creation, or for extending the chronology of mankind to millions of years instead of thousands.

38. As to the tendency of human nature to reproduce general family likenesses through successive generations, the fact is so well known that writers often allude to it. Montaigne, in one of his essays, asks, "How can nature carry on these resemblances with so irregular a progress, that the son shall be like his great-grandfather, and the nephew like his uncle?"* And as with family likenesses, so with diseases. That diseases both of mind and body are transmitted hereditarily, is a melancholy truth only too common in the experience of every medical practitioner. With regard to gout, it is stated that, in hospital cases, fifty per cent. result from this cause; while in private practice the percentage is even greater. So with cancer, consumption, insanity, which, with many other complaints, continually run in families. Nay, more. They often make their appearances at about the same period of life.† Human nature, therefore, having this decided tendency

* Montaigne, book ii. ch. xxxvii.

† See *Essay on Hereditary Diseases*, by Dr. J. Steinhilber. 1843.

to reproduce and perpetuate the more marked diseases of certain families, it need not be surprising if particular instances of family malformations should, from time to time, be met with. The transmission from one generation to another, for example, of such defects as early baldness, greyness of hair, squint, harelip, &c., will perhaps be familiar to most persons. Other instances, however, of a less frequent character must be noted.

39. Thus it is a well-known fact that the thick lip introduced into the Imperial house of Austria by the marriage of the Emperor Maximilian with Mary of Burgundy, is visible in their descendants to the present day, after a lapse of three centuries. Mr. Darwin, quoting the *British and Foreign Chirurgical Review*,* states a case in which congenital absence of the iris had been transmitted for three generations, and a cleft iris for four generations in the male line. He also gives another instance of a family of sixteen sons and five daughters, all of whom had eyes resembling in miniature the markings on the back of a tortoise-shell cat, adding that the mother of this large family had three sisters and a brother, each of whom were likewise marked, and that they had derived this peculiarity from their mother, who belonged to a family which had been notorious for transmitting that defect to their posterity.

40. A paper published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1814† records the particulars of a family which exhibited the peculiarity of supernumerary fingers and toes hereditarily transmitted through four generations. This defect had been introduced by a female who herself possessed six fingers on each hand and six toes on each foot. From the marriage of this woman with a man naturally formed were produced ten children with a supernumerary member on each limb; and an eleventh child, in which the peculiarity existed in both feet and one hand. This eleventh child, being a girl, married a man of the ordinary formation, and had four children, of which three had one or two of the limbs in question formed naturally, and the rest with the supernumerary parts; while the fourth had six fingers on each hand and as many toes on each foot. The latter married a woman naturally formed, and had issue by her eight children; four with the usual structure, and the same number with supernumerary fingers or toes. Professor Huxley, in his lectures on the *Origin of Species*, gives an account of another case which may be equally relied on as authentic, and which he traces through three generations.

* For April, 1861, pp. 482-6.

† Part I. p. 94. Quoted from Lawrence's *Lectures on Man*.

His remarks being much to our present purpose, I now subjoin them :—

“ *Kratio Kelleia*, a Maltese, was born with six fingers upon each hand, and the like number of toes to each of his feet. He married when he was twenty-two years of age, and as, I suppose, there were no six-fingered ladies in Malta, he married an ordinarily five-fingered person. The result of that marriage was four children. The first, who was christened *Salvator*, had six fingers and six toes, like his father. The second was *George*, who had five fingers and toes; but one of them was deformed, showing a tendency to variation. The third was *Andrè*; he had five fingers and five toes, quite perfect. The fourth was a girl, *Marie*; she had five fingers and five toes, but her thumbs were deformed, showing a tendency toward the sixth.

“ These children grew up, and when they came to adult years they all married; and, of course, it happened that they all married five-fingered and five-toed persons. Now let us see what were the results. *Salvator* had four children; they were two boys, a girl, and another boy. The first two boys and the girl were six-fingered and six-toed, like the grandfather; the fourth boy had only five fingers and five toes. *George* had only four children: there were two girls with six fingers and six toes; there was one girl with six fingers and five toes on the right side, and five fingers and five toes on the left side, so that she was half and half; and the last had five fingers and five toes. The third, *Andrè*, you will recollect, was perfectly well-formed; and he had many children whose hands and feet were all regularly developed. *Marie*, the last, who, of course, married a man who had only five fingers, had four children: the first, a boy with six toes; but the other three were normal.

“ Now, observe what very extraordinary phenomena are presented here. You have an accidental variation, arising from what you may call a monstrosity; you have that monstrosity tendency or variation diluted in the first instance by an admixture with a female of normal construction; and you would naturally expect that, in the results of such an union, the monstrosity, if repeated, would be in equal proportion with the normal type; that is to say, that the children would be half and half, some taking the peculiarity of the father, and the others being of the purely normal type of the mother. But you see, we have a great preponderance of the normal type. Well, this comes to be mixed once more with the pure, the normal type, and the abnormal is again produced in large proportions, notwithstanding the second dilution. Now, what would have happened if these abnormal types had intermarried with each other; that is to say, supposing the two boys of *Salvator* had taken it into their heads to marry their first cousins, or the two first girls of *George*, their uncle? You will remember that these were all of the abnormal type of their grandfather. The result would probably have been in every case a further development of that abnormal type. . . . This case is narrated only as far as the third generation. Certainly, it would have been an exceedingly curious thing if we could have traced this matter any

further. *Had the cousins intermarried, a six-fingered variety of the human race might have been set up.*"*

41. As this last remark of Professor Huxley (which I have ventured to italicize) introduces the exact line of argument that I am about to adduce in relation to the derivation of the Negro race from our own primeval stock, I cannot but here anticipate, what I feel sure will be at once objected to, (viz.) the unnaturalness of our presupposing the contraction of any such monstrous intermarriages. It is a difficulty which I freely admit. Of course, under such circumstances, to give satisfactory reasons for the perpetuation of the Negroes, springing up, as I suppose them to have done, in consequence of these abnormal births and intermarriages, will require the greatest care and consideration. In an age of the world like the present, it would not only be improbable, but impossible. For the present, however, I say nothing on that point, because—before we go further—I wish to illustrate this striking tendency toward an inheritance of certain physical peculiarities by means of some other instances.

42. Two most singularly exceptional births, well known to students in ethnology, have been recorded, the peculiarities of each of which were hereditarily transmitted through at least three generations; the one family being Siamese and the other English. In the Siamese family (described by Mr. Crawford in his Embassy to the Court of Ava, and well stated by Dr. Latham in his work entitled *Descriptive Ethnology*) we learn that the grandfather of this family was five feet three inches and a half. Let me quote his words:—

“The whole forehead, the cheeks, the eyelids, the nose, including a portion of the inside, were covered with fine hair. On the forehead and cheeks this was eight inches long, and on the nose and chin about four inches. In colour it was of a silvery grey; its texture was silky, lank, and straight. The posterior and interior surface of the ears, with the inside of the external ear, were completely covered with hair of the same description as that on the face, and about eight inches long: it was this chiefly which contributed to give his whole appearance, at first sight, an unnatural and almost inhuman aspect. He may be strictly said to have had neither eyelashes, eyebrows, nor beard; or, at least, they were supplanted by the same silky hair which enveloped the whole face. The whole body, with the exception of the hands and feet, was covered with hair of the same texture and colour: it was most plentiful over the spine and shoulders, where it was five inches long; over the breast it was

* Pp. 95-97.

about four inches. He had a peculiar cavity also in the formation of his teeth. In the lower jaw there were but five, the canine teeth and molars being almost totally wanting. The gums, where they should have been, were a hard, fleshy ridge; and, judging from appearances, there was no alveolar process. He married when twenty-two years of age, the King of Ava having made him the present of a wife. By this woman he had four children, all girls. In the form of the three first there was nothing remarkable. In the case of the youngest child, however, at six months old, hair began to appear all over the ears; and, at one year old, on different parts of the body. Like her father, too, she was deficient both in her canine and molar teeth. As she grew older, the whole of her body was more or less covered with hair. Except the extreme upper lip, no part of the face was visible. The nose, densely covered with hair, curving out and pendent like the wisps of a fine Skye terrier's coat, had a most strange appearance. Strange as it may seem, she married and had two sons. The elder boy had nothing abnormal about him. But the youngest, who was only an infant when the account was given, evidently took after his mother and grandfather; the child's ear being, at fourteen months, full of long silky floss, and having, even then, a moustache and beard."*

43. The case of the English family (described by Lawrence, in his *Lectures on Man*,† also by Prichard, in his *Physical History of Mankind* ‡) equally exhibits the transmission of an abnormal variety through three generations. The grandfather of this family was presented, I believe, as a boy in 1731, before the Royal Society. He was born in Suffolk, and named Edward Lambert; his peculiarity consisting in a skin thickly covered with warty projections which were periodically moulted. In a paper belonging to the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1814 § we read:—

“It was not easy to think of any sort of skin or natural integument that exactly resembled it. Some compared it to the bark of a tree; others thought it looked like seal-skin; others, like the skin of an elephant, or the skin about the legs of the rhinoceros; and some took it to be like a number of warts uniting and overspreading the whole body. The bristly parts, which were chiefly about the belly and flanks, looked and rustled like the bristles or quills of a hedgehog shorn off within an inch of the skin.”

44. In a subsequent account, given twenty-four years afterwards, this youth, then grown to man's estate, presented exactly the same appearance. He was at that time exhibited in London as the Porcupine Man. This account goes on to state

* See Latham, as above, vol. i. pp. 200–203; some parts of this quotation being condensed rather than verbatim.

† Pp. 306, 307.

‡ Vol. i. p. 349.

§ No. 424.

that he had then married, and had had six children, "all with the same rugged covering as himself."* What is more extraordinary—even his two grandsons, John and Richard Lambert, were similarly affected; so that, without attempting to trace the transmission of this abnormal variety beyond the third generation, we have proof, as in the former instance, of the wonderful powers of nature in handing down to posterity, through the principle of family inheritance, some of the greatest monstrosities.

45. Assuming, therefore, that the Negro variety sprang up in this way through some abnormal prototype, we have, in the various cases just mentioned, a rational and just foundation for the theory. Nor can the idea be called either novel or unscientific. Lawrence, for example—just as Huxley in relation to polydactylism—suggests the possibility of our applying this inheritance of abnormal varieties to the formation of new types of mankind.

"Let us suppose," says he, "that the Porcupine family had been exiled from human society, and been obliged to take up their abode in some solitary spot or desert island. By matching with each other, a race would have been produced more widely different from us in external appearance than the Negro. If they had been discovered at some remote period, our philosophers would have explained to us how the soil, air, or climate had produced so strange an organization; or else would have demonstrated that they must have sprung from an originally different race; for who would acknowledge such bristly beings for brothers?"

46. We are, therefore, now brought up face to face with what appears to me to be the most satisfactory solution of the problem placed before us. One can see in a moment, as I showed in the last division of this paper, how a new variety of mankind might be thus artificially produced by means of the continued and methodical selection of abnormal pairs, care being taken to get no dilution of blood through recurrence to the original stock. But the difficulty is to apply such a state of things to the nature of the case; for, as I have before remarked, common sense teaches us that this is the very process which would naturally be most avoided under all such instances of malformation. Consequently, if the Negro characteristics are to be considered as an abnormal deviation from the more ordinary types of mankind, originated through some strange and unexpected birth, we must account for their transmission and perpetuation, not on the principle of metho-

* *Phil. Trans.*, vol. xlix. p. 21.

dical, but of natural selection. We must show, that is to say, how circumstances may have arisen under which these characteristics could not but have become perpetuated, even in spite of a desire to obliterate them. In other words, we must show how certain conditions of existence may possibly have acted upon man in an early period of the world's history, by means of which Nature herself may have forced forward selective breeding, and in that manner may have indirectly brought about exactly the same results as those which would have been produced through methodical selection.

47. For this purpose we must revert to those pre-historic periods of the human race in which its primary migrations commenced, and when the first physical varieties of man began to appear. Most of the simple varieties were, I doubt not, rapidly developed by means of climate, food, location, and all those other external forces, within the range of which the wandering hosts were driven; exactly in the same sort of way as certain natural varieties of the wild animals were originated. The tigers, for example, now so diverse in their characteristics, as met with in Bengal and Siberia, were confessedly produced by such means from one primeval species. In the same way we can easily conceive how, in the primary distribution of mankind, the Turanian, Indo-European, and Hamitic families gradually began to assume their present distinguishing types. Nor would these first physical alterations of the aboriginal type of man require any excessive period of time. Even Mr. Darwin says,* "In some few instances a marked effect has been produced *quickly* on all [the italics are his own], or nearly all, the individuals which have been exposed to some considerable change of climate, food, or other circumstance. This has occurred, and is now occurring, with European men in the United States, with European dogs in India, with horses in the Falkland Islands, with foreign oysters in the Mediterranean, and with maize grown in Europe from tropical seed."

48. Imagine, then, that soon after the commencement of those migrations by which the great Hamitic family ultimately became distributed over the continent of Africa, and while, as yet, the originally coloured skin of man (though darkened in a measure by hotter suns or bilious climates) remained more or less definitely clear; imagine that a woman of some particular place foremost in the van of that migration had unexpectedly given birth to a boy, who soon became marked by a jet-black skin, and crisp wool-like hair, and was otherwise

* *Variation of Animals, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 290.

possessed of a strong tendency to develop certain peculiarities in the bony structure of his body. In supposing the uprising of some such sudden congenital variety as this, there is really nothing more abnormal or surprising than that which has already been proved to have occurred in the case of the hairy and porcupine families; perhaps scarcely so much so. Assuming, then, that such a fact did happen at some very early period of the world's history after the dispersion from Babel, let us now apply to it the well-established principle of transmission by family inheritance. In perfect consistence with each of the three previously adduced cases of congenital variety, we shall assume that at least certain individual members of this strange family inherited the same peculiarities. The question is, how can we account for any special separation of those particular individuals, by means of which they became involuntarily paired off among themselves, and so perpetuated this new variety? What natural causes are capable of being regarded as sufficiently powerful and inevitable to have forced on this issue, and then brought about the establishment of a Negro race?

49. (I.) I think it perfectly possible for this result to have arisen by ACCIDENT.

How far many of those lines of march which marked the primary distribution of our race may have resulted from accidental rather than purposed separations, must remain a secret, I suppose, for ever. That such contingencies, however, arising out of the venturesome habits of some exploring parties, were possible, seems very obvious; moreover, that in lands abounding with thick jungle and forests, these accidental separations were not only possible but probable, appears equally obvious. Providing merely that any such isolated individuals possessed the art of kindling fire, and the use of bows and arrows or other offensive weapons, no valid reason can be given why they should have found the least difficulty either in procuring subsistence or in defending themselves from wild beasts. With the land open before them, and their pathway entirely free from all hostile tribes, the spirit of self-preservation and adventure would have thus been amply sufficient to lead them on toward a settlement in some new and more distant home; from which home, as from a centre, they would naturally disperse in unfettered freedom, according to the geography of the country.

50. These observations apply to all cases. Supposing, however, that the parties, thus early cut off from intercommunication with the rest of their race, had been this very group of persons congenitally born black and woolly-haired. A circum-

stance would then have arisen, actually forcing on the perpetuation of this abnormal variety; and its isolation from the rest of men would, in a few generations, have quite removed from its own consciousness any feeling of peculiarity. This family, thrown out thus in the forefront of man's geographical distribution over Africa, would of course increase and multiply after its own sort.

51. (II.) TRIBAL QUARRELSOMENESS OR PERSECUTION would have been equally calculated to produce the same results.

No one who is familiar with human nature can object to the probability of our supposing that family disturbances would take place among the early tribes of mankind—disturbances in which strife and violence might force out the weaker party, and turn it adrift upon the world. The conduct of Hagar and Ishmael is a good illustration of this. In the history of primitive settlements there can be little doubt that many such instances of forced separation must have occurred—separations by which families, small at first, subsequently grew into tribes, and, perhaps, distinct varieties of mankind. Now if any one cause could arise better calculated than another to produce such quarrels and persecutions, would it not be found in those personal antipathies and proud jealousies which would inevitably spring up in the midst of a rude and semi-civilized family, where one portion of it would be as abnormal and repulsive to the rest as these black-skinned, woolly-headed members? A hundred different contingencies might be named as having been likely to bring about this result.

52. (III.) If either of these causes be considered impossible or improbable, there remains another way of accounting for the fact in question, viz., DISEASE.

I have already observed that, in the regions now occupied by the Negroes, there exists a species of malaria which, while it is perfectly innocuous to their constitution, is generally fatal to others. On the supposition, therefore, that the congenital variety, thus physiologically fitted to resist the malaria, appeared among the first batch of early settlers in those particular regions, nothing would be more consistent with the laws of nature than that this exceptional constitution should gradually have become increased and perpetuated, while the original stock became obliterated.

53. We have a curious and valuable illustration of this idea furnished by Professor Huxley's little book previously quoted,* in which he gives an account of the perpetuation of a black race of swine in America, simply induced by the extermination of the white portion of the flock through disease.

* P. 130.

“In the woods of Florida,” he remarks, “there are a great many pigs; and it is a curious thing that they are all black, every one of them. Professor Wyman was there some years ago; and on noticing no pigs but these black ones, he asked some of the people how it was that they had no white pigs. The reply was, that in the woods of Florida there was a root which they called the Paint Root; and that if the white pigs were to eat any of it, it had the effect of making their hoofs crack, and they died; but if the black pigs eat any of it, it did not hurt them at all.”

54. In this manner, therefore, it is clear that Nature herself becomes capable of supplying certain parts of the animal creation with a principle of selective breeding—a principle which, if applied to the primeval settlers in Negro lands (providing only that the first company which arrived there had brought this congenital family variety along with them), would quite as truly and scientifically account for the exclusive perpetuation of a black-skinned race, as if it had been purposely and artificially brought about by man himself through the principle of methodical selection.

55. If any one should ask me to fix the probable area within which the first black settlement, thus supposed to have originated, actually took root and became a primary centre for Negro dispersion, I should select the district of the White Nile, to the south of Senaar, in which place the Negroes even now speak a language that retains an evidence of Semitic parentage.* Other considerations strengthen this idea. 1st. That spot would be just such an one, in its geographical aspect, as ancient Egypt must have required for keeping up her supply of negro slaves, the river Nile furnishing an obvious and easy course for their transit to the north. 2nd. It would be naturally more in the line of man’s original migration from the north-east angle of Africa than the western ranges of Senegambia and Guinea. 3rd. The peopling of those western parts of Negro-land from the eastern side of the continent, is much more probable than the reverse method, inasmuch as even now there is a tendency among some tribes to be on the constant move from east to west. It is common enough, says one traveller, to see Mandingoes inhabiting the low lands of Senegambia; and the light-coloured Fans are beginning to occupy the banks of the Gaboon.† 4th. By supposing the first appearance of this abnormal Negro variety to have been in the spot just indicated, and the gradual extension of it to have been westward in the direction of Lake Tchad, good ground is given us to account for the

* Dr. Latham. Also Latham’s *Man and his Migrations*, pp. 140 and 148.

† Reade’s *Savage Africa*, p. 512.

present geographical area of the Negro nations proper. For, turning westward toward the table-lands of the Soudan, they would still retain their Negro type, and yet be physically improved by that location, just as we now find their remote descendants to be; while, pushing out further westward, and then following the course of the Niger and its tributaries, and other swampy rivers, they would again have a tendency to degenerate, appearing at last in their most exaggerated typical form, just as we meet with their posterity throughout those parts in the present day.

56. As to any speculations upon the origin of those vaster nations, which appear to come in mainly as a cross between the Negroes proper and the Coptic, Abyssinian, Berber, or other northern races—(I mean the Kaffirs, the Gallas, the Congoes, and the natives of the Mozambique coast, &c.)—this is not the proper time to speak. Suffice it to observe that the inquiry, although subtle and complicated, is deeply interesting; nor is it without an indirect bearing on the present question, inasmuch as most of the West Africa idioms are, in the main, allied to the Berber on the one side and to the Kaffir language on the other.*

57. I offer these remarks on a difficult subject with much diffidence, yet with considerable confidence, believing that, while they are only based upon mere possibilities and probabilities, drawn from the laws of analogy and induction, and offer no actual demonstration or positive proof of the theory I design them to enforce, they are, nevertheless, worthy of attention, and will serve, in some measure, as a useful contribution towards the solution of our proposed problem. It is not in the nature of the case that any *absolute* proof of a theory on this question can be established. The whole discussion is a mere inquiry into the balance of reasonable probabilities; and therefore those who believe in the origin of the Negro race by means of a separate creation, or of miraculous judgment (and, I may add, of development from the monkey) must, of course, undertake to show that there are insuperable scientific difficulties in the way of the theory here advocated. I believe one object of the Victoria Institute is to show that those who are firm believers in the inspiration of the records of Scripture are not debarred thereby from prosecuting their researches into any branch of scientific inquiry with the utmost fulness and freedom, conscious that, although, as in Galileo's case, their traditional interpretation

* See a note by Mr. Morris, in his edition of Prichard's *Natural History of Man*, vol. i. p. 323.

of Scripture language may sometimes have to be modified, yet the inspired records themselves will ever remain unimpeached by the voice of true philosophy. In this case, then, we are glad to believe that, as the language of Scripture appears unequivocally to propound the unity of the human race, so there is nothing in the language of science which necessarily contradicts it, at all events so far as the origin of the Negro race is concerned.*

58. I trust this inquiry has not been made with any such foregone conclusion as to have hampered honest and candid investigation. Yet it terminates, as might have been expected, by confirming our faith in God's holy word. Such, allow me to add, will always be the last result of calm, patient, and continuous inquiry into truth. Hasty conclusions and imperfect generalizations may sometimes give rise to temporary difficulties and apparent contradictions; but that, in the end, there will be true and perfect harmony between Science and Revelation properly interpreted, I have no more doubt than that the earth and ocean form part of the same globe, or that the moon and earth, diverse as they seem to the eye, are both lighted up by a common sun, and constitute one distinct portion of the same planetary system.

The CHAIRMAN.—It is now my pleasing duty to propose a vote of thanks to the author of this paper; and I am sure you will all cordially join with me in that. I think you will also all agree heartily in almost the last words that fell from Mr. Titcomb, whether we agree with all his paper or not, namely, that we must regard it as a valuable contribution towards the solution of a difficult problem. There are however points in the paper which are certainly open to discussion, and I shall now be glad to hear any remarks which any one may have to offer. Before the discussion commences, however, let me say that I am anxious to see improved habits engendered in our Society. It is now a quarter past nine o'clock, and as I think we ought as a rule to close our meetings at ten, or half-past ten at the latest, I hope those gentlemen who may speak will not waste words, but will avoid repetitions and all irrelevant matter.

Rev. J. MANNERS.—I endorse generally all the remarks which we have heard in reference to this subject, which is a most profound one; and, like all profound subjects, if we revert to simple principles we shall get an elucidation. The key to the problem will be found in some of the last words with which Mr. Titcomb closed his paper. I believe, in fact I am sure—as our chairman has often stated—that between the Scriptures, rightly

* The difficulties supposed to attend the existence of a red race in North-west America are subject to exactly the same kind of reasoning as that which is here given by way of solution of the Negro difficulty.

understood, and science there is no antagonism. Truth is above all, and it will always be found to be so. I see a reason, if I may say so, for all this degeneracy and degradation in the human race. And it appears to me to be in this fact; first, that man, taking him generally, was formed in the image and likeness of the Most High, and then that man, when thus formed, had centred in him all the elements of the universe. All the principles, powers, and properties of the universe were centred in him, and everything therefore that was connected with the inferior order of creation—with the animal world—was in some way or other essentially connected with his being, because he was set to be the ruler over all things, to have dominion over everything which was then created, and he could not have had that dominion without having in him those properties connected with the inferior creation. When he gave names to the different animals he gave them from the distinct powers and properties in them which he knew were there from intuition—I do not say inspiration but intuition. But, passing on, there came an event in which that primal state was lost; and in the loss of that primal state—in what I may call, for want of a better term, that catastrophe—I see the reason for storms, tempests, confusions, declensions and deaths, in every sense of the words. I see how it was that the animals became wild, instead of remaining in their former state. I see also how certain powers and inferior properties which had been latent or concealed until that catastrophe were then brought forth and manifested in the variety of ways and forms in which they now appear. I see also the grand reason why we should come to a state or period of degradation. Take the Scriptural account—Noah and his family, Shem, Ham, and Japhet; these three distinct persons, and I can readily understand how human nature became worse and worse, as in Ham. We need not go very far to have proofs of that; we can see how men may degenerate even in the midst of the most civilized, christianized, and intellectual influences. We can see how men may so thoroughly degenerate as to lose almost all traces of intellectuality, and how they may become completely brutalized notwithstanding all the surroundings which tend to their elevation. I can see from this in what way all these cases of Negroes or other races might have been evolved; and that there is perfect harmony between the words of the Scripture rightly taken and the present manifestations of ethnological science in the earth. I for one beg to thank Mr. Titcomb very much for this most interesting paper, manifesting as it really does the perfect harmony between the words of Scripture and the observations which we make of mankind on the earth. I am perfectly sure that by fully examining this problem we shall arrive at conclusions which are in perfect harmony with the Scriptures.

The CHAIRMAN.—I should be glad if any other remarks which may be offered to the meeting should be addressed more closely to the paper, and not to the general degeneration of mankind, which is not precisely the question before us, although no doubt it includes it. I should also say that not only the members of the Society but strangers who may be present are quite welcome to offer any observations.

Mr. ALEXANDER M'ARTHUR.—I am afraid my remarks will be of that rambling character which our Chairman deprecates ; but the fact is that I did not intend to speak at all upon this occasion. I am sure we must all cordially agree with the vote of thanks which has been passed to Mr. Titcomb for his paper. I think, so far as the Negro race is concerned, that we are all likely to agree with Mr. Titcomb's view, and from what he says, as well as from what we get from other sources of information, we may repudiate the idea of the Negro race having been originally inferior to the white race, either intellectually or physically. That they are inferior at present cannot be doubted, but I think that inferiority may fairly be attributed to adventitious and accidental circumstances—the length of time they have been subjected to bondage, oppression, and slavery, their long exposure to the sun, and other causes. But, on the other hand, we have the fact as stated in this paper, that we have a Negro bishop who is discharging his functions very satisfactorily, and I have myself in America seen and spoken with Negroes who in point of intellectual ability were on an average with a very large class of Europeans, and far superior to many of the labouring and lower classes, either of this country or of Ireland. We know also that in the West India Islands and in other parts of our dominions there are Negroes who have successfully competed with Europeans, and who are now occupying very important and distinguished positions at the bar, in the civil service, and as ministers of religion ; and in all those stations of life displaying very considerable talent and ability. I am not so sure, however, that we have gained much or advanced very far in coming to a solution of this problem as to the origin of the Negro. I think a good many of the quotations and inferences in Mr. Titcomb's paper will bear a double interpretation, and cut two ways. For my own part I cannot see any reason why from the accident of a boy or girl being born black, or a family being born black, you should perpetuate a race, and why those other peculiar cases which have been referred to should not perpetuate a race. I think it would have been quite as natural that you should have had a race of persons with six fingers and six toes, or that you should have had a race with that peculiar porcupine skin spoken of by Mr. Titcomb, as that you should have had a Negro race. I should like to ask, in the event of a single Negro family being born, whether that would be more likely to perpetuate and establish a race than the case referred to in the paper where sixteen sons and five daughters all possessed one peculiar characteristic. I think the same result would be quite as natural in the one case as in the other. Then as to the other peculiarities of the Negro—his woolly hair and black skin—those peculiarities are not confined to the Negro. While some of the Kaffirs in Africa are comparatively light, others are quite as black as any Negro, and they almost all have woolly hair—

The CHAIRMAN.—Almost all ?

Mr. M'ARTHUR.—Almost all, I believe. With regard to the thickness of skull which has been referred to, if you go to India you will find that the natives of that country have skulls which are quite as thick as that of the Negro—

The CHAIRMAN.—Oh no. It is quite the contrary. The Hindoo has a particularly thin skull.

Mr. M'ARTHUR.—All I know is that I have myself seen Hindoos exposed bareheaded for hours together to the most intense heat of the sun. I have seen young men and children, old men and women, without the slightest particle of covering for their heads, exposed in this way for a length of time to an intense heat——

The CHAIRMAN.—That is quite true.

Mr. M'ARTHUR.—And I have been told as a fact by a gentleman who has long resided in India that the skull of a Hindoo is very thick——

The CHAIRMAN.—The truth is just the reverse, and has been established in discussing the climatic argument in the case of the Negro. The argument you have just employed was met by the statement, which was well authenticated, that the natives of India have very thin skulls, and yet are equally able to bear exposure to the sun with the Negro.

Mr. M'ARTHUR.—Well, it is an extraordinary fact that they do bear that exposure so well. As to the influence of climate, the same gentleman who told me this is a member of this Society, and has been for many years a missionary in India. He also tells me that the aboriginal natives of India, who inhabit the higher lands, are invariably comparatively fair, so that just in proportion as you come down south and have a hotter climate and a stronger sun you have the faces darkening. He says again, that some of the Hindoos are particularly fair, while others are entirely black or nearly so, and he also tells me that of the Brahmins, who never intermarry with other castes, some are fair while others are sometimes black, and that, as a rule, the better-class natives, who can afford to live indoors and who are not compelled to undergo exposure, are perfectly fair, whereas those who are constantly exposed to the sun are, in the great majority of cases, and especially in Southern India, almost all dark or black. That shows that climate and exposure has a very powerful effect upon the colour, and also upon the facial character, because there can be no question that we have the latter fact proved in Connemara in Ireland. In my opinion, then, we have very good ground for arguing that peculiarity of a native race, whatever it may be, arises more from the influence of the climate, from long-established savage or semi-savage life, and from the laborious pursuits they have been compelled to engage in than from any of the accidental circumstances referred to by Mr. Titcomb. The one theory is quite as probable as the other. (Hear, hear.)

Rev. S. M. MAYHEW.—I did not come here prepared to discuss this subject. I came simply as a listener; but having been invited, as a stranger, to say a few words, I will endeavour to do so. I saw the other day, I think on Friday evening, in one of the leading newspapers, the assertion that where Scripture and science seem to contradict each other, Scripture was wrong and science was right. But if you take, say the science of geology, and review the former grounds on which its axioms were supposed to be founded some forty or thirty years back, and compare them with the present grounds upon which geology is based, you will find a very striking difference indeed

between them. Generally speaking, I think it may be expressed as a truth, that if scientific people would have but a little patience the apparent discrepancies or disagreements between Scripture and science would disappear. I am sure we shall find in the end that Scripture and science go hand in hand. I am not at all prepared to support and I repudiate the idea of two centres of creation. I quite agree with what Mr. Titcomb has stated as to the origin or the probable origin of the Negro race. A very familiar household event will occur to many of you. It frequently happens in a litter of kittens that one, out of say six young ones, will be of a very marked colour and character quite distinct from the rest. Five of them may be of a brindled or light colour, while the sixth will be entirely black. The same thing is also noticeable in other animals—one in a litter or one of a birth will be of a very marked and decided character, while the others are totally diverse. The same principle might have been borne out in the human family. Suppose there was the sudden appearance of a dark-skinned and peculiarly bony-structured human being, and it is easy to imagine that from that one, exiled most likely from his family, there arose a dark-skinned race. But then at the same time I am not disposed to repudiate and put on one side the fact of the curse pronounced upon Canaan. I take the word of God as meaning what the word of God expresses. (Hear, hear.) Canaan was a debased man—no one could have acted as he did without being a debased man, and I think I shall be borne out, though it is but a supposition, in saying that he would have been exiled from the family of Noah after the exit from the ark. There could have been little communion between Shem and Japhet and Canaan. I think that, exiled from the family of Noah, that preacher of righteousness, his debasing influence would have been perpetuated and increased; and as we know that the principal portion of Africa is peopled by his direct descendants, that mental debasement which was so apparent in Canaan has been perpetuated in his descendants. But there is still another point which must not be lost sight of—that where that mental debasement, even in this city of London, is apparent, there is also an apparent debasement of the structural frame. And now the question is for you to settle and not for me, I have but given you a mere thought which has come across my mind, and it is for wiser heads than mine to follow out that thought—whether the debasement of the Negro may not be traced to that malediction which was pronounced upon Canaan, who was himself a debased man, and whether, consequent on the separation, after the exit from the ark, which took place between the debased on the one side, and the righteous on the other, the debased was not exposed to more debasing influence, and the debased mind showed itself very strongly in a debased frame.

The CHAIRMAN.—As time is pressing, I will make only a few remarks to close the discussion. I am sure we should all have regretted very much if the gentleman who has last spoken had not addressed us. I quite agree with what he has said about the curse of Canaan, for it seems to me to furnish the key to the whole subject. But I must notice the remarks which have been made upon the paper by others in their proper order. The observations

of Mr. Manners were not addressed to the particular question of the Negro, and therefore I shall not occupy your time by dwelling upon them, though I agree with him generally as to the degeneration of mankind. As to what has fallen from Mr. M'Arthur, I quite agree with his conclusions. It is one of the weak points of the paper—if I may say it has any weak points—that the climatic influence is put too much on one side. I think there are many influences which, in all probability, have conduced to the development of the Negro races as we now find them, and that the influence of climate must have been one of those influences. Still, I am also right in asserting that climate alone would not account for the distinctions which exist between the Negro and other black races, for I believe that there are lower races than even the Negro. Some six years ago, Dr. Hunt read a paper "On the Negro's place in Nature," at a meeting of the British Association,—and he was almost hooted on reading it at Newcastle; and in that paper he classed the Negro as holding an intermediate position between six lower races and six higher ones. Among the higher races would be classed the Hindoo, who, however, lives in quite as hot a climate as the Negro, but who is not of so coarse a form or so debased in character. There is this peculiarity between the other lower races and the Negro, which bears strongly on the point with regard to the curse of Canaan, that the other races, instead of being, like the Negro, sold for the purpose of being slaves to the rest of the world, are unfitted for servitude, and would actually die out or pine away under slavery. You cannot make slaves of the American Indians, or perhaps even of the Hindoos, though it would be easier to enslave the Hindoos than the American Indians. It is the same with the barbarous races of Australia. None of these races seem capable, from their nature and characteristics, of being made slaves. Now, I do not at all wish to enter into the emancipation question, but my impression is, that the Negroes were never better off than when kindly treated as slaves, and that the greatest tyrants in the world and hardest taskmasters are the people of their own race. The curse contained in the Scriptures, but which was not at all of the character which Mr. Titcomb seems to attribute to it, stated that they were to be servants or slaves; but there is not a word to indicate that they were to be changed to black. Canaan simply was to be the servant, first to his brethren and then to the family of Shem, and then to Japhet the father of the Gentiles. Now, it is really the fact that the Africans have been the slaves, both of their own people and of other races. The Negro himself is the greatest "slave-driver" in the world; and to be a slave in Africa is the greatest curse to which a man can be subjected. Some writers have said that it was like taking the slaves out of a certain place, and transferring them into Paradise when they were transported from the cruel slavery of their own country to the slave states of America. It is often asked whether we have any instances of a savage being greatly improved and raising himself to a high place in the social scale. Now, though I think we have proof of great mental improvement taking place in isolated cases, still I believe these are only the exceptions which prove the rule, and they go also to show that the curse in the Scrip-

tures should not be taken in too literal a way. The curse was not of the character which Mr. Titcomb attributes to it at all. And it does not follow that every individual of the race of Canaan should be a slave. Indeed, that was not possible, for it is said they were, in the first instance, to be servants of one another, or to their brethren, and therefore some of them must have been masters. Now, we have this fact, that there was a race subjected to a curse, not to be made black, but to be made servants; and if time would admit of it, I could cite from Col. Hamilton Smith's *History of the Human Species*, many illustrations of the Negro's particular adaptability for that condition. The same testimony is given by Professor Waitz, the late professor of Philosophy in the University of Marburg, in his work on Anthropology. We have also the fact stated there contrasting the thickness of the skull of the Negro and the thin skull of the Hindoo; and it is also stated that the Negro's skin ought not always to be considered so black as Mr. Titcomb seems to think and we generally take it to be. Then, again, we get the most modern opinion about the Negro and his adaptability to slavery from Mr. Anthony Trollope, who travelled in America a few years ago, and whose opinion is in perfect accordance with that of all ethnologists. He says:—

“ Give them their liberty, starting them well in the world at what expense you please, and at the end of six months they will come back upon your hands for the means of support. Everything must be done for them; they expect food, clothes, and instruction as to every simple act of life, as do children.”

I have mentioned these facts because, before we go into the question of the origin of the Negro, we should have an idea of his characteristics apart from his black skin, woolly hair, prognathous formation of the cranium, and thick hard skull. All moral characteristics are much more important than merely physical ones; and when Mr. M'Arthur says that the Negro originally was not intellectually inferior to other races, I should reply—Very likely not; but if we take his father as being Ham, the Son of Noah, unquestionably, whatever may have been his intellectual equality with his brethren, there can be no doubt that he was morally debased and inferior. It is an important question that is brought before us when we take up such a solemn subject as a curse in Scripture; and I should like to clear away thoroughly all misunderstanding respecting it. In the first place, we must recollect that this curse in Scripture, whatever its nature, is not a curse pronounced by the Almighty on any human being. After the Flood, we know it is written that “ God blessed Noah and his sons ”; and what is called “ the curse of Ham ” was a judgment, or, perhaps, rather almost a prophecy pronounced by Noah himself in consequence of the graceless and disgraceful conduct of Ham towards him. But I do not look upon that as a curse blighting the whole future of that race of mankind. It seems rather that Noah, seeing the debased character of the man in that abominable act of irreverence towards his father, pronounced that such a character was only fit to be inferior, and to be

a servant of servants. He saw the obscene nature and meanness of the race, and it is astonishing that, though we have hoped to see the Negroes elevated, still the testimony of all history, both past and present, is that these men have generally still very much of the character of Ham. They have a debased, sensual, and graceless character. They sell their very children now, without any scruple, and debase them, not as in the exceptional cases, which occur among degraded people of our own race, but as a characteristic habit of the people. When we see these extraordinary characteristics, we are bound to face the facts. I agree with Mr. Titcomb that it is not the least likely that Ham was suddenly converted into a black man, but I do think it likely that he was a black or very swarthy man before. At all events, his eldest son was called *Cush*, which means black in Hebrew; and we know that names were naturally given in those days according to the habits and characteristics of individuals, just as it once was in our own country, though we now usually inherit the names of our ancestors. We know that originally (especially if they were great men) they derived their names from their characteristics, as in the case of Longimanus, Rufus, &c. Well, as Ham's son was called Cush, that makes it probable that he was a black man, but there is nothing to lead us to think that the curse of slavery had anything to do with that. That may have been merely a coincidence; and how Mr. Titcomb should think that mere accidental causes should be so influential in human affairs I cannot at all understand. No doubt many accidental things occur in the world; but they relate rather to the episodes than to the epics of life. Providence does not allow mere accident or chance to prevail. Nor do I think that disease should be dwelt upon with so much emphasis. And discarding these, we are left, then, with one other simple explanation of the origin of the black race. If we suppose Ham and Cush to have been black men, cast out from Noah's family, or slinking away from very shame after Ham's conduct to his father, then I think it probable that here we have the whole key to Mr. Titcomb's theory, for he himself puts tribal quarrelsomeness, or persecution, as one of the causes of segregation. But I want to know what is the greatest cause of family jars if not irreverence? In the family of Noah a son behaves abominably and is cast out from his family. If you suppose that he was a black man—and the name of his son gives you almost a proof of its probability—you have the very first elements of what Mr. Titcomb wishes for the solution of his problem. You get a swarthy family separated, in the early stages of the world, from all others; they breed in and in and go south, and the climatic influence adds to their peculiar distinctions; their debasement of character and immorality also naturally go on increasing; they become more and more debased; and following the degradation of their morals you find that the degradation of their intellect will also result. I consider that an elevated character, whatever a man may be after he has acquired intelligence, has for its turning-point mainly the moral principle and regard to the higher principles of right and wrong. When you have a debased morality you will have eventually, not always, perhaps, in the individual, but in the race, debased descendants. They indulge their

passions, and that will even give you the element of disease, but not in the accidental way in which Mr. Titcomb seems to think it came about. Then in considering the curse it is not to be supposed that it was so universal in its application as that any exception would be sufficient to refute it. On the contrary, exception is necessary; for we have this principle on the authority of another part of Scripture, that "the curse, causeless, shall not come." Therefore, we may be sure with regard to a whole race, that a curse is never pronounced of so rigidly universal a character, without allowing any opportunity of reversing it. Remember that particular curse in the second Commandment, though it declares that all, unto the third and fourth generation of those who hate God, are under the curse, adds that He will show mercy unto thousands of them that love Him. I do not see anything more miraculous in this particular Scriptural curse of Canaan than is contained in the curse of the fifth Commandment:—"Honour thy father and mother, that thy days may be long in the land." It is true that, as some maintain, that may have had a special application to the Jews inhabiting a particular territory, but I believe it has also a higher sense; and I believe that all things in the Scriptures have not only a particular bearing in the instances where they occur, but that there is a general truth also at the bottom of them. And so these curses are only fulfilled because they do *not* come by accident or through arbitrariness, but are founded upon eternal principles of justice. The curse of Ham came upon him in consequence of his self-debased nature and moral deterioration, and I cannot attribute that to accident, he being a free-willed creature. Mr. Titcomb has made an unfortunate mistake in alluding to the curse as he has done. I quite agree with him as to the absurdity of what he has now put forward, as this curse——

MR. TITCOMB.—You are aware that it has before been put forward by some persons?

THE CHAIRMAN.—I never heard it before from any author of credit, and it never entered my own head as the meaning of Scripture. I have heard many discussions and read many books on Anthropology and Ethnology, and I never met with it in one of them. Professor Macdonald did state it in a weak paper read in this Institute. But because some one puts forward a particularly foolish thing with regard to the Scriptures, are we therefore bound to accept it? In the Scriptures the words are, "Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant"; and "God shall enlarge Japheth and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant." It is, in fact, the history of the world in epitome! But still, remember that that is not the curse of God Almighty. After the Flood God blessed Noah and his sons, and you know that the Hebrew is so indefinite with regard to the verbs, that the passage containing the curse of Ham may be merely a declaration of what Noah foresaw, and may be fairly interpreted as meaning, "This is the character you have displayed towards me, and this will be the result, that you will not rise, but sink morally and become inferior." Mr. Titcomb winds up his paper with an allusion to the case of

Galileo, but I must say, considering what we have recorded in our *Journal of Transactions*, he should hardly have done that, because at our first meeting, when Mr. Warrington read his paper on the differences between Scripture and science, I went into the question as raised by Mr. C. W. Goodwin in *Essays and Reviews*, which attributed to the Scriptures the statement that the earth did not move, and proved that that was not true. The 93rd and 96th Psalms refer to the world of people, not to the physical world at all; for the word used in the Hebrew is *tevel*, not *aretz*. In the 99th Psalm you actually have the words, "Let the earth be moved." I am not going to accept so childish an interpretation as this—

Mr. TITCOMB.—That used to be the traditional interpretation.

The CHAIRMAN.—I do not know about that—

Mr. TITCOMB.—We had to modify our interpretation in consequence of Galileo's discoveries.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am not aware of that—

Mr. TITCOMB.—Oh yes; because Galileo was at first abused as heretical.

The CHAIRMAN.—When you speak of "we," I object to your falling back on what was done by a particular Pope, or anybody else, and giving that a general application. If some people read the words in the Psalms improperly that is a bad argument, and should be rejected. I deny any universal tradition of the kind; and you must not make too much even of Galileo's persecution, from this circumstance, that Copernicus published his book at the instance of a cardinal, and he was ridiculed in the theatres and out of doors, but that had nothing to do with the traditional interpretation of Scripture among competent authorities. But we should not let human interpretations get mixed up with the Scriptures—

Mr. TITCOMB.—That is the very point I made.

The CHAIRMAN.—But I deny the tradition, or that it was founded on Scripture—

Mr. TITCOMB.—But you cannot do it.

The CHAIRMAN.—Well, I hold to the context, and to the actual word being *tevel*, and not *aretz*. At all events, we must not let ourselves be frightened away from what the Scripture does say, because people have erroneously made it say stupid things. It certainly says not a word about the material world either turning round or standing still. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CROFT.—I hope you will allow me, as a visitor, to take advantage of your courtesy, and say a word or two. My first regret at the termination of Mr. Titcomb's paper was that we had not an opportunity of thinking the subject over and discussing it on another occasion. The subject is one which requires careful thinking over. It might be supposed that a gentleman like myself, whose study is anatomy, would have the whole subject at his finger's ends, but I have found so much else to study, that really I have scarcely reached this yet. We have, I think, rather lost sight of this fact, that the Negro does not necessarily represent the dark races. I will not go into the question of the curse, for it does not seem to me that even what Mr. Titcomb has said has implied the operation of the curse. The question before

us is what is the origin of that particular part of the dark race represented by the Negro, and I must confess that as I followed Mr. Titcomb's arguments he has brought me to the same conclusion as himself. He seems to have cut away, right and left, all other arguments, and to have left us only this one conclusion. I do not say that I am prepared to hold by it, but it seems to me at the present time, and without being able to think it over carefully, to be the one that a careful thinker would arrive at. Mr. Titcomb has had an opportunity of studying the question in a way which very few of us have had, and I should like to give my tribute of admiration to him for the preparation of the paper, and the courage he has had in bringing the subject forward. With regard to the relative thickness of the Negro and Hindoo skulls, I can confirm the observation of the Chairman that the Hindoo skulls are usually very thin indeed.

The CHAIRMAN.—I must explain that we sometimes have adjourned discussions, but I do not think it is very desirable to have them as a rule. After a paper has been read and an interval has elapsed, people forget the subject, and, besides, we generally consider the paper of more consequence than the discussion. We also print the papers beforehand, and send copies of them to any one who is likely to speak. Had I known Mr. Croft would have been here to-night, I would have sent a copy to him.

Mr. MAYHEW.—May I be allowed a word of explanation? I was not disposed to repudiate the force of the Divine malediction on Canaan. I think I do not misquote you, sir, when I say that you looked upon the curse as the mere words of Noah. Noah, I think you said, foresaw the debased state of his son?

The CHAIRMAN.—We can scarcely prolong the discussion now. But what I said was that I did not think we had grounds for considering it a Divine malediction. I only used the words of Scripture, that Noah said so-and-so, and pointed out that God blessed Noah and his sons, but I did not venture to say absolutely that he merely foresaw the debased state of his son, though I think that very probable.

Mr. MAYHEW.—But was not the second member of the sentence a prophecy, and may we not take the first member in that sense also?

The CHAIRMAN.—Oh yes. That is what I said. But my meaning, I think, will be seen quite plainly when the report of this discussion appears in print. I must now call on Mr. Titcomb to reply.

Mr. TITCOMB.—I am sorry that the discussion on this subject has degenerated into a talk about the curse, which has nothing to do with the subject. The curse of Canaan was, in my judgment, confined to the Canaanites, upon whom it fell, and whose history up to their extermination by the Israelites we have recorded. To suppose that the curse extends to all Canaan's descendants to the end of time is to controvert facts. Who were those descendants? Among them were the Copts and the ancient Egyptians, who were in no way a class of people with an adaptability to slavery—

The CHAIRMAN.—If they are the children of Canaan, and their brethren are slaves to them; it would rather confirm my view and what Scripture says,

that one part of the children of Canaan were servants to another part. And then I did not suppose the curse to continue to the end of time.

Mr. TITCOMB.—I do not think there is any force in the last part of your observation. The whole argument you brought forward was that the curse fell upon Canaan, and that through Canaan it is to be traced in the Nigritian family because they have an adaptability to slavery which the other races of men have not. If that is your argument it is worth nothing, because the Negroes are merely the smallest subsection of Canaan's descendants. The Phœnicians and the Copts are among those descendants, and they were not black. (Hear, hear.) The whole subject appears to me only worthy of being dismissed at once. It is taking a part for the whole, and dealing with it imperfectly and unscientifically as though it were the whole. I think the remarks which are most worthy of being noticed, are those about my alleged deficiency of argument touching the climatic cause of variation in the human family. It was held by Mr. M'Arthur that a northern climate produced fair races, and a southern climate dark ones. That is no doubt true; and in that section of my paper which deals with the influence of climate, I adduced a large number of instances where climate did operate considerably in that way, but where its influence is not so great as to produce the intense black variety of the Negro race. With regard to the Negroes the argument fails utterly. The influence of climate is traceable here and there: of course in the north of Europe we have fair races and in the south darker ones, but I anticipated that objection, by the very striking, and, as I tried to make it, trenchant remark that in the country of the Senegal you have a Moorish or fair race on one side of the river, and an intensely black race on the other side. These different races you have on the two banks of the same river; showing that the difference is constitutional and physical, and that it has nothing in the world to do with climate. That, I think, settles the whole question. Another objection was made to the effect that Kaffirs had woolly hair. Well, that is no argument against me, because the Kaffirs are a sub-variety of the Negro race, and what you prove in reference to the Negroes themselves you only prove *à fortiori* of the Kaffirs as an offshoot of the Negroes. No wonder they have the same peculiarity. To show that they are an offshoot of the Negro race you need only note the linguistic argument. I am correct when I say that the Negro or West African idioms are reproduced in many respects among the Kaffirs. I said in my paper that the West African dialects stand midway between the Berber on the one side, and the Kaffir language on the other side, showing a unity or homogeneousness of race throughout. The only other argument is this: why an abnormal race like the Negro should be perpetuated and not a race of people with six fingers and six toes. I thought I had answered that, by stating that although anything in the nature of a malformation might be transmitted, it would have a tendency to obliterate or eradicate itself from its very monstrosity. But I showed that in the early period of the world, when accidents caused great separations of families, quarrels and disease may also have separated them; and I showed by analogy, from Professor Huxley's case of the pigs in the Florida woods,

that such things may have given rise to an unwilling but inevitable separation from the parent stock, so that a black race may have been thus perpetuated at once *volens volens*. Only grant that such a thing was possible, and the thing is solved. It is a supposition consistent with truth both morally and scientifically. I will not occupy your time longer, but I must confess that the discussion—you will perhaps think me as obstinate as the pigs I spoke of—has left me more confirmed than I was before of the truth of my view. (Hear, hear.) I am thankful to those of my friends who have said anything in favour of my paper.

The meeting was then adjourned.