tive. They will learn sooner or later that it is by the light of anthropology that all these things can be judged. The most dispassionate inquirers are prepared to admit much that may be at variance with the popular sentiments; we live in a time when it is hazardous to predict the religion of the future. The fanatic of one school may deny the influence of race; yet the theological student ought to remember that it is in the writings of the greatest modern divine, as well as one of the world's most honest thinkers—John Henry Newman—that a plea is put in for the recognition of race-character in religion, which theologians would do well to consider. That the same beliefs, or the same practices, would be possible in Italy and in England, can scarcely be conceived, unless the existing population of either country were to be completely exterminated. Anthropological principles will ultimately be a guide before which these unfortunate combinations of evil-minded or illiterate men, termed "Anglo-Continental" or "Church Missionary" Societies, will "pale their inefficual fires." The progress of Comparative Anthropology will tend to create a test by which all the differences which now exist, may be classified with as much exactitude as the nosologist classifies disease. To suggest a remedy is quite another thing.

THE NEGRO RACE.*

GENERAL.—The position you are called upon to fill as chief of the Freedmen's Bureau is one of the most responsible and difficult that has ever fallen to the lot of any human being, and for your guidance you will require all the light of the past and the present. There is every good reason to fear that you have problems to solve which are beyond the capacity of man. Unfortunately, you are the representative of a party (I mean the Abolition or Republican party of the North) who, in the language of Mr. Seward, have been "educated from childhood to hate slavery!" The idea of slavery to you is an abstraction, and you approach the subject of negro slavery with all the prejudices of education, and I fear that your mind, however honest your intentions, cannot be brought to see the real practical difficulties that confront you.

Slavery has existed in all ages, and even negro slavery was common in Egypt 5,000 years ago, and has existed there ever since; but in the United States for the first time has negro slavery formed the basis of the institutions of a great nation and the groundwork of a peculiar civilization. Negro slaves in Egypt, both ancient and modern, were rather articles of luxury—like parrots and monkeys—while the true labouring population, the tillers of the soil, were the fellahs, or native Egyptian population, that never were black. This, then, is

* We have been favoured with a copy of the following letter, addressed by the greatest living anthropologist of America, to Major-General G. O. Howard, Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau.
not a mere abstract question of liberty or slavery; an entirely new question comes before you, viz., that of races, and it remains to be seen whether your party has not raised a storm that will leave nothing but devastation behind it.

When I complained, in a conversation with you, that you had suddenly, without looking to consequences, liberated 4,000,000 of negroes, and instead of shouldering the burden yourselves, now call upon us in the bankrupt, devastated condition of the South, to educate them and provide for the thousands of coloured people that you have pauperised, you replied that all this was the "work of God!" Now, General, I must very respectfully differ from you on this point. I cannot consent to hold God responsible for what we conceive to be the bad acts of any political or religious party. The so-called "Lord John" Van Buren, on the other hand, thinks that God has taken from this world three whig presidents—among whom is President Lincoln—to make way for the reign of three democratic vice-presidents, and the triumph of democratic principles. Others, no doubt, think that thousands of negroes are dying under your régime by the will of God; and the government officials, who are robbing our people of their cotton, look upon the war, doubtless, as a special interposition of Providence in their behalf. Whatever the intentions of the Freedmen's Bureau may be, it so far has certainly done far more harm than good by sowing seeds of discord between the whites and blacks, unfavourable to the future of both races. We must, therefore, wait for better fruits before we can accept your mission as a Divine one.

The Rev. Dr. Dabney, of Virginia, has addressed you a very respectful letter, in which many of the difficulties you have to contend with are presented with a force rarely equalled. In that communication he treats of the coloured population simply as a simple-minded, uneducated class, ignorant of their wants, without any allusion to the difference of race and consequent difference in capacity for moral and intellectual development. My object is to supply this omission, and to show you from a different stand-point difficulties quite as embarrassing and more permanent than even those to which he has called your attention. I propose to show from the physical and civil history of the negro race, that it is now, wherever found, just what it was 5,000 years ago. Of the question of original unity or diversity of races I shall say nothing; my intention is to deal with the negro race as it is, and to inquire what position Providence has assigned it in the affairs of our world. The future can only be judged by light drawn from the history of the past, and we ask if there is any reason to expect the next one hundred, or one thousand years, will bring about a radical change in this race, which the last five thousand have not been able to effect? What good results to this race can you anticipate from emancipation and education when you reflect on the condition of half a million of free negroes in this country before the war—on the condition of those in the West Indies, as well as those in Africa—where this race has had all the opportunities of other races for taking up the line of march in the great work of civilisation.
You will recollect that, in my short interview with you in Mobile, I surprised you by saying that your Freedmen's Bureau was the most mischievous institution ever established in this country, both from the demoralisation it entails on the blacks and the antagonism it has produced between the races. Four millions of coloured population are suddenly turned loose upon us—a population ignorant, improvident, and vicious—a large portion of whom are destined to pauperism, and then you tell us coolly that we are greatly mistaken if we suppose that we are not to educate and support them! Now is there not a dictation in this which might well offend a people who have any self-respect—s and is there not injustice in thus throwing a burden which you have created upon our shoulders, exhausted in resources as we are by the ravages of a war which you have waged against us? By what moral right do you impose such terms on us?

Soon after the fall of Mobile, your bureau took forcible possession of our medical college and transformed it into a negro school—a State institution which had cost upwards of one hundred thousand dollars, and in many respects the best appointed medical school on the continent. In spite of our remonstrances for six months, you still hold possession, with the museum, laboratory, and building all going to destruction. You seem greatly grieved at the thought of turning your black pupils out from such elegant quarters, to make way for the rightful owners, and the white students for whom the State intended it.

This is another instance of the assumption of power and spirit of dictation which is so galling to us, and, therefore, so destructive to your power of doing good. There are many others.

In my professional round every day I hear complaints that the negroes will not work at any price. They are huddled together in shanties around the town, stealing, burning fences for fuel, dying of disease and want, and yet you cannot get a cook or washerwoman at twenty dollars a month. The trouble is only beginning, and to a great extent it is the work of your bureau, to whom the negroes have looked for protection and support. I admit that your bureau has done some good, and desires to do more, but it has been far more an instrument for evil than good. If the black troops had been promptly removed, and your bureau with them, the relations between the two races would have been much sooner and better regulated. There would, doubtless, have been some insubordination among the blacks, and a few would have been shot and hung, but not a tenth part would have been sacrificed that have been and will be under your régime. If the outside pressure had been taken off, the labour question, I repeat, by the law of necessity, would have been in better condition than it now is, and in rapid progress towards such regulation as negro labour admits of.

You remarked to me, among other things, that you had never seen a people more anxious for education than the 'people of Alabama.' There was something in your manner that struck me, and I asked you if you meant by 'the people of Alabama' 'the negroes of Alabama.' You hesitated, and replied, 'I said the people of Ala-
bama." I rejoined, "Let me understand you; do you mean by the people of Alabama the freedmen of Alabama?" To which you replied, "I do."

Now, General, when you take forcible possession of our Medical College, of which we have been justly proud, and pervert it to the purpose of a negro school, and then coolly call the negroes of Alabama "the people" of the State, you insult us, and your bureau cannot expect to effect your purposes in any Southern State, unless you hold us as conquered provinces, and with the bayonet pointed at our breasts.

I beg you not to misunderstand me, for I allude to all this with regret, merely to show you the ground you stand on. No one has more kindly feeling for the blacks than I have, or is more disposed to use every effort to better their condition; but when it comes to forcing them into a false position, or to elevating them above our own people, as seems to be your policy, you must permit me to warn you against the ill-feeling you are producing among the whites, and the unfortunate effects which must result to the weaker race. History proves, indisputably, that a superior and inferior race cannot live together practically on any other terms than that of master and slave, and that the inferior race, like the Indians, must be expelled or exterminated. In every climate where the white man can live and prosper, he drives all others before him. The history of the Chinese in California is adding another melancholy example to the many which have gone before of the inequality of races.

To my mind, every people have a right of freedom who know how to use it, and I have never hesitated to say, and to print the declaration that I was at heart an emancipationist, but have opposed the emancipation of the blacks in the United States upon the ground that all experiments of abolitionists heretofore had utterly failed to improve the condition of the blacks, and resulted in their gradual extermination. I have shrunken from the horrors which have been predicted, and which are now staring you in the face. I preferred to wait till Providence, in His wisdom, should point out some scheme by which emancipation could be humanely effected. But if the Almighty, through the black republican party, takes the responsibility and exonerates me, I rejoice that the day has come. I am opposed to the slave-trade, opposed to the coolie system, and desire to see this a nation of white men, whatever may be the difficulties on the question of labour. Slavery, though it has had its use in developing the agricultural resources of the south, was becoming a great and growing evil. The four millions of negroes in this country have had no more to do with the intellectual development of the country than mules and ploughs, and we shall advance in real power with tenfold speed when you substitute four millions of progressive population in their stead.

The whole organisation of our social system is soon to be changed; education will be improved and diffused; labour will become honourable; the mechanic arts will be introduced; agriculture itself will be greatly improved; in short, all that constitutes power and greatness in a nation. The history of the negro race is simply a page of natural
history—it has no intellectual history, because God has not endowed it with the faculties necessary to preserve written records.

What has been thus far said was intended merely as preliminary to the main topic of discussion, and has led me much farther than anticipated.

Your great object, as I understand it, is to elevate the negro above the condition from which you have removed him, and to place him in every respect upon a full equality with the whites.

The first question, then, to be settled is, the capacity of the negro for self government. Is he capable of taking any part in the march of civilization beyond that of a mere "hewer of wood and drawer of water"? Does his history afford proof that his intellect is susceptible of any really useful development? These are questions which his past record certainly answers in the negative.

The Duke of Wellington remarked that it was a great mistake to "educate a man beyond his capacity," as it only makes him less contented and more mischievous to society. Yet, with all its risks, education must be disseminated as widely as possible in our race, because we have no means, a priori, of determining the grade of intellect of individuals. Every man who reads history will agree, that a very large proportion of the white population of this and other countries are wholly unfit to vote understandingly on the affairs of the nation, to say nothing of bribery and corruption in the lower classes. With regard to the negro race, however, there can be little ground for dispute, as not a single full-blooded negro has ever made a name worthy of being remembered, and in our Southern States, at least, the best educated have been the most vicious. The coloured preachers particularly, as a class, are the worst citizens we have. Two of them in the last week have come under the penalties of the law in Mobile. One, the Rev. Ferdinand Smith, has been sent to the penitentiary for ten years for stealing; and the other, Samuel Guillard, of notorious character, was shot dead by a United States soldier for resisting the law. As a class the negroes who cannot read and write are more moral, more pious, more honest, and more useful members of society than those who have received education. Like the Indians, they learn all the vices of the whites without their virtues. A little knowledge is a dangerous thing; "drink deep or taste not," is an old maxim, and the negro has neither the thirst nor the capacity for much of this kind of drink.

All the education the missionaries have been able to instil into the native Africans has not been enough to do them much harm, even in Liberia. But these you will say are mere bald assertions, and we shall therefore go on to inquire into the past history of the negro, and see how far facts will sustain the grounds taken.

We have abundant material for following up the dark history of the negro through the stream of time for several thousand years, unillumined as it is by a single ray of light from his own records.

* The accounts now coming in from the insurrection of Jamaica also show that the coloured preachers are the prime movers of all the troubles and barbarities.
and we shall show that the same physical and intellectual characteristics have marked him from the earliest antiquity to the present day. No naturalist can now be found to contend that through this long period of time any causes have existed to transform one type of man into another—as the white man into a negro, or vice versa.

The reader has only to turn to the great works of Champollion, Rossellini, and Lepsius (to say nothing of many others), on the ancient monuments of Egypt, published by the French, Tunisian, and Prussian Governments, to be satisfied of the truth of those assertions. There you behold, copied from the tombs, temples, and other monuments, the life-like portraits of all the races that lived around the Mediterranean four thousand years ago, and antedating the epochs of Moses, Abraham, and Joseph, and even Archbishop Usher's date of the Deluge. There are depicted the portraits of negroes literally by thousands, as labourers, slaves, traders, etc., with their black skins, woolly heads, peculiar features, etc., as distinctly as if they were drawn from life but yesterday. Not only have we on the monuments the faithful portraits, but we have the mummmied bodies, from the catacombs, contemporary with the drawings. Side by side with the negroes we have equally well depicted the native Egyptians, the Abyssinians, the Nubians, the Berbers, the Arabs, the Jews, Assyrians, Persians, and Mongols that still inhabit surrounding countries, thus proving the permanency of all human types when not disturbed by miracles or intermixtures. Of the antiquity, then, of the negro race there can be no doubt—nor can there be a doubt with regard to the permanence of his type; for more than a century past the blacks have been torn from their native land and scattered in America through a wide range of latitude, and still no change has been produced in the colour of their skins, the form of their heads, or their grade of intellect, although there is a law well known to naturalists that very few generations produce all the changes of any importance that change of climate can produce.

The permanence of his intellectual peculiarities is not less certain than that of the physical. For many thousand years he has had the greater part of an immense continent to himself, with fertile soil, congenial climate, and all the facilities that other races have had for civilising himself, and why has he remained stationary? From the Great Desert to the Cape of Good Hope (the land of the true negro), not a vestige of civilisation is to be found—no remains of art—no mined temples and cities—no relic of science or literature; and no negro has ever invented even a rude alphabet! His intellect for four thousand years has been as dark as his skin, and all attempts in and out of Africa have failed to enlighten or develop it beyond the grade for which the Creator intended it. The little show of progress made by Mandingoos, Joloffs, and other black tribes of the north is attribu-

* It is true that Lamarck, Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, Darwin, and other naturalists have contended for the gradual change or development of organic forms from physical causes, yet even this school require millions of years for their theory, and would not controvert the facts and deduction I have laid down.
table to the Mohammedan religion, and the infiltration of Arab and other foreign blood and arts.

Sir Charles Lyell, who opposed me strongly but a few years ago on this point of human chronology, has recently published a remarkable book entitled The Antiquity of Man on Earth, based on geological data, in which he contends that man must have been on earth, not as commonly supposed six thousand years, but something like one hundred thousand, and was the contemporary of animals whose fossil remains have been attributed by Cuvier and others to a former geological epoch! This opinion is now the generally received one in Europe.

Granting this antiquity for man, we know nothing beyond his modern history, commencing with that of Egypt, whose monuments, according to Chevalier Lepsius, carry us back about three thousand eight hundred years before Christ. Egypt, then, is the oldest country of which we have any authentic records; and is regarded as the cradle of arts, sciences, and civilisation, from which all succeeding nations have borrowed their light. In the Bible it is considered a compliment to Moses to say "he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians;" and even his Ten Commandments may be extracted almost verbatim from the Egyptian “Rituals of the Dead.” When the Jews first entered Egypt, they found a grand old empire, boasting a long list of Pharaonic dynasties, running back beyond the time of Abraham two thousand years. The Greek historians all point to Egypt as the source from which they drank, and through Greece have more modern nations received their light. The Phoenicians, the Persians, the Assyrians (including Nineveh and Babylon), the Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Britons, and other fair-skinned nations, have all drank deeply from the same stream as it flowed around the Mediterranean through the channels of commerce, and have continued to play their parts in the great work of human progress, when not trampled under foot by barbarian despotisms.

But what has been the history of the negro race during these thousands of years, while others, even the Chinese, the Hindoos, and Mexicans, were marching on, according to the strength which nature endowed them with respectively? In the language of Dr. Robert Knox, of London, “Human history cannot be a mere chapter of accidents. The fate of a nation cannot always be regulated by chance; its literature, science, art, wealth, religion, language, laws and morals, cannot surely be the result of mere accidental circumstances.”

While all the nations on the east and north of Egypt were eagerly grasping at her intellectual treasures, why did not the negro, more conveniently situated on the South, in constant contact with her for 2,000 years prior to the time of Homer, reap the same harvest? The works of Champollion, Rosselini, and Lepsius, before alluded to, give innumerable proofs, not only of commercial intercourse of negroes with this country, but that they were regarded as an inferior race and treated as slaves. It is a singular fact, too, that even at this early day, the Egyptians were so far advanced in ethnography as to have clas-
aified mankind into four grand divisions, viz., white, red, yellow, and black, and grouped their portraits together accordingly."

Commercial intercourse has been the great civiliser. No nation has ever been highly civilised, as far as we know, without it, and no white race has ever failed to respond to its influence.

The Rev. Theodore Parker, who was educated and lived at the "hub of the universe," will certainly be received as good authority on this subject. He says:—

"The Caucasian differs from all other races; he is humane, he is civilised, and progresses. He conquers with his head as well as his hand. It is intellect, after all, that conquers, not the strength of a man's arm. The Caucasian has been often master of other races—never their slave. He has carried his religion to other races, but never taken theirs. In history all religions are of Caucasian origin. All the great limited forms of monarchies are Caucasian. Republics are Caucasians. All the great sciences are of Caucasian origin; all inventions are Caucasian; literature and romance come of the same stock; all of the great poets are of Caucasian origin, Moses, Luther, Jesus Christ, Zoroaster, Buddha, Pythagoras, were Caucasian. No other race can bring up to the memory such celebrated names as the Caucasian race. The Chinese philosopher, Confucius, is an exception to the rule. To the Caucasian race belong the Arabian, Persian, Hebrew, Egyptian, and all the European nations are descendants of the Caucasian race."

This quotation gives a very remarkable ethnographical jumble of greyhounds, foxhounds, bulldogs, pointers, mastiffs, poodles, etc., under one general head of Caucasian, little in accordance with the natural history of man; still, it is very well expressed, and shows very clearly that the negro is "left out in the cold," where he properly belongs; according to what may be called the lower law, or law of God.

But commerce, together with the herculean efforts of thousands of missionaries, have signally failed to make any impression on the negro in Africa, the Indians in America, or the dark-skinned races of Oceania.

What has been the history of the half million of free negroes in the United States previously to the late war? They certainly have had abundant opportunities, under the pressure of New England philanthropy, for making some show of intellectual development, and yet we ask where is it? Can any one call the name of a single full-blooded negro, from the time the question was asked, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin or the leopard his spots?" to the present day, who has written a page worthy to be remembered; who has made any improvements in the mechanic arts; who has originated or even successfully copied anything in the fine arts?

* See Types of Mankind, p. 84, in which will be found a description of the tomb of Seti-Meropytah I (generally called Belzoni's tomb) of the nineteenth dynasty, and a copy of the drawings alluded to. Similar drawings of the four races occur repeatedly on other monuments. This one of Belzoni dates 1500 B.C.
When we ask for examples of negro intellect, we are pointed to such specimens as Fred. Douglass, President Roberts of Liberia, and other mulattoes. Now, such intellects as those in white men are so common place, that their names would never have been heard of had it not been for the colour of the individuals. But a mulatto can with no more propriety be called a negro than a mule can be called a thoroughbred Arabian horse, or a common cur can be called a greyhound, mastiff, or pointer. Pardon me for using homely illustrations, as I am writing for those who have only studied the “higher law,” and have not studied the laws of God as exhibited in natural history. It would be much easier and more agreeable to illustrate the subject, as I have done before, in more technical language. But to resume.

The natural history of the human family runs a curious parallel with that of the canines. The earliest history of the races of men finds each in possession of a race or races of dogs as dissimilar as the races of men, and, like the Teutons, the Jews, the Arabs, the Chinese, the Hindoo, the Negroes, etc., when kept separate for ages, without intermixture, each preserves its original type. Greyhounds, foxhounds, mastiffs, bulldogs are all well depicted on monuments of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, and when bred separately perpetuate their types in all climates where they can live. That climate does modify varieties and species greatly no one will deny; but, on the other hand, no one will contend that greyhounds, foxhounds, pointers or bulldogs would be transformed into each other’s types by any change of climate. In America we have all the breeds of dogs and all the breeds of men almost of the earth, and no one believes that the Jew, Anglo-Saxon, Negro, or Indian will change types as long as blood is kept pure. The only fear is that we shall become a nation of curs, fit for no good purpose, if the doctrine of miscegenation be carried out.

Alexander the Great carried the mastiff from Asia to Greece; the bulldog is well depicted in Rome; the greyhound and foxhound perfectly, with other breeds on the monuments of Egypt, as far back as the twelfth dynasty, about 2,500 years B.C. Certain modifications of these types do occur from change of climate, but they are unimportant, as the true type is never lost through its influence. A greyhound is a greyhound all the world over; so with other canines, as well as races of men. Man is the least influenced by latitude of any animal, when his stock is kept pure. The Jews even are a very mixed race, but everywhere over the earth you see the true Jewish type cropping out too plain to be mistaken, and no one who reads can believe that anything short of a miracle can change a negro into a white man or any other type. As before stated, all the races that lived around the Mediterranean 4,000 years ago live there still in the same localities. Egyptians, Nubians, Berbers, Arabs, Jews, Assyrians, Abyssinians, and Negroes, are all clearly portrayed on the early monuments, and have preserved their respective types to the present day.

When the white and black races are bred together a stock is produced, intermediate between the two, both physically and intellectually; they are more intelligent than the blacks, and less so than the whites. It may well be doubted whether intellect enough is
added to the negro by admixture to improve him to any useful degree, while on the other hand it is certain that the white race is deteriorated by every drop of black blood infiltrated into it—just as surely as the blood of the cart horse destroys the beauty and speed of the Arabian racer, or that of the greyhound or pointer is polluted by that of a cur. These are not mere idle assertions made for a special object, but they are stubborn facts that any man may verify who will, and which have incalculable practical bearings on the great questions at issue. Fred. Douglass is unquestionably the most brilliant mulatto intellect now before the public, and he is nothing more than what St. Paul calls a "pestilent fellow." He has just brains enough to talk fluently about matters he does not comprehend, and to spit out the venom of a blackguard—witness his attack on President Johnson.

Can there be found in history anything more positive than the utter failure of the negro race in Hayti! There the negro was left in full possession of one of the finest islands in the world, having a tropical climate well suited to his nature. At the time the whites were expelled, their successors were left with everything a people could ask for attaining a position among the civilized nations of the earth. A large portion of the population were educated; the system of agriculture was well developed; they possessed a large export and import trade; many of them had been drilled to commercial vocations, to the mechanic and other useful arts; and what has been the result? If a sick man wants a little sugar in this island, which once produced more of the article than any equal territory in Christendom, he now is obliged to send to a druggist to purchase it as he would medicine! Agriculture, commerce, literature, arts, law and order—all are gone, and I was assured a few years ago, by Admiral David Porter, that he, on two occasions, saw negroes roasting and eating Dominican prisoners by the wayside in Hayti! For a time the white blood of the mulatto caste ruled in the land, and with some semblance of semi-civilisation; but the blacks, becoming jealous, exterminated them, and swept every remnant of civilisation from the country, which soon relapsed into savagery. History affords no example where the white race has had such an opportunity and failed, while it affords many where it has advanced in spite of impediments.

There is one illustration to be drawn from modern history, which alone should suffice to demonstrate the difference between races. What was the condition of the Russian Empire one hundred and fifty years ago? A nation of uneducated barbarians, consisting of ignorant, cruel nobles, domineering over hordes of serfs. What advantages had they for commencing the work of civilisation, compared with those of the black Haytians, except that of race? With one of the most inhospitable climates of the earth; without foreign commerce or contact with civilized nations; cut off from the rest of the world for want of those communications established by modern ingenuity; wanting in the mechanic and other arts; in short, opposed by every obstacle that could obstruct the progress of a people, yet they triumphed speedily and nobly.
In the face of all these difficulties, Peter the Great, though a coarse, illiterate brute himself, following the promptings of ambition, and the instincts of his race, conceived the idea of civilising his people—of making himself and nation great—and had the sagacity to see how his objects were to be attained. He travelled in foreign countries, observed everything he beheld, noted what was wanting, laboured with his own hands in common workshops to learn the mechanic arts, and carried back to his native land the knowledge necessary for the commencement of his grand enterprise. One of his early works was the building of the city of St. Petersburg, in the face of difficulties that would have appalled others, knowing that commerce was one of the leading elements of civilisation. He also established schools, colleges, and other public institutions, and the great work thus begun by Peter has been steadily carried on to the present day by a succession of rulers wiser than any other nation in Europe can boast.

Russia, then, with a white population, ruled by wise heads of their own race, now stands out as one of the foremost nations, wielding a power that keeps all Europe in awe.

Why did the Russian people thus respond to the intellectual stimulus when applied, while the black African races, the Oceanic, the American Indian, and other inferior races, with, in most instances, far greater advantages, through a long series of years, have remained stationary in spite of commercial intercourse and the untiring efforts of missionaries? Even the colony of Liberia, that has for nearly half a century had every possible influence brought to bear upon it, has dwindled to nothing, and is an acknowledged failure. Commerce, money, missionaries, schoolmasters, have been unceasingly and lavishly applied, and all to no purpose. The reason is obvious; it is simply because these races are what God made them, and your bureau can no more unmake, or thwart the laws of nature, than it can pluck the sun from the heavens. "Thus shalt thou go, and no farther." The Russian, as I shall proceed to show, had an average of nine cubic inches more of brain than the negro, and an intellect ready for producing fruit as soon as the seed was planted.

My lamented friend, the late Dr. S. G. Morton, of Philadelphia, so well known for his great works, *Crania American* and *Crania Egyptiaca*, left behind him the largest collections of human skulls in the world, which is still kept in the Academy of Sciences in that city. By numerous measurements of the various races he has established certain facts with regard to the relative size of brains that are now admitted by all anatomists, and which have great significance in connection with our subject.

The following table, copied from page 454 of Nott and Gliddon's *Types of Mankind*, is based on Dr. Morton's measurements, and shows at a glance the relative size of brains of races in cubic inches:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Mean.</th>
<th>Mass.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Teutonic group</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelasgic</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>88</td>
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<tr>
<td>Celtic</td>
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<td>88</td>
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<tr>
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The critic might here object to an apparent contradiction, viz.: The fact that the negro, in these measurements, presents a brain about the size of those of the Chinese and Malay, and larger than that of the Hindoo; although greatly inferior to all in intellect. The same objection might be urged in the measurements of the Toltecans and barbarous tribes of American Indians. But the discrepancy is easily explained. The negro, it is true, in the aggregate, has a brain as spacious as that of the Chinese and Malay, and larger than that of the Hindoo; but in the negro the posterior or animal part of the brain greatly preponderates over the anterior or intellectual lobes. In the other races named, the anterior or intellectual lobes of the brain greatly preponderate over the posterior or animal portion. The same facts apply to the semi-civilised and barbarous tribes of Indians.

Now, I am no convert to the details of phrenology; but that certain grand divisions of the brain have opposite functions cannot be denied. All agree that the intellectual faculties are grouped together in front; but whether they can be mapped out, as phrenologists pretend, I will not affirm or deny.

But push the argument to wall, if you please, and call all this speculation; who will deny the broad historical fact, that the white, which are the large-brained races, have governed the world from time immemorial, and have been the only depositories of true civilization.

The following table affords much food for reflection; it shows a sliding scale of seventeen cubic inches of brain between the Hottentot and Australian at one extreme, and the Teutonic races at the other. The former giving an average mean measurement of but seventy-five cubic inches and the latter ninety-two. The negro races, those from the part of the coast from which slaves are brought * to America, give an intermediate measurement of eighty-three cubic inches, or nine inches less than the average of the whites! These are facts well established among naturalists, though, I presume, not accepted by the Freedmen's Bureau, as its whole action seems based on an opposite assumption.

It is a well known fact, too, even among slave-traders, that only certain tribes of negroes, those of middle grade of intelligence, will

* Mexico affords another unanswerable argument on the question of race. In a population of 8,000,000 there are upwards of 1,000,000 of whites, and the rest divided between mixed bloods and Indians. Does any one believe in their capacity for self-government?
answer for slaves—those from what is called the "slave coast"; and
none others have been brought to America, except in the earliest
times. The Hottentots and Bushmen at the Cape of Good Hope, are
too stupid and sluggish to be made available as slaves, and the Man-
dingoes, Joloffs, and other tribes north are too intelligent and unruly.
The fact, too, was notorious that mulattos, as a general rule, made
bad slaves—they had too much intelligence, and their white blood
yielded unwillingly to the yoke.

History proves that the negro makes his nearest approach to civil-
sation in slavery, or some subordinate position among the whites.
Whenever, as in St. Domingo and Jamaica, he is removed from the
controlling influence of the superior race, and is left to its own in-
stincts, he soon sinks into savagism. Even now, while I am writing,
we are receiving appalling accounts of an insurrection in Jamaica,
characterised by all the barbarities that always attend negro wars.
Fortunately the race is so wanting in intellect that this outbreak
must soon be put down by a handful of white British troops.

I beg leave here to call special attention to one of the greatest
errors committed by false science and false philanthropy, which has
been strangely overlooked, viz. : the idea that the brain of a race, and
with it the intellect, can be enlarged or developed by education con-
tinued through successive generations, and that the capacity of an in-
ferior race can thus be brought up to the highest standard. That the
Hottentot race, for example, by education can have seventeen cubic
inches added to his brain, and his intellect brought up to the level of the
Anglo-Saxon. It is really astonishing how judgment has been allowed
to go by default on this point without examination. I assert without
fear in contradiction, that the idea has no foundation in truth, and
that the evidence of history is against it.

- We have already shown that the negro for five thousand years has
been in contact with Egyptian civilisation, and has had all opportuni-
ties of other races in the Old World. We have given an outline of
the intellectual history of the negro in America; we have shown that
the brain of the negro in ancient Egypt was just what it is now; we
have shown that his intellectual status there corresponded with his
physical organisation; and we have shown that the same permanency
of type holds in all the races of men that have lived, and still live,
around the Mediterranean; we have shown, too, that when Peter the
Great applied the spark to Russian intellects, a century and a half
ago, the brains were ready developed, and responded at once.

The barbarous condition of the British Isles, not only at the time
of the Roman conquest, but for many centuries after, is well known,
and yet the skulls of ancient Britons, disinterred from barrows dating
back to the time of Caesar, cannot be distinguished from those of the
English nobles of the present day.  
* Education has done nothing
towards enlarging the brains or expanding the intellect of Britons—
the intellect was always there, ready to respond to cultivation—just
as Russian serfs are now responding. In Germany similar facts have

* See "Crania Britannica."
been established—the skulls taken from the ancient barrows of that country are identical with those of the highest class of the present day.

How stands the case with regard to our contemporaries? Will any one pretend that the lower, uneducated class of our time, are less susceptible of immediate education than the children of the highest? Do not the great men of our day spring more often from the uneducated class, or rather imperfectly educated, than from the nobles? The royal families and nobles of Europe have been educated classes for centuries, and what increased development have they attained, or what intellectual wealth have they added to our store? Of all families, royal families as a class are the most stupid; and if the House of Peers were not constantly replenished with intellect from the Commons, it would long since have sunk into insignificance. In our country, the Clayes, Websters, and Calhouns, come from the rank and file.

The inferiority of the negro is practically admitted in our Northern and Western States by the inferior social position in which he is held, and no legislation or arbitrary rules can change it. In the first place, there is a natural antipathy of race which no human power can efface. Then there is a jealousy of the white towards black labour, which it will not tolerate in competition. The whites will not associate with the blacks as equals, and intermarry with them. Some of the States have actually passed laws against the immigration of blacks; and in the face of all this, the “so-called” Republican party are stirring the powers of earth to force upon the South what they will not tolerate at home.

What, then, must be the fate of this unfortunate race? I was born among negroes at the South, have spent many years in the study of their natural and civil history, and feel confident in the prediction that they are doomed to extermination—an extermination which is being cruelly hastened by the unwise action of a party that will not study and comprehend the subject it is dealing with.

The negro has an instinctive and unconquerable antipathy to steady agricultural labour, and must therefore be gradually supplanted by the whites, whose energy, industry, and intelligence will rule in this and all other important pursuits. Negroes are peculiarly gregarious and social by nature, and have an ungovernable propensity to congregate in villages and towns. It is mainly for these reasons that negro population, out of slavery, can never become dense. No necessity can drive them to the kind of industry which is necessary to develop such crowded communities as those of China and India, or even of New England. The whole black population of the immense continent of Africa is not more than double that of the British Isles.

The reader need not be told that none but an agricultural nation can become densely populated when unsupported by foreign commerce, and its capacity is in direct proportion to the extent and proportion of its agriculture. There is good reason to believe that the black population of Africa, like the population of China, was as dense one or two thousand years ago as it now is. In the latter case, where the
population is about 400,000,000, the agricultural resources of
the country have long since reached the maximum, and so with its popu-
lation—all the surplus population must die of disease and starva-
tion. In Africa, over a much larger territory, there are not more than
60,000,000 of blacks, which is probably its maximum as long as the
population depends upon the natural products or a hot climate. They
rely mainly on fruits, and not upon cereals. The same law of popula-
tion applies to the American Indian hunters, to the grazing Tartars,
and to all nomadic races.

There is another striking peculiarity among the negroes, which
must play an important part in the gradual extermination of the race
in America. I allude to the want of care for each other in sickness,
and the mortality among their children from neglect of their parents.
Every experienced physician at the south will bear me witness in this
assertion. Whether slaves or free, as a general rule, they will not
attend to each other in this time of need. I have a thousand times
been compelled to call the attention of owners of slaves to the fact,
and to insist that the master should look to the wants of the sick.
They will often see a fellow-labourer, and even a near relative, die for
want of a cup of gruel or of water rather than lose a few hours’ sleep
in watching. What may seem still more remarkable to those not
familiar with negro character, is the fact that they are untiring in their
kindness and attentions to the members of their master’s families in
sickness. They watch night after night by the bedside of the whites,
as if prompted by an instinct like the canine species. Their devotion
in this respect is incredible to those who have not witnessed it; and
their history shows that the race is a dependent one.

In a newspaper article of such limited extent it is impossible to
discuss fully any one of the important points involved; but I have no
hesitation in laying down the following conclusions as being easily and
satisfactorily demonstrated to any unprejudiced mind, from the written
and monumental history of the races, both civil and physical.

i. The intellectual and physical characters of the different races of
men were the same as now five thousand years ago, and no causes have
existed or now exist that can transform one type of man into another.

ii. The physical laws which have governed the races of men during
this period of time are precisely the same as those which govern the
species, varieties, or types of inferior animals.

iii. Without going back to the mooted question of original unity or
diversity of species, the diversity of races as it exists can only be re-
garded as the work of the Almighty.

iv. The negro and other inferior races have never, under the most
favoured circumstances, shown any capacity for self-government or
civilisation.

v. The negro attains his nearest approach to civilisation among the
whites, in a subordinate capacity; and when separated from them re-
lapses into barbarism, as in Hayti and Jamaica.

vi. The brain of the negro is nine cubic inches less than that of the
white man, and the large-headed races have always ruled the earth,
and been the only repositories of true civilisation.
THE NEGRO RACE.

The idea that the brain of the negro or any other race can be enlarged and the intellect developed by education, continued through successive generations, has no foundation in truth, or any semblance of support from history.

The races of men, like those of the canines and other animals, though modified by climates, are never transformed into each other. The white man, the Negro, the Jew, the greyhound, the foxhound, the pointer, preserve their types and instincts in all climates.

The blacks, like the American Indians, Tartars, and other nomadic races, are instinctively opposed to agricultural labour, and no necessity can drive them to it.

Slavery is the normal condition of the Negro, the most advantageous to him, and the most ruinous, in the end, to a white nation.

Now, sir, I hope you will believe me sincere in the declaration, that in what I have above written I have been actuated by no sectional feeling or blind prejudice. I have asserted no fact which is not established by science and history; have uttered few thoughts peculiar to myself, and none that is not a legitimate deduction from the facts. I have merely given a brief resume of ethnographical history, representing the received opinions of the best informed naturalists of the day. I have done so simply in the hope that I might assist you in your labours and enable you to shape, more understandingly, a course of action which may lead to the ultimate happiness and prosperity of the two races.

I acknowledge that it is much easier to find fault and start difficulties than to suggest remedies, and if you should call upon me for aid, I must say, that while I am willing to assist to the utmost of my ability, my advice can be comprised in very few words. It is this: remove your bureau and the United States troops (particularly blacks) as speedily as possible from our soil, and leave the relations between the races to regulate themselves.

The white people of the South are of the same blood and flesh as those of the North—profess the same religion, and are actuated by the same feelings, impulses, and interests—they, too, are a proud people, jealous of dictation and foreign interference. In due time the negroes will be educated, their poor will be provided for, and they will in every respect be as well cared for by us as by you—but never "on compulsion."

As long as your agents remain among us, the negroes are buoyed up by false hopes, and deluded by the false promises of wicked and designing men, who create prejudices against their old masters that never existed before, and thus prevent them from going back to honest labour for fair compensation. I say, all this is done by bad men and under the cloak of your bureau, without your knowledge.

If the whites and blacks be left alone face to face, they will soon understand each other, and come to proper terms under the laws of necessity. The planters of the South need labour for their fields, and must and will have it from some quarter. The negroes who are now free to make contracts want employment, and must work or starve. These are plain principles of political economy, which accord with humanity.
The negroes now refuse to make contracts for the coming year, and when asked for reasons, say they have been informed that the lands are to be divided among them, and that they will be branded and returned to slavery if they make contracts with the old slave owners!

Now, who has spread such notions among them we know not, but such are the facts, and as long as your bureau remains, these outrages upon humanity will be committed.

After removing your bureau and the troops, I see but one duty remaining for you to perform, and that is, to assist us in feeding and clothing coloured paupers. The old, the infirm, the women and children, the worthless vagrants, will form a burden that we are unable to bear. As long as women and children were property, and the unproductive child was one day to be a profitable producer, the owners could afford to feed women and children that constitute one half this population. All this is now changed, and the capital of the South is no longer adequate to provide for such an enormous charity. No large farmer in Ohio or Pennsylvania would consent to take ten or twenty negro families, or German peasants with their families, pay them wages, find them in houses, and feed and clothe them for their labour. Nor can we. Of all peasantry in the world, the blacks, on such terms, would make the hardest bargain.

I say then, that you have brought this state of things upon the South, in spite of remonstrances, and you must "pay out" or see the victims of your policy starve.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. O. Nott, M.D.

Mobile, Ala.

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THE ACCLIMATISATION OF MAN.*

Acclimatation. Acclimatation being only the second act of a state of things of which acclimatisation, whether spontaneous or the result of education, is the first act, all preceding considerations are here more or less directly applicable.

It has been said before, that emigrant masses can only be said to have become acclimatised, when, during successive generations, they maintain themselves in such a thriving condition as they would have enjoyed in their native country. By this we understand that the mortality and the increase of the population remain the same as before their displacement, for it cannot be expected that the physical characters should not undergo modification, which without obliterating the primary forms, may vary according to the nature of the new influence. This, in fact, is the consequence of acclimatisation and its guarantee. M. Bertillon consults history; nothing more just, for the teaching of the past may profit the present and the future. Still we possess no positive documents on the acclimatisation of migratory
