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RESEARCHES

INTO THE

PHYSICAL HISTORY

OF

Mankind.



BY

JAMES COWLES PRICHARD, M. D.

SECOND EDITION.

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PHYSICAL HISTORY
OF THE
INDO-EUROPEAN NATIONS.

CHAPTER III.

Of the original Population of Persia and the neighbouring Countries.

Section I.

Remarks on the Ancient History of Persia.

It cannot be said that we have any history of the Persians till the time of Cyrus the Great; every thing that relates to the earlier periods of that great nation is enveloped in obscurity. If this could be dispelled, we should probably obtain a view of some of the most important events connected with the origin of nations, and the dispersion of the human race. Persia is the middle region between the remote East and the countries where many tribes of the Indo-European stock have now their abode. The ancient revolutions in that country would, if known to us, throw light on the first divisions and migrations of the races who peopled Europe and a part of Asia.

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It seems, from the information given by Herodotus, that Persia had some princes of renown before Cyrus. That monarch was of the house of the Achæmenidæ, and the genealogy, from his ancestor, Achæmenes, to Xerxes, is given by the historian, from which we collect that the founder of the dynasty was anterior to Cyrus, by three generations.* This account coincides remarkably with that of the commencement of the Caianian dynasty, in the oriental history, if such it may be called, of Persia.

But had Persia been the seat of a great nation, and a powerful monarchy, long before this era, or was it only a province in the empire of the Medes? The fictions of the Shahnameh represent this country to have been governed by the Pishdadian dynasty, in times antecedent to the Caianians or Achæmenidæ. This was the heroic age, the splendid period of Persian romance, when Jemshid is said to have built the palaces of Istakhar, and Rustan fought upon his hippogriff against the warriors of Afrasiab. Such are the accounts which Khondemir the historian, and the celebrated Firdausi, are supposed to have drawn from certain annals of the Sassanian kings, compiled by order of Anushirvan or Chosroes, which are said to have survived the wreck of literature consequent on the victories of Omar. I shall not presume to offer an opinion what degree of credit is due to these oriental tales, which Sir W. Jones and Mr. Richard-

* Herod. Polymn. 11.

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son prefer to the tame and credible narratives of Herodotus and Xenophon.

Some early notices respecting Persia may be collected from the sacred scriptures.

In the time of Abraham, it seems that the kings of Sodom and Gomorrha, and other cities near the lake Asphaltites and Mount Seir, almost to the Mediterranean and the confines of Egypt, were subject to Cherdorlaomer, king of Elam; and when these princes revolted from him he brought three other kings, among whom was the king of Shinar, on the Euphrates, to assist him in punishing their rebellion.* The population of the East was then very thin, though spread out over a wide extent of country, for the numbers of men employed in this war, the most ancient upon record between kings and emperors, amounted only to a few hundreds.†

But the Elam here mentioned can hardly be thought to be Persia, properly so called; still less reason is there for supposing that the term had at that time so extensive an application as in later periods. Probably Cherdorlaomer was a chief of some tribe to the eastward of the Tigris, not far from Assyria; in that neighbourhood the Elymæi are placed by ancient geographers.

There is no mention of Elam again in the Scriptures until the time of Jeremiah the prophet, by whom a denunciation was uttered against the

* Genesis, chap. 14.

† Sir I. Newton.—Chronology of ancient empires

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princes of that country. Hence it appears, that Elam or Persia was, at this period, the seat of a monarchy. The prophecy commences thus:

"Ecce ego confringam arcum Aelam;
Et summam fortitudinem eorum."

* * * * *

"Et ponam solium meum in Aelam,
Et perdam inde reges et principes."*

But this prophecy was delivered during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and subsequently to the commencement of the dynasty of Caianians or Achæmenidæ.

If the stories of the Shahnameh were discarded, it might be concluded, from the total silence of the Hebrew and Greek historians† respecting the older Persian monarchy, that no such monarchy ever existed. It would be probable that a great part of Persia was occupied by people similar in language and character to the Hindoos, as some old traditions in the East imply, until the foundation of the Medo-Persian kingdom.‡ It was subsequently to this era that the religion of Zoroaster

* Jerem. cap. 49.

† The Greeks are not neutral on this question, but positively against the existence of any monarchy in Persia prior to the Achæmenidæ, that is, prior to the third reign before Cyrus. That there never was such a dynasty as the Pishdadian may be collected from Herodotus, Xenophon, Ctesias, and Æschylus, if the joint authority of these writers can be allowed to weigh any thing against Firdausi, the poet of griffins and giant-killers.

‡ The Persians appear to have been divided into hereditary castes, as we shall further observe below.

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is said to have taken its rise; to the two succeeding centuries may be ascribed all the works of art and magnificence, of which remains still exist in Iran. At this time Persia was in part governed by a hierarchy, the celebrated Magi, from whose language and literature some small remains appear to have been preserved.

It is far from my intention to offer any opinion on the controversy respecting the Zendavesta, and the merits of M. Anquétil du Perron. The only point connected with this controversy, which is of importance to my present inquiry, seems now to be generally conceded. It is allowed by most that the Zend was an ancient Persian or Median dialect; that it was the language in which the liturgies of the Magi were composed, and probably the court and sacred language of the Medo-Persian empire. Whether it was, at this time, the national language of Persia cannot be determined. The affirmative, however, is most probable, because the religion of the Magi was not a foreign one, but of native origin, and because the establishment of this religion is referred by nearly all ancient authorities to the era above-mentioned. According to Anquétil du Perron, who derived his information from the Parsees, the Zend was regarded as the language of Media and the northern tracts of the Persian empire.* But the nation or people of

* It appears extremely probable, from Dr. Grotefend's researches respecting the cuneiform, or arrow-headed characters, as they are sometimes termed, that the inscriptions found at

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whom the Zend was the common or vernacular idiom, must have been of the Indo-European stock; they must, indeed, have been very nearly allied to the Hindoos themselves, since it is allowed on all hands that the Zend language is very closely connected with the Sanscrit.

Similar conclusions have been drawn from the examination of the other languages of Persia. The Pehlevi is said to be a language having a basis of the same origin, but intermixed with a Semitic dialect. The Pehlevi was probably a dialect of the western provinces, and seems to have gained its ascendancy during the Parthian period.

The language of Persia proper, or Farsistʻhan, is the Parsi, from which, corrupted by a mixture of Arabic, is formed the modern Persian. The Parsi has been proved to be a cognate dialect with the Zend and Pehlevi, having an essential, though somewhat more remote affinity with the Sanscrit, and undoubtedly belonging to the great family of Indo-European languages. The Parsi has also been observed by many writers to bear a great affinity to the German language, and it perhaps constitutes the intermediate link in the transition from the Sanscrit, or from the common Asiatic stem of the Indo-European dialects, to its most northern branch, the German or Gothic. On

Persepolis are in the Zend language. See "An Account of the progress made in decyphering the Cuneiform Inscriptions," by M. C. Bellino. Bombay Transactions, vol. ii.

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the affinities of the German language, the author of the Mithridates may be considered as an unexceptionable authority. He has examined the question, whether the coincidence between the German and the Persic can be explained by the incidental effects of conquest or migration, giving rise to intermixture of dialect; he has drawn a conclusion with good reason, that the phænomena observed can only be explained by allowing that the two languages are of kindred origin, and correlative descendants from one mother tongue."*

It is probable that many of the links which intercede between the eastern languages and those of the north may yet be found. We are assured by M. Bopp, that the Mæso-Gothic, as it is preserved in the version of Ulphilas, bears nearly an equal affinity to the Sanscrit and the modern German.

It appears from Herodotus, that the ancient Persians were divided into tribes or castes like the Hindoos, and many other eastern nations. He says, "There are many tribes or races among the Persians. Of these the Pasargadæ are the most valiant. In this tribe there is a caste or kindred (φρητρη) termed the Achæmenidæ, from which the kings are descended." Of a similar description was the noble or royal tribe of Baltes among the ancient Goths. "The other Persian tribes," continues Herodotus, "are the following; the Panthialaii, Deronsiaii, Germanii. All these are agri-

* See Mithridates, theil i. pp. 273, 280.

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culturists. The rest are feeders of cattle,"* or nomades.

That the Germanii were the Germans before their migration from Asia, I will not undertake to affirm, but there is no want of evidence to establish the conclusion, that the Medes and Persians are allied in kindred on the one side to their neighbours the Hindoos, and on the other to the nations of the north of Europe, particularly to those of the German or Teutonic race.

Section II.

Of some other races in Asia, allied to the Persian nations.

There are several nations in the central parts of Asia, and chiefly in the countries bordering on Persia, and long included in the Persian empire, who are supposed by most writers on the history of the East, to be connected in descent, more or less intimately, with the Persians or with the Medes. This opinion rests on affinities of language, or on historical testimonies. The nations alluded to are supposed to have derived their origin from the Persians at different ages of the world, some in more ancient, others in comparatively recent times. Their affinity is, in some instances, more completely established than in others.

I shall add some brief notices of these nations in the following pages of this section.

* Herod. i. c. 125.

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¶ 1. *Of the Afghans.*

The Afghans are a numerous and powerful people, who inhabit the mountainous region, to the northward of the low country of the Punjab or the plain of the Indus. Their proper country is the southern declivity of the great chain of Hindoo Coosh, the western continuation of Himmaleh and the Paropamisan range; it includes also the chain of Soliman, and the table land to the westward of it.* We have obtained much valuable information respecting this singular people from the excellent work of Mr. Elphinstone. They are termed by the Persians Afghans: their own national appellation is Pooshtoon, whence is probably derived that of Pitan, by which this nation has been known in India.† They are a rude and warlike people, and are distinguished by their manners and language, as well from the Persians as from the natives of India.

Many persons have been struck with a certain resemblance in physical characters, between the Afghans and the Jews; and on this circumstance, and on some peculiar customs, they have founded an opinion that the Afghan nation is descended from the ten tribes of Israel, who are supposed not to have returned into the Holy Land, after the Assyrian captivity. This notion was adopted by Sir W. Jones, but it has been refuted by Mr. Elphin-

* Elphinstone's Account of Caubul, &c. p. 92.

† Ibid. p. 151.

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stone, who has shewn that "the descent of the Afghans from the Jews must be classed with that of the Romans and British from the Trojans, and that of the Irish from the Milesians or the Brahmins." This conclusion, which is founded on historical arguments, has been confirmed by an examination of the Afghan language, which, according to the testimony of Julius Klaproth, shews neither in its vocabulary, nor in its grammatical structure, the least affinity to the Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, or any other Semitic dialect, those terms being excepted, which it has received through the introduction of Islam and Mahomedan manners.

Some later Armenian writers have maintained the Afghans to be the posterity of the Albanians, who, as it is pretended, were expelled by Genghiz-Khan, or one of his successors, from their ancient seats in the eastern Caucasus, and settled at length in the mountainous country near the Indus. This story, as well as the assertion of Reineggs, who asserts, that the Afghans are of Armenian origin, has been refuted by Mr. Klaproth.

The writer last-mentioned has compared a vocabulary of more than two hundred Afghan words, with different Indo-European, or as he terms them, Indo-German languages and dialects. This comparison, as he says, proves irrefragably that the Afghans belong to the Indo-European race, and are to be looked upon as a link in that great chain of nations, which reaches from the Ganges to the British islands. The greater number of the words

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in his specimen coincide with those of the Persian, Kurdish, Ossetic, and Russian languages.

The physical characters of the Afghans will be described in the following section, in connexion with those of other Indo-Persian nations.

¶ 2. *Of the Belooches.*

The Belooches are a numerous people, more barbarous and uncivilized than the Afghans, who inhabit a country lying southward of Afghanistan, which according to Mr. Elphinstone is six hundred miles in length, having Sind on the east, Persia on the west, and bounded on the southern side by the Indian Ocean. Over this extensive region of Beloochistan two races of people are spread, who are commonly included under the name of Belooches: they differ however, as we are informed by the most accurate accounts, in manners and language, as well as in physical characters; in this latter respect they are so strongly distinguished from each other, that when these races are not confounded by intermarriage, it is impossible to mistake an individual of the one nation for a member of the other. These nations are the Belooches, properly so called, and the Brahooés.*

The Belooches are subdivided into three principal tribes called Nharooés, Rinds, and Mughsees. The first inhabit that part of Beloochistan, which is to the westward of the desert; the two latter are

* Lieut. H. Pottinger's Travels in Belochistan and Sinde, pp. 54, 71.

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settled in Kutch Gundava, a low fertile plain country to the eastward of the mountains, and some of them to the northward of Kelat and in Seistan.*

The Belooches are almost all pastoral people, and reside under "ghedans," or tents made of black felt or coarse flannel, spread over a wicker-work frame.†

The Brahooés are divided into a great number of petty tribes, they are a still more wandering, unsettled race than the Belooches, and are perpetually roaming about from one province of Beloochistan to another in quest of pasturage, though they principally feed their flocks on the high and cold mountains.‡

The languages of these two nations indicate that the Belooches are more intimately connected with the Persians in descent; and the Brahooés, perhaps, with the Hindoos of the north-western provinces. "The Belooche language," says Lieut. Pottinger, "partakes considerably of the modern Persian idiom, and at least one half of its words are borrowed from that language, but greatly disguised under a corrupt and unaccountable pronunciation." We might suppose the affinity of their idiom to the Persian to be still more close, from this writer's assurance, that in consequence of his acquaintance with the Persian language, he understood, after travelling some time among them,

* Pottinger, p. 55. † Pottinger, p. 61.
‡ Ibid. pp. 70, 71.

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almost every sentence he heard spoken by the Belooches in their own tongue.

Mr. Klaproth has precisely repeated the above assertion of Lieut. Pottinger, without however citing his authority. He has given, by way of proof and example, the conjugation of the verb substantive, and the words of the Lord's Prayer, in the Belooche tongue.*

The language of the Brahooés is dissimilar in its sound and formation from the Persian, and "contains an extensive portion of ancient Hinduwee words, and as it strikes the ear, bears a strong resemblance to the Punjaubee, the dialect spoken in that part of India called the Punjaub."

The physical characters of these races, in which they so remarkably differ, will be described in the following section.

¶ 3. *Of the Buchars.*

The Buchars are the inhabitants of the towns, or the stationary dwellers in Great and Little Bucharia, between the Caspian Sea and the confines of the Chinese empire. The cities of this region, Samarcand, Bokhara, and Balkh, have been celebrated in the history of the East, and were long regarded by the oriental people as the wonders of the world. It appears that European writers have been in general under a mistake in respect to the population of this great region. Our geographers and philologists have regarded the Buchars as a

* Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta.

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nation of Tartar origin. The learned author of Mithridates terms the Bucharian language one of the most polished dialects of the Turkish, though intermixed with Persian words. By Pallas and Georgi it was also included among Turkish dialects.*

Mr. Klaproth in his journey by land to China in the suite of the Russian ambassador, Count Golowkin, had opportunities of inquiring more accurately into the history of the Buchars. The result of his inquiries, confirmed by subsequent researches, is, that the language of this nation is not Tartar or Turkish, but Persian; that the stationary people, not only of Great Bucharia, but also the inhabitants of towns in Kashgar, Jarkiang, Chotan, Aksee, Ushi, Turfan, and Chamil, are not of Tartar, but of Persian origin. This seems, indeed, to be fully proved by a copious vocabulary of Bucharian words, of which a very small number are derived from the Turkish.†

To what age are we to refer the occupation of the extensive region now described by a Persian people? Klaproth conjectures that it belonged of old to the Persian empire, and that the wars described in the Shahnameh, between Iran and Turan, had their origin in a dismemberment of the Transoxan provinces which had belonged to the Persians until they were overrun by Turkish conquerors. But so close an affinity of language,

* Mithridates, th. i. p. 458.

† Asia Polyglotta, p. 245—254.

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amounting almost to sameness of dialect, cannot have subsisted from so distant a period. The introduction of the present population into the towns of Bucharia must have been of a more recent date, though it is by no means improbable that a great part of the same country belonged in ancient times to Persia.*

¶ 4. *Of the Kurds.*

The nations already mentioned in this chapter are towards the eastern confines of Persia. We now come to some races of Persian or Median origin beyond the western and north-western limits of that region.

The Kurds are a nation of rude mountaineers, inhabiting the mountains of Kurdistan, to the southward of Armenia, and on the confines of the Persian and Turkish empires. These were the Gordiæan mountains of the ancients; they were inhabited by the Carduchi, who, from their name and situation, have been supposed to be the ancestors of the present Kurds. This opinion, though plausible, is erroneous, since the Carduchi, as we shall have occasion hereafter to remark, were a branch of the Northern Chaldæan people, and therefore of Assyrian, or rather of Semitic origin, whereas the Kurds are well known to be a Persian race. At some unknown era they must have taken advantage of the long predominant power of Persia over the western Asiatic nations, to encroach

* Asia Polyglotta, p. 239—254.

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upon the former inhabitants of this region, and to possess themselves of the ancient country of the Chaldees.

The Kurds term themselves Kurd or Kurd-mandji, i. e. strong or valiant men. Their language, according to the researches of philologers, is a rude and barbarous dialect of the Persian.*

¶ 5. *Of the Armenians.*

The history of the Armenians is involved in great obscurity. Intercourse and political relations subsisted during a long period between them and the Romans; and if philological knowledge, and the critical investigation of history, had not been entirely wanting, we might have obtained, through the medium of Roman writers, a satisfactory account of the literature and antiquities of Armenia. But in reality we have nothing except a few meagre notices from the ancient writers, from which little or nothing that is important can be deduced. Strabo has preserved a story, of Grecian origin, which derived the Armenians from Thessaly,† and in another part of his work he offers a conjecture, founded apparently on the resemblance of names, that they were of one kindred with the Aramæans.‡ The only fact that we

* Mithridates, th. i. p. 294, et seq. Klaproth. Asia Polyglotta, p. 75. Malte-Brun's Geograph. book 27. The affinity of the Kurdish to the Persian language is sufficiently displayed in the vocabulary given by M. Klaproth.

† Strabon. Geogr. lib. ii. p. 530. ‡ Id. lib. i. p. 42.

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have from him is, that the Armenians, as well as the Medes, had the same worship and religious observances as the Persians, to which they added the licentious rites of Anaïtis, derived probably from the Assyrians.* The prevalence of the Magian religion among the Armenians affords a presumption that they were of Persian origin.

The literary history of Armenia may be said to commence with Miesrob, who invented the Armenian alphabet, and translated the scriptures into the Armenian language about the beginning of the fifth century, and with his disciple, the historian Moses of Chorene. From that era the language has been preserved in the Armenian version, and from a careful examination of this document much information may yet be acquired.†

Adelung appears to have examined the Armenian language very superficially. From a short vocabulary of words of common use, and, as he terms them, of the first necessity, he concludes this idiom to be distinct from all others; but he observes, that in its grammatical structure it approaches to the European more than the Asiatic, meaning the Semitic languages; a circumstance which leads him to suspect an affinity between the Armenian people and their neighbours, the Thracians.‡ This remark he might have strengthened

* Ibid. p. 532.

† See Michaëlis's account of the Armenian version, in vol. ii. of his Introduction to the New Testament, by Marsh.

‡ Mithridates, th. i. p. 420.

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in some degree by the authority of Herodotus, who says the Armenians were descended from the Phrygians, themselves a Thracian race.*

Klaproth has paid somewhat greater attention to this subject, and has come to a conclusion, supported, as it would appear, by sufficient evidence.† He considers the Armenian language as a branch of the Indo-European, or Indo-German, and observes that it contains, besides a multitude of Indo-German roots, many points of relation with the Finnish and other languages of northern Asia."‡ The Armenian dialect might perhaps furnish a specimen of the transition from the artificially formed languages of the Indo-European stock, to the more barbarous idioms of the northern Asiatics. The people were probably allied on one side to the Medes, and on the other to the Phrygian or Thracian race.

¶ 6. *The Ossetes.*

The Ossetes are a barbarous, predatory nation, dwelling on the northern side of Caucasus, on the left bank of the river Terek.§ According to Reineggs, they are the Assæi of Pliny, and the Ghossi

* See Herod. lib. vii. cap. 73.

† He has given a vocabulary of Armenian words, occupying seventeen columns in his quarto work, written down according to the pronunciation of the Armenians in Constantinople. In this a considerable proportion of the words, including the numerals, appear to be Indo-European.

‡ Asia Polyglott. p. 97.

§ Reineggs. Description of Caucasus, &c.

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of Moses of Chorene. They are said to be under the government of women; are divided into seven tribes, each consisting of separate hordes or families, some of which are famous for their manufacture of iron arms. The most considerable of their tribes is that of the Dugores.* The language of the Ossetes is said by Adelung to be a peculiar one, but to contain a mixture of Persian, Georgian, German, and Sclavonian words, which are however not sufficient to prove the descent of the race either from the Persians or Kurds.† In this opinion Klaproth is again at variance with him, and sets down the Ossetic, without any doubt, as an Indo-European dialect, though he says that it contains many words coinciding with the idiom of the Livonians, and particularly with the Votiak and Permian languages. As far as we can judge from the evidence of a pretty considerable vocabulary, this opinion seems to be well supported; but we ought to be made acquainted with the character of this language in its grammatical structure before any certain conclusion can be adopted. The numerals are evidently Indo-European.‡

The name of the Ossetes in their own language is Iron, and they term their country Ironistan.

* Mithridates, th. i. p. 444. Maltebrun. Geogr. lib. 25.

† Reineggs says their language is totally different from any other, but mixed with Persian and Georgian words.

‡ The following specimen of the numerals of the Ossetic and Armenian languages is sufficient to prove the connexion of both

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The Medes, according to Herodotus, called themselves Arianoi. This circumstance, and the story mentioned by Diodorus, that the Scythians brought a Median colony into this country, are cited by Klaproth as confirmatory of his position. He endeavours also to prove that the Ossetes were the Alani of the Byzantine historians.*

thus far with the Indo-European languages. The Ossetic are from Reineggs's Description of Caucasus; the Armenian from Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta.

Ossetic.	Armenian.
1, Giu,	Mi.
2, Duwa,	Yergu.
3, Erte,	Yeryek.
4, Schpar.	Tschors.
5, Faunts,	Hink.
6, Aschsches,	Wyez.
7, Aäft,	Yeotn.
8, Ascht,	Ut.
9, Ferast,	Inn.
10, Dess,	Dasn.
20, Sets.	
100, Fauntesets.	

It is somewhat curious that these languages appear in the numerals less connected with each other than with very remote dialects of the same stock. The Ossetes have lost the word signifying a hundred, and have invented a new one, compounded of five and twenty. Nearly all the other numbers in both languages are Indo-European.

* See Klaproth's Travels in Caucasus, p. 5, et seq. Idem in Asia Polyglott. p. 82, et seq.

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Section III.

Of the Physical Characters of the Persians and the other kindred Nations which have been noticed in the preceding Section.

The celebrated traveller in the East, Sir John Chardin, has given us the following remarks on the physical character of the Persians:—"Le sang de Perse est naturellement grossier. Cela se voit aux Guébres, qui sont le reste des anciens Perses. Ils sont laids, mal faits, pésans, ayant la peau rude et le teint coloré. Cela se voit aussi dans les provinces les plus proches de l'Inde, où les habitans ne sont guères moins mal faits que les Guébres, parce qu'ils ne s'allient qu'entre eux; mais dans le reste du royaume, le sang Persan est présentement devenu fort beau, par le mélange du sang Georgien et Circassien, qui est assurément le peuple du monde où la Nature forme les plus belles personnes, et un peuple brave et vaillant, de même que vif, galant et amoureux. Il n'y a presqu'aucun homme de qualité en Perse qui ne soit né d'une mère Georgienne ou Circassienne, à compter depuis le roi, qui d'ordinaire est Georgien ou Circassien, du côté feminin; et comme il y a plus de cent ans que ce mélange a commencé de se faire, le sexe feminin s'est embelli comme l'autre, et les Persanes sont devenues fort belles et fort bien faites, quoique ce ne soit pas au point des Georgiennes. Pour les hommes, ils sont communément hauts, droits, ver-

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meils, vigoureux, de bon air et de belle apparence." "Sans le mélange dont je viens de parler, les gens de qualité de Perse seroient les plus laids hommes du monde; car ils sont originaires de ces pays, entre la mer Caspienne et la Chine, qu'on appelle la Tartarie, dont les habitans, qui sont les plus laids hommes de l'Asie, sont petits et gros, ont les yeux et le nez à la Chinoise, les visages plâts et larges, et le teint mêlé de jaune et de noir fort désagréable."*

It is well known that the Guebres and Parsees are descendants of the Persian fire-worshippers, who, on the conquest of their country by the Moslemin, preferred exile to the abandonment of their ancient superstitions, and took refuge, a part of them, in the north-eastern and mountainous provinces of Persia, and a part in India. The former are the Guebres, of whom Chardin speaks; but the Parsees are likewise the posterity of the old Persians; and of these people, who are known to the English at Bombay, we have a very different description. We have many accounts of the Parsees by late writers, and all agree in representing them as a fine, handsome race. Colonel Wilks in particular remarks, that "they carried with them into India the religion, the hardy habits, and athletic forms of the north of Persia; and that their posterity may still be recognized, with their mental and bodily powers unimpaired, after the

* Voyages du Chévalier Chardin en Perse. Edit. de Langlès, tom. iii. p. 403.

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residence of a thousand years in a burning climate.*

It seems from this consideration very doubtful whether Chardin was right in his conjecture, for it is nothing more than a conjecture, respecting the physical characters of the old or genuine Persian race; the ugliness of the Guebres may have been acquired by long residence in a mountainous region, in the vicinity of Mongolian or Indo-Chinese tribes, rather than handed down from their old Persian ancestry. As far as any judgment can be formed of the persons of the old Persians, from the sculptures which are so numerous in several parts of their country, it would appear that they were a very fine and well-formed race, and that their features were entirely of the European model, with nothing of that character ascribed to the Guebres of the present times. The introduction moreover of a few Circassian women into the harems of the rich, could never be a cause adequate to such an effect, as the altering of the form and physiognomy of a whole nation. It is on the whole most probable, that the Persians were heretofore, as they now are described to be in general, a people of fine and strongly marked features, of that character of countenance and configuration of the head which is prevalent in Europe and in other branches of the Indo-European race.

The complexion of the Persians and neighbouring nations is various in different provinces. A

* Wilks's History of the Mysore, vol. i.

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general description would afford no ground for accurate conclusions; I shall therefore cite the accounts which some travellers have given us of the population of particular districts, or rather of particular tribes, in this great empire and the surrounding countries.

In Shiraz the complexions of the women are as fair as those of Europeans, viz. of those Europeans who have black hair. But this is the case only when they are protected from the sun.*

The population of Persia, properly so termed, consists of four classes: first, the military, and other servants of the chiefs; secondly, the mercantile class; thirdly, the agriculturists; and fourthly, wandering tribes, who traverse the country, without fixed habitations; these in Persia are a numerous class of people, and are called Eels.† The latter are described by an intelligent traveller, who informs us that their natural complexion appears to be fair; "for when a young child is seen naked, it is nearly as white as an European infant." "Exposure to the sun and weather turns their skin to a deep mahogany hue, often approaching to black." "The men," he adds, "have well-made, powerful frames, piercing black eyes, noses generally inclined to aquiline, frequently overhanging, thick mustachios and black bushy beards. A deep ruddy hue glows through their dark brown skins, and their appearance is altogether strongly characteristic of health, hardi-

* Waring's Tour to Shiraz.

† Narrative of a Journey to Khorasan, by James B. Frazer, Author of a Tour in the Himala Mountains, p. 171.

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hood, and independence." "The young women have quite the gipsey character of countenance, and are often handsome."*

The Afghans, as we have before observed, occupy a great part of the Persian empire. Of this nation we owe the chief part of our information to Mr. Elphinstone. It seems, that although the different tribes of Afghans form one stock of people of distinct and well-marked character, yet considerable varieties of person are found among them, particularly in complexion. They approximate, on the one hand, to the Hindoos, and on the other to the northern Persians and Europeans. Similar varieties we have observed among the northern Hindoos, and particularly in the description of the people of Cutch.

"The Afghan women," says Mr. Elphinstone, "are described as large, compared to those of India, and very fair and handsome."

"The men are all of a robust make, and are generally lean, though bony and muscular. They have high noses, high cheek-bones, and long faces." This character of countenance proves that they do not partake of the structure of the Mongoles, as do many of the mountaineers in the northern borders of India. "Their hair and beards are generally black, sometimes brown, and rarely red. Their hair is always coarse and strong. They shave the middle part of their head, but wear the rest of their

* Narrative of a Journey to Khorasan, by James B. Fraser, Author of a Tour in the Himala Mountains, p. 93.

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hair. The tribes near towns wear it short, but the rest have long and large locks hanging down on each side of the head. They wear long and thick beards. Their countenance has an expression of manliness and deliberation, united to an air of simplicity not allied to weakness. The eastern Afghauns have the national features most strongly marked, though they have the least of the expression above alluded to. The lineaments of the western tribes are less distinct, and exhibit a much greater variety of countenance, some of them having features entirely different from those I have described; their high cheek-bones, however, never leave them. The western Afghauns are larger and stouter than those of the east; and some Dorraunies and Ghiljies are of surprising strength and stature, but, generally speaking, the Afghauns are are not so tall as the English."

"The eastern Afghauns have generally dark complexions, approaching to that of the Hindoostaunees, while those of the west are olive, with a healthy colour and appearance; but among them, as among the eastern Afghauns, men as swarthy as Indians, and others as fair as Europeans, are to be met with in the same neighbourhood: the fair are by much the more common in the west, and the dark in the east."

"Besides this difference, which is created by climate, the eastern and western Afghauns are distinguished by other peculiarities, which appear in general to arise from the different quarters from

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which the two divisions have acquired their manners."*

It may be proper to observe, while we are considering the physical characters of the Afghans, that the climate they inhabit is cold, owing to the great elevation of its surface, and abounds with many of the productions of Europe.† The people are clothed in sheep-skins and warm dresses. The fair complexion of the inhabitants is, in connexion with this fact, a circumstance of importance, especially if we contrast them with the natives of Sind, a low hot country on the Indus, the people of which are blacker than most of the other natives of India.‡

We have already adverted to the difference of physical character which distinguishes the different races inhabiting Beloochistan, viz. the Belooches proper, and the Brahooés. The latter, who are Mahomedans, and have no historical knowledge whatever previous to the era of their conversion to Islam, look upon themselves however as aborigines of the countries they inhabit.§ Their name is said to signify "mountaineers, or people of the hills, while that of the Nharooes or Belooches means "lowlanders."‖ From the resemblance of the Brahooic language to that of the Punjaub, we might be disposed to look upon the Brahooés as nearly related to the people of western India, but this subject requires further investigation.¶ There

* Elphinstone's Account of Caubul, &c. p. 245.
† Ibid. p. 150. ‡ Ibid. p. 500.
§ Pottinger, 272. ‖ Ibid. p. 271.
¶ The writer who remarked the resemblance of sound between

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is yet stronger ground for ascribing a Persian origin to the Belooches. But if these affinities should be fully proved, the physical characters of the two races will be the more remarkable, especially when considered in connexion with the situation of the countries they respectively inhabit.

The Brahooés, a people of the cold mountains, instead of the tall figure, long visage, and raised features of the Belooches, have, as Lieut. Pottinger informs us, "short thick bones, with round faces, and flat lineaments; in fact, he adds, I may assert, that I have not seen any other Asiatics, to whom they bear any resemblance, for numbers of them have brown hair and beards."*

The Belooches are a tall, active, handsome race of men, not possessing great physical strength, but adapted and inured to changes of climate and season. They have good features and expressive countenances.† Mr. Elphinstone informs us, that the Belooches, who dwell in the low plains near the Indus, are dark in complexion, and lean and meagre in form;‡ here however they are more or less intermixed with the Juths, or descendants of the Hindoos of Sind, who have embraced Islam.§

In the northern parts of Persia, and in the

the Punjab and Brahooe language, has taken care to remark that he has not the necessary information for a strict comparison. However, he affirms that a great portion of ancient Hinduvi words are contained in the Brahooe idiom, a fact strongly in favour of the opinion that the people are related to the inhabitants of the Punjab.

* Pottinger, p. 71. † Ibid. p. 58—60.

‡ Elphinstone, pp. 366, 367. § Pottinger, p. 375.

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countries bordering on it towards the north, it appears that the complexion of the people is much more fair. A writer who had travelled in the countries between Caucasus and Persia, and who was acquainted with the people of this frontier, mentions a slender form and blue eyes as characteristic of the female Persians.* The Kurds are remarked to have a white complexion, with animated features.† The Armenians are said to be a people of fine forms. The Ossetes, on Mount Caucasus, have a fair sanguine complexion. I shall terminate the present chapter by citing Pallas's account of this race.

"The Ossetes are a barbarous, predatory race, inhabiting the high and interior country above the Phasis and the Terek. Their language is exclusively spoken by them; but it contains many words and expressions in common with the German, Slavonian, and Persian languages."‡ In external appearance they exactly resemble the peasants in the North of Russia: they have in general, like them, either brown or light hair, occasionally, also, red beards. They appear to be very ancient inhabitants of these mountains."§

* Reineggs, *ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 289.

† Maltebrun, *ubi supra*.

‡ Pallas's Travels in the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire, vol. i. p. 431. English Translation.

§ Ibid. p. 435.

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CHAPTER IV.

Of the ancient Population of Lesser Asia, and of the contiguous parts of Europe, as far as the Danube.

SECTION I.

General Remarks on the Population of these Countries—Pelasgian, Lydian, and Thracian branches.

THOSE parts of Europe and Asia, where the two continents approach to each other, including on the one side Thrace, in its widest extent, and on the other Lesser Asia, have been connected from the earliest periods of history by political relations, and seem to have been originally peopled by the same races of men. These are the countries to which the names of Europe and Asia appear to have properly belonged, until both those appellations became gradually extended beyond the regions first known to their respective neighbours. The Bosphorus and Hellespont were often passed from either side in warlike incursions, and while the Asiatics were more powerful and civilized than the people of Europe, no formidable barrier opposed the progress of invaders until they came to the Danube. Several of the early conquerors, African or Asiatic, are said even to have crossed this boundary. But all the districts to the southward of it were long, more or less, under the influence

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of Asiatic society and manners; and their connexions with Asia are more intimate the further we go back in the history of the world.

We may observe that within these limits there were some nations of the Semitic family, a branch of the human race, whose history, as it goes back to the earliest periods, is not unconnected with that of the Indo-European nations.* We shall have occasion to mention these Semitic nations more particularly in a succeeding chapter: after these are for the present excepted, all the remaining nations in the parts of Europe and Asia now described, may be referred to three well-known races, the Pelasgian, or ancient Grecian race, the Thracian, and the Lydian. We shall make some remarks on the history of these three nations in succession.

I. We shall begin with the Pelasgian branch, because it is better known to us than the two others. This race certainly belongs to the Indo-European family. Although we cannot trace the first colonization of Greece, which is beyond the period of historical records, the analysis of the Greek language, and its comparison with the Sanscrit, of which we have seen that the Zend and Parsi are derivatives, have afforded a proof of near affinity between the Pelasgi and the Asiatic nations already

* I beg leave to use this term Semitic, objectionable as it is, for want of a better. It was proposed by Eichhorn, and after being adopted by Adelung, Klaproth, and many other writers, may be considered as authorized by use.

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described, which, to all those who have entered on the subject, has appeared fully conclusive. It seems that colonies of one original people established themselves in remote times on the Ganges, in Persia, and on the shores of the Ægean. In the former situation their speech was gradually moulded into the Sanscrit, and they became subject to the power and superstition of the Brahmans; in the second they became disciples of the Magian hierarchy, and their dialects were the Zend, the Parsi, and the Pehlevi: in Greece their mythology and language acquired a more graceful character, but the proofs of a common origin are still equally clear and indelible.

What may have been the destinies of the Pelasgian race before their arrival in Europe we can only conjecture. Their way from the northern parts of Media is not very long or difficult. It is probable that the intervening countries of Asia Minor may have contained some middle points of colonization.

The people of Asia Minor may be referred in general to the two other nations before mentioned; I mean the Lydians and Thracians.

II. To the former of these, who were governed by a powerful and celebrated dynasty, belonged several nations of the southern parts of Asia Minor. Some of the latter, as we shall see, were nearly connected in their early history with the Pelasgi.

It is probable that the early Greeks had, before they left Asia, adopted some of the superstitions of the East. The worship of Vesta, both among

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the Greeks and Latins, is probably a relic of the Magian religion.* But the religion of the Greeks was so soon blended with Egyptian superstitions, that its more simple elements were overwhelmed and lost. The Lydians are more clearly connected with the East, and the worship of fire prevailed in Lydia down to a late period.†

III. The Thracians had many customs in common with the eastern nations, which the Greeks either never adopted, or had lost before the beginning of their history. The Thracians appear to have divided with people of the Lydian and of the Pelasgian stock nearly the whole of Asia Minor. The northern and western tracts of that country were possessed by Thracian tribes, who are supposed to have been previously settled on the European side of the Hellespont. Among them were the Phrygians, or Bryges.

But the principal seat of the Thracian race was in Europe, where they occupied all the countries between the Euxine and the Adriatic. To the southward they bordered on the Pelasgi. The

* Nec tu aliud Vestam quam *vivam* intelligi *Flammam*.

† Strabo has described the mode in which the worship of fire was practised by the Magi in Cappadocia, and Pausanias has mentioned the fire temples in Lydia, where the priests, after arranging the wood, repeated litanies out of a book in a barbarous tongue, while the flame caught. See Erskine on the sacred books and religion of the Parsees, in the Bombay Transactions, vol. ii. This work contains the best analysis of the Magian religion, and the most critical examination of the antiquities of Persia that has appeared.

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boundary and the distinction between these two nations seem in very early periods to be indeterminable. The further we go back, the more undefined is the limit, and the less clearly are the Pelasgi distinguished from the Thracians.

Among the people of Thracian race are to be reckoned the Getæ and the Illyrians, as we shall remark further, who reached northwards beyond the Danube. Some writers have referred the Cimmerians and the Taurians to the same stock.

After these general observations, which are premised for the sake of distinctness, we proceed to a more minute examination of this subject, beginning with the Pelasgic, or primitive Grecian race.

Section II.

Of the Pelasgian Race, and of the principal tribes of the Greek nation.

The Greeks, unlike other nations, had for a long time no distinguishing name which comprised all the tribes of their own kindred, and excluded those who were of foreign races. When the term Hellenes was adopted as a national appellation, its sense was somewhat more restricted. The Romans, however, comprehended under the name of *Græci,* all those nations who spoke dialects of the Greek language, and in this more extensive meaning I propose to use the name of Greeks.

Were the old Pelasgi of Grecian race, or of a barbarous, that is, of a different stock? Some modern writers of great learning and ingenuity

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have raised doubts on this question; but these are chiefly persons who follow in a great measure their own conjectures, and apply to ancient authors only to obtain for them the appearance of a sanction and a testimony. I apprehend that nobody who sets himself without bias to collect the results of historical evidence on this subject, will find it difficult to come to a conclusion. The Pelasgi are said by most writers to have been the oldest inhabitants of many parts of Greece; and it would appear, as we shall endeavour to shew, that they must have been the ancestors of most, if not of all the tribes afterwards called Hellenes. But there is one circumstance in their history which seems to have perplexed Herodotus, and which is the only difficulty that embarrasses the subject at present. This historian says, that the Pelasgi, who in his time inhabited the city of Crestona,* above the Tyrrhenians, but who had formerly dwelt in Thessaliotis; and those Pelas-

* Some writers, among whom is Dionysius of Halicarnassus, have supposed that Herodotus meant Cortona in Umbria, a town situated above the Tyrrheni, or Etruscans, which had been conquered by Pelasgic adventurers, and long remained in their possession. Others suppose, on better grounds, that he refers to a town in Thrace, under the name of Crestona. And this appears to be his true meaning; it is not probable that he would have made a reference to a place so remote as Umbria, without expressing his meaning distinctly. Thucydides mentions a people in Thrace, termed Crestoniæi, and Herodotus speaks of them in such a way as to prove that he alludes, in the passage above cited, to the Thracian Crestona, and not the Umbrian Cortona. See lib. v. cap. iii. iv.

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gi also, who had colonized Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, but had formerly been neighbours of the Athenians, as well as the inhabitants of some other Pelasgic towns, differed in language from all the people that surrounded them; he adds further, that the Crestoniatæ and the Placiani, though differing in speech from their neighbours, were yet intelligible to each other, and must therefore have preserved the original dialect, which they had previously to their acquiring the settlements above mentioned. Hence he infers that the Pelasgi were a people of barbarous speech; and since the Athenians were of the Pelasgian race, he supposes that they must have learnt the Greek language at the time when they came to form a part of the Hellenes.

That a whole nation, without foreign conquest, or any other extraordinary reason, should learn a new language, and forget their old one, is a thing so wholly out of the course of experience, that it is difficult to admit the supposition; and a question here naturally occurs; who can be imagined to have been the teachers of these barbarians, or who instructed them in the Greek language? It appears from the statements made by Herodotus in the preceding part of his history, that the Dorians were the people originally termed Hellenes, and that this appellation belonged exclusively to them until the people of Attica and others of the Ionic race came to participate in it; for this historian makes the term Doric nearly synonymous

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with Hellenic, and Ionian with Pelasgic. Now it cannot be supposed that the Ionians and Athenians acquired their language from the rude Dorians, whose dialect was always very different from the Ionic and Attic. These dialects were always peculiar to one branch of the Greek nation, namely, the Iones, who retained the name of Pelasgi to a later period than the Doric branch; the Iones cannot therefore have adopted their language from the Dorians.

But how then came the wandering Pelasgi, mentioned by Herodotus, who after long and repeated migrations settled at Placia and Scylace, to differ in language from the Hellenes, who were of the same race? The fact can only be accounted for by supposing that the languages of both parties had so much deviated from their common original, in consequence of the different habits and associations of the people respectively, that they no longer understood each other; their languages may still have been not radically different, for it is not to be supposed that Herodotus took the pains to collect and compare vocabularies. The time when Herodotus wrote was six centuries from the age of Theseus, who first collected the people of Attica into one city and gave them settled laws; the Pelasgi had been wanderers, often living in the neighbourhood of foreigners, during a great part of that time. Many instances might be adduced to show that great differences of dialect have arisen in a shorter period.

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As it is of some importance to show that the whole Greek nation was, according to the testimony of ancient history, when this testimony is ascertained by comparing one statement with another, descended from the Pelasgic race, I shall endeavour to make this clearly appear. I shall first show that the old population of the Peloponnesus was Pelasgic, and that the Æolic Greek was the dialect spoken by that people. It will then appear from the testimony of Strabo, in allusion to the history of the Greek language, supported by well known facts, that the other dialects were all derived from this original, and that the different branches of the Greek nation were consequently allied to the Pelasgian stock.

I. It is easy to show, from the authority of ancient writers, that the first population of the Peloponnesus, particularly of the interior and mountainous tracts of Arcadia, was by the ancient Greeks always accounted Pelasgian. Like other ancient people, whose origin is lost in antiquity, the Arcadians imagined themselves, and were supposed by the Greeks to be autochthones, or to have sprung from the soil. They are said to have received their name and existence from Pelasgus, a fabulous king of Arcadia, whom the Earth produced from its bowels. An ancient poet records this fiction.

Αντιθεόν τε Πελασγὸν ἐν ὑψικόμοις ὀρέεσσι,
Γαῖα μέλαιν' ἀνέδωκεν, ἵνα θνητῶν γένος εἴη.

'The black earth brought forth the godlike

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Pelasgus in the mountain forests, that the race of mortals might have existence."

Æschylus alludes to the same fable in the Supplices, when Danaus, arriving with a foreign stole in the Peloponnesus, the native king of the Greeks is made thus to express himself:

Τοῦ γηγενοῦς γάρ εἰμ' ἐγὼ Παλαίχθονος
ἴνις Πελασγὸς, τῆσδε γῆς ἀρχηγέτης,
ἐμοῦ δ' ἄνακτος εὐλόγως ἐπώνυμον
γένος Πελασγῶν τήνδε καρποῦται χθόνα.

"I am Pelasgus, ruler of this land, son of Palæchthon, the earth-born; and the Pelasgian race, rightly taking its name from me, lives on the produce of this soil." He then adds, that the dominion of this king reaches to the rivers Strymon and to Argos, and the mountains of Dodona; from which it seems that the Pelasgi, according to Æschylus, possessed nearly all Greece.

The Arcadians were very boastful of their unfathomable antiquity, and were called by the Greeks, in irony, by the name of "προσελήνοι," or older than the moon. The population of Arcadia never changed, in the revolutions which happened tothe more maritime parts of the Peloponnesus. Herodotus has assured us of this fact. He says,* "The ceremonies called Thesmophoria were brought from Egypt by the daughters of Danaus, and by them revealed to the Pelasgian women; but afterwards, when the people from all the rest of the

* Book ii. cap. 171.

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Peloponnesus were driven out by the Dorians, the mystery fell into disuse; but those among the Peloponnesians who remained and were not driven out, namely, the Arcadians, alone preserved them." From this passage it is clearly shewn that the population of the peninsula, before the Dorian conquest, was Pelasgian, and that Arcadia retained, in the time of Herodotus, its Pelasgian stock. Thucydides also confirms the fact that Arcadia retained always its old inhabitants amidst the various revolutions of the Peloponnesus.*

The people of Argos also, before the Dorian conquest, were Pelasgians, though they had obtained a new name from the colony which arrived in their country under Danaus. For this we have the authority of Euripides. In his drama of Orestes, the Argive people are thus addressed;

ὦ γῆν Ινάχου κεκτημένοι,
πάλαι Πελασγοί, Δαναΐδαι δὲ δεύτερον.

"O you who possess the land of Inachus, formerly Pelasgi, but afterwards called Danaidæ."

We have now to inquire what was the dialect of the Peloponnesians before the Dorians came among them. On this subject Strabo has given us very satisfactory information in a passage which I shall cite at length. After describing the extent of the Æolic nation, and their dialect in other parts of Greece, this geographer adds the following remarks:

"Those also who resided within the isthmus,"

* Lib. i. cap. 2.

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that is, in Peloponnesus, "were formerly Æolians, but they afterwards became mixed; for some Ionians from Attica got possession of Ægialus," that is, the country afterwards called Achaia, "and the descendants of Hercules brought with them the Dorians, by whom Megara and many of the cities in the Peloponnesus were founded. The Ionians, however, were soon driven out again by the Achaians, who were an Æolic nation, and the two other races then remained in the Peloponnesus, namely, the Æolians and the Dorians. Those who had least intercourse with the Dorians continued to speak the Æolic dialect; this was the case with the Arcadians and Eleans; the former were a people of the mountains, and their country did not fall under the lot; and the latter were deemed sacred to Olympic Jupiter, and had lived a long time in peace; they were besides of Æolic descent, and had given entertainment to the army of Oxylus at the return of the Heraclidæ. The rest speak a sort of mixed language between the two dialects, some having more of the Æolic and some less, and even now particular cities differ from each other in speech; but they are all considered to follow the Dorian fashion, on account of the predominant power of that people."*

From all this it results clearly that the ancient population of the Peloponnesus was entirely Pelasgian, and that the Æolic dialect was the proper language of that people. We have, indeed, the

* Strabo, lib. viii. p. 333.

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express testimony of Herodotus for the fact, that the Æolians were a Pelasgian nation.

II. It is well known to all who have paid any attention to the Greek dialects, that the Æolic is the most ancient form of the Greek language; it may indeed be considered as the common original from which the other dialects deviate. Several forms in the Attic are peculiar to it and the Æolic; some of them disappear in the later Attic writers, and are considered as archaisms. The Ionic and Attic are regarded, by Strabo, as modifications of one dialect. "We deem," says this writer, "the Ionic dialect to be the same with the ancient Attic; for the Attic people of those times were called Ions; and from them originated the Ions, who settled colonies in Asia, and who use the language now termed Ionic." With respect to the remaining Greek dialect, namely, the Doric, Strabo affirms it to have been originally Æolic; he says that the Dores inhabited a secluded tract of Mount Parnassus, and being a small nation, cut off from the rest of the Greeks, gradually deviated somewhat in dialect and customs from their ancestors, but were, nevertheless, originally Æoles, and spoke the Æolic language.* Pindar confirms this remark; he calls his muse Doric and Æolic in the same ode.†

——ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀ-
πὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου
λάμβαν'—

* Strabo, loc. citat. † Pindar, Olympic, i.

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and again,

——ἐμὲ δὲ στεφανῶσαι
κεῖνον ἱππικῷ νομῷ
Αἰοληΐδι μολπᾷ
χρή.

The Ionian branch of the Greek nation retained the name of Pelasgi longer than the Æolians and Dorians, the appellation of Hellenes having been at an early period adopted in the Peloponnesus. Hence we find the Ionians termed in distinction Pelasgi by many writers; this is not only to be observed of the Ionians who colonized the coast of Achæa, and were termed Pelasgi of Ægialus, but also of their brethren of Attica.* That the Peloponnesians, however, were originally Æolian and Pelasgic, we have seen abundantly proved. I shall now add some remarks on the adoption of the Hellenic name among them.

The Dorians were the first with whom the name of Hellenes or Greeks began. Herodotus speaks of the Hellenes as having sprung out of the Pelasgic stock, though subsequently distinguished from the Pelasgi. We are informed by Thucydides that the name of Hellenes belonged originally to a particular clan, celebrated for their exploits in the neighbourhood of Phthiotis, and was gradually extended to others by a sort of feudal association between the chiefs of that clan and other Grecian

* See Herodotus Polymnia, cap. xciv. xcv. Scymnus Chius, apud Hudson, tom. i.

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tribes, who obtained their military aid. "It did not," continues Thucydides, "prevail generally in Greece till a long time afterwards. Of this Homer is my chief testimony. For although he lived much later than the Trojan war, he has not given by any means to all the people of Greece the name of Hellenes, nor indeed to any others than those who came with Achilles from Phthiotis, and who were the first Hellenes."* It appears, from what has been said above, that the title of Hellenes never reached the Peloponnesus till the return of the Heraclidæ at the head of a Dorian army, and it was adopted by the Athenians at a still later period.†

In the passage above cited from Æschylus the Pelasgi are said to possess all Greece, including even Thessaly and Macedonia. Homer represents Larissa as peopled by Pelasgi:

Ἱππόθοος δ' ἄγε φῦλα Πελασγῶν ἐγχεσιμώρων
Τῶν οἳ Λάρισσαν ἐριβώλακα ναιετάασκον.‡

Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes the Pelasgi of Peloponnesus as the first Grecian people who drove out the barbarians and occupied Hæmonia or Thessaly.§ And Strabo informs us that the Greeks without the Peninsula, except the Athenians, Megarians, and Dorians of Parnassus, were still called Æoles in his time.

It appears on the whole certain, both from an

* Thucyd. i. cap. 2.

† Conf. Thucyd. *ubi supra*, Herod. lib. i. cap. 56, 57, 58.

‡ Iliad, ii. 840.

§ I. cap. 17.

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examination of the origin and connexion of the Greek dialects, and from the positive and uniform testimony of ancient writers, that the Pelasgi were the ancient inhabitants of all Greece, and the stock from which descended all the four tribes or nations of the Greeks, the later Æolians, who preserved their old name and dialect, the Dorians, the Ionians, and their kindred the Attics.

We shall here notice, for reasons that will afterwards appear, that a part of the Pelasgic nation, chiefly those tribes, as it seems, who in later times lived an erratic life, and roved about the shores of Asia Minor, Thrace, and some of the islands of the Ægean, were termed indifferently Pelasgi and Tyrrheni. Thucydides terms the inhabitants of the Chalcidian towns Pelasgi, "from the race of those Tyrrhenians who formerly colonized Lesbos and Athens."* Apollonius calls the Pelasgi of Lemnos, Tyrrheni; and Sophocles, in some verses preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus from the lost tragedy of Inachus, represents the king of that name as ruling over Argos and the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi.†

Section III.

Of the Lydians in the southern parts of Lesser Asia.

We have a long and connected history of the Lydian kings in the first book of Herodotus, but unfor-

* Thucyd. lib. iv. cap. 109.

† Apollon. Argonaut. lib. iv. v. 1760. Dionys. Hist. lib. i. cap. 25.

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tunately the narrative of this historian relates chiefly to warlike exploits, and gives but little information respecting the people. We should probably know much more about them if the Lydian history of Xanthus, who lived at the time when Sardis was taken by the Athenians, viz. in the 70th Olympiad, and who wrote an account of his native country in four books, had come down to our time. It appears, not only from the commendation bestowed upon this writer by many of the ancients, but also from various historical notices respecting Lydia, and other countries in Asia Minor, taken from his work by Strabo and other compilers, that it was full of valuable information. As the work of Xanthus is unfortunately lost, we must depend chiefly on the fragments of it that remain, and on the accounts given by Herodotus.

It has been supposed that the Ludim, mentioned in the Toldoth Beni Noach among the nations of Semitic origin, were the Lydians. From this supposition, and from the assertion of Herodotus, that Lydia was in ancient times governed by Agron, a son of Ninus, and grandson of Belus, it might be conjectured that the Lydians were of Assyrian or Aramæan descent, as it appears that a part of the people of Asia Minor were; for the Cappadocians are termed by Herodotus, Syrians.* But these indications are uncertain; it is undetermined who the Ludim were, and other facts point out a near

* Herod. lib. i. cap. 72; item lib. vii. cap. 72. He says they were called Syrians by the Greeks, and also by the Persians.

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connexion with the Greeks. It is plain from their history that the Lydians bore a great resemblance to the Greeks in many respects, and Herodotus affirms that the only remarkable difference between the two nations, consisted in the character of the women, in the unchaste manners for which those of Lydia were noted.

In the time of Crœsus the Lydians were masters of all the country westward of the Halys; but this was by conquest. In earlier times they had colonized several parts of Asia Minor. Their original name was Mæonians. The Torebi were of Lydian origin: according to Xanthus they spoke a dialect which differed but little from the Lydian, and resembled it as the speech of the Dorians resembled that of the Ionians.* The Carians and Mysians appear also to have been branches of the same stock. We learn from Herodotus that these three nations, the Carians, Mysians, and Lydians, were supposed to be of the same origin. He says that the Carians showed at Mylassa a very ancient structure, built in honour of the Carian Jupiter, to the privileges of which the Lydians and Mysians were also admitted, as being of the same descent. A tradition was preserved after the manner of ancient genealogies, that the three nations were descended from three brothers, whose names were Lydus, Mysus, and Cares.†

With respect to the Mysians, this account is

* Dionys. Halicarn. lib. i. cap. 28. † Herod. i. cap. 171.

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confirmed by the same historian in another place, where he asserts that the Mysians were a colony of the Lydians.* But this is to be taken with some limitation; for Strabo has given us reason to believe that the Mysians were, in part, of Thracian descent. There was a nation in Europe termed Mysians, a Thracian tribe, who inhabited both banks of the Danube; and that appears to have been their seat at the time of the Trojan war, as Strabo has shewn by a passage from Homer. "From these European Mysians," says this geographer, "went forth those who settled themselves between the Lydians, Phrygians, and Trojans." In confirmation of this account he observes, that several other Thracian tribes migrated in the same direction, particularly the Bryges, or Phrygians. However, it appears from the same geographer, that the authority of Xanthus was in favour of the Lydian origin of the Mysians, as well as that of Menecrates the Elaite. By these writers they were said to derive their appellation from a Lydian word, *Mysus*, which was the name of the tree termed Oxya; their first settlement being near mount Olympus, which abounded with forests of such trees; Strabo adds, that their language had much in common with the Lydian as well as with the Phrygian.‡

To the south and south-eastward of Lydia were the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians, who appear

* Herod. lib. vii. cap. 74.
† Strabo, lib. xii. p. 295. ‡ Ibid. lib. xii. c. 571.

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to have possessed the southern coast of Asia Minor, as well as the islands of the Ægean, and even Crete. In the islands the Cares were termed Leleges, and they were subject to Minos. But on the Asiatic coast, where, according to their own statement, they had always dwelt, they had retained the original name of Carians.* It appears certain that the Carians and Leleges were different branches, or perhaps only different names, belonging to the same people. The Caunians, whom Herodotus regarded as original inhabitants of the continent spoke also the Carian language. They derived themselves from Crete.† From this island, according to Herodotus, the Lycians originated, whose customs were partly Cretan, and partly like those of the Carians.‡

Strabo confirms this account, and proves the national identity of the Carians, Leleges, and Lycians. He says, "the Carians were formerly islanders, and called Leleges, till, with the aid of the Cretans, they gained possession of the continent and built towns in Caria, and the country afterwards called Lycia. These colonists were under the command of Sarpedon, whom Homer makes to be a native Lycian. From this it appears that the Lycians were of Carian race, and that the insular people of this tribe were driven to the continent, where, however, was of old the dwelling of others

* Herod. lib. i. c. 171. † Ibid. lib. i. c. 172.

‡ Ibid. p. 173.

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of the same kindred, who were termed Carians and Caunians, while their insular brethren were the Leleges and Lycians.*

The name of Leleges, however, belonged not only to inhabitants of the islands, but of the coast also. Antandros, on the shore southward of Troas, was, according to Alcæus, a town of the Leleges,* and on this coast they are placed by Homer.† Strabo says that the people of the coast who were driven out by the insular Leleges, were themselves chiefly Leleges and Pelasgi.‡ In the seventh book this geographer collects several notices of the history of these people. He says, that some supposed the Leleges to be the same as the Carians; others the inmates and near allies of that people. He adds, that all the country, afterwards called Ionia, was before inhabited by the Carians and Leleges; that in the Milesian country some dwellings were remaining which had belonged to the Leleges; and that in many places in Caria there were tombs and solitary hillocks, which were termed Lelegia, as having belonged to the Leleges.§ That they were barbarians, he says, appears from their close alliance with the Carians.

The Leleges, and their brethren, the Carians, were of old closely allied to the Pelasgi, and Strabo says that their language contained a great many Greek words. According to him they were termed by Homer, "βαρβαροφωνοι," not because their lan-

* Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 606.
† Iliad, Φ, 87.
‡ Strab. *ubi supra*, p. 606.
§ Strab. lib. vii. p. 321.

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guage was barbarous, but as speaking impure Greek, the Carians often serving through Greece as stipendiary soldiers. What is still more remarkable is, that even in Greece the Locrians were, by authors of undoubted credit, and by a general consent, derived from the Leleges.*

On the whole it appears, that tribes nearly allied to the Carians possessed in early times many of the islands, including Crete, and were spread over all the southern and western shores of Asia Minor, and even had settlements on the Grecian coast. They were frequently joined with the Pelasgi, from whom they perhaps were not very distinct in language and origin. However, on the Asiatic continent, where the body of the nation remained, the remembrance of their ancient consanguinity with the Lydians and Mysians was still preserved. Lydia may also have been the centre whence the first Pelasgic tribes emigrated; but this at a time beyond the reach of history.

Section IV.

Of the Thracians in the Northern Parts of Lesser Asia, and in Europe.

In the northern and inland parts of Asia-Minor we find several nations who were reputed to be of

* So Strabo, following Aristotle; also Dionys. of Halicarnass. lib. i. cap. xvii. Scymnus Chius and Dicæarchus mention the same fact. See Falconer's Notes on Strabo, tom. ii. p. 466. of the Oxford edition.

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Thracian origin; the principal of whom were the Phrygians.

Herodotus says, according to the Macedonians, the Phrygians, as long as they were their neighbours and inhabited Europe, were termed Bryges; but, passing over into Asia, they took the name of Phrygians. He adds, that the Armenians were a colony of Phrygians; they were armed like the Phrygian allies in the Persian war under Xerxes.* We are informed by the same author that the Bythynians were a colony of Thracians, who had formerly lived upon the Strymon. Besides these there was a people whom Herodotus distinguishes by the name of Thracians of Asia.†

Strabo derives from Europe, not only the Mysians, already mentioned, but several other tribes. He says, "the Phrygians also themselves are Bryges, a Thracian people; as also are the Mygdones, the Bebryces, the Medo-bithyni, and the Thyni; and, as I believe, also the Mariandyni. All these nations have entirely abandoned Europe; but the Mysians have remained."‡ He seems to have suspected also that the Trojans were of Thracian descent; for he observes, that they had many names in common with the Thracians, of which he has given some striking examples.§

In Europe the Thracians were a very numerous

* Lib. vii. cap. 73. † Ibid. cap. 76.

‡ Strabo, lib. vii. p. 295.

§ Lib. xiii. p. 590. According to Xanthus, the migration of the Phrygians into Asia was subsequent to the Trojan war.—See Strabo, p. 681.

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and widely extended nation. Herodotus says:—"that they were the most numerous of all nations next to the Indians, and would have been invincible had they been united under one chief."* Among the Thracians of Europe he mentions the Getæ, the Trausi, and those beyond Crestona. In another place the historian informs us that the Getæ were the most warlike of the Thracians.†

Strabo says that the Getæ, who lived to the northward of the Danube, spoke the same language as the Thracians, and Menander, the comic poet, made the Getæ Thracians:—

πάντες μὲν οἱ Θρᾷκες, μάλιστα δ' οἱ Γέται
ἡμεῖς ἁπάντων, (καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς εὔχομαι
ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι τὸ γένος) οὐ σφόδρ' ἐγκρατεῖς
ἐσμέν.

The same people who were termed Getæ by the Greeks, were by the Romans denominated Daci.‡ Such at least is the account which we collect from Pliny. Strabo declares that the Daci and Getæ spoke the same language; but he considers them as different tribes of the same nation. He says that Getæ was the proper designation of those tribes, who lived towards the East, and on the shores of the Euxine, and that those were Daci or Davi, who were settled westward towards Germany and the sources of the Danube.§

The same geographer affirms the Triballi to have been a Thracian tribe.

* Strabo, lib. v. cap. 3. † Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 93.
‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. § Strabo, p. 305.

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To the southward the Thracians bordered closely on Greece, and even some countries which were considered as belonging to Greece, and forming a part of it, were inhabited by people of Thracian race, and who spoke the Thracian language in later times. In the time of Strabo the people of Macedonia, and of some parts of Thessaly, were still indisputably Thracians.* The Abantes, the principal inhabitants of the island of Eubœa, were, according to Aristotle, of Thracian descent.† Many other tribes in the northern parts of Greece, as the Chaones in Epirus, are, by some authors, termed Thracians, while by others they are set down as Pelasgi.‡

On similar grounds, some modern writers have endeavoured to prove that the Illyrians were of the Thracian stock.§

The connexion of the Thracians with the Pelasgi, or ancient Greeks, appears the more close, and the distinction between these nations less marked, the further we go back into antiquity. We have seen that a part of Thessaly was in the Thracian territory, and Thucydides tells us the same thing of Phocis. It was there that king Tereus reigned. The Thracians are said, as are the Pelasgi, to have possessed Attica, when Eumolpus was their chief, and the Eumolpidæ, and several other principal

* Strabo, lib. vii. p. 321.

† Apud Strabon. lib. xiv. p. 445.

‡ Adelung. Mithridates, th. ii. p. 369.

§ Thunmann. Geschichte der Oestlichen Europ. Völker.—Mithridates, ii. p. 363.

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families in Athens, are declared to have been of Thracian descent. The earliest poets of Greece were all Thracians. Linus, who is said by some to have introduced letters into Greece, was a native of Chalcedon; his disciple, the Thracian Orpheus, was the father of Grecian poetry; and the Thracian Thamyris contended with the Grecian Muses.

Virgil says,

"Non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus,
Nec Linus."

And Homer:

ἔνθα τε Μοῦσαι
ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήϊκα παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς.

Innumerable instances may be found of the connexion of the Thracians with the early history and fables of Greece; nor can these be explained, but on the supposition that the Thracians and ancient Greeks were nations nearly allied by kindred, and scarcely differing in speech.

There are also many circumstances in the manners and superstitious practices and opinions of these Thracian nations which indicate a connexion with the people of Upper Asia, and particularly with the Indians.

Vestiges of this kind occur among the Phrygians in the worship of Cybele on Mount Dindyma, whom Virgil calls:

"Alma parens Idæa deûm cui Dindyma cordi,
Turrigeræque urbes, bijugique ad fræna leones."*

* Æneid. x.

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The same poet in another place describes the Phrygians:

"Vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis:
Desidiæ cordi: juvat indulgere choreis:
Et tunicæ manicas, et habent redimicula mitræ."

* * * * *

"Tympana vox buxusque vocat Berecynthia matris
Idææ."*

It is probable that the Trojans were a branch of the Phrygians, and the mythology of the Greeks, though perhaps here something more Asiatic in its character, seems to have prevailed among them.

The Thracians worshipped Mars, Bacchus, and Diana; their princes adored Mercury.†

They practised polygamy, and when a husband died, his favourite wife immolated herself, being gaudily dressed, as if for some spectacle, on his funeral pile. Those who survived were considered as disgraced.‡ The same custom was observed among the Getæ.

The Getæ were also celebrated for their belief in the immortality of the soul and the doctrine of metempsychosis. The dogmas of Zamolxis were so like those of Pythagoras, that Herodotus suspected them to have been derived from that philosopher;§ but this doctrine, like the custom last-mentioned, was probably of eastern origin.

The Mysians, according to Posidonius, abstained

* Æneid. ix. † Herod. v. cap. 7. Euripid. in Rheso.
‡ Herod. *ubi supra*. § Herod. lib. iv.

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from eating the flesh of cattle, or any other animal, from a religious scruple against destroying life. They were remarkable for their habits of reverence to the gods, and for the multitude of their superstitions.*

* Posidonius apud Strabon. lib. vii. p. 296.

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CHAPTER V.

Of the Population of Italy.

SECTION I.

Of the Umbri.

THE Umbri, or as they are termed by the Greeks, the Ombroi, or Ombrisci, are represented by all the old writers who advert to their history, as the most ancient people known to have inhabited the north of Italy.* It appears that they originally possessed, besides the districts termed in later times Umbria, many other countries, particularly those afterwards occupied by the Tuscans, and called Etruria; and a part also of the territory conquered by the Sabines and Latins. Pliny gives this account of them:—He says, "Umbrorum gens antiquissima Italiæ existimatur; ut quos Ομβρίους à Græcis putent dictos, quòd inundatione terrarum imbribus superfuissent. Trecenta eorum oppida Thusci debellâsse reperiuntur." After mentioning that Etruria had often changed its names and masters, he then adds, "Umbros inde exegêre antiquitùs Pelasgi, hos Lydi."† Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that the Umbri inhabited, besides Umbria,

* Polybius terms them Ομβροι: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ομβρισκοι.

† Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iii. c. v. xiv.

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many other parts of Italy, and were a very great and ancient nation.* Herodotus represents them as the original inhabitants of Etruria before the arrival of the Etruscans.† In short, it appears to be the general testimony of ancient historians, that the Umbri in very early times, before the Etruscans came into Italy, possessed the whole country on both sides of the Apennine, from one sea to the other, and from the feet of the Alps as far southward as the borders of Latium and the Picentine. Dionysius, indeed, hints that the Œnotrii, on their arrival from Greece in the south of Italy, found the Umbri in possession of some of the districts of which they afterwards possessed themselves. The cities of Ravenna and Ariminum were founded by the Umbri.

The great antiquity of the Umbri renders all inquiry into their origin exceedingly difficult, and doubtful in its results. Lanzi, one of the most diligent of the Italian antiquaries, says, "Scrivere su la provenienza degli Umbri e anco più malagevole che su quella degli Etruschi. Non vi è altro di certo in tal quistione, se non l'antichità del nome Umbro in Italia; e la oscura voce ch' e' fosser gente scampata da un diluvio, e da una inondazione, memoria che conservarono nel nome Ομβριοι.‡" This last notion, which is alluded to in the pas-

* Dionys. Hal. lib. i. cap. 19.

† Herod. i. cap. 94. See also Florus, lib. i. cap. 17.

‡ Lanzi, Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, tom. iii. p. 639.

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sage above cited from Pliny, was merely the conjecture of some Greek writer, founded on a fanciful etymology of the name Ombrii.

Some ancient authors have preserved a tradition that the Umbri were a people of Celtic origin. Solinus informs us that Bocchus,* a writer whose authority is several times cited by Pliny, reported that the Umbri were descended from the ancient Gauls, and this account of their origin is given either from the same or from different testimony, by Servius and Isidore.† M. Fréret has attempted to confirm this account of the Umbri by the etymology of their national or local names. It seems from a passage in the life of C. Marius, by Plutarch, that Ambrones was an appellation common to the Ligurians and the Helvetii, and hence it has been conjectured to have been a term including a great department of the Celtic nations. Umbri, or Ombrii, may possibly be a different way of writing the same name. It was also observed by this learned antiquarian, that the tribe termed by the Romans Insubres are called Isombres by Polybius: they were the people who inhabited the valley of the Po, below proper Umbria; and the name Isombres, in the Celtic language,

* For an account of Cornelius Bocchus, see Vossius de Hist. Lat. p. 699.

† Solin. ad Plin. cap. viii. Servius ad Æneid. xii. Isidor. Orig. viii. cap. 2. All these passages are cited by Cluverius, in Ital. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 4. See also the Schol. on Lycophron, v. 1360.

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would express Lower Umbrians, or the inhabitants of the country below Umbria.*

A more satisfactory conclusion would be obtained, if we could discover any vestiges of the ancient Umbrian language, or any indication what were its affinities; but there are perhaps no data existing by which this point can be made out. There is indeed a passage of Livy from which we might be led to infer that the Umbrians spoke the same language as the Etruscans. In relating the conquest of the northern parts of Italy by the Romans, the historian mentions that when it was found necessary to send a spy into the country of the Umbri, to the city of Camers, a person was selected for that purpose who was acquainted with the Etruscan language, and it is said that he was

* Fréret sur l'Ancienne Population de l'Italie. Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et de Belles Lettres. It is somewhat unfortunate that the Insubres were a tribe of Cisalpine Gauls, and not of Umbrians. But it may be argued, from Livy's account of the settlement of the Gauls in Italy, that the name of Insubria, or perhaps, "Isombria," belonged to the district referred to before the arrival of the Gauls. This historian says, "'Fusis in acie Tuscis, haud procul Ticino flumine; quum, in quo consederant, agrum Insubrium appellari audissent, cognomine Insubribus pago Hæduorum; ibi, omen sequentes loci, condidêre urbem: Mediolanum appellarunt." Mediolanum was the name of a town belonging to the Santones, in Gaul. (Strabo, lib. iv. et Ptolem.) Hence, says Casaubon, in allusion to this, the Gauls gave name to Milan, the new city founded by them in the country of the Insubres. It is still unfortunate for Mr. Fréret's argument, that the Tuscans, and not the Umbri, were the people driven by the Gauls out of the country occupied by them.

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understood by the Camertine Umbrians.* Livy has given in this relation no hint of any difference of language between the Umbri and the Etruscans. But it must be observed that the ancient writers in general very clearly distinguish the Umbrians from the Etruscans, and represent the latter as a more civilized people, who had conquered a great part of Umbria, and dispossessed the former inhabitants. They probably continued to exercise over their Umbrian neighbours that influence which a polished and powerful nation generally possesses over barbarous or uncultivated tribes in their vicinity, and it may be supposed that the idiom of the Etruscans had been adopted, or was at least understood in the towns of the rude Umbrians. This is more probable than the supposition that the Etruscans and Umbri had originally the same language, and were of the same kindred; an hypothesis contradicted by the assertions of so many writers, who distinguish the two nations by a broad line.

It has been supposed by some that the Eugubian tables, which have been so much celebrated, contain a specimen of the ancient language of Umbria. These are eight tables of brass, containing inscriptions very distinctly cut, and of considerable length, which were dug up in the year 1444, between Ugubbio and Cortona, in the duchy of Urbino. As the place where they were discovered is within the territory of ancient Um-

* Tit. Livii Hist. lib. ix. cap. 36.

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bria, it has been inferred that the language in which they are written must be the Umbrian.* But it is by no means certain that the proper Umbrian was ever a written language. It is more probable that the people of Umbria used in religious rites and documents the idioms as well as the characters of their more civilized neighbours. The Eugubian inscriptions appear to refer to the ritual observances of some ancient temple: they are principally in the well known Etruscan characters: two of them are in Roman letters. The Etruscan inscriptions on the Eugubian tables do not appear to differ materially from other Etruscan inscriptions which have been discovered in various parts of Italy. Hence it is probable that these at least are in the Tuscan, and not in the Umbrian language. Those in Roman letters differ from the former in the orthography of words, which approaches more to the Latin, and they contain many words of old or rude Latin. Hence it has been thought by some writers, that these are of much later date than the Etruscan tables, and were composed at a time when the Roman writing had become prevalent in this part of Italy.†

* Lanzi assigning this reason, terms them Umbrian. "Io le chiamo Umbre del luogo del ritrovamento;" but he thinks the Umbrians had adopted the Tuscan language, and adds, "Il loro dialetto è vicinissimo al Etrusco." The dialect of these tables is very close to the Etruscan. Lanzi, Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, tom. iii. p. 638.

† "Il Passeri ha creduto che le latine sieno scritte in una età,

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It should be observed, that according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, there was something peculiar in the population and dialect of this part of Italy, the inhabitants of which continued to a late period to be distinguished in many respects from the neighbouring Umbri and Etruscans. According to Dionysius, the Cortoniatæ were the remains of an old Pelasgic colony. However this may have been, it must be allowed that we have not sufficient evidence for concluding that the Eugubian tables have preserved a specimen of the ancient language of the Umbri; and when we consider that this language appears to have given place to the Etruscan, before the period when the Roman consular armies first invaded the territory of the Umbrian people, it seems a vain project to seek for any information respecting it.

After all, it does not appear that we can determine, in a satisfactory manner, to what class of nations the Umbri, who were the aboriginal inhabitants of all northern Italy, belonged. As they were a barbaric people, and probably came into Italy by land, it is most probable that they were of the Celtic stock, since the Alpine barrier of Italy was long occupied by people of that race. Obscure traditions, reported by authors of uncertain credit, support this opinion as far as it can be supported by such arguments. It seems to be a fact

nella quale prevaleva in que' paesi il latino. Aderii," says Lanzi, " in altro tempo alla sua opinione, finche non mi avvidi che i nomi propri nell' etrusche tavole e nelle latine erano gli stessi."

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that the ancient Italian dialects had in general for their basis a mixture of Greek and Celtic. This is certain at least with respect to the Latin language; and the circumstance renders it probable that the barbaric population of Italy was of Celtic origin. If this be allowed, the Umbri are in all probability to be included.

Section II.

Of the Etruscans.

A great part of the country, said to have belonged originally to the Umbri, was already occupied at the beginning of authentic history, and long before the building of Rome, by a much more powerful and important nation, who are said to have settled in ancient Umbria, and to have driven the former inhabitants from the best and maritime parts of it into the mountainous tracts of the Apennine. This nation was the Etruscans, who are generally termed Tusci, or Thusci, by the Romans, and by the Greeks Tyrseni, or Tyrrheni: their own national appellation, as we learn from Dionysius, was Rasenna.

The origin of the Etruscans has been the theme of endless controversy among modern writers. I shall not attempt to discuss all the different opinions which have been maintained on this subject by Italian, French, and German antiquarians, but shall simply lay before my readers a brief abstract of the most important information to be obtained respecting the history of this remarkable

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people. The subject will divide itself into two parts: first, the history of the Etruscan settlements in Italy; and, secondly, what relates to the origin of the race.

¶. 1. *History of the Etruscan States in Italy.*

It must be observed that the Rasenna were not the only people who are said to have come in upon the ancient Umbrians. Some tribes of Pelasgi, from Thessaly and Epirus, are reported to have crossed the Adriatic in early times, and to have seized parts of Umbria, where they settled and built towns, which were afterwards conquered by the Etruscans. "Umbros inde exegêre antiquitùs Pelasgi, hos Lydi," says Pliny, as we have already cited him. Dionysius gives a similar account, with details of the arrival of a Pelasgic colony, who possessed for a time several districts of northern Italy, which they conquered from the Umbrians. He says, that they lost all their cities except Cortona, where the Pelasgian manners and language were long distinguishable: the remainder of the cities founded by them were taken by the Etruscans.*

Probably there is some truth in this relation, since it is the only way of accounting for the application of the name Tyrrheni to the Etruscans.

* Dionys. Halicarn. lib. i. According to Dionysius these Pelasgi came from Hæmonia, or Thessaly, and landed on the north-eastern coast of Italy many generations before the Trojan war.

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The Tyrrheni on the shores of the Hellespont and Ægean were a Pelasgian people, as we know from several Greek writers. Pelasgian colonies in Italy probably gave the appellation of Tyrrhenia to the northern parts of that country, which they retained after these conquerors had been in their turn overcome or expelled by the Tuscans or Rasenna; and the name of the older inhabitants was transferred to the later people, who may perhaps have intermixed and formed one nation with them.

But whence came the Rasenna, or the Etruscan race, into the country of the Umbri and Pelasgians? Some modern writers suppose them to have been a race of mountaineers, who descended into Italy from the Rhætian Alps. Most of the ancients considered them as an eastern people who came into Italy by sea.

In favour of the former opinion, it has been alleged that the Rhæti, or the inhabitants of the Rhætian Alps, are known to have spoken a dialect of the Etruscan language, and to have been a branch of the same stock with the Tuscan people. It has been thought more probable that a race of mountaineers should descend into level and fertile countries, than that natives of the plain should spread themselves over tracts so uninviting as those occupied by the Rhæti. On this plausible ground Fréret, Gibbon, Heyne, and Niebuhr have chosen to consider the Etruscans as a people originally sprung from the Rhætian Alps; they class

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them among the most ancient invaders of Italy from beyond the mountains, and suppose them to have been of kindred race with many northern tribes who have passed the same barrier in later times.*

All the ancient writers, as we have said, with the single exception of Dionysius, regard the Etruscans as a maritime colony from eastern countries, who first settled on the coast of the Tyrrhene sea, and afterwards spread further towards the north. Thus Livy, whose information on this subject is likely to have been correct, gives us the following account of the history of the Etruscans. "The dominion of the Tuscans," he says, "was widely extended both by sea and land, before the prevalence of the Roman arms: their power was predominant on the two seas which embrace Italy on both sides, and render it almost an island. Of this fact the names given to these branches of the Mediterranean afford a proof as strong as we can derive from such a source; for the nations of Italy have given to one of these seas the name of Tuscan, from the common appellation of the Etruscan people, and to the other that of Adriatic, derived from Adria, a Tuscan colony. The Greeks term the same seas Tyrrhene and Adriatic. The Etruscans bordered upon both seas, and in either territory possessed twelve cities. Their first settlements were on this side of

* Fréret, *ubi supra*. Niebuhr. Römische Geschichte. Einleitung.

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the Apennine on the lower sea: they afterwards sent out as many colonies as the original country contained principal towns, and these colonies occupied all the country beyond the Po, as far as the Alps, except the corner belonging to the Veneti, who border on the inlet of the sea. The same people doubtless gave origin to some of the Alpine nations, particularly to the Rhæti, who, by the nature of the country they occupy, have been rendered barbarous, so that they retain nothing of their ancient character except their language, and that in a corrupt state."*

The northern or Circumpadane Etruria is mentioned by several other writers. Servius names it "Nova Etruria," and Diodorus terms the settlements of the Tuscans on the Po, colonies of the twelve Etruscan states.† Its extent is not exactly defined, but it occupied, according to several ancient writers, the plains on both sides the Po, and the greater part of the low country intervening between the Alps and the Apennine.‡ It comprehended the cities of Felsina, termed by

* Tit. Liv. lib. v. cap. 33.

† Serv. ad Æneid. x. 202. Diodor. lib. 14. cap. 113.

‡ Lanzi shews that neither of the ancient writers has given any definite account of the limits of the Circumpadane Etruria. Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, tom. ii. p. 625. It is mentioned by Livy, Strabo, Diodorus, Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, and others. Plutarch, in the life of Camillus, gives a circumstantial account of the Gallic conquest of this Northern Etruria, which he says was extremely fertile, and contained eighteen cities.

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Pliny, *Princeps Etruriæ*, Mantua, Adria on the Venetian Gulph, which gave name to the Adriatic, and other cities long ago destroyed. The whole of this country was overrun and depopulated in the well known invasion of Italy by the Gauls, from whom the country was afterwards termed Cisalpine Gaul.*

A third settlement of the Etruscans was in Campania, where they possessed the Phlegræan plains around Capua and Nola.† This country they took from the former inhabitants, of Ausonian or Opic race, and built in it, according to Strabo, twelve cities. Vulturnum, afterwards called Capua, as well as Nola, was founded by them; the former, according to Velleius, about fifty years before the building of Rome. According to Cato, Capua was not founded until three hundred and thirty years later.‡ The Tuscan inhabitants of Capua were a cultivated and luxurious people: their city was taken and the nation finally destroyed by the Samnites.§

Such extensive possessions in various parts of Italy, so remote from each other, would lead us to suppose that the power of the Etruscans must have extended over the whole country; and, in fact, many authors have asserted that all Italy, from the Alps to the Sicilian straits, was subject to the

* Liv. lib. v. cap. 35, has a detailed account of the descent of the Gauls into the Cisalpine country.

† Polybius, lib. ii. cap. 17. Lanzi, tom. iii. p. 583.

‡ Velleius Paterc. lib. i. cap. 7.

§ Lanzi, p. 586, from Strabo and Livy.

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Tuscan government.* This appears to have been the opinion of Cato, whose authority in every thing relating to Italian antiquities has been held in the highest respect by the ancients as well as moderns, and the fact accounts for the general dispersion of Etruscan letters, inscriptions having been found in the characters of that people in almost every part of Italy, and for many other circumstances which may be observed in the history of the Italian nations.

Thus far we find little discrepancy respecting the history of the Etruscans among the learned men of Rome who directed their inquiries to the origin of the nations of Italy. They are represented by all of them as having their first seat in lower Tuscany, and thence extending themselves towards the northern and interior parts of the country. So far there is no contradiction among ancient writers, but the previous history of the Tuscan people, before their arrival in Italy, is a subject involved in greater obscurity.

¶ 2.—*Testimonies respecting the Origin of the Etruscans.*

Herodotus† says that the Etruscans were a colony of people from Lydia, who had been forced to leave their native country in consequence of a fa-

* Servius ad Georgic. ii. v. 533. "Constat Tuscos usque ad mare Siculum omnia possedisse."—"Notizia che attinse da Catone." Lanzi, iii. 582.

† Herod. lib. i. cap. 94.

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mine: they sailed in quest of new abodes, and after visiting many shores, arrived at length in the territory that belonged to the Umbrians, where they built towns and acquired a permanent settlement. The outline of this story is not improbable, but it is embellished with circumstances of a fabulous nature, the absurdity of which has been exposed by Fréret.* Herodotus obtained it from the people of Lydia, with whom he had perhaps frequent opportunities of intercourse, as his native country was at no great distance from Sardis, and he lived soon after the conquest of that city by the Athenians and his countrymen the Ionians. It is probable that he also made inquiries into the history of the Etruscans during his abode in Magna Græcia, and as he evidently believed the story of their Lydian origin, it is to be presumed that he found nothing to contradict it, and that the Etruscans were at least regarded by the Greek inhabitants of Italy as foreign settlers on the Italian shores.

The tradition of this Lydian colony, first related by Herodotus, was received as generally as the story of Æneas and the Trojan origin of the Roman people. It is alluded to or repeated not only by poets, as Virgil, Horace, Statius, Silius Italicus, Lycophron, but by professed geographers and writers on history and antiquities, as Strabo, Pliny, Solinus, Marcianus Heracleota, Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Festus Pompeius,

* Mém. de l'Acad. d'Inscrip.

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and others.* It was not less believed by the Lydians than by the Etruscans, for we find that in the reign of Tiberius, the Sardians preferred a claim to have the honour of erecting the emperor's statue, on the plea of their presumed affinity to the Etruscan, and through them to the Roman people.†

But notwithstanding the consent of so many authors on this subject, there are insuperable difficulties attending the hypothesis that the Etruscans were a colony from Lydia. The most remarkable of these is the circumstance that Xanthus, the Lydian historian, who lived a short time before Herodotus, and compiled a work of great credit on the antiquities of his country, in the Greek language, not only omitted to mention any colony sent from Lydia to Tuscany, but even gave what is equivalent to a contrary testimony, though it seems probable that he had never heard of the story. Dionysius of Halicarnassus adds to this evidence from Xanthus an assertion that the Lydians and Etruscans had no resemblance to each other in language, religion, or manners. Whether

* The passages from all these authors have been brought together by Cluverius, Ital. Antiq.

Silius frequently alludes to this tradition, particularly in the 5th book of the Punica:

"Lydius huic genit, Tmoli decus, æquore longè
Mæoniam quondam in Latias advexerat oras
Tyrrhenus pubem."

† Taciti Annal. lib. iv. c. 55.

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Dionysius was qualified to decide this question, in what relates to the languages of the nations concerned, may well be doubted, but the tacit denial of Xanthus, or his evident ignorance of the whole relation, is of itself quite sufficient to prevent our adopting the suspicious narrative of Herodotus.

¶ 3.—*Concluding Remarks.*

Such is the sum of the information given us by ancient writers on the Etruscan history. The origin of this people still remains enveloped in obscurity. I shall dismiss the subject with a few brief remarks.

1. There seems to be no solid ground for the opinion which so many modern writers have been inclined to adopt, that the Etruscans originally descended from the people of the Rhætian Alps. This conclusion has been founded on no authority whatever, but on the assumed probability of the supposition. But there is no difficulty, without any such hypothesis, in accounting for the fact that the Etruscan language was spoken in the mountainous tracts bordering on the northern Etruria. The plains adjacent to the Po were for many centuries the seat of a populous nation, and their dialect may have been gradually propagated with an extension of the people itself, in the mountainous countries adjoining, just as the French, German, and Italian languages are now

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spoken in different parts of Switzerland. Perhaps a new accession of Etruscan inhabitants may have been received by the Rhætian valleys when the Gauls overran the Circumpadane Etruria; this is affirmed by several historians,* and there is nothing improbable in the relation. Nor is there any reason for rejecting the statement that the Etruscans were originally a maritime colony on the shores of the Tyrrhene sea: since we know that the coast of the Mediterranean was covered with settlements founded by the civilized and enterprising nations of western Asia. The whole African coast, from Egypt to the Pillars of Hercules, was occupied by foreign and maritime colonies. Spain, Gaul, Italy, Greece, the shores of the Euxine, and the isles of that sea and the Mediterranean, had received colonies, said to have come from Egypt or Phœnicia. That the Etruscans were foreigners, who came by sea to Italy, is therefore by no means improbable.

But, secondly, this is nearly the unanimous statement of all the ancient writers. Livy, as we have seen, represents the earliest possessions of the Tuscans to have been on the Tyrrhene sea: thence they passed to the Adriatic shores.† This was the

* Tit. Livii Hist. *ubi supra*. Pliny says, "Rhætos, Thuscorum prolem, arbitrantur a Gallis pulsos, duce Rhæto." (Hist. Nat. lib. iii. cap. 20.) And Justin, "Tusci quoque, duce Rhæto, avitis sedibus amissis, Alpis occupavere; et ex ducis nomine gentem Rhætorum condiderunt." Lib. xx. cap. 5.

† Polybius indeed seems to express himself as if he thought

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general opinion of the Roman writers; and it is contradictory to the hypothesis of Fréret and his followers, who suppose the whole nation to have descended from the Rhætian Alps.

3. The character and manners of the Etruscan people are decidedly favourable to the opinion of the ancient writers, that they were a foreign and maritime colony. On this subject it is needless to dilate. The high degree of social culture, of advancement in the arts, possessed by the Tuscans; their commercial industry; and every circumstance in their history, distinguish them from the native inhabitants of Europe, and particularly from those of the mountainous countries, in those early ages. The art of writing was generally practised by them: their religious doctrines and customs are evidently connected with the superstitions of the East.*

From these considerations it appears most probable that the Etruscans were a people of Eastern

the Etruscan settlements on the Adriatic more ancient than those on the Tyrrhene sea: but he has not dropped the least hint in favour of the modern hypothesis respecting the origin of the Tuscan people. See Polyb. lib. ii. cap. 2.

* Of this a remarkable instance occurs in the dogma of cycles and apocatastases, or fated renovations of the world, held by the Etruscans, as well as by several nations of Asia. Of this dogma, as held by the Etruscans, see Suidas, voce Nannacos, and Plutarch, in vita C. Marii.

For an account of this doctrine in general, as held by various nations of the East and of Europe, I take the liberty of referring the reader to my Analysis of Egyptian Mythology, book ii. chap. 2. and Supplement.

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origin, who settled upon the coast of Tuscany, at a time when the north of Italy was possessed by the Umbrians, and perhaps, in some parts, by people of Pelasgic origin. With these it is probable that the Rasenna intermixed, and from the latter they appear to have inherited the name of Tyrrheni; but by all historians, without exception, they are clearly distinguished from both.

From what part of the East the Etruscan colonies came, is another and still more obscure question. The story of the Lydian migration cannot be maintained in opposition to the authority of such a writer as Xanthus: but they may have originated from the neighbouring parts of lesser Asia, or what is perhaps more probable, from some of the ports of the Phœnicians. The date of their occupation of Tuscany coincides better with this hypothesis than with any other; for the era of Egyptian and Phœnician colonies is long antecedent to that at which the earliest Pelasgian settlements were made beyond the shores of the Hellespont and the waters of the Ægean and Ionic seas. It is possible that a farther examination of the remains of the Etruscan language may throw some light upon this subject.*

* After all that has been written on the subject of Etruscan inscriptions, it cannot be said that the subject has undergone a rigid and satisfactory examination. Most of the Italian antiquaries have been laborious triflers, and none of them have been possessed of the previous information necessary for those who undertake the task of elucidating the remains of ancient nations. It can hardly be said that any important step has yet been gained

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Section III.

Of the Population of the South of Italy.

When the Greek colonies arrived on the coast of Magna Græcia, they found two races of people in possession of Southern Italy. These were the Œnotrii, and the Opici, or Ausones. All the Greek writers agree in deriving the former people from Arcadia, or from a stock akin to the aborigines of the Peloponnesus: the Opici are represented as a native people of Italy.

¶ 1. *Of the Œnotrii.*

The Œnotrii were the inhabitants of the country between the Scyllacean and Lametine gulfs, and gave to it the name of Italy, according to Aristotle and Thucydides, from the Arcadian Italus.*

towards the elucidation of the Etruscan antiquities. It is indeed still a matter of conjecture to what class of idioms the Etruscan language belonged: whether to those of Pelasgian origin, that is, to the dialects of Greek and Latin, or to the Semitic languages, or to those of northern Europe. The Abbate Lanzi thinks it more probable that the Etruscan was a Pelasgian speech, but his reasons are too vague and conjectural to deserve much confidence.

I have thought it hardly worth while to advert to the notions entertained by M. Planta, that the Romansh and Ladin of the Grisons are relics of the old Rhætian or Etruscan language, because those dialects are manifestly nothing else than modern jargons, consisting of corrupt Italian, intermixed with German words, and disguised in a great part by the adoption of a German orthography.

* Aristot. Politic. lib. iv. cap. 10. Thucyd. lib. vi. cap. 2.

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The history of this people, according to their tradition, is given at full by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who seems to have collected the best accounts of the Greek and Sicilian antiquarians. Both Dionysius and Strabo lay great stress on the historical collections of Antiochus of Syracuse. According to this Antiochus, the Œnotrii were the first people who possessed the South of Italy. "Antiochus of Syracuse," says Dionysius, a very old historian, in his account of the planting of Italy, enumerates the most ancient inhabitants in the order to which each of them possessed themselves of any part of it; and says, that the first who are recorded in history to have inhabited that country were the Œnotrii. His words are these: "Antiochus, the son of Xenophanes, has given this account of Italy, which is the most credible and certain, out of the ancient histories: that country, which is now called Italy, was formerly possessed by the Œnotrii." * These Œnotrii, as Dionysius continues to relate, citing his author, Antiochus, were afterwards divided: he says that after the names of different leaders, they were called respectively Siceli, Morgetes, and Italietes, or Italians. It is important here to observe, that the Siceli were, according to this ancient author, a branch of the Œnotrii; though Dionysius himself frequently speaks of them as a different people. But they had long ceased to exist as a nation of Italy before the time of Dio-

* Dionys. Halicarnass. chap. i. of book i. Spellman's Trans.

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nysius. In the age of Thucydides, the Siceli still inhabited some districts in the south of Italy, though the greater part of the nation had passed into Sicily, having been driven out, as this historian informs us, by the encroachments of the Opici.* We shall collect, in the sequel, the different accounts which remain respecting this people, who are termed Siceli.

The Arcadian origin of the Œnotrii is attested by the mythical history of the Greeks, according to the usual manner. Dionysius gives the following account from Pherecydes, the Athenian, whom he terms an ancient historian and genealogist, inferior to none; "Pherecydes expressed himself thus concerning the kings of Arcadia. Lycaon was the son of Pelasgus and Deïanira. He married Cyllene, a Naiad nymph." Then having given an account of their children, and what places each of them inhabited, he mentions Œnotrus and Peucetius thus: "And Œnotrus, from whom those who inhabit Italy are called Œnotrii; and Peucetius, from whom those who live on the Ionian gulf are called Peucetii." "These," continues Dionysius, "are the accounts given by the ancient poets and historians concerning the settlement and origin of the Œnotrii; by whose authority I am convinced, that if the Aborigines, or the people

* Thucyd. lib. vi. cap. 2. He says, "there are still at this time Siceli in Italy: a certain king of the Arcadians having the name of Italus, that country changed its appellation, and was called after him."

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of Latium were in reality a Greek nation, according to the opinion of Cato, Sempronius, and many others, they were descendants of these Œnotrii." Such is the history of the Œnotrii, as it is given by all the Greek writers who treat of Italian antiquities. It seems that the eastern coast of Italy, termed Iapygia, was also inhabited by this race; for Dionysius places the Peucetii in that situation; and Aristotle calls the Chaones, who inhabited the shores of the Ionian Sea, an Œnotrian tribe.*

How far the Œnotrii extended towards the north is uncertain; but it is extremely probable that Dionysius was correct in referring the Aborigines, or Latins, to that stock, and in thus accounting for the Grecian affinity of the Latin race, a fact which the resemblance of the Latin to the Greek language sufficiently attests. The Aborigines, however, were mixed with some of the barbarous nations of Italy, and with some Pelasgic adventurers who came at a later period from Thessaly. They drove out from Latium the Siceli, who, according to Dionysius, were the first inhabitants.

It appears, then, that a great part of the South of Italy, including under that term all the country to the southward of the Tiber, or of the borders of Etruria, was occupied very early by people of Grecian descent, whose most common appellation was Œnotrii, and of whom the Latins, or Aborigines, as well as the Peucetii, Chaones,

* Ibid.

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and Iapygians of the eastern coast, were all branches. But there was also in Southern Italy a barbaric nation, termed Ausones, or Opici.

¶ 2. *Of the Ausonians, or Opici.*

One of the most numerous and extensive nations in Italy appears to have been the Opici, who spoke the Opic, or Oscan language, frequently mentioned by the Roman writers, and of which some remains were, according to Strabo, preserved, and continually recited by the Romans in the celebrated Atellane fables.* The Opici were the same people as the Ausones, who gave their name to the Ausonian coast. Such, at least, as Strabo informs us, was the testimony of Antiochus.†

The primitive seats of the Opici were, as it seems, in the central parts of Italy. The Opici drove the Siceli out of the South of Italy, as we have above shewn from Thucydides. It would appear from this that the Opici were not the earliest inhabitants of the southern extremity of that country. The Siceli were there before them.

The Œnotrii were, however, the principal nation in the South of Italy, at the period when the Greek colonists arrived upon the coast, and founded the

* Strabo, lib. v. p. 233, ed. 1620.

† See Cluverius, Italia Antiqua, and Niebuhr's Introduction to his "Römische Geschichte," which contains a learned and laboured investigation of the antiquities of Italy. The only fault of this writer is, that he is too careless of ancient authorities, and treats them rather as giving hints for theories and conjectures, than as the chief guides and principal foundation of his opinions.

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cities of Magna Græcia.* Being of kindred race with the Greeks, though of an Arcadian and less polished tribe, they appear soon to have blended with the new settlers, and to have become the predominant people. The Etruscans also settled in Campania, within the limits of the Ausonians. At this period the Oscan nation must have nearly disappeared from the South of Italy. But the population of these countries was at length changed by the incursions of the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians, who overwhelmed Campania and Magna Græcia.

The Samnites were a tribe of the Sabellian, or Sabine stock,† and all the nations above-mentioned spoke the Sabine language. We owe to Dionysius an account of the origin of the Sabines on the authority of Portius Cato, which is the best testimony that can be obtained. The Sabines deduced their origin from a village in the highest Apennines, near the city of Amiternum. The rude people of this district gradually made conquests on the neighbouring Umbri and Aborigines: from the latter they gained the Rheatine territory, and it became the centre of their future increase and military operations.‡ "From the Sabines," says Strabo, "were descended the Picentini and Samnites; from these the Lucani; and from the latter the Bruttii."§

* Strabo, p. 253. † Ibid, p. 228.
‡ Dionysius Halicarn. book ii. chap. 49. § Strabo, ibid.

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We are informed by Livy,* and his assertion is confirmed by several incidental remarks of other authors,† that the Samnites spoke the Oscan language, and Marcus Varro expressly affirms, that the idiom of the Sabine people had a radical affinity with the Oscan. From this testimony Cluverius has concluded rightly, that the Sabines were of the Opic race, and the same inference‡ must obviously be extended to the Samnites, Lucanians, and other branches of this people, who in a comparatively late period made extensive conquests in Southern Italy, and occupied most of the territory which had formerly belonged to their kindred, the Ausonians.

Thus it appears that these two nations, the Œnotrii, a branch of the same stock with the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus and of Epirus, and allied to the old Grecian stem, and the Ausonians, or Opici, a people of distinct race, whose origin

* T. Livii, lib. x. cap. 20.

† See Cluverii Ital. p. xliii. lib. 1.

‡ See Varro de linguâ Latinâ, lib. vi. He says, "Cascum significat vetus: ejus origo Sabina est: quæ usque radices in Oscam linguam egit. Cascum vetus esse significat Ennius, quum ait:

'Quam primùm Casci populi genuêre Latini.'

Item ostendit quod oppidum vocatur Cassinum: hoc enim a Sabinis orti Samnites tenuerunt; et nunc nostri: unde et Cassinum forum vetus. Item significat in Atellanis aliquot pupum senem, quod Osci *casnar* appellant."

See Cluverius, p. 43. After this, I wonder to see that M. Niebuhr, without taking any notice of this passage, sets down the Sabines as a distinct race from the Opici.

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was unknown, and who were therefore termed indigenous, divided between them the inland as well as the maritime country of Italy, from the borders of Etruria on one side, and the limits of Umbria on the other, to the southern extremity of the peninsula.* By the encroachments of later Grecian colonists, who termed the country Magna Græcia, and by the settlements of the Etruscans in Campania, the old Ausonians were almost exterminated, but the victories of the Samnites, who were of the same stock, again extended the power of this race over the south of Italy, where it yielded at length only to the predominant arms of Rome.

The different petty nations of Italy, with whom Rome had to contend during the first three centuries of her existence, belonged to one tribe or the other of this race. The Æqui and Volsci were probably Opic tribes of the old Ausonian stem; the Hernici and Marsi belonged to the Sabine branch of the same stock.†

Some light may be thrown on the ancient Ausonian history by an examination of the Roman language. The population of Rome consisted of a mixture of Latins and Sabines, and the language of the people was formed from the dialects of both these nations. That part of the Roman language which is not Æolic Greek is probably of Sabine, and therefore of Oscan origin. We know, indeed,

* Niebuhr, Römische Geschichte, c. 53.

† Cluver. Ital. Antiq. lib. i. p. 43.

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from the testimonies of Varro, Festus, and others, that a great number of Roman words were of Sabine derivation. It is certain that the Sabine language was in great part intelligible to the Roman populace, from its use in the Atellane fables, which were popular dramas or recitations, and hence we may conceive the Oscan or Sabine language as still surviving in that part of the Latin which is not of Greek derivation. A collection of these words will, if I am not mistaken, be quite sufficient to demonstrate the Oscan to have been originally a Celtic dialect.*

If the ancient Celtæ had spread themselves into Italy at a period so remote as the conclusion above suggested implies; if they gave origin to the old Ausonian nation; the Celtic lineage of the Umbri is supported by an additional degree of evidence. The Celtæ could only enter Italy through the north and from the Alps, and the Umbri were in possession of all the northern parts of the country. It is

* Some few Oscan words are preserved, of which a collection may be seen in Cluverius. Among these several appear to be Celtic: as *petor*, quatuor; *pitpit*, quidquid. It may be observed that Welsh words often differ from the corresponding Latin words, as well as from the Gaelic or Irish, by substituting labials for palatine letters. Thus petor, in Welsh and Oscan, stands for quatuor; pwy for qui; pitpit in Oscan for quidquid; quid being in Gaelic *kiod*. In these instances the Welsh agrees with the Greek orthography, and the Gaelic with the Latin, as pump, πεμπε; for quinque, i. e. kinke, koig; and petor; τετταρ, forsan, πετταρ; for quatuor, keithar; and pwy, pa; τι, πῃ, πῶς, &c. for qui, quid; ko, koid.

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therefore most probable that the Umbri, as well as the Ausonians, were a part of the Celtic race.

Section IV.

Population of Sicily.

I shall now add a few words on the origin of the Siceli, who, together with the Iberian Sicani, and some Greek colonists, furnished the population of the island of Sicily.

The accounts which remain of these people are so contradictory, that no conclusion can be drawn with any degree of certainty respecting them.

I have already cited the account given by Antiochus, the Syracusan antiquarian, of the Œnotrii, Morgetes, and Siceli. As far as his testimony can be depended upon, these two last were originally branches of the Œnotrian race, but they must have become distinct tribes, for he adds, that the Siceli were driven out of Italy by the Œnotrii and Opici.* The Morgetes also, or probably Morgantes, passed over into Sicily and founded Morgantium.†

But Dionysius and other writers speak uniformly of the Siceli as a race entirely barbarous, and distinct from the Œnotrii, and from the Greek population of Italy. It is therefore improbable that they were of the Arcadian stock, and much more likely that they were allied to the barbarous inhabitants of the country.

Philistus, the Syracusan, gave another account of this colony. He said that they were Ligurians,

* See Dionys. Hal. lib. i. cap. 22. † Strabo, lib. vi.

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who were driven out of their country by the Umbri and Pelasgi: they crossed over the strait eighty years before the Trojan war, and were called Siceli, from their leader Sicelus.

But the account which Dionysius prefers, is that of Hellanicus, the Lesbian, who was somewhat older than Herodotus. According to him, the Siceli were driven out of Italy by the Iapygians. Hellanicus says that they were a branch of the old Ausonians, and called Siceli, from their leader Sicelus.*

This last account of the Siceli is in itself the most probable; I mean, that they were a tribe of Opic or Ausonian origin, driven out of Italy by the encroachments of their northern neighbours. It is confirmed by other circumstances. It seems that three languages were long spoken in the island of Sicily, for the people are called by Apuleius, "Siculi Trilingues."† These languages were the Greek, Phœnician, and a third which was called *Sicilian*. If this be compared with a passage from an epistle of Plato, cited by the indefatigable Cluverius, it may be collected that the proper Sicilian tongue, and therefore the original language of the Siceli, was the Oscan. Plato, in this passage, complains of the prevalence of the Phœnician and Oscan languages in the island over the Greek.‡ If the Oscan was the dialect of this

* Dionys. lib. i. cap. 22.

† See a passage cited by Cluverius, Sicilia Antiq. lib. i. p. 47.

‡ Cluverius, Sicilia, p. 28.

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colony, their origin and lineage become manifest. They were probably an Ausonian or Opic tribe.*

It seems, on the whole, that the population of Southern Italy and of Sicily was chiefly derived from a number of Greek or Pelasgian colonies, who settled there in very remote times, and intermixed with, and in some places expelled, a more ancient stock of inhabitants. These last were of barbaric descent, and most probably allied to the Celtæ.

* Perhaps the name of the Morgetes, or Morgantes, may be a circumstance worth adverting to. Morgantes is a Celtic word, signifying Mare-geniti.

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CHAPTER VI.

Of the remains of some ancient races of People in the West of Europe.

SECTION I.

Population of Spain—Celtiberian Tribes.

We find in the western and southern parts of Europe some tribes of people, among the most ancient inhabitants of those countries, whose history and origin is obscure, and who cannot be proved to have had any affinity to the Indo-European nations, whom they resembled in personal characters. Among them may be reckoned, in the first place, the remains of the old Iberi.

If the observation of M. Fréret be well founded, that the oldest inhabitants of every region are to be looked for in the most remote and inaccessible parts, whither they may be supposed to have retired for security during the invasions of their country by later occupants, we may be justified in looking upon the Iberians in the west, and the Finns and Laplanders in the north, as the oldest inhabitants of Europe.

A part of the population of Spain, when that country became known to the Romans, was of Celtic origin, and was doubtless descended from Celtic people, who had, at an unknown era,

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passed the Pyrenees, and forced themselves in among the former inhabitants of the peninsula. This may be collected from the name of the Celtiberi, and from a variety of circumstances mentioned by Strabo, and other writers. But it does not appear that these Celtic tribes formed any great part of the population of Spain. The Celtæ, according to Strabo, had conquered the country on the southern side of the Iberus or Ebro, and their descendants in that quarter were the Berones and Celtiberi.* The latter were a powerful nation, and Polybius represented Tiberius Gracchus to have conquered three hundred cities belonging to them, which were however, according to Posidonius, only three hundred towers or castles. It would appear that the same people extended their progress further towards the south, following the course of the Anas into Bætica, for we find a people called Celtæ in the south-western parts of Spain, where, together with Lusitanian colonists introduced by the Romans, they inhabited the greater part of the country between the Tagus and the Anas.† The affinity of these Bætic Celtæ with the Celtiberi, was still distinguishable by their religious rites, their language, and the names of their towns.‡ It is more difficult to account for the fact, that there was a Celtic tribe near

* Strab. lib. iii. cap. 158. † Ibid. p. 136.

‡ Plin. lib. iii. cap. 1. "Celticos (Bæticæ) à Celtiberis ex Lusitaniâ advenisse manifestum est, sacris, linguâ, oppidorum vocabulis, quæ cognominibus in Bæticâ distinguuntur."

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the Nerian promontory, who, according to Strabo, were allied in descent to the Celts of Bætica.* According to Polybius, the Turditani were also related to the Celtæ.† The Turditani, or the Turduli, inhabited the country on the river Bætis; they were the most learned and polished people in Spain; they had books and poems, and laws composed in verse; which had been handed down from ancient times, and boasted that they had been acquainted with the use of letters for 6000 years.‡ It was reported, that even when the Carthaginians made an expedition into Spain under the command of Barca, they found the Turditani already a rich and luxurious nation, possessing furniture and vessels of silver.§ It seems however, more probable, that this people was of Iberian than of Celtic kindred. Strabo has not given any hint of their descent from the Celtiberi or Celtæ, and he seems to have regarded them as Iberians. The observation of Polybius above noticed, may rather allude to some casual intermixture between neighbouring tribes, than to any more ancient relationship.

¶ 2. *History of the Iberi.*

With the exception of the Celtic tribes above mentioned, who probably came into Spain from the northern side of the Pyrenees, it would appear that the population, not only of the Peninsula,

* Plin. lib. iii. cap. 1, p. 153. † Ibid. p. 151.
‡ Ibid. p. 149. § Ibid. p. 151.

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but likewise of Aquitania, or the part of Gaul lying southward of the Garonne, was derived from the race termed Iberi, who differed from the Celtæ in person, manners, and language. Strabo expressly affirms, that the Aquitani were distinguished from the Gauls in all these respects, and resembled the Iberi.* He describes the nations who inhabited the northern parts of Spain as generally resembling each other in their manners, which were particularly barbarous. Among these were the Callaïci, the Asturians, the Cantabri, and the Vascones, the latter of which nations lived near the Pyrenean chain. These are, doubtless, the people who have been termed in later times, on the southern side of the Pyrenees, Bascongados, and in the south of France, Vasci, Basques, Biscaines, Gascons. The dialects of the modern Biscayans and Guipuscoans are relics of the old speech of the Vascones and Cantabri, and, perhaps, of the whole Iberian race, and the Basque language, which is still prevalent in Aquitaine, and as far northward as the ancient boundaries of this province, is a proof of the accuracy of the old geographers, who connect the Aquitani with the Iberi, and a striking instance of the permanency of languages.

In more ancient times, perhaps before the Celtic people arrived in Gaul, the Iberi reached further to the eastward. It is probable that they occupied the whole southern coast of Gaul until

* Strabo, lib. iv. cap. 1.

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they were dispossessed by the Ligurians. In the Periplus of Scylax * they are mentioned as reaching as far to the eastward as the mouth of the Rhone, the hamlets of the Iberi being interspersed among those of the Ligures. Further we cannot trace them, except in the tradition that they gave the first inhabitants to the isle of Sicily, but of this Thucydides speaks as of a fact known by certain proofs. He says the "Sicani were the most ancient inhabitants of Sicily, next to the fabulous Cyclopes; *they considered themselves as indigenous or autochthones, but as it seems to be established by proofs,* were of Iberian origin; having been driven from their country on the river Sicanus, in Iberia, by the Ligurians, they came to Sicily, which they occupied, and," he adds, "of which they still inhabit the western parts, intermixed with some Trojan and Phocean colonists, and blended with these under the name of Elymi." Eryx and Egeste were cities of the Sicani.† Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives exactly the same account, and, indeed, seems merely to have copied Thucydides.‡ Cluverius has remarked, that as the Ligurians never had any possessions in Spain, the Iberia here

* Vid. Hudson. Geog. Min. Scylac. in initio.

† Thucyd. lib. vi. cap. 2. Scymnus Chius has the same story of the Iberian colony of Sicily:

ἐξῆς Σικελία νῆσος εὐτυχεστάτη,
ἣν τὸ πρότερον μὲν ἑτερόγλωσσα βάρβαρα
λέγουσι πλήθη κατανέμεσθ' Ἰβηρικά.

v 263. Scymni Chii Orbis Descriptio.

‡ Dionys. Hal. lib. i. cap. 22.

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spoken of must, in a larger sense, include those countries without the Pyrenees which were possessed by the Iberian nation,* and it is probable that the original seat of the Iberian Sicani, who were driven out by the Ligures, was the very country which we know to have been afterwards occupied by the Ligures themselves. By what means the Sicani could make their way to Sicily has been a question. Fréret and others have thought it must have been through Italy, and have ventured on this ground to reckon the Sicani among the earliest inhabitants of that country. They think it impossible that such a barbarous race as the Iberians are supposed to have been, could pass by sea; but people who have had very imperfect navigation, have often achieved as long voyages as this, and it appears, as we shall have further occasion to observe, that the Iberians had actually reached Corsica, whither they could have passed only by sea.

These notices are all that I have been able to collect respecting the ancient history of the Iberian race, who were perhaps the oldest inhabitants of the West of Europe.

It was long supposed that the Biscayan language is a dialect of the Celtic, but it is now well known, that the Biscayan in Spain and the Basque in France, though containing words derived from the Celtic, and others of Latin origin, are in their structure, and in other essential respects,

* Cluverii Ital. Antiq. lib. i.

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distinct from all other languages. It would appear then, that the Iberi were a peculiar race, and had arrived in the west of Europe before the Indo-European nations.*

Section II.

Of the Ligurians.

The Ligurians, or, as the Greeks call them, Ligyes, were a people very anciently known in the history of Gaul and Italy. They appear to have originated from the western or Gallic side of the Alps, but this is not absolutely certain; nor is it possible to determine with certainty whether they were a branch of the Celtic nation or a people entirely distinct from that race.

According to Artemidorus, an ancient writer of geography, whose authority is frequently cited by Strabo and others, the Ligures derived their name and origin from the river Ligyros.† Eustathius repeats this tradition: he says the Ligyes derive their name from a certain river called Ligys.‡ If there is any foundation for this story, the river Liger or Loire must apparently be meant,§ and the Ligurians must have derived their origin from, or have dwelt for a long time on the banks of the

* See Mithridates, th. ii. p. 9-30, and particularly William Von Humboldt's treatise on the Basque language, in the fourth volume of the same work.

† Artemidor. apud Stephani Epitom. citat. voce Λίγυες.

‡ Eustath. Schol. ad Dionys. Perieget.

§ A remark of Cluverius, Ital. Ant. lib. i. cap. 7.

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Loire, which is not improbable. There is, however, another etymology for their name which seems more likely to be the true one.

The Ligurians are first discovered with certainty in the south of Gaul, in the country from which they are said to have expelled the Iberian Sicani. In the Periplus of Scylax we find these remarks: "After the Iberians succeed the Ligurians and Iberians interspersed, as far as the river Rhone"—that is, from the confines of Spain to the Rhone. "From the river Rhone are Ligurians, who extend as far as the Arno."* The country about Marseilles, before the Phocean colony was founded there, is said to have been a part of Liguria. Thus Scymnus Chius:

Ἐν τῇ Λιγυστικῇ δὲ ταύτην ἔκτισαν
πρὸ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γενομένης.

And Marcianus Heracleota after describing the colony of Massilia, founded by the Phoceans, adds the same words. Even Herodotus mentions the Ligyes as inhabiting the country behind Marseilles.†

This part of Gaul was the abode of the Ligurians at the period when the Greeks gained their earliest knowledge of the western countries of Europe. In those fabulous times to which the story of Hercules and his expedition to the Hesperides was referred, we find them placed by the

* Scylacis Caryandensis Periplus. v. Hudson.

† Herod. lib. v.

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poets in the same region. Between Marseilles and the Rhone, near Aquæ Sextiæ, now Aix, Hercules is said to have encountered great difficulties in his march. He was opposed by the Ligurians, and was only enabled to overcome them by the aid of Jupiter, who rained down stones from heaven. This legend is told variously by Pomponius Mela and Eustathius.* It is mentioned by Strabo, who describes the place where the encounter took place, and cites a passage of Æschylus from the lost tragedy of Prometheus Solutus relating to it.†

Such was the country of the Ligurians beyond the Alps: within the Alps they possessed, in the time of Polybius, the districts surrounding the feet of the Apennines, on both sides.‡ They retained their Cisalpine territory, on the borders of the Mediterranean, down to a much later period, when they were conquered by the Romans. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that the Ligurians

* Mela, lib. ii. cap. 5. Eustath. Schol. ad Dionys. Perieg.

† "Prometheus Herculi exponens iter à Caucaso ad Hesperidas, in hanc loquitur sententiam:

ἥξεις δὲ Λιγύων εἰς ἀτάρβητον στρατὸν,
ἐνθ' οὐ μάχης, σάφ' οἶδα, καὶ θοῦρός περ' ὢν
μέμψει· πέπρωται γάρ σε καὶ βέλη λιπεῖν.
ἐνταῦθ' ἑλέσθαι δ' οὔτιν' ἐκ γαίας λίθον
ἕξεις, ἐπεὶ πᾶς χῶρος ἐστὶ μαλθακός.
ἰδὼν δ' ἀμηχανοῦντα σ' ὁ Ζεὺς οἰκτερεῖ,
νεφέλην δ' ὑποσχὼν νιφάδι στρογγύλων πέτρων
ὑπόσκιον θήσει' χθόν', οἷς ἔπειτα σὺ
βαλὼν διώξεις ῥᾳδίως Λιγὺν στρατόν."

Strabo, lib. iv. p. 183.

‡ Polybii, lib. ii.

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inhabited many parts of Italy, and some districts of Gaul; but that it was uncertain which was their original country, and that nothing further was known about them.*

Strabo says that the Ligurians were a distinct nation from the Celtæ, though they resembled that race of people in their manners. In describing the Alps, he says, "These mountains contain many nations who are Celtic, except the Ligyes; the latter are of a distinct nation; though differing little in their modes of life."† On the opposite side many arguments are adduced, but they can never authorize a very confident conclusion, with such a declaration directly in the way.

The following are some of the reasons which have induced most modern writers to consider the Ligurians to be of Celtic origin.

1. It appears that several tribes of people near Liguria, are termed by the Roman historians indifferently Ligures and Gauls. The Salyes in particular, or the Salvii, as they were otherwise called, who were not far from the territory of the Massilian colony, are called by Livy Gauls, and by him distinguished from the Ligurians. But Florus calls them Ligurians. Strabo in one place mentions them as a different people from the Ligurians, and in another terms them Celtæ, and says, that by the Greeks they were now called Celto-Ligyes, or Gallo-Ligurians. Cluverius notices these variations in the historical accounts, and draws a very

* Dionys. Halic. lib. i. † Strabo, lib. ii.

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summary conclusion that the Ligurians themselves were a Celtic or Gaulish race.*

How far this argument is conclusive, especially against the express declaration of Strabo, who is here adduced as a principal witness against his own assertion, the reader may judge, after taking notice of a fact also alluded to by Cluverius, that in the fragments of the Fasti Triumphales, which were preserved in the capitol, not only the Salyes, or Saluvii, as they are here termed, but the Vocontii and Allobroges are also termed Ligurians.

2. The circumstance that the Ligurians were settled in the vicinity of the Gauls, is a fact of some weight, when considered in connexion with their national appellation. Ligures may probably signify, as Llwyd conjectured, Lly-gwr, or Lly-gwyr in the plural, which means in the Cambro-Celtic, "*Men of the sea-coast*," a very appropriate term for the Ligurians. But perhaps this was the appellation which they received from the Cisalpine Gauls, and if so, it does not prove themselves to have been of Celtic origin.† Another

* Cluverii Germ. Antiq. *ubi supra.*

† The name of Ligur has been, by Welsh antiquaries, compared with Lloegyr, the Welsh name for England; and the authority of a Triad has been cited, which says, that the Lloegyr, *i. e.* the Britons who inhabited England before the arrival of the Romans or Saxons, came from Gwasgwyn, or Gascony, which is near the situation of the Ligures. But can the authority of a Triad be of any weight in reference to a period of such remote antiquity? And is not Gwasgwyn a corruption of Gascoigne, a modern French name?

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name of the Ligurians has been preserved, which has also been thought a strong argument in favour of the same notion. Plutarch relates, in the life of Caius Marius, that a body of Ligurian troops formed a part of the Roman army which opposed the invasion of the Cimbri. It happened that these Ligurians were drawn out against thirty thousand Ambrones, who were auxiliaries of the Cimbri. These Ambrones, as Cluverius has shewn, were Helvetians, and therefore truly a Celtic people.* At the onset the Ambrones raised a shout, vociferating their name, to encourage their people, and intimidate their antagonists; but the Ligurians hearing them, returned the same cry, and declared that Ambrones was also the ancient name of their own people. The name of Ambrones has hence been conjectured to have been a term for the whole Celtic race, or for some large department of them, which comprehended the Ligurians and Helvetians. It has been remarked that Ambra, in the Erse language means *brave*, or *valiant*, and from this Ambrones may be derived, or perhaps from a softened pronunciation of Cumri or Chymri.

Such are the arguments on both sides of this question, from which the reader may form his own judgment, whether it is most probable that the Ligurians were a Celtic tribe, or a people distinct from them, as the Iberi seem to have been. It appears to me that we have not sufficient data for drawing any satisfactory conclusion.

* Cluver. Germ. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 4.

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Section III.

Population of Corsica and Sardinia.

These islands were called by the Greeks Cyrnos and Sardo.

Eustathius, in his commentary on Dionysius, says, that the first inhabitants of the isle of Corsica were Iberians.* Isidore and Servius say that it was peopled by Ligurians, but Pausanias derives its primitive inhabitants from Libya.† The only account remaining which can be relied upon, is that of the philosopher Seneca, who was himself a native of Spain, and was banished to the Isle of Corsica. He remarked that the Corsicans resembled the Cantabri in Spain in their dress, and retained some relics of their old Iberian language, although the island was much frequented by Ligurians and Greeks.‡

We have somewhat fuller accounts of the people of Sardinia, but these are not altogether consistent. Pausanias has given a long and detailed story of the origin of these people. He says, "the first strangers who came into the country were Libyans, a colony of whom arrived under the conduct of one Sardos, a son of the Libyan Hercules,

* Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. v. 458.

† Cluver. Sicil. Antiq. 500.

‡ Seneca, Consol. ad Helv. p. 77. His words are, "Transierunt et Hispani, quod ex similitudine ritûs apparet: eadem enim tegumenta capitum, idemque genus calceamenti, quod Cantabris est, et verba quædam; nam totus sermo ex conversatione Græcorum, Ligurumque à patrio descivit."

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but he allows that the island had indigenous inhabitants before that time. The first strangers by whom arts and civilization were introduced into many countries, are said to have been conducted by Hercules. He then gives a story of some Greek colonists, but adds, that the first city that was founded in the island was Nora, which was built by a colony of the Iberi from Spain. The Carthaginians conquered the greater part of Sardinia, but the high and mountainous districts remained in the possession of a people called Balari, who were descended from a mixture of Iberians and Libyans.* The latter, who were probably the remains of a more early colony, are supposed by Pausanias to have been descendants of the troops brought over by the Carthaginians. Solinus confirms this account of a Libyan and Iberian population in Sardinia, but Strabo says, the original people of the island were Tyrrheni.†

On comparing the whole of these various accounts, it seems probable that Sardinia and Corsica were peopled chiefly by Iberian and Libyan settlers, who came over from the coast of Spain, or the south of Gaul, and from the coast of Africa, in

* Pausan. in Phocicis. Cluver. 481.

† Strabo (lib. v.) says, "Hæc loca continenter populantur montani, qui Diagebrenses vocantur, (Διαγήβρεις) olim Ioläenses dicti; fertur enim Iolaus eo adduxisse quosdam filiorum Herculis, et inter barbaros, qui erant Etrusci, ejus insulæ cultores habitâsse. Postea Pœni, ex Carthagine insulam obtinuerunt." Barbarous inhabitants of this island were not likely to have been Etruscans.

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very early times. At a later period, after the introduction of arts by the Carthaginians, various colonies of Ligurians, Greeks, and Etruscans settled in these islands, and the native or ancient people under the names of Corsi and Balari sought the interior and mountainous parts, where they retained long their independence. Their Iberian and Libyan origin was preserved in tradition.

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CHAPTER VII.

Of the Population of Gaul and Britain.

SECTION I.

Division of Gaul and Britain between the Belgic and Celtic nations.

CÆSAR informs us, that Gaul was occupied in his time by three nations, who differed from each other in language and manners. The third of these nations, viz. the Aquitani, were, as we have already observed, a branch of the Iberian stock, which reached across the Pyrenees. Aquitania, in the time of Augustus Cæsar, received an increase of extent, and thenceforward comprehended the whole country to the southward of the Loire, and formed a considerable province; but the people properly termed Aquitani appear never to have reached beyond the Garonne, which in the time of Cæsar divided Aquitania from Gallia Celtica. As the part of Gaul occupied by the Aquitani was so inconsiderable, and as they were a small branch of a foreign people, they may be left out of the account in a general survey of the population of Gaul. That country may, therefore, be considered as divided chiefly between two nations, the Galli or Celtæ, and the Belgæ. We

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shall now inquire into the relation of these races to each other, and the principal circumstances of their history.

The Celtæ and the Belgæ not only divided between them the territory of Gaul, but also that of Britain. Cæsar says, that in his time the native race of Britons was confined to the interior and more distant parts of the island, the sea-coast being occupied by people who had crossed over from the opposite shore belonging to the Belgæ, and who after driving out the former inhabitants had settled themselves in the maritime parts, retaining in Britain the names of the tribes from which they derived their origin in Gaul. Cæsar has not informed us expressly that the aboriginal Britons were related in like manner to the Celtic Gauls. He appears, indeed, to have known very little of the people in the interior of the island, except by vague hearsay; and what he says respecting the Britons in general, refers chiefly, if not exclusively, to the Belgic tribes, with whom alone he had any direct intercourse. A variety of facts, however, may be collected, which prove that the natives of the more remote parts of Britain, were descended from the Celtæ of the continent; but before we proceed to the consideration of this subject, we shall survey the Belgic tribes on the coast. The relation of these to the tribes of the Belgæ in Gaul, is very near and evident.

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¶ 1. *Relation of the British Belgæ to the Belgic Gauls.*

On the southern coast of England, in Hampshire and Wiltshire, there was a tribe termed simply Belgæ. They possessed the Isle of Wight, and had their capital at Venta Belgarum, or Winchester. It is remarkable, that this body had especially the name of Belgæ, though there were other tribes in Britain of Belgic descent. Behind the Belgæ, in the interior, were the Atrebatii, in whose territory Berkshire was included, a tribe derived apparently from the Atrebates in Belgic Gaul. To the westward of the Belgæ proper, were the Durotriges in Dorsetshire; these people, according to Richard of Cirencester, were sometimes called Morini; and if this assertion be correct, it is probable that they were, at least in part, derived from the Morini of the opposite Belgic coast. Beyond the Durotriges, in the western countries, were the Dumnonii. Whether they were properly a Belgic tribe or not, is uncertain, but the names of several chiefs of this nation are mentioned in history, which, as we shall in the sequel have occasion to observe, do not appear to belong to the dialect of the Cambro-Britons, but to another, which there are some reasons to suppose more nearly allied to that of the Belgæ. To the eastward, or to the right of the Belgæ proper, are placed the Regni, and beyond them, in Kent, the Cantii. Both are probably to be included in

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Cæsar's general assertion, that the maritime nations of Britain were descended from the Belgæ, though I know of no particular proof that they belonged to that race. The same observation may perhaps extend to the Trinobantes, northward of the Thames, who seem to have been connected by political relations with the Belgic tribes. Besides the preceding there was no other tribe in this island, which can with any degree of probability be referred to the Belgic division,* though the Menapii had found their way to Ireland.

It appears from these observations, that the power of the Belgæ in Britain extended principally through the southern parts of the island, nearly as far as a line drawn between the estuaries of the Thames and Severn; but it is not to be supposed, that the native inhabitants had been entirely expelled from all this country. On the contrary, we find within the limits above described, tribes mentioned by several writers, who appear to have been of a different family, and had probably been subjected to the more powerful Belgic invaders, but still retained their original distinctions. Such were the Segontiaci and Bibroci mentioned by Cæsar, who are placed by Camden within the borders of the Atrebatii; these are ap-

* The reader will find much valuable information respecting the tribes, both of the Belgic and Celtic stock in South Britain, in Hughes's Horæ Britannicæ, or in a dissertation in the Cambrian Register, which also appeared in that work; and in the first volume of the Rev. S. Seyer's History of Bristol.

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parently Celtic names.* Again we find, in the country assigned to the Belgæ proper, a large district which is given by Richard of Cirencester to the Hædui, a tribe synonymous with a well known nation in Celtic Gaul; and the same writer places within the country of the Dumnonii, the Cornabii in Cornwall, and the Cimbri on the coast opposite to South Wales. Two names occur in the catalogue of Richard, of Belgic origin, which are found in no other writer; the Morini, synonymous with the Durotriges, and the Rhemi, supposed by some to be the same as the Regni of Ptolemy, by others to be the Bibroci.

¶ *2. Relation of the Aboriginal Britons to the Celtic Gauls.*

We must now advert to the British aborigines, and to the proof of their descent from the people of Celtic Gaul. This is no where asserted by Cæsar, or positively stated as an historical fact, as far as I know, by any ancient author; nor is it proved by the manifest connexion of insular and continental tribes, as in the instance of the Belgic communities in Britain and in Gaul. We are told, indeed, that there was a tribe of Hædui in Britain, which is synonymous with a tribe in Gallia Celtica, of whom very frequent mention is made by Cæsar, but the existence of this people rests on the sole authority of Richard of Cirencester. It is from

* Bibroci, probably from Bibrox, the city of the Hædui in Celtic Gaul.

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proofs of a different kind, that we are led to adopt the opinion, that the ancient Britons of the interior and western parts of the island were nearly allied to the Celtic inhabitants of Gaul.

1. In the first place, this conclusion seems to result from a comparison of the languages of these nations.

Although it is probable that dialectic differences may have existed among some of the British tribes, yet it is likely that nearly the same language on the whole was spoken through all the parts of Britain possessed by those who are termed the aborigines of the island;* and we may venture to consider the Welsh and Cornish dialects, and perhaps the former chiefly, as it is more out of the way of the Belgæ, as a relic and specimen of the idiom spoken by the ancient Britons.† Now, there are circumstances which render it extremely probable, that the speech of Gallia Celtica was a cognate dialect of this language.

It is well known that the language spoken by the inhabitants of Bretagne, or Armorica, is very nearly allied to the Welsh; these dialects indeed

* Tacitus indeed says as much, "Sermo haud multum diversus."

† The learned author of the Mithridates, who is followed by several German writers, considers the Welsh as a relic of the language of the Belgæ. In this I am persuaded that he is mistaken, chiefly through a want of local knowledge, which the antiquarians of this country have more easily obtained. I shall not enter into any particular consideration of this opinion, which has not as yet met with any advocate among British writers.

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differ so little from each other, that the natives of Wales and Brittany mutually understand each other; it is obvious also, that the names of places, through a considerable part of Brittany, are of Welsh origin, or at least significant in the Welsh language. This circumstance affords an argument in proof of the affinity of the ancient Britons and the Celtic Gauls; for all the tribes of that part of Gaul now called Brittany, were included among the Celtæ. But the evidence arising from this circumstance is rendered somewhat doubtful, or at least less entirely conclusive, by the fact that the coast of Armorica received an accession of inhabitants from Britain after the Saxon invasion of this island. To these emigrants may possibly be ascribed the dialect now prevalent in Brittany.

That such an emigration of insular Britons really took place, must be allowed to be an historical fact, though the date has been much disputed, and a variety of fabulous stories and absurd pretences have been engrafted upon it.* It is ob-

* As for instance, the story invented by Geoffrey of Monmouth, that an usurper, Maximian, brought over 13,000 men from Britain to re-people Armorica; he was followed by St. Ursula and her 11,000 virgins, who set sail in order to become the wives of the king and his knights, and who left their relics by some unaccountable mistake at Cologne. William of Malmsbury has another version of this story of Maximian, but neither is deserving of the least attention.

The real date of the Armorican, or rather Breton migration, is a matter of great controversy. The question has been agitated with much warmth by Vertôt, in a work expressly on that subject. It has been touched upon and illustrated by Gibbon.

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scurely hinted at by Gildas, who in commenting on the misfortunes of the Britons, after the departure of the Romans, adds, "that some of them emigrated beyond seas."* The expressions here used would seem to point out the escape of comparatively small numbers, rather than the exulation of a whole tribe. However, by the early French historians, the people of Brittany are frequently mentioned under the name of Britanni, as a nation or tribe but nominally or doubtfully dependent on the Merovingian princes. Gregory of Tours speaks of them as governed by counts of their own, and Fredegarius Scholasticus mentions a chief of the same people, who is styled a *King*, as late as the time of Dagobert.† Even in the reign of Athelstan, the Armorican Britons, as it appears from a letter of Radhod, a prefect of the church of Avranches, looked upon themselves as exiles from their native land.‡

* "Alii transmarinas petebant regiones." Gildas.

† Gregory of Tours always terms the chiefs of the Bretons, "Comites." He says, "Semper Britanni, sub Francorum potestate, post obitum regis Chlodovechi fuerunt, et comites, non reges appellati." Some of these chiefs are mentioned by name, and these names are evidently Celtic, as Macliavus, Chonober, &c. —Greg. Turon. Hist. apud Bouquet, tom. ii. p. 205. But Fredegarius Scholasticus mentions a king of the Bretons, who, in the reign of Dagobert, A. D. 635, promised allegiance to that monarch. This was king Judicäel, afterwards saint Judicäel. "Semper se, et regnum quod regebat Britanniæ subjectum ditioni Dagoberti esse promisit."—Fredegar. Scholast. Chronic. apud Bouquet, tom. ii. p. 443.

‡ This letter was written by Radhod to king Athelstan, and is preserved by William of Malmsbury. (De Pontiff. lib. v.

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It is unfortunate that the date of this emigration of Britons to Gaul, and the circumstances under which it took place, are so little known: otherwise we should be able to determine whether the refugees formed at their arrival a separate people, and afterwards a distinct nation, or were only blended with the former inhabitants of the country. There is, indeed, a passage of Eginhard, which favours the former supposition; he speaks of the Britons as coming in a body into the territory before occupied by two nations of Armorica, the Veneti and Curiosolitæ.* But an historian of the ninth century can hardly be admitted as a satisfactory evidence of a transaction, which took place three hundred years before his time, in an age when records were particularly defective; and Gregory of Tours, who wrote with the authority of an almost contemporary annalist, speaks of the Armorican Britons in terms which can hardly be

apud Gale, tom ii. p. 363.) It relates to the relics of St. Samson, bishop of Avranches, which were translated by the Anglo-Saxon king, who, as it seems, was a great purchaser of such holy things, from Brittany to Malmesbury in Wilts. It contains the following address to Athelstan: "Rex gloriose, exaltator ecclesiæ, te imploramus, qui in exulatu atque captivitate, nostris meritis atque peccatis, in Francia commoramus."

* "Cumque ab Anglis et Saxonibus, Britannica insula fuisset invasa, magna pars incolarum ejus mare trajiciens, in ultimis Galliæ finibus Venetorum et Curiosolitarum regiones occupavit. Is populus à regibus Francorum subactus, vectigal licet invitus solvere solebat." Ann. Eginhart.

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reconciled with this supposition. It appears from his account of them, that they were reduced, towards the termination of the reign of Clovis, to acknowledge the superiority of the French monarchs, and we are led to suppose, that in the former time they had been more powerful and independent. Now this brings us back nearly to the era of the Armorican republic, which existed in Gaul previously to the arrival of any emigrants from Britain. The cities of that province had revolted during the reign of Honorius, from the government of the tyrant Constantine, and had established a republic, the independence of which was acknowledged by the Roman emperor.* Zozimus mentions the people of Armorica, under the same name which was given to them by Cæsar; and they appear in the history of that age as a nation in a great measure distinct from the Romanized Gauls of the other provinces. It seems hardly credible that such a people should be all at once superseded by a tribe of fugitives from conquered Britain. But, that they might incorporate among them a considerable number of refugees from a kindred nation, in the time of its adversity, is very probable. There are indeed various indications of an intercourse which long subsisted between the Celtic inhabitants of the opposite sides of the channel,† and this fact accounts

* Zosim. Hist. lib. vi.

† See Procop. lib. iv. de bello Gothic. apud Bouquet, ii. p. 42.—Also Vita S. German. Episc. Autissiodor. Bouq. i. p. 643.

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for the gradual and early appearance of the British name among the Armoricans. The language of the Britons and Armoricans being the same, and the two nations intimately connected, they were soon confounded by absolute strangers to both, as the Franks were, and hence we hear of Britons in Gaul, and this in authentic history, at a time too early for the supposed emigration of a whole tribe from the British Isles.*

* Jornandes, a contemporary writer, asserts, that an army of twelve hundred Britons, under their king Riothimûs, came to the assistance of the emperor Anthemius against the Visigoths. They came by sea to the Bituriges, or Bourdelois. This happened in 468. If these Britons were from Armorica, it would argue that the people of that province must have assumed the name of Britons at a period too early for the supposed flight of the insular Britons from the arms of the Saxons. See Bouquet, tom. ii. p. 27. Vertôt evades this inference by a conjecture that this army of Riothimûs consisted of insular Britons, who came under their chieftain or king, as auxiliaries to the Roman emperor. But it is very improbable that the Britons, at this time, when they were engaged in the most disastrous hostilities with the Saxons, just nineteen years after the arrival of Hengist, would send an army of twelve thousand men, under a king, whose name is, moreover, unknown to British history, to the assistance of the western emperor. All communication of military aids had ceased some time before between Rome and Britain, and the Britons had sued in vain to Rome for succours against their domestic enemies. Besides this, it appears from other sources, that there was a people before this era in Gaul, who were named Britons. Sidonius Apollinaris mentions the Britons upon the river Loire, and, what seems to bring this matter to a conclusion, it has been observed by the annotator to the "Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France," that

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The reader will form his own judgment on these historical difficulties; however, it must be allowed, that the language of the ancient Britons is still spoken, and, for any thing that appears to the contrary, has always been preserved in Armorica, which was a part of Gallia Celtica.

At the other extremity of Gallia Celtica, I mean in Switzerland and Savoy, we find in the names of places, and in some words still used by the people, undoubted proofs of the former existence of the same language. I have, in a very cursory survey, collected sufficient examples to establish this point, and I doubt not that an accurate local investigation would furnish a copious glossary.*

As the Welsh language, or one nearly resembling it, is found in the two extremities of Celtic Gaul, it seems to be a fair inference, that it was the idiom of the whole people of that country. An analysis of the names of rivers, mountains, towns, and tribes, and the proper names of men which are preserved in the history of Gaul, would furnish additional evidence in favour of this con-

at the council held at Tours in 461, Mansuetus, bishop of the "Britones," is mentioned among the bishops from the "Lugdunensis Tertia," or Brittany. See Bouquet, tom. i. p. 785.

* For example, we find in Savoy, *Nant* used as a common term for a rivulet. *Nant d'arpenaz*, or perhaps *Nant arpenaz*, is evidently *nant a'r penau*, that is, a torrent flowing over the summit, a most descriptive epithet. The names of Trelex, Nant de Gria, Nant de Taconay, Mol, Dol, Finio, Forclaz, are apparently Celtic terms occurring within a very short space.

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clusion, and would leave no further doubt upon the subject.

2. The Druidical religion and institutions were probably common to the Celtic and Belgic Gauls. In Britain the Belgæ appear to have followed them. But the chief seat of Druidism in Gaul was among the Celtæ, and in the country of the Carnutæ, a Celtic tribe. In Britain the same institutions had their principal influence among the people of the interior and western country. This we collect from the account given by Tacitus of the Druids, particularly of the isle of Mona, and from the traditional memory of Bards and Druids in Wales, which, though it has been made the ground of many wild speculations, may safely be admitted in proof of the simple historical fact, that the institution of Bards and Druids belonged to a Celtic nation.

3. Another argument may be derived from the abundance of those rude erections, commonly termed Druidical circles, cromlechs, and dolmins, both in Armorica and in Wales, as well as in other countries belonging to the aboriginal Britons. Whatever controversy may be maintained as to the nature of these remains, they evidently are relics of a remote and Pagan antiquity, and the fact that they are so frequent both in Brittany and in Wales, indicates that races of similar manners and customs originally peopled both Celtic Gaul, and those parts of Britain whither the Belgæ cannot be thought to have penetrated. It may be remarked,

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that similar remains are very abundant in some of the isles on the coast of Brittany, which belonged to the same people.

From these considerations taken together, I think we have sufficient evidence that the aboriginal Britons were nearly allied in origin and kindred to the Celtic Gauls. We have already seen reason to believe, that the Belgic Britons were colonies planted at a later period from Belgic Gaul. These two nations then divided between them, not only Gaul, but the British isles; at least all the southern parts of Great Britain, for we are not at present referring to the Caledonians. We now proceed to make a few remarks on the relation of the Belgæ and Celtæ to each other.

Section II.

Of the Origin of the Belgæ, both of Gaul and Britain.

The Belgæ in Gaul occupied a country intermediate between the territories of the Celtæ and the Germans. The relation of the former people to their neighbours on either side, has been a matter of controversy. By many it has been supposed that the Belgæ were a German people, who after crossing the Rhine, had driven the Celtæ out of a great part of their country, and after possessing themselves of the northern districts of Gaul, had pursued their conquests in Britain. If this was the fact, it is inferred with probability that the Belgæ spoke a German dialect. A German

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speech, perhaps not unlike the Anglo-Saxon, may therefore have been prevalent in the south of England, not only before the invasion under Hengist, but before the time of Julius Cæsar, while the northern parts of Gaul were in like manner inhabited by tribes akin to the German Franks and Belgians, who conquered them at a later era.

This opinion, which, as we shall observe, is encumbered with many historical difficulties, has been chiefly built upon a single passage in Cæsar's Commentaries. When that general was preparing to attack the Belgæ, a people before hardly known to the Romans, the Rhemi, a Belgic tribe more submissive than the rest, sent ambassadors to him. Of these persons he inquired respecting the history of the Belgæ, and was informed that most of them were originally descended from the Germans, who had crossed the Rhine, and had dispossessed the former inhabitants of the northern parts of Gaul.*

On this passage I shall at present make two remarks: first, that the account contained in it is given by Cæsar on the credit of the Rhemian ambassadors, and not from his own knowledge of the fact, though it is evident that he believed the statement to be true; and, secondly, that the assertion made by the Rhemians was accompanied by a

* "Quum ab his quæsivit, quæ civitates, &c. in armis essent—sic reperiebat: plerosque Belgas esse ortos à Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitùs transductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse, Gallosque, qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse." Lib. ii. c. 4.

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vaunt, that the Belgæ were the only people in Gaul who had been able to resist the attacks of the Teutones and Cimbri. We know, besides, that it was reckoned honourable among the Gauls to have a claim of kindred with the Germans, who were at that time the most celebrated warriors among the barbarous nations. Hence it is probable, that the evidence of this affinity may have been over-rated. If, however, the assertion of the Rhemi was correct, we may perhaps understand it to imply only that some of the more powerful and numerous Belgic tribes were of German origin. Those nations who were farthest from Germany, and on the borders of the sea, and still more the British Belgæ, may still have descended from a stock more nearly allied to the Celtic.

It is indeed, undoubted, that several nations who inhabited the left bank of the Rhine in the time of Cæsar, were of German extraction. The enumeration which he has given of the Belgian forces allied against the Romans concludes with the mention of four tribes, the Condrusi, Eburones, Cæresi, Pæmani, of whom it is said that they were included under the common name of Germans; an intimation, that the claim of the other Belgic tribes to a Transrhenane origin was at least not so well established or so generally allowed.

This subject will be elucidated by comparing the accounts given by Tacitus and Strabo at a

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later period, when the Romans had become better acquainted both with the Belgæ and the Germans.

Tacitus has entered at some length into the inquiry, what tribes among the bordering nations were of Gaulish, and what of German extraction. He says, "The Treviri and Nervii were ambitious of being thought of German origin, as if the reputation of this descent would distinguish them from the Gauls, whom they resemble in person and effeminacy. The Vangiones, Triboci, and Nemetes, who inhabit the bank of the Rhine are without doubt German tribes. Nor do the Ubii, although they have been thought worthy of being made a Roman colony, and are pleased in bearing the name of Agrippinenses, from their founder, blush to acknowledge their origin from Germany, from whence they formerly migrated."* Tacitus here plainly ascribes a German origin to four tribes, who, however, have scarcely been considered as forming a part of the Belgæ: these are the Vangiones, Nemetes, Triboci, and Ubii. It is evident that he was induced to consider the Nervii and Treviri as claiming this descent without real ground.

Strabo, however, informs us, that the Nervii were of German origin, though in so doing he seems to exclude the Treviri. The passage in which this geographer enumerates the principal Gallic tribes near the Rhine is rather long, but as it is important to my present object I shall extract it.

* Tacitus de Mor. Germ. cap. 28. Aikin's Translation.

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"Next to the Helvetians," in descending the river, "the bank of the Rhine is inhabited by the Sequani and Mediomatrices, among whom are settled a German nation, the Tribocci, who passed over from their own country. In the country of the Sequani is Mount Jura, which separates them from the Helvetii. Beyond the Helvetii and Sequani, towards the west, dwell the Hædui and Lingones; beyond the Mediomatrices, the Leuci and part of the Lingones." He then mentions some tribes beyond the Rhone and Arar, and returns to the Rhine. "Next to the Mediomatrices and Tribocci, the border of the Rhine is inhabited by the Treviri,* in whose territory the bridge was lately built by the Romans in their invasion of Germany. The opposite side of the Rhine was the country of the Ubii, who were brought with their own consent by Agrippa to inhabit the hither bank of the river. Contiguous to the country of the Treviri is that of the Nervii, who, likewise, are a German nation. Strabo had previously mentioned only the Tribocci and Ubii as such. Last of all are the Menapii, inhabiting a marshy country on both sides of the river. Adjacent to these are a German nation, the Sicambri." Then follows a remark respecting the Suevi, who inhabited the more remote parts of Germany; "These," says Strabo, "were a very numerous and powerful people, and it was by them that those hordes were expelled from their borders, who have now taken

* I follow the reading of this passage preferred by Casaubon.

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refuge on the hither side of the Rhine." He probably alludes chiefly to the Ubii. "To the westward of the Treviri and Nervii are the Senones and the Rhemi, as likewise the Atrebati and the Eburones; and adjoining to the Menapii, on the sea-coast, are the Morini, Bellovaci, Ambiani, Suessiones, and Caleti, reaching to the mouth of the Seine." "Near the river Seine are also the Parisii, who inhabit an island in the river, and a city termed Lucotocia; also the Melvi and the Lexobii, the latter of whom border on the ocean. Of all these the Rhemi are the most considerable, and their capital city, Duricortora, is the most populous, and affords a residence to the Roman governors."

From all this we must conclude that there were several tribes settled among the Belgæ, but principally near the Rhine, and on the eastern side of the Belgic country, who were clearly of German origin. Among these were the three tribes mentioned by Tacitus, the Vangiones, Triboci, and Nemetes, as well as the four enumerated by Cæsar, the principal of which were the Eburones. These tribes, however, are distinguished in many respects from the Belgæ proper. The Nervii, indeed, were a powerful Belgic nation, who, according to Strabo, were really of German descent. Perhaps, through connexions with the Nervii, two other neighbouring states came to partake of the claim to German affinity, but this pretension was a matter of doubt, and is not allowed by Tacitus and

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Strabo. These were the Rhemi and Treviri. The latter are mentioned by both these writers as Gauls. That their language continued to be a Celtic dialect we have a proof in a remark casually left us by St. Jerome, who had resided at Treves, and afterwards discovered that the Galatians in Asia Minor spoke a dialect similar to that of the Treviri.* The Galatæ were descended, as we know from Strabo and Livy, from the Volcæ, near the borders of Aquitania, who were undoubtedly a Celtic people, and hence we may conclude, that the idiom of the Treviri, and therefore the mass of their population, was always Celtic. However, the great bulk of the Belgic nation does not appear, from any thing that we can collect in the statements of Strabo and Tacitus, to have been of German origin. With respect to the Suessiones, Bellovaci, Veromandui, and particularly the tribes situated near to the ocean the Atrebates, and Morini, there seems to be no ground whatever for suspecting them to have been related to the Germans.

But the Belgic and Celtic Gauls are elsewhere clearly distinguished, and are expressly said by Cæsar to differ from each other, as well as from the

* "Galatas," says St. Jerome, "excepto sermone Græco, quo omnis loquitur Oriens, propriam linguam eandem pænè habere quam Treviri; nec referre, si aliqua exinde corruperint, quum et Aphri Phœnicum linguam nonnullâ ex parte mutaverint, et ipsa Latinitas et regionibus quotidie mutatur et tempore.

This seems to me a decisive testimony in relation to the Celtic affinity of the Treviri, and, *à fortiori*, of most other Belgic tribes.

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Aquitani in language, customs, and laws; and this is affirmed in a passage in which Cæsar delivers the result of his own inquiries into the history of the Gauls. It is an assertion which we cannot venture on any grounds to question.

The expressions of Cæsar are very brief on this subject: but Strabo is more full and particular. This writer informs us that "some divide the inhabitants of Gaul into three parts, terming them Aquitani, Belgæ, and Celtæ;" of these he says, "the Aquitani are altogether different from the others, not only in language, but also in their persons, and bear a greater resemblance to the Iberi than to the Gauls: but the remainder have the personal characters peculiar to the Gauls, though they are not all of one speech, some of them *differing a little from the others in their language*,* and there are also some slight diversities in their modes of government and manners."†

We have here a sufficient testimony that the Belgæ and Celtæ spoke not entirely distinct languages, but different dialects of the same tongue; and without the knowledge of this fact, it would be impossible to reconcile the foregoing assertion of Cæsar with the expressions of Tacitus, who frequently speaks of the language of the Gauls as one, in terms which would be very vague and improper, if there had in reality existed two entirely

* The author's words are: "μικρὸν ἐξαλλαττοῦντας τῇ γλώσσῃ."

† Strabo, lib. iv. p. 176.

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and radically distinct languages among the Celtic and Belgic Gauls. The same writer says indeed expressly that all the Britons, the Belgæ being included, differed from each other but little in dialect.

Independently of the testimony of ancient authors, we have all the evidence which the nature of the subject allows us to expect, that the language of the Belgic tribes, both in Gaul and Britain, was not Teutonic, but a cognate dialect of the Celtic. Perhaps no nation has ever kept possession of a country long, without leaving vestiges of its language in the names of persons, tribes, of towns, of rivers, of districts. It would be very easy for any person, in looking over the names given by Tacitus, in his account of the Germans, to recognise a number of native German words, though somewhat disguised by Roman orthography. The Teutones, Ingevones, Marcomanni, Langobardi, are obvious examples; the names of Arminius, Hertha, are immediately distinguished. Had the Belgæ been generally, or in any considerable part, of Teutonic race, we should certainly find German names of persons, places, and tribes among them. But the reverse is uniformly the fact. I believe it may be asserted in general terms, that all the Belgic appellatives, which topography as well as history presents to our view, are, when they can be analysed, of Celtic origin. The names of Duricortora, Treviri, Morini, Bellovaci, are all apparently Celtic; and among the few appellatives in Belgic

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Gaul, we find Divitiacus, which was also the name of a king of the Hædui, in Gallia Celtica. In Britain, we find Venta, the capital of the Belgæ, and several other towns of the same name in Celtic Britain. It will, indeed, be allowed, that some towns in the territory occupied by the Belgæ, may have been built before their arrival, and that the names of these were perhaps the old appellatives retained from their first founders, who were Celts; but it is not to be supposed that the Belgæ, during all the time of their settlement in Gaul and Britain, erected no towns, or left no names characterized by the peculiarities of their language; and unless this be maintained, we must conclude that their language was not Teutonic.

Again; all the names preserved by the Saxon and British historians, who relate the conquest of Belgic Britain by the Saxons, are still Celtic.* Such are Vortigern, Vortimer, and all the names of the British generals and pendragons, though some of them were chosen from the tribes inhabiting the southern parts of Britain. The former inhabitants of the island are termed in the Saxon chronicle indifferently, Brit-walas, or Brittas, or Wealas; and the same chronicle mentions, that the troops of Hengist and Osca, soon after their invasion, routed

* Several names of British chiefs occur in the Saxon Chronicle—the following were chiefs in various parts of South Britain; Natanleod, or Nazanlioth; Commail, or Commagel; Condidan; Farinmail, or Farinmægl; Broamail.

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the Wealas, Wylishé, or Welsh, in Kent and Sussex.*

I think we may conclude, from the preceding considerations, that the Belgic and Celtic Gauls spoke different dialects of the same language.

We are acquainted with two principal dialects of the Celtic language, of which all the others are merely varieties, differing in slight modifications. 1. The Cambro-celtic, as we may term it for the sake of distinction, includes the Welsh, the Cornish, and the language of Armorica or Lower Brittany. 2. The Erse, including the Irish, the Highland Scottish, and the Manks. We have shown already, that the Cambro-celtic was the language of the Celtic Gauls; by which I mean, not that the speech of that nation was precisely the modern Welsh, but that it was a dialect allied to this branch of the Celtic. Now there are some grounds for suspecting, and this is all that we can look for in so obscure a subject, that the dialect of the Belgæ was akin to the Erse; and if this can be allowed, we shall trace to the continent both the great branches of the Celtic population of these islands.

* In the year 465, a victory of Hengist is recorded, in the chronicle, over the Wealas at Wippedes Fleot, where it is mentioned that the Saxons killed twelve "*Wylisce ealdormen.*" It is quite evident to the reader of the Saxon chronicle, that the writers of it knew only one nation of Britons. They had never heard a syllable of the Teutonic Britons of Mr. Pinkerton. In the *chronicle* the people of Kent and Sussex are equally *Welsh* with the inhabitants of Gwynedd and Deheubarth.

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The only fact which can be regarded as coming in proof of this supposition, is one which has been frequently mentioned already with the same view. It is, that several names of persons and places in those parts of South Britain which were probably occupied by Belgic people, belong according to their orthography to the Erse and not to the Cambro-celtic dialect. Thus the name of the British pendragon, or generalissimo, who invited Hengist and his Saxons into this country, is written by the Welsh historians Gwrtheyrn; the same name in Irish is Feartigearn, which is pronounced nearly as Vortigern. Now, how had this Dumnonian prince an Irish name, if his people and himself spoke Welsh? The names of his sons, Vortimer* and Catigern, are likewise Irish. It is said also, that the name of the Isle of Shepey is in Welsh manuscripts written Ennis Vliocht, which is an Irish mode of orthography, and an Irish name; and how should an Irish name be found here in the extremity of Britain, unless the Belgic language were a dialect of the Erse?†

Another consideration may be adverted to, which renders it probable that the Erse was once a language spoken on the continent; and hence it becomes probable, since it was not the idiom of

* Vortimer is in Welsh, Gorthevyr, of which the Saxons could never have made Vortimer.

† The Isle of Thanet was called by the Britons Roihin, according to Nennius.

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Gallia Celtica, that it came into these islands from the Belgæ.

The differences between the Erse and the Cambro-celtic are not merely accidental and recent deflexions; these differences are according to a system, and a particular method; the Cambro-celtic and the Erse may be looked upon as two ancient correlative dialects, both originally deduced from the one source, but showing by their different habits and character, that their separation was from their infancy, and that they have long been subjected to different culture.

It is well known to those who have made glossology their study, that the Latin language contains a great mixture of the Celtic. Hence, and for other reasons, it has been suspected, that the Umbri and Osci, who, with the Greek Aborigines, divided the greater part of Italy between them, were of Celtic descent. It is not important to the present question, to ascertain from which of the ancient nations of Italy the Romans derived that part of their language which is not Greek, but Celtic. It is however, remarkable, that it is with the Erse, or the Irish dialect of the Celtic, that the barbarous portion of the Latin language coincides. The Celtic people, therefore, who inhabited Italy in early times, were akin to the Irish Celts, and not to the Britons, or Celtic Gauls. I am not at present alluding to the Cisalpine Gauls, who cut so conspicuous a figure in the middle period of Roman history; these, as we learn from Livy, were chiefly Galli Senones, or Celtic tribes

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from the central parts of Gaul; but to a more ancient race, akin to the Celtæ, though hardly recognized by ancient history as such, which furnished a part of the first population of Italy. From Italy they probably reached in a line more northerly and easterly than the proper Celtæ, towards the German ocean; from the Belgic coasts they migrated to the south of Britain, and conquered a part of the country. Perhaps, as it seems to result from the joint accounts of Cæsar, Strabo, and Tacitus, their migrations chiefly took place when they were pressed downwards by the encroachments of the Germans. On the British territories they were resisted by a tolerably numerous population. In Ireland they were more likely to overpower the tribes of British race, if any such existed previously to their arrival. Perhaps these people are the Fir-Bolg, Viri Belgæ, or Grassatores, whose name is famous in the Irish annals.* The language of this race, which left some vestiges of itself on the shores of southern Britain, became the predominant and the sole language of Ireland, and was transplanted thence into the Scottish Highlands.

Some other circumstances in history tend strongly to confirm the opinion that the Belgæ were a branch of the Celts, and not a Teutonic race.

* The name Gwydhil, by which the Irish were always distinguished by the Welsh, and which is softened by the Scots into Gaoidhel or Gäel, has no connexion with the national name of Galli, which properly belonged to a different people.

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1. I think it fully appears, from the accounts of Cæsar and Tacitus, that the Druidical religion and discipline were generally prevalent throughout Belgic Gaul and Britain, and that they were not confined to the Celtic countries properly so termed. The territory of the Carnutæ was, according to Cæsar, fixed upon by the Druids for their religious conventions, on account of its situation in the centre of Gaul. But it is at one extremity, and not in the centre, unless Belgica be included in the compass. Strabo indeed expressly ascribes the institution of Druidism to all the Gallic nations; and he introduces the description of it immediately after that of the Belgic tribes. "Among all the foregoing nations are three distinguished orders; these are the Druids and the inferior ranks of the Celtic hierarchy." Now since the Belgæ were subject to the Druidical priesthood, and had the religion of the Druids, it is hardly to be supposed that they were of German origin. The religious customs and tenets of the Germans were always strongly distinguished from those of the Celts.

2. Had Britain contained a German population previously to the arrival of the Saxons, that circumstance would have given a different turn to the religious history of our ancestors. The Britons were already a Christian people. Had the Saxons, instead of driving before them a nation foreign to them in manners and language, settled themselves down among a kindred people, speaking

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a dialect of their own tongue, they would not fail to have adopted in many respects their manners; and in particular we should have heard something of the existence of Christianity among a large part of the population of England. But on the arrival of St. Austin and the other missionaries from Rome, we find no trace of any previous knowledge of Christianity among the English. The Welsh indeed were Christians, but the German population was entirely Pagan, and had not the slightest tincture of Christianity.

Section III.

Of the origin of the Caledonians, Picts, and Scots.

The origin of the ancient and modern inhabitants of Scotland, has been a matter of still greater doubt and controversy than the history of the Belgæ and South Britons. It is still a subject of dispute whether the old Caledonians, and the Picts who succeeded them, were a tribe of Celtic or Cambro-Britons, or a colony of Teutonic people from Scandinavia, or Germany. Tacitus tells us that the Caledonians resembled the Germans in their stature and complexion, so as to induce a suspicion that they were of Germanic origin, but that from other considerations he was inclined to regard them as Britons. Modern writers have been divided between these two opinions. Camden regarded the Caledonians and the Picts as Britons. Of late this subject has been examined with great diligence, and both opinions have been maintained

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with much learning and ingenuity. The reader of Pinkerton, Chalmers, and Jamieson, will find in the works of these authors nearly all that it seems possible to collect with reference to this question. I have not the vanity to suppose that I can throw any light upon the subject. I shall only state, as briefly as possible, those points which appear to me tolerably well made out, and the principal facts which bear upon those which are still doubtful, leaving the reader to adopt his own opinion.

¶ 1. *Of the Native People of Valentia.*

In the first place, the debatable ground may be reduced by withdrawing from it all that part of Scotland which is situated to the southward of the Firths and the wall of Antoninus, and which formed the Roman province of Valentia. In this district there were five native tribes, who appear pretty certainly to have been of the British race. In the affairs which took place on the departure of the Romans we find these tribes apparently connected with the Southern Britons, united with them under the same leaders, and associated in a common warfare. When this island was invaded by the Saxons, the eastern parts of Valentia were conquered, and formed a part of the kingdom of Bernicia, but the Britons still retained the western parts, reaching as far towards the north as Stirlingshire. The capital of this northern British state, which was called Regnum Cumbrense, and the kingdom of the Strathclwyd Bri-

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tons, was Alclwyd, since termed Dun-Britton or Dumbarton. The people of this district, who spoke the language of the Welsh, survived long under the name of Wallenses, the final extinction of the Pictish kingdom. The eastern parts of Valentia had been inhabited previously to the arrival of the Saxons by the tribe of Ottadini. Of this nation, the Welsh poet Aneurin is said to have been a chieftain. His celebrated poem, the Gododin, describing the defeat of his countrymen, the Welsh princes and warriors of North Britain, at the battle of Cattraeth, which is one of the oldest metrical works extant in the Cambro-British language, has probably its name from the people, or from their country Ottadinia.*

There seems to be no reason whatever for supposing that any other people inhabited Valentia previously to the arrival of the Saxons, who soon reduced Ottadinia, or the Lothians, and founded the city of Edwinsburgh.

¶ 2. *Of the sixteen Northern Tribes.*

But in the history of the sixteen tribes who lived northward of the wall, there is greater difficulty. Two questions offer themselves with respect

* The name of Gododin appears in the following line of this poem, which has been cited by Chalmers.

"Gwŷr a aeth Ododin, chwerthin wanar."

"Warriors went to Ottadinia, a joyous course."

Gododin loses in many positions, like all other Welsh words beginning with G, the initial consonant, and becomes *Ododin*.

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to these tribes. Did the Cambro-british language and people ever reach beyond the Firths, or was the Roman wall the last limit of the progress of this nation towards the north? And if the ancient British race ever occupied the north of Scotland, at what period does it appear most consonant to historical probability to suppose that they were dispossessed or supplanted by a new population, and their language by the dialects afterwards spoken there, viz. the Lowland and Highland Scottish languages?

1. It seems to have been clearly proved by the topographical researches of Mr. Chalmers, that the Welsh language must have prevailed, at one time, over nearly the whole of the Scottish Lowlands. In many of the eastern parts of Scotland the names of mountains, rivers, lakes, capes, promontories, forests, and towns, are in numerous examples plainly derived from the Celtic language. These names are of two classes; one consisting of words which are common to both the dialects of the Celtic; and these terms may have derived their origin either from the old Caledonians, on the supposition that their language was that of the Britons, or in later times from the Gaelic Scots, who in the ninth century conquered the eastern parts of Scotland, or Pictavia. To this class of local names belong such terms as Craig, Dol, Glas, Ynys, Avon, Clwyd. The second class is compounded of such terms as Aber, Pen, Caer, Cors, Tre, Ochil, Llan, Llyn, which have no existence in the Gaelic,

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and are peculiar to the Cambro-british dialect of the Celtic. Such denominations are remarkably frequent in those parts of Scotland inhabited by the Picts. In the laborious work of Mr. Chalmers there is a collection of them, which seems amply sufficient to satisfy the most incredulous, that the dialect of the Cambro-britons was at one period the prevailing idiom in the north-eastern parts of Scotland.

To the foregoing argument, which seems in itself conclusive, must be added the fact, that those relics which are chiefly abundant in countries long inhabited by the Celtic people, and are ascribed by tradition to the Druids, are also found in great number in many parts of the Lowlands. In Aberdeenshire, for example, there are many circles of dolmins, in connexion with cromlechs and sepulchral cairns, containing cistvaens.*

These considerations, particularly the former, appear to establish the conclusion, that the earliest inhabitants, at least the first of whom any vestiges remain, of the eastern parts of Scotland, were of the Cambro-British race. This inference indeed seems to have been admitted by the most able of those who contend for the Teutonic origin of the Picts.

2. The next question that presents itself is, at what time was the original language of Caledonia, and probably with it the original population, sup-

* Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. i. p. 75. See also Archæologia, vol. xix.

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planted by a Saxon dialect and a German race? This I apprehend to be the question still at issue between the different parties of Scottish antiquarians.

We have no reason to conclude that the population of Scotland had become Germanized, or had undergone any material change previously to the age of Agricola. Tacitus believed the Caledonians to be of the same race with the rest of the Britons. He knew not the existence of more than one language and one religion among the inhabitants of this island. Yet, if the Caledonians had been a people of German manners, language, and religion, this fact could scarcely have escaped the knowledge of Agricola and Tacitus.*

The names of the Caledonian tribes during the Roman period were still evidently of British origin. Caledonia is evidently *Celyddon,* the forest-land, a term corresponding with the German *Wald:* the Caledonii were probably the people of the interior and forest countries of Scotland. Of the other tribes, several names correspond with those of the Southern Britons: others have an obvious geographical meaning in the Welsh language.†

* Gibbon has made the following judicious remark on the testimony of Tacitus, so often alluded to by writers on the Caledonian question. "Tacitus, or rather his father-in-law, Agricola, might remark the German or Spanish complexion of some British tribes, but it was their sober, deliberate opinion—In universum tamen æstimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupavisse. Eorum sacra deprehendas. Sermo haud multum diversus." (Vit. Agricol. c. 11.)

† Mr. Chalmers, in his Caledonia, has given at length the names

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Towards the close of the Roman domination over Britain, the name of the Old Caledonians gradually disappears, and in their place we hear of two nations of somewhat different character, who are termed Picts and Scots. Concerning the origin of these nations there has been some difference of opinion among antiquarians. It has been doubted whether they were really new people, and therefore foreigners in Britain, or only the old inhabitants under a new denomination. The remainder of this controversy resolves itself into an inquiry respecting the history of the Scots and Picts.

¶ 1. *Of the Scots.*

On the history of the Scots we have more satisfactory testimony than on that of the Picts.

The Scots are first mentioned in Roman history by Ammianus Marcellinus, who describes them as joined with the Picts in the invasion of South Britain in the year 360, during the reign of the emperor Constantius.* It has been conjectured that the Scots, who were at this time joined with the Picts, were adventurers roving by sea from Ireland; but there seems to be no good reason for concluding

of the tribes of North Britain, and has shewn that they are of Celtic origin; first, by a very obvious analysis of the names of the tribes; and secondly, by shewing that many of these names were synonymous with those of other British and Irish tribes in parts inhabited by undoubted Celts. See also Hughes's Horæ Britannicæ, and the Catalogue of tribes in the Cambrian Register.

* Ammian. Marcell. lib. xx. cap. i.

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that they had not already obtained some possessions in Scotland.

The Scots are however again mentioned by Claudian at the beginning of the fifth century, in such a way as to lead us to conclude that Ireland was at that time their chief and proper country, or at least that it was so considered by this poet.*

British authors are unanimous in ascribing to the Scots an Irish origin.

Gildas, in his hyperbolical way, describes the invasion of South Britain by the Picts and Scots. After the abandonment of this island by the Romans, "tum emergunt certatim de curicis, quibus sunt trans Tethicum vallem vecti, tetri Scotorum Pictorumque greges, moribus ex parte dissidentes, at unâ eâdemque sanguinis fundendi aviditate concordes, furciferosque magis vultus pilis, quam corporum pudenda, pudendisque proxima vestibus tegentes." They drove the Britons before them and laid waste the country. After a while they relaxed. Then, "revertuntur *impudentes grassatores ad hibernas domos,* post non multum temporis reversuri. Picti in extremâ parte insulæ tunc primum et deinceps requievêrunt."

Gildas had just before mentioned both Picts and Scots as transmarine nations. Britain was invaded, he says, "duabus primùm gentibus transma-

* "Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne." And again,

——————— "totam cum Scottus Iernen
Movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys."

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rinis vehementer sævis, Scotorum à circione, Pictorum ab aquilone."* Bede repeats these expressions, but adds an explanation. "Transmarinas autem dicimus has gentes, non quod extra Britanniam essent positæ, sed quia à parte Brittonum erant remotæ, duobus sinibus maris interjacentibus, quorum unus ab Orientali mari, alter ab Occidentali, Britanniæ terras longe lateque irrumpit, quamvis ad se invicem pertingere non possint." He describes the Firth of Clyde, as forming the boundary of the country of the Scots, and the Forth that of the Picts.

We must hence conclude that the Scots were already settled in western Scotland, before the departure of the Romans. We find the following account of their settlement in that country by Bede.

After the Britons and the Picts had long inhabited Britain, says Bede, "Procedente tempore, tertiam Scottorum nationem in parte Pictorum recepit, qui duce Reudâ de Hiberniâ progressi amicitiâ vel ferro sibimet inter eos has sedes quas hactenus habent vindicârunt: à quo videlicet duce, usque hodie Dalreudini vocantur: nam linguâ eo-

* Gildæ Historia, cap. 19, apud Gale. I have cited this passage of Gildas at full length, because into the copies of Bede, who has extracted it, an error seems to have crept, which has given rise to an hypothesis. Bede has the following words, instead of the corresponding ones of Gildas. "*Revertuntur impudentes grassatores Hiberni domos.*" As if the Scotti were at that period inhabitants of Ireland, which, as it will appear from a passage immediately to be cited, was contrary to Bede's opinion.

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rum *Daal* partem significat." He then describes Ireland as a land abounding with milk and honey, and fatal to serpents. "*This* was the native country of the Scotti, until they settled to the northward of that *frith* which formerly separated the Britons from the Picts, and where the Britons have still that strong fortress called *Alcluyth*."

It thus appears certain, that the Scots, or the Gaelic people of Scotland, were not any part of its ancient inhabitants, but came from Ireland; and further, that this people had gained possession of the west of Scotland before the departure of the Romans from Britain, although it is scarcely possible to find any trace of this migration in Roman history.

¶ 2. *Of the Picts.*

We have already seen that the Picts were a more ancient people in North Britain than the Scots, but whether they were the descendants of the Old Caledonians, or a new colony from the north or east, it is difficult, and perhaps impossible to determine.

The Picts are first mentioned by name in the year 297, when the orator Eumenius somewhat vaguely speaks of the people of Scotland under the term of "*Caledones aliique Picti*." Ammianus Marcellinus, towards the end of the fourth century, says, that the Picts at that time were divided into two nations, termed Dicaledones and Vecturiones. As Ammianus presently after mentions the Scots as a distinct people, it is evident, that they are

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not meant to be included under either of these names.*

The term Dicaledones is probably a mere modification of the old name of Caledonians, and the Vecturiones may perhaps designate a new people, the Peith-wyr, or Pict-wyr,† or the proper Picts.

There was a very current tradition, that the Picts came originally from the north-east. We have this story in Bede and in the Saxon Chronicle, in which it is probably copied from Bede, though in a form rather like an old legend than a passage of history. After Britain had been peopled from Gaul, and nearly occupied, "*it came to pass* that the Pictish people, from Scythia, as it is reported, arrived in a few long ships in the north of Ireland, where they could not obtain leave from the Scotti, who had got the start of them, to form a settlement. "Respondebant Scotti quod non ambos eos caperet insula,—sed *possumus salutare vobis dare consilium* quid agere *valeatis*.—You had better go and take possession of another island to the eastward of this, which we can espy from hence in a clear day; and if any body opposes you, send to us for aid." The Picts, continues the venerable Bede, accordingly took possession of North Britain, the Britons having already occupied the

* Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxvii. cap. 18.

† This name might have been written with a plural termination not uncommon in Welsh names, Peithwyrion, or Pictwyrion: the latter is very similar to Vecturones. So Chalmers has remarked.

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south, and not having any wives, begged their friends, the Scots, to supply them in this particular; who consented on that condition, that the female succession should be preferred to the male, which still holds among the Picts."

This odd story is so like a mere legend that it might well pass for one, but there is a remarkable coincidence of accounts to the same effect.

In the Historia Brittonum, attributed to Nennius, and in other copies to Mark, after relating the arrival of the Britons under Brutus, in a manner still more absurd than that of Geoffry of Monmouth, the author goes on to mention the Picts. "After eight hundred years," he says, "came the Picts, and occupied, first, the Orkney Islands, and then the north of Britain, where they remain to this day masters of one-third part of the island." This account was evidently compiled previously to the conquest of the Picts in the reign of Kenneth Mac Alpin, who is said to have entirely overpowered them in the year 843.

The Welsh Triads mention the Picts as an invading people. "The second invading race were the Gwyddyl Fichti, Irish Picts;" a singular name for this people, and a somewhat suspicious one; "who came to Alban, or Scotland, over the Môr Lychlyn. They settled in Alban, on the coast of the Môr Lychlyn." The Môr Lychlyn is a name for the northern sea.

Richard of Cirencester says, that in the year of the world 4190, the Romans were expelled

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from Vespasiana, and about the same time the Picts are believed to have entered Britain from the islands under the conduct of king Reuda." It is evident that Richard has here confounded the Picts with the Scots, who, as we have seen from Bede, came under a chieftain of that name.

The agreement of these traditions, however vague in themselves, renders it somewhat probable that a colony from the north-east, and therefore in all likelihood of German descent, found its way to North Britain, between the time of Tacitus and that of Ammianus, and that the new people overcame, or in some way superseded, the fame of the old Caledonians. Perhaps they were only a few maritime adventurers, who brought the Pictish name with them into Scotland. As such they are described by Bede, and the evidence of topographical terms, the scanty remains of the ancient language of the eastern parts of Scotland, gives support to this idea.*

* Very scanty relics are extant of the language of the Picts, but the few words preserved are in favour of the British affinity of this people. Bede has a few names.

Peanfahel was, he says, the Pictish name of the place where the wall commenced on the Forth. It was called Pennelton by the Angles, that is, Penfaheltown.

Near to it was the Pictish monastery of Aber-curnig, of which Trumuin was abbot. Bede mentions two Pictish kings, Bridius and Meilochon. See also the list of Pictish kings in Chalmers, who shows that many of them had Welsh names.

It is not improbable that some relics of the Pictish language may still be recognised in the Highlands, which were inhabited by Picts previously to the arrival of the Dalreudin Scots. It

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¶ 3. *Observations on the Languages of the Picts and Scots.*

The foregoing conjectures and traditional stories concerning the origin of the Picts furnish no very satisfactory conclusions, and the only other resource which affords a prospect of solving the problem respecting the period when Scotland received the Saxon population which now occupies the Lowlands, is an inquiry into the history of the language now spoken in those districts. That period at which the earliest traces appear of the introduction of a Saxon dialect in the east of Scotland, is the most probable era of the first German colonization. Now it appears, that this inquiry has led to conclusions which do not agree with the foregoing traditions respecting the origin of the Picts from beyond seas, or at least can only be reconciled with it on the hypothesis, that the Pictish migration was so inconsiderable in respect of numbers, as to effect no ma-

has been noticed that Bede mentions the language of the Picts as different from that of the Britons. He says that in his time God was served in five several languages in Britain, viz. those of the Angles, the Britons, the Scots, the Picts, and the Latins: it is hence inferred that the Picts were not of British race. But if they had been of Teutonic race their language would have been similar to that of the Angles. Therefore this remark of Bede is as much against the German origin of the Picts as against the British. Perhaps some of Bede's five languages were only different dialects, and then this remark may be explained, and it will not affect the Pictish question.

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terial change in the language of the country. According to Mr. Chalmers, who has investigated this subject with great assiduity and learning, it seems that the traces of a Saxon dialect to the northward of the Firths, are not to be discovered in any Scottish memorial older than the eleventh century. Before this period, on the reduction of all Scotland under the kings of Gaelic origin, the Erse dialect had become the idiom of the court and nobles, and it had begun to supersede the former language of Pictavia. Traces are found in the old charters of Scotland of this change, and particularly of the introduction of Erse or Gaëlic names of places, instead of synonymous expressions derived from the Cambro-celtic, which had apparently remained from the Pictish times.* But in the tenth century both the Celtic dialects began to give way to the Anglo-Saxon; and as this happened precisely at the time when the intermarriage of the Scottish with the Anglo-Saxon fami-

* "It is even possible," says Mr. Chalmers, "to show the Scoto-Irish people in the very act of changing the previous language of the Britons or Caledonians. Thus David I. granted to the monks of May 'Inver-in, qui fuit Aber-in.' This is in the county of Fyfe. Abernethy was also termed Invernethy. It may be added, that the Irish name Keniel superseded the old Pictish name of Peanfahel, which Bede says was derived from the Pictish language.

The same writer however assures us, that in all the charters of Alexander I., all the names of places northward of the Frith are without exception of Celtic origin. So, that although the Erse had now encroached on the Pictish, the introduction of Saxon, or Lowland Scottish, was subsequent to this time.

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ly of England, and the expulsion from their native country of many Anglo-Saxon nobles, had introduced a change of manners in Scotland, and had given rise to a gradual colonization of the country by emigrants from South Britain, it seems most proper to refer to this conjuncture, and to a gradual intermixture with the already Saxon population of the Lothians, for the principal introduction of a German speech and German population into the heart of Scotland. This is the hypothesis of Mr. Chalmers, and, I confess, it is the only one which appears to me reconcilable with probability and with known facts.

After this brief survey of the Caledonian history, I think we may venture to adopt the following conclusions.

1. That the Cambro-celtic or Cambro-british language was the dialect of the five tribes of Caledonia, who inhabited the Roman province of Valentia, extending northwards to the Firths, and that the people were of British origin.

2. That the same language was, at a time however remote, spoken through all northern Scotland, or at least through Pictavia.

3. That the Caledonians, in the time of Agricola, as described by Tacitus, were probably a people of British race.

4. That the Scots or Gaël probably came from Ireland to Scotland subsequently to the abovementioned period, but before the departure of the Romans.

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5. There are various traditions which lead us to suppose that the Picts, in part at least, were emigrants from German countries.

6. There is no proof, however, that a German dialect had begun to be the language of the Scottish Lowlands northward of the Firth, previously to the reigns of Alexander and David, or that the old population had undergone any great change on the arrival of the Picts, *if they did arrive from Scandinavia in long ships with their Irish wives.* But soon after this time an extensive colonization of Saxons from Lothian and from England is known to have taken place. To this it seems on the whole most probable that the Saxon Lowland population must chiefly be referred.*

* The principal events of Pictish history mentioned by the Saxon historians, are the following.

The conversion of the southern Picts by Ninian, who died, 432. A. D.

Columba's mission to convert the northern or Highland Picts, 565.

Oswy of Northumberland reduced the Picts to subjection under the Angles, about 650.

The army of Ecgfrid destroyed by the Picts, who recovered their independence of the Angles, which they afterwards maintained, 684. At this period Trumuin abandoned Abercurnig.

Conquest of the Picts by the Scots, and the final disappearance of the Pictish name, 843.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Of the German Race.

SECTION I.

Extent of Ancient Germany—Knowledge possessed by the Ancients of its Boundaries.

IT appears that a great part of northern Europe has been occupied from the earliest ages of history by the numerous tribes of one great people, who were more accurately distinguished by the ancients than most other nations, and were obviously connected with each other by a correspondence in their dialects, manners, and physical character. The German or Teutonic race may be considered as one particular division of mankind; for although we know them to have been allied in their origin to other races of men, the connexion is too distant to come within the utmost reach of history; and the limits which distinguish them as a peculiar people are very clearly defined.

Ancient Germany was bounded by the Rhine and the Danube on the south; by the ocean on the west; on the east by the Vistula, and by the uncertain limits of the Sarmatian tribes, and other nations confounded with them.* Towards the north, the extent of Germany had no precise li-

* Mela de Situ Orbis, lib. iii. cap. 3.

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mitation. All the countries beyond the Baltic, of which the ancients had a very imperfect knowledge, were included in it. Scandia, or Scandinavia, was supposed to be an island in the Codan, or Baltic gulf. "Sevo mons immensus," says Pliny, "nec Riphæis jugis minor, immanem ad Cimbrorum usque promontorium efficit sinum, qui Codanus vocatur, refertus insulis; quarum clarissima Scandinavia est, incompertæ magnitudinis; portionem tantùm ejus, quod sit notum, Hillevionum gente quingentis incolente pagis; quæ alterum terrarum orbem eam appellat."* Sevo was the mountain-chain which separates Sweden from Norway. Solinus adds, "Mons Sevo, ipse ingens initium Germaniæ facit."† The names however, even of Norway and of Bergen, were known to the Romans. Pliny supposes both to have been islands, "Sunt qui et alias insulas produnt, Scandiam, Dumnam, Bergos, maximamque omnium Nerigon; ex quâ in Thulen navigetur."‡ By Xenophon Lampsacenus Scandia was termed *Baltis insula*, or the Baltic Isle, and the same name was probably heard by Pytheas, though it has been changed by the error of himself or his copier for that of Basilia.

It is on the whole wonderful, that the ancients had attained at an early period so much knowledge of the northern parts of the world, as they

* Plinii, lib. iv. cap. 14. † Solin. cap. 23.
‡ Plin. lib. iv. cap. 16.

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are found undoubtedly to have possessed. It has been supposed that a trade was carried on in the Baltic, as early as the time of the Trojan war, for Homer mentions amber, and we know of no other quarter, than the mouth of the Vistula, whence it can have been brought. But the accounts preserved from the works of Pytheas of Marseilles are the most remarkable. Pytheas lived about the time of Aristotle, and was cited as a principal authority by Eratosthenes of Cyrene. He visited in person the northern parts of Europe, and wrote an account of them in a work entitled, a *Periplus of the World*, of which we have only fragments, chiefly preserved by Strabo.* He mentioned the Isle of Thule, or Iceland, as distant a voyage of six days from the shore of Britain; there he was informed that the night lasts for six months. In another passage he says, "The barbarians here pointed out to us the spot where the sun rests; for it happens in these regions that the night is very short; in some places it lasts for two hours, in others for three, and the sun having been for a short time concealed, again rises above the horizon."† But what is chiefly to our present purpose,

* Pytheas asserted that he had surveyed all the north of Europe to the ends of the world. "μέχρι τῶν τοῦ κόσμου περάτων κατωπτευκέναι τὴν προσάρκτιον Εὐρώπην πᾶσαν." Strabo, lib. ii. p. 104.

† Pytheas, cited by Geminus. See Voss. Histor. Græc. 467. In the accounts of the coast of the Guttones given by Pytheas, there are some inaccuracies, which Cluverius has pointed out.

Strabo

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is, that Pytheas mentioned several tribes on the southern coasts of the Baltic, as the Teutones and the Guttones who were their neighbours and occupied then, as afterwards, the coast where amber was collected. Both of these were nations who in later ages became famous in the history of Germany and of the world.*

Section II.

Division of the German Nation into Tribes.

According to Tacitus, the Germans considered their nation as divided into three principal tribes, which they represented as descended from three sons of Mannus, the first man, and to these they gave the names of Ingævones, Herminones, and Istævones; some added, as he informs us, to these three tribes, four others, which they termed Marsi, Gambrivii, Suevi, and Vandali. Pliny divides the whole nation into five departments, which nearly coincide with those of Tacitus. The first class termed Vindili, comprehended the Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, and Guttones. These are doubtless the Vandali of Tacitus, and Cluverius has proved from the authority of Jornandes

Strabo scarcely ever mentions this writer without calling him a liar or a trifler; but we are better able to estimate his credibility. His fame has been vindicated by Gassendi, in a work written expressly for that purpose.

* It is not a little remarkable that the Teutones should have been visited by a native of Gaul, in their own abodes, before the era of their celebrated expedition, when in company with the Cimbri, they threatened to overrun Europe.

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and others, that their abode was on the southern shores of the Baltic, and in the north-eastern parts of Germany. The second tribe, according to Pliny, were the Ingævones, including the Cimbri, Teutones, and the nations or tribes of Cauchi; these were inhabitants of the north-western countries, where Tacitus also places them in the vicinity of the ocean. The third tribe were Istævones, inhabiting the countries near the Rhine. The fourth class, or Hermiones, were inland nations, according to both writers. Pliny reckons among them the Suevi, Hermonduri, Chatti, and Cherusci. A fifth tribe were the Peucini and Bastarnæ, the most easterly nations of Germany, whom Tacitus comprehends, with hesitation, among the people of German race: they were neighbours of the Daci, or Getæ. Under the name of Suevi, a distinct kindred, according to Tacitus, but by Pliny reckoned a part of the Hermiones, were included, as Cluverius has observed, several tribes in the north-eastern parts of ancient Germany, but occupying a tract of country to the southward of the Vandals, as the Marcomanni, Quadi, Semnones, Marsingi, Lugii, Burii.*

It is doubtful whether these divisions were founded on the history and genealogy of the people, or were simply geographical arrangements.†

* Cluverii Germ. p. 702.

† Istævones seems to be Die Westwohner, and this name defines the situation ascribed to them. Ingævones has been supposed to be "Die Inwohner," and Hermiones "Die Herum-

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Unaided, at least, by information obtained from another resource, they throw no light on German history. Philological researches seem to hold out the best prospect of filling up the obscure outline, and to the author of the Mithridates, we are indebted for some well founded observations collected from this quarter.

In the opinion of this writer, the whole Germanic nation has been divided from the earliest times into two great races, whose descendants may be plainly distinguished from each other by their language. This difference of dialect, for it is nothing more, is so general and so strongly marked, that it cannot be supposed to have originated in Germany, but argues a very ancient separation of the two races, before they quitted their abodes in Upper Asia, whence we have sufficient historical grounds for deducing them. It is hardly necessary to remark, that these different idioms are the Upper and Lower German dialects. The former is that harsh and deeply toned language, abounding in guttural and imperfectly articulated consonants, and in deep diphthongal sounds, which stand in the place of the softer dentals and palatines, and of the open vowels of the Lower German languages. The classical German, or high Dutch, though a softened and refined idiom, so far partakes of the character of the Upper German, as to be still one of the harshest languages of Europe.

wohner," but it is not so easy to find an allusion in these names to the situations ascribed to the respective tribes.

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The people to whom the Upper German dialect originally belonged were the Suevi, and the tribes allied to them, who inhabited the north-eastern region of ancient Germany, Bohemia, Prussia, and parts of Poland, which countries they have long since abandoned to nations of the Slavonic race. The tribes comprehended among the Vandali, by Tacitus and Pliny, likewise belong to this division of the Germanic stock, as well as a part of the Ingævones of these authors; for the name of Teutones, which is nothing else than that of Teutsch, or Deutscher, has been always the national appellation of the race who speak the Upper German language. As we proceed thus far on tolerably firm ground, there is no objection to adopting the term Teutonic, which Adelung has chosen as the distinguishing name of this race. The application of the name of Cimbri to the western race, whose dialects are the branches of the Lower German, is somewhat more questionable.

The migrations of the Teutones towards the south began, as it is well known, long before the Christian era, when they marched, together with the Cimbri, from whom they afterwards separated, towards Gaul and Italy. During the second century, all the tribes of this stock seem to have been put in motion. The Vandals, Burgundians, Goths, Heruli, Gepidi, made the most distant conquests; the Allemanni got possession of the south of Germany, where they have preserved in Swabia the ancient name of the Suevic race; from them are

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descended the present inhabitants of Swisserland, Alsace, Swabia, the Upper and Middle Rhine; from the Longobardi in the eastern parts, came the Bavarians, all the Teutonic people of the Austrian possessions, and the remains of the old Lombards in the Vicentine and Veronese. The whole of the Teutonic race has changed its position in Germany, from the northern to the southern and south-eastern districts.

To the Lower or Western German race belong all the tribes in the western parts of ancient Germany. The old Franks, the Saxons, and the Frisians, were the three more celebrated branches of this stock. The former of these have lost their German speech, and have acquired that of the conquered Neustrian Gauls. Nothing remains of their ancient language, except the German glosses of the Salic laws. The descendants of the Saxons mixed with Angles and Jutes, speak English in the British isles, and in Germany, the Lower Saxon, or Platt-Deutsch. The Frisean stock furnished the population of the Low Countries, and the Seven United provinces. Scandinavia probably received from the Lower German stock its first inhabitants; though the Heruli, who made their way into Norway, and the Gutæ, or Goths of Sweden, belong undoubtedly to the Teutonic race.

It is easy to divide between these two great branches, the several tribes of the German race mentioned by Tacitus and Pliny. The Vandali, or

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Vindili, comprehending the Burgundiones and Guttones, are the most north-easterly branch of the Upper German family, who lived in the countries on the eastern Baltic. Next them, towards the south, are the Suevi; and, I suppose, the rest of the Hermiones. Towards the west, a part of the Ingævones, including the Teutones, belonged to this family, from which I suspect that the Cimbri are but arbitrarily excluded. The Istævones, or the West-wohner remain, and with some tribes belonging to the Ingævones, constitute the Lower German race.

Section III.

Of the origin of the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards.

The history of the Goths, and some other barbarous nations, who invaded the Roman empire, and after their conquest disappeared, and left no representatives among the nations of modern Europe, deserves, on several accounts, to be separately considered.

The Goths crossed the Danube and entered the Roman empire from the province of Dacia, the country of the Getæ, who had been overcome by Trajan. Hence they were considered by the Greeks and Romans as the native people of that country, and were universally termed Getæ, by the historians of both these nations: this name, and that of Gotthi, being used indifferently. The Goths are termed Getæ by Spartian, who lived in the time of Diocletian; by Procopius, in the reign of

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Justinian; by St. Jerome, Orosius, and even by Jornandes, bishop of the Goths at Ravenna. Claudian even terms them Daci:

——— "Mistis descendit Sarmata Dacis,
Et qui cornipedes in pocula vulnerat audax,
Massagetes, cæsamque bibens Mæotida Alanus,
Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus."*

The same poet, in his panegyric on Stilicho, says,

"Non te terrisonus stridor venientis Alani,
Nec vaga Chunorum feritas, non falce Gelonus,
Non arcu pepulêre Getæ, non Sarmata conto."†

We might, from all these authorities, be disposed to acquiesce in the opinion, that the Goths who conquered the Roman empire were descendants of the same people, who had from periods of remote antiquity inhabited the country bordering on the Euxine, and the northern bank of the Danube, and who, as we have already shewn from the testimony of several ancient writers, were a part of the Thracian stock, though separated from the proper Thracians by the river which formed the southern limit of Dacia. The description of the Goths differs widely from that of the Getæ. This, however, would hardly be sufficient ground for a positive conclusion, if accident had not put us in possession of an ample specimen of the Gothic language, which furnishes the means of decisive and satisfactory information re-

* In Rufin. lib. i. † In Consulat. Stilichonis.

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specting their national origin and affinity. The reader need not be told that I allude to the version of the Sacred Scriptures, made for the use of the Mœso-Goths, by their venerable bishop, Ulphilas, of which a large portion is extant in the Codex Argenteus of Upsala, and in the other remains recently discovered in Italy. Doubts were formerly entertained by the learned respecting the language of the Codex Argenteus; but, I believe, it is now universally agreed, that it contains the Gothic version of Ulphilas. Here we have ample data for determining what was the language of the Goths before their conquest of Italy, and when they were, as yet, in a great measure, unmixed with other barbarians. It is certain, from this evidence, that their national speech was a German dialect, nearly allied to that of the Suevi and Teutones, and it is therefore scarcely possible that they can have been of the Getic, or Thracian race.

From this consideration we must conclude that the Goths were a different people from the old Getæ. The affinity of their language to that of other Teutonic tribes, would direct us to seek for them in that part of Germany whence so many barbarous nations of the same race emigrated. There, in fact, we find a considerable nation, named Guttones, Gothones, or Gythones, in the neighbourhood of the Vandals, Burgundians, and Longobards, and on the shores of the Baltic; and the same circumstances which led their neighbours towards the con-

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fines of the Roman empire, may be supposed to have given rise to the prior movements of the Goths.

Many notices of the Goths, and other kindred nations, while still residing on the shores of the Baltic Gulf, or in the north of Germany, occur in ancient authors. We have, in a preceding section, cited Pytheas of Marseilles, who lived three centuries before the Christian era. He places a nation, termed *Guttones*, on an estuary in the Baltic, where amber was thrown up by the waves; this production, he adds, the Guttones sold to their neighbours, the Teutones. Cluverius has shewn, that the place assigned to them can be no other than the mouth of the Vistula.

In the time of Tacitus, it seems that the coast of the Guttones was occupied by the Rugii and Lemovii. The Gothones, for by this name Tacitus probably describes the same tribe, dwelt now somewhat further inland, in the country between the Oder and Vistula, and northward of the Lygii.*

We have already quoted a passage in which Pliny mentions the Guttones with the Burgundiones, Varini, and others, among the tribes of Vindili. The Vindili of Pliny are the Vandali of Tacitus and other writers; and the Vandals, with all their tribes, have been proved unquestionably to have inhabited the north-eastern part of Germany, near the mouths of the Oder and Vistula.† Strabo also mentions the Gutones among the na-

* Tac. Germ. 43.

† See Cluverius, *ubi supra*.

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tions adjoining to the Marcomanni of Bohemia, who were subdued by Maroboduus.*

Lastly, Ptolemy places a nation called Gythones on the Vistula next to the Veneti, who were Slavonian Wends; together with these, on the same river, he mentions other Vandalic tribes, as the Burgundiones and Varini.† In Scandinavia he mentions the Gutæ, as occupying the southern parts of that country: probably, the tract now called Gothland.‡

It appears, on the whole, scarcely to be doubted, that the Goths were the same people who are so frequently mentioned under these names, but little varying from each other. It seems that the Guttones of Pytheas had begun to move towards the south in the time of Tacitus, and a hundred years later they reached the countries on the Euxine and the Danube.

The domestic history of the Goths, Lombards, and other nations who made their appearance in the Roman empire about the same era, confirms the northern origin of the former people; and proves them to have been a German, and not a Thracian or Getic race.

The Goths, though their name has been synonymous with that of barbarian, have often been remarked to have been a people remarkably susceptible of cultivation. Ulphilas found them an

* Strabo, lib. vii. The copies of Strabo have Βούτονας. But all commentators are agreed, that we ought to read Γούτονας.

† Ptolem. lib. iii. ‡ Ibid. lib. i. Vide Grotii Ecloga.

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unlettered people, but they soon adopted under his instructions the use of writing and the Christian religion. A century later, under the great Theodoric, the Gothic kingdom of Italy was the best governed and the most civilized state of western Christendom. While the sagas of their barbarous ancestors were yet fresh in their memory, they began to compile histories of their national migrations and conquests. Cassiodorus, the chief minister of Theodoric, composed the history of the Goths in twelve books. The original work is lost, but we have the substance of it in the abstract of Jornandes. This history professes to have no other foundation than popular songs or sagas of the Gothic nation, but with these are mixed up accounts of fabulous exploits in countries of which the Goths never could have heard, till after their entry into the Roman empire. It is stated that the Goths originally came from the island of Scandia or Scanzia, which Jornandes absurdly calls "officina gentium, aut certè vagina nationum." They passed the Baltic in ships, and arrived at the Ulmerugian coast, the shore of Mecklenburgh and Pomerania, where they defeated the Vandals. In the fifth generation, Filimer led their host, with all the herds belonging to them, out of the northern region into the countries adjoining on the Euxine sea; and then they spread themselves over the steppes of the Ukraine. Paul, the son of Warnefrid, chancellor to the last king of the Lombards, begins the history of that people with a

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similar tradition. He deduces them likewise from Scandinavia: thence they migrated under two leaders, Igor and Asio, to the country of Skoningen, where they fought against the Vandals, and made their way through many unknown countries to the borders of Poland and Hungary. The original name of the Lombards was, according to Paulus, *Winili*. Grotius has bestowed a great deal of labour to establish the credit of these ancient traditions, which have appeared sufficiently valid to obtain the assent of two very learned moderns, by no means credulous or weak in their fondness for antiquity, I mean Gibbon and Von Müller. Grotius has shown that the traditions of the Visigoths in Spain confirm those of the Ostrogoths in Italy, and that both nations have been considered by the chronicle writers of the middle ages, in the north as well as the south of Europe, to be the undoubted progeny of the Ostrogoths and Westrogoths of Scandinavia.

In a great measure these domestic histories of the Gothic nations coincide with the result of historical notices scattered through the Roman writers. Therefore we may conclude, by the comparison of their testimony, that the Goths, Longobards, and other tribes of the same lineage, were a part of the Vandalic kindred who inhabited at the Christian era the country near the mouth of the Vistula. But how this is to be reconciled with the story of a Scandinavian origin, I shall not pretend to investigate. On the one side, how-

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ever, it may be observed, that the Guttones were already in Germany in the age of Pytheas; the tradition of their voyage must therefore be dated back at a distance of time which throws an air of improbability on the whole account. On the other hand there was certainly a people called Gutæ, in Scandia, in the time of Ptolemy; they were probably a part of the same stock. The Baltic was constantly traversed by the ships of these nations, as we learn from Tacitus. It may have happened that some powerful chieftains of the Scandinavian branch acquired an ascendancy over the whole nation, and gave an origin to the sagas, which deduced in after times the whole Gothic people from the Baltic. From the royal clan of the Baltes the Goths continued to elect their sovereigns down to the age of the great Theodoric.

That the great mass of the Gothic nation came originally from the north-eastern parts of Germany, is strongly confirmed by the dialect of the Codex Argenteus, which appears to be a specimen of the old Suevic, Ober-deutsch, or upper German language, and resembles the German properly so termed more nearly than any dialect of the Scandinavian.*

* See Mithridates, theil. 2; also Michaëlis's observations on the dialect of the Codex Argentëus, in his introduction to the New Testament. Michaëlis says that the dialect of the Codex Argenteus betrays in some respects an alliance to the dialects of Scandinavia, but on the whole approaches most nearly to the coarse dialect of the peasants of Thuringia. Magnæus has shewn that in many respects it approaches more to the German

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CHAPTER IX.

General observations on the Origin, Antiquity, Manners, and Physical Characters of the Celtic and German races.

SECTION I.

Antiquity of these Nations.

AT what period these nations arrived in the western and northern parts of Europe it is impossible to ascertain; but we know that the Celtæ already inhabited Gaul in the time of Herodotus,* and

than to any Scandinavian idiom. According to Adelung, whose knowledge of the varieties of dialect among the branches of the German nation was very extensive, the idiom of the Codex Argenteus belongs certainly to the Suevic, Teutonic, or Oberdeutsch, the ancient idiom of the north-eastern German tribes. It has been said, as we before observed, to bear considerable analogies to the Sanscrit; but the degree of affinity between these languages is certainly overrated by M. Bopp.

* Herodotus speaks in two places of the Celtæ. In the 49th chapter of the 4th book, he describes the course of the Danube, and says it begins in the country of the Celtæ, who, except the Cynetæ, are the most remote inhabitants of western Europe. In the 2nd book (chapter 33), he says, "The Danube takes its rise from the Celtæ and the city of Pyrene; the Celtæ are beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and border on the Cynesii, who are the most remote nation in Europe toward the west." It appears from these expressions, that the knowledge possessed by Herodotus of the western countries was very vague and inaccurate, but he evidently means to assign to the Celtæ the country between the

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that the German tribes were spread over the north, and even subdivided, nearly as in later times, before the age of Pytheas. The history of the Gauls then commences four hundred and fifty years B.C. and that of the Teutones about three hundred.

That these nations, the Celtæ and the Germans, were related by kindred to the Greeks, and more especially that they were connected with more remote eastern nations, the Persians and Indians, is an assertion which when first announced, appears as visionary as any of the learned dreams of Jacob Bryant. But the researches of philologers during the last twenty years have established this position as a certain matter of fact. It is now well known that the Celtic and German nations speak languages radically and essentially allied to the idioms of the eastern nations abovementioned, and the connexion of the respective races, in descent and origin, appears to follow as an unquestionable result. The affinity of the German language with the Greek and Sanscrit, has long ago been also demonstrated by several writers of

upper Danube and the Pyrenees, for the city of Pyrene, if there were such a city, was probably near the latter, and if not, the name evidently has reference to the chain of mountains so termed.

Who the Cynetæ or Cynesii were it is vain to conjecture. It has been supposed that they were the Iberi, among whom were the Cantabri and Conisci, but Herodotus thought they were beyond the Celtæ, that is, further distant, to one who sailed through the Straits. They must then be further northward. We find a similar name in the Cantii on the coast of Britain.

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different nations,* and the same conclusion would have been as generally allowed in respect to the Celtic language, if it had undergone a similar investigation, from persons competent to form an opinion on its analogies. On this subject I must be satisfied with availing myself of the fact, acknowledged as it is by those who have made philology their pursuit, and with referring to writers who have illustrated the affinities of the European and Asiatic dialects.†

The antiquity of these nations goes back to so

* Adelung, Bopp, Schlegel, Murray. Jamieson's Hermes Scythicus.

† It has been proved by Mr. Bopp, that the verb substantive, constructed in its different moods and tenses chiefly from the remains of two old verbs of the same sense, has a similar formation in the German, Greek, Latin, and Sanscrit, and further, that all other verbs are only compounds of nouns of various kinds, or of words signifying qualities and relations, with the elements, thus inflected, of the verb substantive. Now, it is remarkable that this verb is formed of the same elements, and that some of these may be, perhaps, still more distinctly traced in the Welsh.

With respect to particular vocables, I could point out instances in which Greek or Sanscrit words are preserved in the Welsh, which have disappeared in the German dialects, or where the Welsh retains the original form of the word, whereas the other European dialects have taken it from oblique cases. Thus *Haël* is *Haelios*, the Sun, and Brawd corresponds with Bhrata, while frater, brother, &c., are derived from an oblique case of Bhrata. Many words, which may be considered as common to the Welsh and the Greek languages, differing chiefly in a slight change of pronunciation, have been mentioned by Mr. Sharon Turner.

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distant an age, that it would be unreasonable to expect any memorials to have been preserved among them of their migration from the East. The Celtæ had none, or if any traditions formerly existed among them, they have long ago been entirely lost. The Germans, who were known to the Romans, would seem, from the account of Tacitus, to have regarded themselves as indigenous. But the fables of the Northmen derived the origin of their race from the Asi, and from Asgard, supposed to have been on the river Tanais. Thence Odin led his followers across several rivers in the east of Europe towards the north. It is difficult to believe in the genuine preservation of such traditions, when the period to which they carry us back is so remote: the Goths, as we have seen from Pytheas, had arrived before his time on the Baltic shores, and their sailors had already discovered Nerigon and Thule, Norway and Iceland. This appears to be too distant a period for the preservation of traditionary stories. Yet the Edda of Sæmund, containing the sagas of the Northmen, was compiled in the eleventh century.

Notwithstanding the want of historical documents, many remarkable circumstances enable us to determine with great probability, that the institutions of the Celtæ were derived from the system of the Brahmans, and that the Gothic, or old German mythology, was also of eastern origin. I shall briefly mention some of these particulars.

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Section II.

Remarks on the Institutions of the Celtic and German Nations.

¶ 1 *On the Manners and Institutions of the Gauls and Britons.*

We find traces in the social institutions of the Gauls and Britons, which unequivocally point out an Asiatic origin, and indicate in many particulars a connexion with the most eastern branches of the Indo-European race.

Cæsar informs us, that there were two orders of men among the Celtæ, who were held in high respect. These were the Druids and the Nobles. The rest of the nation had no share in public affairs, and were little better than slaves, being, for the most part in a state of vassalage to the superior classes.

The two dignified orders correspond very nearly to the priestly and military classes among the Indians. The Druids bore a close resemblance to the Brahmans, and the Nobles, like the Rajpoots, and other Cshatriyas, found their whole employment in the affairs of war.

In order to shew how remarkably the Druids correspond with the Brahmans, I shall extract some particulars from the accounts given of them by Cæsar and Diodorus, and request the reader to compare these with the description of the ancient Brahmans, derived from Megathenes, or with the institutions prevalent in modern times.

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"The Druids," we are informed, "had no concern with warfare, nor were they subject together with the rest of the people to pay taxes. They enjoyed a full immunity from military and all other public burdens."* "The people," says Diodorus, "look upon them as prophets, holding them in great veneration. By means of augury and the inspection of sacrifices they foretel future events, and keep the multitude in awe."

"It is unlawful for any man to perform sacrifice without one of the philosophers, for they think that offerings should be made to the gods by persons acquainted with the divine nature, and able as it were to address them in their own language. And not only in peace, but in war also, they pay great attention to these persons, and to their bards, whether on the part of their friends or enemies. Often in the preparation for battle, when the hostile ranks are approaching with drawn swords and protended spears, the Druids going into the midst put an end to strife, like those who subdue wild animals by enchantment." "A great number of young men resort to them for instruction, who hold them in great respect; for the decision of all public and private controversies lies for the most part with them, and if any crime, as murder, has been committed, if there arises a dispute concerning inheritances, or boundaries, they give judgment and appoint rewards and punishments.

* Cæsar Comment. de Bello Gall. lib. vi. c. 12, et seq.

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"If any individual, either in a public or private capacity, submit not to their decrees, they interdict him from sacrifices. This with them is the severest penalty. Those who are thus interdicted are looked upon as impious and wicked. All men depart from them, and avoid their approach and conversation. Nor is justice rendered, or any dignity communicated to them."*

"One Druid presides over the whole order, and has chief authority. At his death a successor is elected. They meet at a certain time of the year, in a consecrated spot in the territory of the Carnutæ, which is considered the centre of Gaul."†

"They are said to commit to memory a great number of verses, and some spend twenty years in this instruction; nor do they hold it lawful to entrust their verses to writing, though in all other matters they use Greek letters."

In many of the above particulars a correspondence may be observed between the characters of the Druids and Brahmans. It appears that there was a similar congruity in their religious, as well as in their physical doctrines. They taught the transmigration of souls. "The opinion of Pythagoras," says Diodorus, "prevails among them, that the souls of men are immortal, and live again after a certain time, having entered into other bodies." This belief was supposed to excite greatly to valour and a contempt of death.‡

* Diodor. Biblioth. lib. v. c. 31. † Cæsar, *ubi supra*.

‡ The dogma, however, of the Druids was simply that of

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"They dispute much," says Cæsar, "and teach many things to youth concerning the heavenly bodies and their motions, and the magnitude of the world and of regions; concerning the nature of things, and the power and dominion of the immortal gods."

They were polytheists, and worshipped divinities, who corresponded in the nature and division of their attributes to the gods of the eastern nations, and who were considered by the Romans to be the same as the objects of their own adoration. They sacrificed to their gods animals, and sometimes men.*

Strabo relates, that there was an island near Britain in which rites similar to the Samothracian ceremonies of Ceres and Proserpine were performed. The same author was assured, that the mysteries and sacred orgies of Bacchus were celebrated in a small island near the mouth of the

Metempsychosis; that of Pythagoras Metensomatosis, as distinguished by Plato. See Plato de Legg. lib. x.

Cicero gives nearly the same account of the Druids. He says: "Eaque divinationum ratio ne in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta est: si quidem et in Gallia Druidæ sunt, è quibus ipse Divitiacum Æduum, hospitem tuum laudatoremque cognovi: qui et Naturæ rationem, quam physiologiam Græci appellant, notam sibi esse profitebatur, et partim auguriis, partim conjectura, quæ essent futura dicebat." De Divinatione, lib. i.

* Lucan alludes to these sacrifices in one of the most beautiful passages of his poem:

"Et vos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum Druidæ positis repetistis ab armis."

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Loire.* This relation is repeated by Dionysius the African.† The Druids are indeed said, in various instances, to have preferred small islands, probably as being more retired, for the performance of their rites.

The Britons had sacred animals which they kept, but abstained from eating, from religious scruples.‡

The funeral ceremonies of the Celtæ bore an analogy to those of the Hindoos. Their bodies were burnt on a funeral pile, on which the favourite animals, and slaves or relatives of the deceased, were consumed with them.§

¶ 2. *On the Mythology of the German Nations.*

On the superstitions and fables of the ancient Germans I shall say but little. In another place I have pointed out some remarkable instances, not of resemblance or coincidence merely, but of entire conformity in physical doctrines, between the northern nations of German race and the Hindoos.‖ The fated destruction and renovation of the world, the fable of Surtur, who like the Maha Pralaya, was to swallow up all the gods; and other principal parts of the northern mytho-

* Strabon, lib. iv. p. 198. † Dionysius, Perieg. v. 570.

‡ Cæsar. loc. citato.

§ Ibid. "Erantque qui se in rogos suorum velut unà victuri libenter immitterent." Pompon. Mela. 3.

‖ See Analysis of Egyptian Mythology. Notes to the Second book.

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logy, are common to it and to the superstitions of the East. Many writers have observed circumstances which indicate that Woden and Buddha were the same, though it is not easy to conjecture how so gentle a person as the Hindoo sage, who made it a crime to kill a fly, could be metamorphosed into the sanguinary god of our Pagan forefathers. Among the northern people the days of the week were dedicated to the same planets as among the Hindoos, and the fourth is the day of Buddha and of Woden.

Section III.

Of the Physical Characters of these Nations.

The Roman writers describe the German nation as exhibiting no variety of complexion, but as having universally red or yellow hair, and blue eyes. Tacitus says, "Habitus quoque corporum quanquam in tanto hominum numero idem omnibus; truces et cærulei oculi; rutilæ comæ, magna corpora et tantùm ad impetum valida." Horace alludes to the blue eyes of the Germans:

"Nec fera cæruleâ domuit Germania pube."

and Juvenal in as strong terms as Tacitus:

"Cærula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam
Cæsariem, et madido torquentem cornua cirrho?
Nempe quod hæc illis natura est omnibus una."

Ausonius says:

"Sic Latiis mutata bonis Germana maneret
Ut facies, oculos cærula, flava comas."

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Lucan:

"Fundit ab extremo flavos Aquilone Suevos,
Albis et indomitum Rheni caput."

Silius Italicus says of the Batavi:

"At tu transcendes, Germanice, facta tuorum,
Jam puer auricomo performidate Batavo."

Many other authorities might be added to the same purpose.

It is probable that the uniformity of this character is exaggerated, and that there was in reality such variety among the Germans as among other nations in the present time. The older Romans knew chiefly the tribes of Lower German race. These are now distinguishable from the proper Teutones, by a greater fairness of complexion, light flaxen hair, blue eyes, and finer and softer features.* The true Deutschen, or Teutones, have harsher, more uncouth features, and a less florid or sanguine complexion.†

The natives of Scandinavia are still lighter in complexion than the Germans, and even than the

* See Dr. Clarke's Travels in Scandinavia, vol. i.

† By the people of the South, who were of darker complexion, the whole German nation was considered as very fair. Procopius thus describes the Goths, including among them the Vandals and Visigoths, as well as the Gepidi; these last, probably, by mistake: "Neque alio ii, præterquam nomine, differunt: candidi corpore omnes, comas rutili, proceri, pulchrâ facie; leges eædem—lingua una Gotthica quæ dicitur." Procop. apud Grotium, p. 5. From this account we should suppose that the Goths differed but little from the Anglo-Saxons in physical character.

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Danes. Linnæus thus describes the people of Gothland: "Gothi corpore proceriore, capillis albidis, oculorum iridibus cinereo-cærulescentibus."*

The Celtic race in general was not distinguished by any particular characters either of complexion, form, or stature from the Germans, though among the Celtæ particular tribes are said to have differed considerably from the rest.

Strabo says expressly, that the Gauls and Germans differed but little from each other either in respect to the ferocity of their manners and dispositions, or to their form, stature, and complexion: he says they were alike fair and yellow-haired.† These assertions he repeats in other words in a different part of his work.

The same geographer informs us, that the Britons were a taller people than the Gauls, and not so yellow-haired. He adds, that they were not well formed in their persons. It seems that the Britons differed much in their different tribes. The Caledonians were huge men, with red hair. The Silures, on the contrary, had black curled hair, like many of the South Welsh in the present time, and a swarthy colour. These are very insufficient grounds for concluding the respective tribes to have been of different races, since equal varieties appear in the children of the same family. Neither did Tacitus adopt this opinion.

The Britons were much more barbarous than

* Linnæi Fauna Suecica.

† Strabo, lib. iv. Item, lib. vii.

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the Gauls, and had not even the art of making cheese. But the Irish appear to have been absolute savages. They were cannibals and gourmands, according to Strabo, and even thought it to their credit to eat the bodies of their parents. However, something is to be said in extenuation of censure against these Irish festivals: the Hibernians had more of filial piety than the Battas of modern days, who are said to slaughter their aged parents for the sake of a meal: the gentry of our sister island waited until a natural death had prepared their less sanguinary banquet.*

* Keating indignantly repels the slander of cannibalism, thrown by ancient writers on his countrymen. He gives a curious specimen of negative proof. No instance of cannibalism is recorded, as he says, in the Irish annals, except that of a princess, who being in an atrophy, was fed with the flesh of young infants.

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CHAPTER X.

Population of the North-eastern parts of Europe.

SECTION I.

Of the Scythians.

IF we were to believe tales which have come down to us chiefly from the middle ages, and on which are founded the schemes of some modern antiquarians, we should derive the population of many countries in Europe from two nations celebrated in the fables of the Greeks; I mean the Trojans and the Scythians. The Latins, the Venetians, the Lusitani, the Britons, have pretended to derive their origin from the Trojans, or from some of the warring nations concerned in the fate of Troy. It is not worth while to enter into a consideration of these claims; but for a certain reason it is advisable to take some notice of the opinion of those who trace the northern nations of Europe to the Scythians.

We shall begin from the west, and first remark, that the Irish antiquaries, as it is well known, lay claim to a Scythian origin, and bring in proof of their assertions some of the most crude and fantastical stories ever invented: a mass of nonsense too incoherent to deserve the name of a legend, and such as would disgrace the most ignorant

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monk of the most barbarous times. The slight resemblance that may be fancied between the names of Scythæ and Scoti seems, in fact, to be all the foundation that exists for these stories. In the next place, we have much more respectable authority, I mean that of Bede, and the writer of the Saxon Chronicle, for bringing the Picts in long ships, and not many, out of Scythia. They went first to Ireland, without espying England or Scotland in their way, and there obtained from the Irish inhabitants an adequate number of women, a supply which was thought necessary for men who were ambitious of becoming the patriarchs of a new nation. So much for the Irish and Picts. I shall not attempt to enumerate the writers, both ancient and modern, who have derived the Goths and Germans, and the kindred nations on the northern and southern side of the Baltic, from these same Scythians. The grounds of their opinion will hereafter be touched upon. But there are quite as many who look upon the Slavonian nations, including the Russians, Poles, and Bohemians, to be the representatives of the ancient Scythians. Lastly, some foreign writers of great learning and deep investigation find the posterity of this celebrated people in none of the foregoing, nor indeed in any other nation of Indo-European origin:* they give up this much contested claim to

* Professor Gatterer's "Einleitung in die synchronistische universal-historie." See Gyarmathi's "Affinitas linguæ Hungaricæ cum linguis Fennicæ originis."

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the remains of the Tschude or Finnish race, who are spread through the northern parts of Europe and Asia, and who, perhaps, reached at a remote period in one continued line from the Elbe to the mountains and forests of Ural, and even to the banks of the Irtish and Oby. It is very singular, that hardly any writer has thought it worth while to inquire whether the Tartars, in the countries bordering on the Black Sea, have not after all the best right to be considered as the true descendants of the Scythians; notwithstanding the obvious and striking facts that they inhabit the same limits, and that they alone have preserved from the earliest period of their history, a national character and manners remarkably like those of the old Scythians.

In order not merely to elucidate this subject, but to throw some light on the early history of the nations in the east of Europe, I shall here take notice of what the ancients have said respecting the Scythians.

We must observe in the outset, that the name of Scythian was not at first a vague appellation, as we might be tempted to believe, but the proper national term of a particular people, who spoke a language of their own, and were as strictly one nation as the Greeks or Romans. By later writers, the name of Scythian was used improperly, as we are accustomed to use that of Indians; but the people we are now going to speak of, were one distinct nation, Scythians properly so called.

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Strabo remarks that Homer has not mentioned the Mæotic sea, or the Ister, or the Scythians, though he speaks of certain nations in the same countries, resembling in manners the Scythian nomades. To these he has given the descriptive epithets of——

——————ἀγαυῶν Ἱππημολγῶν,
Γλακτοφάγων, ἀβιών τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων.*

Strabo adds, that this seems to indicate the names of Scythæ, and Sauromatæ, or Sarmatæ, to have been at the time of Homer unknown to the Greeks.†

Æschylus mentions the Scythians as inhabiting the country to the northward of the Euxine, and describes them as a nomadic people, living in their wagons, and famed for their skill as archers.‡

These earlier notices agree with the more full and complete account of Herodotus, who had himself travelled in the Grecian settlements bordering on the Euxine, and evidently, as he professed to do, took great care to inform himself accurately of all circumstances referring to the history of the Scythians and surrounding nations. The statements of Herodotus have been ably and satisfactorily elucidated by his excellent commentator, Major Rennell, and the geography of Scythia seems

* See Iliad N, initio. † Strabo, lib. xii. p. 553.

‡ Σκύθας δ' ἀφίξει νομάδας, οἳ πλεκτὰς στέγας
πεδάρσιοι ναίουσ' ἐπ' εὐκύκλοις ὄχοις,
ἐκηβόλοις τόξοισιν ἐξηρτημένοι. Prom. V. 735.

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to have been made out, in all important particulars, as fully as we can expect it to be.

It appears that Scythia was included between the Danube and the Tanais, or Don. No part of Scythia proper, as described by Herodotus, extended to the eastward of the last mentioned river, and it was therefore entirely confined within the limits of Europe. The extent of Scythia corresponded nearly with that of the Ukraine, including the country of the Nogay Tartars, and the Don Cossacks.* The course of its northern boundary cannot be exactly traced; but it is supposed by Major Rennell to have passed from the southern confines of Polish Russia, eastward, and along the direction of the river Sem, from the Borysthenes to the Tanais.

The neighbours of the Scythians, on the west, were the Agathyrsi; the Neuri on the north-west; northward the Androphagi, on the side of Poland; the Melanchlæni, on that of Russia. On the north-east, beyond the Tanais, were the Budini, distinguished from other nations in the same countries, by being universally of sanguine or xanthous complexion. On the east of Scythia, in the neighbourhood of the Tanais, were the Sauromatæ.

All these bordering nations were, as far as we know, distinct from the Scythian stock, except the Sauromatæ, and they were a branch of the same race. Herodotus relates a story respecting their origin from a mixture of Scythian men and Ama-

* Herod. Melpom. 48, et seq. Rennell, p. 52.

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zon women, but he adds a fact, which being thus handed down as a matter known to Herodotus by correct information, is very important. "The Sauromatæ spoke a dialect of the Scythian language, or spoke the Scythian language incorrectly, or with some variation."*

Herodotus divides the Scythian nation into three parts. The first are the Scythæ Georgi, or agricultural Scythians; they inhabited the country near the Borysthenes, were called by the Greeks Borysthenitæ, and by themselves Olbiopolitæ; their territory extended eleven or twelve days journey up the river.† To the eastward of these were the Scythæ Nomades, or wandering pastoral Scythians, whose manners exactly resembled those of the modern Tartars of the same region; and eastward of them, beyond the Gerrhus, which Major Rennell supposes to have been a lost branch of the Borysthenes falling into the Palus Mæotis, were the third tribe, viz.

The Scythæ Basileii, or Royal Scythians, who were also nomadic people, but considered themselves of a nobler race than the rest of the nation; further eastward than these were no more Scythians properly so called, but Sauromatæ.

Strabo gives nearly the same account as Herodotus, but with this difference, that he does not so clearly discriminate between the Scythæ and Sarmatæ. He repeatedly asserts the Sarmatæ, or Sauromatæ, to be Scythians themselves; he uses

* Σολοικιζόντες. † Melpom. 18.

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the two names indiscriminately, and ranks among the Sarmatæ tribes termed by Herodotus Scythians. I shall cite in proof of this remark some of his expressions. In the seventh book, he enumerates the nations between the Danube and the Borysthenes. "First," he says, "is the desert of the Getæ; after these are the Tyrregetæ, beyond whom are the Iazyges, and those called Basileii, or Royal Sarmatæ,* and the Urgi, most of whom are Nomades, but a few employing themselves in agriculture." He is here speaking of tribes within the limits of Scythia, as described by Herodotus, and the tribes mentioned can evidently be no other than the Scythæ Basileii, the Georgi or Agricultural Scythians, and the Nomades of that writer, though by Strabo enumerated as tribes not of Scythæ, but of Sarmatæ.†

In another passage, after making a geographical division of Asia by the chain of mount Taurus into several parts, he adds, "the first of these, from the northern parts and the ocean, is inhabited by certain Scythian tribes, who are nomades, and have portable houses on wagons. To the hither side of these, are the Sarmatæ, who also are Scythians, the Aorsi and Siraci, reaching southward to the Caucasus."‡

* μεθ' οὓς οἱ Ἰάζυγες Σαρμάται, καὶ οἱ Βασιλέιοι λεγομένοι.

† Lib. vii. p. 306.

‡ Strabon. lib. xi. p. 492; vide item. p. 500. Cluverius remarks, that the Sarmatæ are considered by the Greek writers in general as Scythians. (Germ. Ant. p. 17.)

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From these accounts compared, it appears clear what was the situation and extent of the nation properly termed Scythians; and it may be concluded, that whoever they were, the Sauromatæ, or Sarmatæ, formed a part of them. I shall now make some observations on the history of the Scythians, previously to their inhabiting the country called by their name.

All the ancient accounts of the Scythæ and Sauromatæ concur in persuading us that the original country of this people was to the eastward of the Araxes and the Caspian sea, and probably in the north of Media; thence they emigrated, and got possession of territories in Europe, previously occupied by the Cimmerii. Herodotus has preserved two relations of this event, which agree in the main points. The account to which he attached most credit was as follows: "The nomadic Scythians, living in Asia, being overmatched in war by the Massagetæ, passing the river Araxes, emigrated into the Cimmerian territory; for that country which the Scythæ now inhabit, is said to have belonged of old to the Cimmerii."* It seems that the Scythæ drove the Cimmerii out of their country, but that many vestiges of these people were left behind, such as fortifications and localities still connected with the name of Cimmerian.†

Such compilers as Diodorus have a very inferior degree of credit, when compared with Hero-

* Melpom. 11 & 12. † Ibid.

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dotus; these writers, however, agree in the principal points of this account. Diodorus asserts that the Sauromatæ were a colony from Media, settled by the Scythæ on the Tanais.* This relation coincides with that of Herodotus, so far as to confirm the southern origin and the connexion of the Sarmatian and the Scythian people.†

It is impossible to determine at what period the Scythæ passed the Araxes, and took possession of their European country. It would appear from the account of Herodotus, that this event must have taken place subsequently to the Trojan war: and the fact above stated, that the Scythæ are never mentioned by Homer, who speaks of the Cimmerians as a nation existing in his time, would lead us to the same conclusion.

The Scythian nomades were so famed among the Greeks, that all nomadic nations came at length to be regarded as Scythians. Herodotus doubted whether the Massagetæ were truly a Scythian race, though he says that they resembled the Scythians in their manners, and were by some considered as Scythians. These were the people whose Queen Tomyris was said to have cut off the head of the great Cyrus.‡ By Diodorus and other writers

* Diodor. Bibl. lib. ii.

† Pomponius Mela remarks the resemblance of the Sarmatæ to the Parthians, "Gens habitu, armisque Parthicæ proxima; verum ut cœli asperioris, ita ingenii." (De Situ Orbis, lib. iii. cap. 4.)

‡ Herod. Clio, 201, 215, 216.

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less scrupulous than Herodotus, the Massagetæ are said, without hesitation, to have been Scythians. But Herodotus himself asserts that the Sacæ were a Scythian nation, and he adds, that the whole Scythian race were, among the Persians, distinguished by that term.* And Strabo informs us,† that all the nations lying eastward of the Caspian or Hyrcanian sea, and to the northward of Persia and India, were generally included by the Greeks under the common name of Scythian nomades, though each people had also its particular appellation; among these were the Daæ, Massagetæ, Sacæ;‡ and the Asii, Pasiani, and Tachari, who were celebrated as the conquerors of the Macedonian kingdom of Bactria.§

Hence it appears probable, that tribes of people connected with the Scythians, had been in very early times, spread over many of the countries which we find now occupied by different tribes of the great Tartar or Turkish race, not only in Europe, but also in the regions lying eastward of the Caspian.

* Polymnia, 64. † Strabo, ii. p. 511.

‡ The Sacæ were commonly accounted Scythians by the Greeks. This we learn from the following expressions of Chœrilus:

μηλονόμοί τε Σάκαι, γενεᾷ Σκύθαι, αὐτὰρ ἔναιον
Ασίδα πυροφόρον· Νομάδων γὲ μὲν ἦσαν ἄποικοι
Ἀνθρώπων νομίμων.

§ Apud Strabon. lib. vii.

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SECTION II.

Scythæ and Sarmatæ the same People—a race distinct from the Teutonic.

WE shall inquire hereafter whether any part, and what part of the population of Europe, can by authentic proofs, or on safe grounds, be referred to the Scythian race. In the first place we must consider whether the Germans were of this stock.

There is a passage of Pliny which has furnished an argument for deriving the Teutonic race from a Scythian origin. It is as follows: "Scytharum nomen usquequâque transiit in Sarmatas atque Germanos, nec aliis prisca illa duravit appellatio, quam qui extremi gentium harum ignoti propè cæteris mortalibus degunt." It is evident, on a little consideration, that Pliny here refers to the appellation of Scythian, as used in that vague sense in which it was adopted, at a comparatively late era, by the Greeks and Romans. He could hardly suppose in earnest, and he has given us no reason to believe, that both the Germans and Sarmatæ were in reality descended from the Scythæ of Herodotus. There are no two nations, or rather classes of nations, more uniformly distinguished from each other, and indeed contrasted, than the people of German or Teutonic race are with those of the Sarmatic. This may be traced in almost every writer who has occasion to speak of the nations of northern Europe. It is strongly insisted upon by Tacitus, who describes the Sar-

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matæ as differing entirely in their manners and habits of life from the Germans; the former living and passing their time in wagons and among horses, and never building houses, or in other respects resembling the Germans.

It will scarcely be disputed by any body that we have sufficient ground for concluding, that both the Teutonic and the Sarmatic people cannot be referred to one race; and since we have already shewn that the Sarmatæ and the Scythians were nearly allied, or rather only two branches of one and the same family, it follows that the Germans, and all the nations akin to them, must have derived their origin from some other stock.

The Sarmatæ, and no other people unconnected with them, are to be looked upon as the descendants of the more ancient Scythians. Thus far we proceed on safe grounds. The name of Sarmatæ succeeded in Europe, and in all the countries westward of the Caspian, to that of Scythæ. But where are the Sarmatæ to be found, and what existing nation is descended from them? Before we can determine this question, it will be necessary to consider the limits of Sarmatia as defined by the ancients, and to enumerate the different races of people who are found within those limits.

Section III.

Boundaries of ancient Sarmatia—Different Natins included within its limits.

1. The name of Sarmatia, as used by the Ro-

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man and later Greek writers, was made to comprehend a much more extensive region, than the whole Scythia of Herodotus. The Roman Sarmatia reached northward to an indefinite extent, and towards the west as far as the Vistula, and an imaginary line in the direction of that river. Thus Ptolemy describes it, "Ἡ ἐν Ευρώπῃ Σαρματία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τῷ τε Οὐιστούλα ποταμῷ, καὶ τῇ μεταξὺ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν Σαρματικῶν ὀρέων γραμμῇ, καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὄρεσιν."* The same boundary is attributed to Sarmatia on the western side, in other passages of this geographer.† Pomponius Mela divides Germany from Sarmatia in a similar manner. "Germania hinc ripis Rheni usque ad Alpes, à meridie ipsis Alpibus; ab oriente Sarmaticarum confinio gentium; quâ septentrionem spectat oceanico littore obducta est."‡

2. Within the limits of this greater Sarmatia, the ancients were acquainted with tribes of people belonging to four distinct families; these are first, some German tribes, who were found beyond their boundary, for the Peucini or Bastarnæ, as we shall presently see from Tacitus, were of this nation; secondly, the people termed Fenni, who are doubtless the race of Finns, and Laplanders, in the northern parts; from them an extensive region was named Finningia; thirdly, we find a nation termed Venedi, or Venedæ, by the ancient writers, who

* Claud. Ptolem. Geograph.

† Vide Cluver. lib. iii. cap. 42.

‡ De Situ Orbis, lib. iii. cap. 3.

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are evidently the stock of people to whom the Germans have always given the name of Wends, or Wenden, just as they bestow on all those of Celtic extraction, the title of Welsh or Welscher; these are the Slavi or Slavonian nations; all these races are, as we shall see, distinguished from the proper Sarmatæ, who must therefore be reckoned as a fourth.

Ptolemy, after marking the boundaries of Sarmatia, as above, adds, that "it is inhabited by nations of great extent, the Venedæ living along the whole Venedic gulf, and the Peucini and Bastarnæ above Dacia."* Pliny terms a part of this region Finningia, but without defining its extent. He says, "Nec minor est opinione Finningia. Quidam hæc habitari ad Vistulam usque fluvium à Sarmatis, Venedis, Scyris, Hirris tradunt."† But the Venedi are most clearly distinguishable in the account given of them by Tacitus, whose description I shall cite at full.

"I am in doubt," says this accurate and philosophical writer, whether to reckon the Peucini, Venedi, and Fenni, among the Germans or the Sarmatæ, although the Peucini, who are by some called Bastarnæ, agree with the Germans in language, apparel, and habitations. All of them live in filth and laziness. The intermarriages of their chiefs with the Sarmatians, have debased them by a mixture of the manners of that people. The

* Claud. Ptolem. Geograph.

† Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. 13.

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Venedi have drawn much from this source; for they over-run, in their predatory excursions, all the woody and mountainous tracts between the Peucini and Fenni. Yet even these are rather to be referred to the Germans, since they build houses, carry shields, and travel with speed on foot; in all which particulars, they totally differ from the Sarmatians, who pass their time in wagons and on horseback. The Fenni live in a state of amazing savageness and squalid poverty. They are destitute of arms, horses, and settled abodes; their food is herbs; their clothing skins; their bed the ground. Their only dependance is on their arrows, which, for want of iron, are headed with bone; and the chase is the support of the women, as well as the men, who wander with them in the pursuit, and claim a share of the prey. Nor do they provide any other shelter for their infants, from wild beasts and storms, than a covering of branches twisted together. This is the resort of youth; this is the receptacle of old age."*

From this passage, containing the evidence of so accurate a writer as Tacitus, we may form some satisfactory conclusions respecting the population of the eastern parts of Europe, in the first century after the Christian era. It appears, in the first place, that some German tribes had already wandered into these countries, as the Peucini and Bastarnæ, whose language determines that the were of Teutonic origin. Besides these, there were

* Tacitus de Mor. Germ. cap. xlvi. translated by Aikin.

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in the northern districts the Fenni, already in possession of countries which long afterwards belonged to their posterity, and where indeed remains of them are still to be found, though not in so savage a state. Next were the Venedi, who are placed by Ptolemy along the Venedic gulf, or near the shores of the Baltic; they occupied the country to the northward of the Sarmatæ, and were so entirely different from this people in manners and character, that Tacitus is willing to refer them rather to the German than the Sarmatian race, though he does not offer any proof of their affinity with the former. We are now well assured, that the Venedi, Wends, or Slavonians, were a people entirely distinct from the German nations. Lastly, since the Sarmatæ are not to be identified with any of the above-mentioned races, they must be reckoned as a fourth, and distinct people. But who were these Sarmatæ, or among the present inhabitants of the world, what race of men is descended from them? I shall not undertake to decide this much disputed question, but shall merely suggest, that there is, besides all the nations above mentioned, one distinct people within the regions included in ancient Sarmatia, and even now occupying the Scythia and Sarmatia of Herodotus, and that these people resemble in every important particular, in their way of life and manners, the Scythæ described by that historian. I mean the Crimean and Nogay Tartars, a nomadic race, who wander over their deserts with wagons and horses, and flocks,

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and seldom build houses, or have fixed habitations.*

Section IV.

Of the Slavonian Race.

The various races of people who inhabited Sarmatia, using that term in its wider sense, as comprehending all the trans-vistulan countries, remained but little known to the Romans until after the Gothic conquests in the east. The famous Hermanric, king of the Goths, subdued all the nations in this region, and through the medium of the Goths we obtain a more extensive knowledge of the north. In the time of Justinian, two historians expressly mention the Slaves or Slavonians. Jornandes, the bishop of Ravenna, divides the whole race into three nations, whom he terms Veneti, Antes, and Sclavi. He says, "Post Herulorum cædem idem Ermanricus in Venetos arma commovit, qui quamvis armis disperiti, sed numerositate pollentes, primo resistere conabantur." "Hi, ut initio expositionis, vel catalogo gentis dicere cœpimus, ab una stirpe exorti, tria

* It is said that the Circassian fabulists preserve the memory of the ancient Scythians, and identify them with the Nogay Tartars. Various circumstances are mentioned by Klaproth, proving that the Tartars are the genuine descendants of the Scythians. See Klaproth's Travels in Caucasus. This author considers it certain, that the Slavonians were a people quite distinct in origin from the Scythians and Sarmatians. He says, the Ossetes are the intermediate link between the Sauromatæ on one side, and the Medes on the other, and of the same race with both.

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nunc nomina reddidere, id est, Veneti, Antes, Sclavi; qui quamvis nunc ita facientibus peccatis nostris ubique desæviunt, tamen tunc omnes Ermanrici imperio servîêre."* In the passage to which he here refers, Jornandes had termed the whole nation collectively Winidæ, and had distinguished them into the Sclavini and Antes. "To the left side of the Alps, surrounding Dacia, through an immense space lying northward of the source of the Vistula, the populous nation of the Winidæ are settled, who, though they have different names in particular tribes and families, are principally distinguished by those of Sclavini and Antes." He goes on to mention the respective situations of these tribes. He places the Sclavini to the westward, between the Danube and Dniester, and in the northern countries; and the Antes, eastward of these, between the Dniester and the Dnieper.†

Procopius also terms the same nation Sclavi and Antes. "These nations," he says, "speak the same language, which is wonderfully barbarous." He adds, that they had formerly one name, which according to him was *Spori*, a term not elsewhere to be found.

A more accurate account of the subdivisions of this race can only be obtained from their own histories, written after they had learnt the use

* Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, cap. xxiii.

† Such, at least, is the sense which Cluverius extracts from his account. I can make no sense of the reading which Grotius has adopted. Vid. Cluver. Germ. Ant. p. 677. Jornandes, (in Grotius's Collection of Northern History) cap. v. p. 615.

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of letters, and had begun to preserve their annals or national traditions, aided by philological inquiries into the dialects and relations of particular tribes. This investigation has been executed in the most learned and satisfactory manner by the ex-jesuit J. Dobrowsky, who has critically examined the dialects of the Slavonian language, and compared them with each other.* According to Dobrowsky, the whole race may be divided into two principal branches, the Antes or the eastern branch, comprehending the Russians and the nations of Slavonian origin in Illyrium, and the Slavi, or western branch, comprising the Poles, Bohemians, and the Serbes and Wends in the north. It is very evident, from specimens of their languages, that these remarks are, in all important respects, correct, and I shall state a little more fully the results which have been derived from them, with the help of other historical data.

The first division of the Slavonian race is into the Antes and the Slavini or western Slaves. The nations belonging to each branch differ but little in speech from each other, but are scarcely understood by any of the people of the other branch.

I. Of the Antes, the first and chief nation are the Russians; the Great Russian nation is inter-

* Dobrowsky wrote a general history of the dialects of the Slavonian language, under the title of "Geschichte der Böhmischen sprache und literatur," published in the transactions of the Royal Bohemian Society, of which Adelung has given the substance in the second volume of his Mithridates.

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mixed with Scandinavians from the Teutonic clan of Rurik, who first gave the name of Russians to the Slaves of Novogorod. The Little, or Southern, or Kiewite Russians differ very little in language from the Slaves of Illyrium, from whom was derived the ecclesiastical and old literary language of the Russians.

About two hundred years before Cyrill began their conversion to Christianity, the Slaves of Illyrium made their transit from the countries adjoining on Southern or Red Russia, and the Carpathian mountains into the districts on the Adriatic which they now occupy. The first tribe among these is the Servian, whose dialect is between the Russian and that of the second tribe. To the Servian tribe are referred:—1. The people of Servia.—2. The Bosnians.—3. The Bulgarians, who, however, are partly Tartars from Bolgari, in Kasan. Besides these, the Morlachians, and the people of Wallachia, of Slavonian descent, belong to the Servian tribe. The second tribe of the Illyrian Slavi is the Croatian, comprehending the Kroats, Slavonians proper, and western Dalmatians. A third tribe are the southern, or Illyrian Wends, who are in Carinthia, Carniola, and Steyermark. All these are tribes of Antes.

II. Until lately the western branch of this great family, or the Sclavini, as they are termed by Jornandes, were the most renowned. After the Goths and other Teutonic tribes had made their great migration to the southward, the Sclavini from the

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eastern countries invaded their territories, and occupied all the north-east of Germany. After the fall of the Thuringian power, by the arms of the Franks, in the early part of the sixth century, they gained all the east of Germany to the Saale, and all the northern parts from the Vistula to Holstein.

The remains of the Slavini are,—1. The Poles.—2. The Tschechi, or Bohemians, including the Moravians and other neighbouring tribes.—3. The Serbes, formerly a numerous people between the Saale and the Oder, of which the Lusatians are the remains, still speaking a Slavonian dialect.—4. The Northern Wends, who formerly inhabited all the northern parts of Germany between Holstein and Kassubon, and were divided into two chief nations, the Obotrites and the Wiltzes. Of these there are now but a few scattered tribes who retain their Wendish language. This had great affinity to the Polish.

The enumeration of nations belonging to the Slavonian race, will not be complete without reckoning among them the Cossacks. The Russian Cossacks are well known to be descended from emigrants from Russia. The Cossacks of Little Russia are said to be the most ancient; they are descended from emigrants from Red Russia, driven out by the Poles.

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Section V.

Of the Origin and Physical Characters of the Slavonic Nations.

The Slavonic tribes belong to the stock of the Indo-European nations. This is sufficiently established by their language. A great proportion of the Slavonian roots are found in the German dialects.* The grammar of the Russian language, when compared with the Latin and with the Sanscrit, exhibits singular and unexpected coincidences with both; which are sufficient to establish the ancient affinity of the nations to whom these modes of speech respectively belonged. But as philological researches are not my object, I must refer for details on these points to authors who have expressly treated on them.

The Slavonian nations are generally of a complexion somewhat darker than that of the German people. In other respects I am not aware that they are distinguished by any peculiar traits.

Procopius has left a remarkable description of the Slavonian tribes. We have seen that he divides these nations into two great bodies, the Sclavi and Antes. Of these he says, "Sermo quoque communis duabus gentibus, mirum quàm barbarus: nec distat corporis forma: proceri omnes et robore eximii: cutem, pilosque nec candidi planè, nec flavi, nec in nigrum decolores, sed ru-

* Adelung in Mithridat. th. ii. Schlözer had previously made a similar observation.

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bidi. Vivendi modus asper et negligens, qualis Massagetarum, nec minùs continuæ sordes. A vafritie ac malitiâ remoti, et hâc ipsâ innocentiâ Hunnis similes."*

Dr. J. R. Forster observes, that the Bohemians, Poles, Russians, and Slavonians, have in general a brown complexion, black eyes, and black or brown hair. He attempts to draw a contrast between them and the Germans.†

In the north however, the fair sanguine, or xanthous complexion abounds in the Slavonian as in other races. We are informed by Mr. Tooke, that the Russian peasantry generally or frequently have light brown, or red hair.

* Procop. Cæsar. Hist. Latin. Vers. apud Grotium, *ubi supra*, p. 339.

† Forster's Observations, in a Voyage round the World.

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CHAPTER XI.

Concluding Remarks on the History of the Indo-European Nations.

I HAVE gone through the foregoing survey of the population of Europe, and a part of Asia, with a degree of caution which may appear to some of my readers superfluous, and even tiresome; but the nature of the subject was such as required it: it was necessary to proceed analytically, and to examine the ground step by step. In the history of the several races who have peopled Europe, I have endeavoured to distinguish each from the others with as much accuracy as possible, because we can only, by a minute and precise distinction, form any judgment as to the derivation of all from a common origin, which is the conclusion I have principally aimed at.

The diversity in complexion and other physical peculiarities is so great between the darkest of the Asiatic tribes, and the fairest of the European, both of whom are included in the department of nations we have now surveyed, that we cannot without hesitation adopt the opinion that they all came from a common origin. It is only on discovering that no other solution can explain the facts with which history makes us acquainted, that we

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are authorized in drawing this conclusion; but the inference is rendered much less improbable than it would otherwise seem to be, by the observation, that differences of complexion, and other physical characters, certainly make their appearance within the limits of particular nations, similar to and almost as considerable as those which are found between the most remote branches of this great family.

We may now venture, if I am not mistaken, to infer, that all the principal branches of nations in Europe, including the Celtic, the German, the Slavonian, and the Pelasgian, had one common descent, and sprang from the same stock: from a family of nations in Upper Asia, which gave birth also to the ancient Medes, Persians, and Hindoos. That the marks of affinity between these several nations cannot be accounted for on any other principle, must be allowed by any person who adequately considers the different parts of their history. We can find no traces that might allow us to infer the subjugation of several distinct races by some powerful and civilized people, who might have impressed their character and imparted their language to the subdued nations. Nor are the indications we have pointed out of such a kind as to lead to the hypothesis of some ancient rites and customs, and some common forms of speech introduced by a foreign priesthood. The Druids in Gaul, the Magi in Persia, and the Brahmans in India, though there are numerous points of resemblance between

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these orders, are certainly not the sources of all that unity of character and language, which is to be discovered in surveying the history of the Indo-European nations.

Even the physical phænomena themselves are of such a kind as to confirm the conclusion, that the various people of this division are of kindred descent. Although the differences are great between the extremes, there are no sudden transitions to be found. If we compare a Hindoo with a red-haired Dane, there is a great contrast between them. But if we see the northern Hindoo by the side of the most swarthy Persian, we can discern not so great a difference. Again, the Persian is but a shade darker, or, in many instances, not at all darker than a Portuguese or Spaniard. In the south of France the skin is still somewhat dark, and dark hair is most prevalent, but the same people in the north are more generally fair, and the Scandinavians, Danes, and Saxons, are chiefly of sanguine complexion. We have seen that in some tribes of the genuine Hindoo race the skin is fair, and even that the marks of the sanguine variety appear.

I would venture to conclude, from the foregoing observations, and from a survey of all the ground we have gone over in this part of the inquiry, that the complexion of men has varied in this particular race, from an olive, or almost black colour of the skin, with black hair and eyes, to a fair, florid, or sanguine hue, joined to the other cha-

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racters of the sanguine temperament. Secondly, it must be remarked, that with reference to this particular instance at least, the variation is not independent of the influence of climate. But on this last subject we shall have more to say hereafter.

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BOOK VI.

SURVEY OF THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF PARTICULAR RACES, CONTINUED. PART IV. HISTORY OF THE WESTERN ASIATIC NATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

General Remarks.

In the following book I propose to make some observations on the history of several nations of Western Asia, who appear to be in a great measure distinct in their languages and habits, and therefore, as far as the evidence of these indications extends, in their origin, from the nations included in the Indo-European family. Under the term Western Asia, I include, as some former writers appear to have done, all those countries lying to the westward of the Caspian lake and the direction of the river Tigris. The chain of Caucasus will fall within the region thus sketched out, and may form the northern boundary of it.

The principal family of nations, whose abodes are found to have been, from the earliest times, within these limits, are the ancient Syrian, Hebrew, and Arabian tribes, or that class of nations,

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connected most obviously by affinity of languages, to which Eichhorn, and after him many philological writers, chiefly Germans, have given the name of Semitic nations.

Besides the Semitic races, whom I should prefer to term Syrian, or Palæ-Syrian, the name of Syrian having been used by the ancients nearly in the same acceptation, some other nations will be mentioned in this book, who cannot be clearly proved by their languages to be of cognate stem with the Syrians or with the Hebrews. These are the races of people commonly termed Georgians, and the Caucasean nations.

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CHAPTER II.

Of the Syrian or Semitic Nations.

SECTION I.

Of the Denomination and Tribes of this Family.

A FAMILY of nations, allied to each other in language, and by many common characteristics, is found in the earliest periods of history in possession of those countries which lie between the mountains of Persian Irak on the eastern side, and the Mediterranean on the west. Nearly all this region was included by the Greeks within the limits of Syria, and the term Syrian, with a defined meaning, might serve as a common name for all the nations who dwelt in it. By the learned and ingenious, but somewhat fanciful Eichhorn, these races have been termed Semitic, from Shem, the son of Noah, from whom, in the table of nations in the book of Genesis, entitled Toldoth Beni Noach, many of them are declared to have descended. Several German writers on philological and ethnographical subjects, have adopted this expression, and, as it has grown into use, I shall follow their example. The term of Semitic used in this sense is however liable to the objection, that at least two nations are included in this department who were not of Semitic origin; I mean

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the Philistines, and the Canaanites, or Phœnicians. These nations were both originally foreign to Syria, or to the country of Shem, but they spoke cognate dialects with the nations who were really of Semitic descent, and in a classification of nations founded in a great measure on the analogy of languages, are therefore comprised in the same department.

It may be remarked, that although the Semitic languages are a peculiar class, and very clearly distinguished, yet, they are not entirely separated on the one side from the Indo-European, or, as Schlözer has termed them, the Japetic dialects, and on the other from the idiom of the Mizraim, the natives of the land of Cham, or Egypt. Their analogy with the former extends to a great proportion of the vocabulary: a very large number of Semitic words may be clearly recognised in the Indo-European languages.* The resemblance between the Hebrew and the Coptic has been supposed to be much greater than it really is. The vocabularies of the two languages differ widely, but it cannot be owing to mere accident that several of the pronouns and suffixes are common to both. In the time of Joseph the Egyptians already conversed with the Hebrews by means of interpreters. But in the history of Abraham, though the narrative is very circumstantial, we

* This remark had often occurred to me before I observed it to have been made by M. Klaproth. See Asia Polyglotta, p. 108. It is of importance that among the *ten* first numerals, two are expressed by terms common to these classes of languages.

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discover no trace of a difference of language either between the family of that patriarch, who were of northern and Chaldean origin, and the people of Palestine, or even between the former and the Egyptians.

The Semitic nations were the first who are known to have used alphabetical characters. Their authentic records extend almost a thousand years further back than those of almost any other nation. I am now referring to the age of Moses, from whose time it cannot reasonably be disputed that documents, preserving contemporary annals, have been handed down. Perhaps, however, the use of letters rather originated with the Chamite Phœnicians, associated by one common language with the Semitic people, than with the Shemites themselves: the former at least were the nation who communicated this important art to the Greeks and other Europeans.

It appears that in the time of Abraham, and the patriarchs who succeeded him, nearly all the Semitic nations were pastoral nomades. The history of these times in the book of Genesis presents us with a lively picture of the manners of pastoral life, similar to those of the present Arabs, but more simple and primitive. The same habits prevailed not only in Palestine, but in Syria proper, the country of Laban, and even in Egypt, which was probably then under shepherd kings. Perhaps towns were first founded among the Shemites by foreigners; in Palestine by the Canaanites, and in Assyria

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by the Cushites, or Ethiopians, both of whom were apparently colonists from the shores of the Erythræan sea.

The Semitic nations enumerated in the Toldoth Beni Noach are as follows:

1. Elam, probably the Elymæi, or people of Elymais, in the modern Khusistan, to the northward of the Persian Gulf.* The name of Elam was extended afterwards, and became the Hebrew term for the Persians, who were an Indo-European, and probably a Japetic race, allied to the Madai or Medes.

2. Ashur, or the people of Assyria. Among these people cities appear to have been founded at an early period by the Cushites. Assyria was afterwards conquered by the Chasdim, or Chaldeans, and the genuine Assyrians are lost sight of at the period of the destruction of Nineveh.

3. Arphaxad, or perhaps Arph-Chesed, according to Josephus and Michaëlis; these are the Chasdim, or Chaldeans. Of this very important race we shall say more presently.

4. Lud. Josephus and Bochart supposed these to be the Lydians, though the name of Lydii is said by Herodotus to have been of late origin. It appears that the Lydians were chiefly an Indo-European nation. Perhaps the first settlers in that country were the Shemite Ludim, who may have been expelled by Medes, or other Japetic

* See Bochart, lib. ii. cap. 2, and Michaëlis, Spicileg. Geog. Hebræor. Ext. p. ii. part 68.

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people, and have left their name to their conquerors. Herodotus, indeed, affords some support to this notion, for he mentions Agron, the son of Ninus, as the founder of the Lydian state.

5. Aram, or the proper Syrians.

Three of these families disappear from history at an early period: on the two others, those of Arphaxad and Aram, we shall make some observations separately.

Section II.

Of the Chasdim, and their Descendants, the later Chaldeans, the Hebrews, and the Arabs.

Arphaxad is probably, Arph-Chesed. For Chesed we always have the word Chaldea substituted by the translators, and from Ur, in the country of the Chasdim, or Chaldees, came Abraham, the descendant of Arphaxad and the progenitor of Israel. If Arphaxad and Chesed are thus identified, we may derive from this family the three most distinguished of the Semitic nations; I mean the Hebrews, the Arabs, and the Chaldees, or later Chasdim.

1. The Hebrews may be reckoned to include the Idumeans and some other Arabian tribes, who in ancient history are distinct from the genuine Arabs. The patriarch of this family migrated first from the country of the Chasdim into the land of Aram, or Syria, and afterwards into that of which the Canaanites had possessed themselves,

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but from which they were to be expelled by his descendants. A part of the tribe remained in Syria, and it has been observed, that already, in the time of Jacob, the Abramidæ in Palestine appear to have differed in dialect from their brethren still resident in Charran. Hence some have inferred, that the Hebrews, though of Chaldean origin, adopted the dialects of the countries in which they had severally taken up their abode, and that the language now termed Hebrew was originally that of the Canaanites.*

2. The Beni Yoktan, or true Arabs, are also of the family of Arphaxad. From them, probably, came the Agaazi, or Homerite Arabs, who, at a comparatively late era, passed the Red Sea, and occupied the country between the sea-coast and the Tacazze, for the Geez, the language of this people, is a very pure and ancient dialect of the Arabic.

3. The Chasdim, or Chaldeans.

It has been a matter of dispute among geographers, in what part of Upper Asia was situated this ancient Chaldæa, the land of Arphachesed, whence the Hebrews and the Arabs originated.

* It has often been remarked, that one circumstance is mentioned in Genesis, which indicates some difference of dialect to have existed as early as the time of Jacob, between the Syrians and the Hebrews resident in Palestine. When Laban and Jacob erected a pillar of covenant, Laban, who was a Syrian, called it *Jegur-sahadatha*, but Jacob termed it *Galeed*. Genes. xxxiv. 47. The former words are Chaldean, the latter Hebrew. However, it is plain that the family of Laban understood Jacob's dialect.

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Bochart supposed it to be the province of Arrapachitis in Assyria, but Michaëlis, who is followed by Schlözer, appears to have satisfactorily proved that the primitive Chaldæa was a region situated further northward than Syria and Mesopotamia.* Many Greek writers connect, or identify the Chaldæi with the Carduchi and with the Chalybes, and it appears that these names do not resemble by mere accident, but were really the denominations of cognate tribes. The Chaldees are spoken of by the Hebrew writers repeatedly, as a people from the north, and as a nomadic race of predatory habits. From the mountainous countries now occupied by the Kurds, who are themselves of Median or Persian origin, the Chasdim probably made, about the time of Isaiah, a settlement in Assyria, which they afterwards conquered, and united under their empire. Accordingly, they are represented by the Hebrew writers of the succeeding age, as a new people in Babylonia, suddenly rising to power and military fame.

Michaëlis supposed the Chasdim to have been a Scythian, or perhaps a Slavonian tribe;† a most improbable conjecture, which has been fully refuted by Schlözer and Adelung.‡ There is no reason

* Spicileg. Geog. Heb. Ext. part ii. p. 80, *et seq.* Schlözer von den Chaldäern, in Eichhorn's Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländliche Literatur. 8 theil.

† See also Dr. J. R. Forster's "Epistola de Chaldæis," inserted by Michaëlis in his Spicilegium. Geog. H. E.

‡ Schlözer, ibid. Adelung, Mithridates, th. 1.

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to doubt that they were of Semitic race. It seems, however, that there were two Chaldæas; the ancient or northern one, of which the people were warlike nomades, and the later Chaldæa, of which Babylon was the capital, in a country conquered from the Assyrians by the Chasdim about the time of Isaiah, or the era of Nabonassar, who, in Ptolemy's canon is the first king of the Chaldean Babylon.

Section III.

Of the Aramæans, or proper Syrians.

The genuine Syrian race is now almost lost in the predominant influence of the Arabs. There are, however, some parts of Syria where the Aramæan language is still spoken.

We have seen that a part of the Chasdim, under the varying names of Chaldæi and Chalybes, reached to the northward of Mount Taurus, and to the shores of the Euxine. It would appear, that in the contiguous parts of Asia, the Syrians also extended to the same sea. Strabo assures us, that the name of the Syrians extended from Babylonia to the Issic gulf, and even reached thence, in ancient times, as far as the Euxine. "The Cappadocians," he says, "of both nations," meaning the people dwelling on Mount Taurus under that name, as well as the Cappadocians near Pontus, "are termed to the present day Leuco-Syri, or White Syrians, by which term they are distin-

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guished from the other Syrians, who are of swarthy complexion, dwelling to the southward of Mount Taurus."* Herodotus also informs us that the Cappadocians were termed by the Greeks Syrians,† and Dionysius the geographer, after surveying the country of the Chalybes, on the southern shore of the Euxine, immediately mentions the Assyrians, who are the Cappadocians, on the Thermodon.‡ It seems then, that both the Chaldæans and the Syrians reached as far northward as the Euxine.

Section IV.

Of the Phœnicians and other Chamite Nations.

Several nations of Chamite origin were interspersed among the Semitic tribes, on the southern parts of their country. The kingdom of the Cushite Nimrod was in Assyria, and though the name of

* Strabon. lib. xvi. p. 737. The same fact is asserted by Strabo in another passage, in which he says that the Cappadocians were termed Leuco-Syri, in comparison with the Syrians without Mount Taurus, who were of a more adust complexion. (Lib. xii.)

† Herod. lib. v. cap. 59; lib. vii. cap. 72.

‡ Dionys. Perieg. v. 772. Vide Eustathium, ad locum; etiam Commentar. G. Hill. Ptolemy has the term Leuco-Syri, and Apollonius, lib. iii., calls Cappadocia, Assyria. It is odd that Michaëlis and Schlözer, who have written with so much care, to show that the Chaldæi reached to the Euxine in the neighbourhood of Cappadocia, should have overlooked the Syrian origin of the Cappadocians themselves, which affords so much additional support to their hypothesis.

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Cush, or Ethiopia, was in after-times appropriated to certain parts of Africa, it is certain that it included at an early period some districts of Asia. The Canaanites, or Phœnicians, were not the aboriginal inhabitants of the sea-coast, where Tyre and Sidon were, or of the interior country of Canaan, whence they were expelled by Joshua. Michaëlis has shewn, from the testimony of Herodotus and Justin, and from the old traditions of the east, collected by Abulfeda, that the first seat of this nation was in Arabia on the Red Sea, whence, for the convenience of traffic, they founded commercial stations on the Mediterranean coast, and afterwards became inhabitants of the adjacent country.* The Philistim are derived, with the Caphtorim, in the Toldoth Beni Noach, from the Mizraim, or Egyptians, through the medium of the Casluhim. Who the Casluhim were is altogether uncertain. It was a conjecture of Calmet, at one time adopted by Michaëlis, that the Caphtorim were the people of Crete, but this opinion was afterwards abandoned by the latter, who took up the notion that the Caphtorim were the original inhabitants of Cyprus. It seems that all these nations of Chamite origin, who had occupied countries within the borders of Syria, spoke dialects of the Syrian or Semitic language. Hence we may perhaps infer, that the invaders were few in number, and that the population was chiefly Semitic. As far as the Philistim are concerned we can

* Michaëlis, Spicileg. Geog. Heb. Ext. part i. p. 168.

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only form some idea of their language from their proper names, which, as it has often been remarked, are all Hebrew. That the Phœnician, and therefore the Punic, also belonged to the same class of languages need not be proved.

After this brief survey of the nations belonging to the Semitic or Syrian family, and of their relations, as far as they can be illustrated by history, I shall proceed to assemble some observations on their physical characters.

Section V.

Physical Characters of the Semitic Nations.

The countries occupied by these races collectively are of great extent, and reach into a variety of climates. The proper and ancient country of the Semitic nations may be said to extend from Cappadocia, and the tracts inhabited by the Leuco-Syri and Chaldæi on the shores of the Euxine, to the southern coast of Arabia. All the intermediate countries were possessed by the same race, nor has any great change of population taken place. The colonization by Greeks and Romans was partial, and chiefly confined to certain points. In Syria it was not extensive enough to overcome the original language, which still subsists in some inland parts of the country, where it has not given way to the more powerful influence of the Arabs.* The Arabs

* So Niebuhr, confirmed by Browne. Volney asserts the contrary, but he is mistaken.

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have, indeed, overrun all these countries, and have intermixed with the Aborigines, but they are themselves a branch of the same stock.*

Beyond the original limits of the Semitic country several of these races are spread far and wide, and some of them, owing to religious and other peculiarities, have preserved their national distinctions. The Jews are scattered nearly over the whole world. The Arabs have occupied countries far to the east and west, and the Agaazi, or Abyssinians of Arabian origin, have long ago colonized a region in Africa towards the south.

We have already noticed what the Greek writers remarked respecting the complexion of the Leuco-Syrians, on the northern side of Mount Taurus. They were termed white Syrians, from the fairness of their complexions when compared with the more swarthy Syrians to the southward of the same mountain chain. This part of Asia Minor contains a mountainous and beautiful country of mild and delightful climate. The natives are still remarkable for the fairness of their complexion. "The people of Amasia," says Mr. Morier, "were fairer than any Turks or other Asiatics whom I had ever seen."†

The inhabitants of Syria and Palestine are generally of black hair, but the shade of their com-

* The Curds, a Median or Persian race of barbarians, have occupied the mountainous tracts in Syria, but they are quite distinct from the rest of the population.

† Morier's Travels in Persia.

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plexion varies according to the temperature of particular places. Whether this variety of colour is entirely acquired, and merely the effect of greater or less exposure to the sun, or becomes in some degree a natural, and congenital character, it is difficult to determine, but I suspect that the complexion of the race has some variations. "The inhabitants of the southern plains of Syria," says Volney, "are more swarthy than those of the northern, and these more so than the inhabitants of the mountains. In Lebanon and the country of the Druzes, the complexion does not differ from that in our provinces in the middle of France. The women of Damascus and Tripoli are greatly boasted for the fairness and even the regularity of their features; but we must take this praise on trust, since the veil which they perpetually wear, allows no person to make nice observations."*

Dr. Russel informs us that the people of Aleppo are in general of middle stature, rather meagre than corpulent, and indifferently well made, but neither vigorous nor active. "They are naturally of a fair complexion, their hair black, or of a dark chesnut colour, and their eyes for the most part black. Both sexes are handsome while children, but the men are soon disfigured by the beard, and the women, as they arrive soon at puberty, and are married at an early period, quickly lose the bloom of youth, and often wear the appearance of old

* Volney's Travels in Egypt and Syria, vol. i. p. 360. English Translation.

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age by the time they reach thirty." This description applies to the people of a city where there is a mixture of Turks and other strangers. Dr. Russel adds, that "in proportion as the people are exposed to the sun, they become swarthy. The lower class of them in towns are of a dusky complexion, the peasants are very dark; and some of the Bidoweens, or Arabs of the desart, are almost black."

Mr. Browne says, "the women of Aleppo are rather masculine, of brown complexions.* He observes that the females and children of Damascus have commonly regular features and a fair complexion.†

The preceding accounts refer chiefly to the Syrians. Among the Arabs who are spread over more extensive countries, there seems to be a greater variety of complexion.

I have not seen elsewhere so striking a description of the peculiar Arab characters of person, as in the late travels of Mr. Fraser. He has described the people of Muscat, on the eastern coast of Arabia, below the Persian gulf, and more particularly the natives of the celebrated Ormus. "The Arabs," he says, "who in colour resemble Mulattoes, are of a sickly yellow hue, with a deeper brownish tinge about the eyes, neck, and joints; some are very dark, and an admixture with negro blood seems to be common." Negroes are pretty numerous; but perhaps the author here gives into

* Browne's Travels, p. 386. † Ibid. p. 401.

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an hypothesis, often adopted without sufficient ground, to explain a greater degree of variety in colour than is expected to arise in an unmixed race. He adds, that "the genuine Arabs, with some exceptions, are rather spare and active, than athletic men. Those of the superior orders, who came under our observation, as the Sheiks and their families, bore a strong, characteristic resemblance to each other in features. The countenance was generally long and thin; the forehead moderately high, with a rounded protuberance near its top; the nose prominent and aquiline; the mouth and chin receding, giving to the line of the profile, a circular, rather than a straight character; the eye deep set under the brow, dark and bright; thin and spare, deficient in muscle, their limbs were small, particularly their hands, which were sometimes even of feminine delicacy; their beards were almost always of a deep black, artificially coloured, if not naturally so; a few wore them grizzled, and we observed an old man, whose beard of a milk-white colour, he had dyed yellow, which, contrasted with a singular pair of blue eyes, had a very extraordinary effect."*

M. de Pagés has described the Arabs of the desert between Bassora and Damascus. He says, "they run with extraordinary swiftness, have large bones, a deep brown complexion, bodies of an ordinary stature, but lean, muscular, active, and vi-

* Fraser's Narrative of a Journey in Khorasan, pp. 50, 51—27.

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gorous. The Bedouins suffer their hair and beards to grow, and indeed, among the Arabian tribes in general, the beard is remarkably bushy. The Arab has a large, ardent, black eye, a long face, features high and regular, and as the result of the whole, a physiognomy peculiarly stern and severe."* "The tribes who inhabit the middle of the desert, have locks somewhat crisped, extremely fine, and approaching the woolly hair of the Negro."

The general complexion of the Arabs on the coast of Yemen, is the same yellow bordering on brown, which is evidently the natural colour of the race, and not derived from intermixture with Africans. Niebuhr says of them, "Les femmes Arabes des contrées basses et exposées aux châleurs ont *naturellement* la peau d'un jaune foncé, mais dans les montagnes on trouve de jolies visages même parmi les paysannes."†

From this it appears, that in elevated situations, the peasants are of a lighter colour, and we are informed by Bruce, that in such circumstances, even the fair sanguine complexion makes its appearance among them. Bruce says, "The Arab women are not black, there are even some exceedingly fair." He gives a remarkable description of the mountains of Ruddua, near Yambo, on the coast of Yemen, and of their inhabitants. They are high craggy mountains, abounding in springs of water

* De Pagés, Travels round the World, English translation, vol. ii. p. 102.

† Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabia, p. 58.

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and verdant spots, where various fruits grow in abundance. "The people of the place have told me, that water freezes there in winter, and that there are some of the inhabitants who have red hair and blue eyes, a thing scarcely ever to be seen but in the coldest mountains in the east."*

Even in the desert, at least on the borders of Palestine, the women of the higher class of Arabs are sometimes of comparatively fair complexion. "Les Princesses, et les autres Dames Arabes," says M. de la Roque, "qu'on m'a montré par le coin d'une tente, m'ont paru fort belles, et bien faites. On peut juger par celles-ci, et par ce qu'on m'en a dit, que les autres ne le sont guères moins; elles sont fort blanches, parcequ'elles sont toujours à couvert du soleil. Les femmes du commun sont extrêmement halées, *outre la couleur brune et bazannée qu'elles ont naturellement:* je les ai trouvé fort laides dans toute leur figure, et je n'ai rien vû en elles que les agrémens ordinaires, qui accompagnent une grande jeunesse."†

The variety of complexion above described seems to be a natural deviation, and is not referrible to any intermixture of breeds. A brown or tawny yellow is the natural colour of the Arabs in some places. But there are races of Bedouins and other tribes of a still darker complexion, and

* Bruce's Travels to Abyssinia, 1st edition, vol. i. p. 246.

† Voyage fait par ordre du roi Louis XIV. dans la Palestine, vers le grand Emir, chef des princes Arabes du Désert. Par M. D. L. R. Paris, 1717, p. 260.

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even black, or nearly so. Are these of genuine Arab descent?

The vast region in the interior of Arabia has been untrodden by Europeans and other civilized men, and of Hadramaut, or Southern Arabia, only the shores have been seen by voyagers.* We know not of what complexion or character are the tribes who inhabit it. The intelligent traveller Burckhardt considered the Hadherebe, who form a distinct part of the population of Souakin, on the African coast, as descendants from the people of Hadramaut. He says, that the inhabitants of that place distinguish the true Hadherebe, or descendants of the natives of Hadramaut, from the other settlers, or Souakiny, and that these two classes of people form distinct races. "The Hadherebe came from Hadramaut according to some about a century ago; others state that they arrived soon after the promulgation of Islam." They intermarry with other Bedouin tribes, but keep their race distinct from the Souakiny. As to their persons, "they have, in general, fine and expressive features, with thin and very short beards. Their colour is of the *darkest brown, approaching to black,* but they have nothing of the negroe character of countenance. They are a remarkably stout and muscular race."†

* Hadramaut is properly, according to Burckhardt, حضرى الموت) Hadhar el Mout, *i. e.* Come, Death.

† Burckhardt's Travels in Nubia, pp. 433—439. Compare however note 50, p. 526.

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It appears from various accounts collected by the same traveller, that there are numerous tribes in the countries to the southward of Egypt who have the manners of Bedouins, the language and religion of Arabia, and who consider themselves as branches of various tribes of Arabs, well known in the Hedjaz. Burckhardt terms them, on account of their complexion, *Black Arabs.* Is their deep shade of colour the effect of climate on the race, or have they varied in consequence of intermixing their breed with the natives of Africa? If connexions with negroes had given rise to the change of complexion, they would have had the other peculiarities of the negroe race; the mixed breed would be mulattos; or if the proportion of negroe blood in the race were so great, that the colour of the Arab had become completely lost in that of the African stock, the progeny would be, in other respects, almost entirely similar to genuine negroes. Such is the case when we observe the effect of mixture of breed in other parts of the world. Nothing of this kind seems to have taken place in the instance of the Arab tribes in Nubia and beyond Sennaar. They are equally free from all appearance of intermixture with the Abyssins. The following account is taken from Burckhardt.

"The people of the countries on the Nile, from Dongola to Sennaar, and all the other *true Arab tribes* as far as Bornou, speak no other language than theArabic; and they look with disdain upon

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their western and eastern neighbours, whom they designate by the same epithet of Adjim, which the Koran bestows upon all nations, who are strangers to the Arabic language. There exist, however, as many dialects among them, as are found among the Arabian Bedouins." The author has not confounded the Arab tribes with the Bisharie, or any other native people of this region, for he immediately subjoins the following remarks: "The eastern nations on the Atbara, towards Taka and the Red Sea, speak the Bisharye (a totally different) language, and to the west, the nearest foreign language is that of Kordofan, a dialect of the Furian. The Arabic is well spoken in these countries, and the *black Arabs* appeared to me to possess a greater command of it than their Egyptian brethren. The pronunciation is similar to that of Upper Egypt, which differs from that of Cairo and the Delta. The inhabitants of upper Egypt, to the south of Siout, are in fact ancient Bedouin tribes, and their idiom appears to me the purest, next to that of Arabia proper."*

The same traveller informs us, that the different tribes of Arabs who inhabit the Nile valley, from Upper Egypt to Sennaar, report that their origin is from the Sherk, or East, meaning Arabia.† The Meyrefab, like other Arab tribes of these parts of Africa, are careful in maintaining the purity of their race. A free born man never marries a slave, whether Abyssinian or Negro, but always an Arab

* Burckhardt, *ubi supra*, p. 354. † Ibid. p. 210.

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girl, of his own or some neighbouring tribe. Children by slave concubines are matched with slaves or their descendants.*

Higher up the Nile than Dongola, but in the same latitude, is the country of the Shegya Arabs, of whom Mr. Waddington has given us an interesting description. He says, "their general complexion is a jet-black. The Shegya," he adds, "as I have already mentioned, are black—a clear, glossy, jet-black, which appeared to my then unprejudiced eyes, to be the finest colour that could be selected for a human being. They are distinguished in every respect from the negroes by the *brightness* of their colour, by their hair, and the regularity of their features; by the mild and dewy lustre of their eyes, and by the softness of their touch, in which last respect they yield not to Europeans."†

* The Arab race, since the period of Islam, has spread itself through Northern Africa. The tribes of the Mauritanian desert, are the Moggrebyn, or western Arabs. The people of cities and cultivated countries, are called Moors. They are all in a great measure of the same original.

The physical characters of the Moggrebyn Arabs and the Moors of Africa are various. Mr. Jackson informs us that they are of all colours, from black to white: this he attributes to their intermixture with the negroes of Soudan. However, there is a variety of complexion among the civilized Moors, which cannot be attributed to this cause. The women of Fez are generally sallow, with dark eyes and hair; those of Mequinas have the red and white complexion of English women. "The men of Shawia and Temsena are a strong robust race of a *copper colour*, the women are very beautiful." Jackson's Account of Morocco.

† Waddington's Travels in Ethiopia, p. 120.

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These people are described, both by Waddington and by Burckhardt, as genuine Arabs.* They have no other language than the Arabic, which they speak and frequently write as their native tongue. In their manners and whole character, they are entirely distinct from the native races of Africa who are nearest to them.

The eastern Abyssinians, or the people of Tigre, whose native dialect was the Geez, or Ethiopic, must, I apprehend, be considered, as the offspring of an old Arabian stock. These people, though not approximating to the negroes in character, and evidently not intermixed with negroes, are nearly black, or of a dark olive colour. They are darker than the Amaaras, or Western Habesh. I have already examined the history of this race, as far as data are to be found, in a former chapter, and can only refer the reader to what I have said there.

I shall conclude this account of the Semitic nations with some remarks upon the Jews.

The ancient Hebrews had, probably, the same complexion as the present inhabitants of Palestine.† The Jews, at present spread over Europe and other countries, although they are well known to preserve their race nearly unmixed, display

* Burckhardt, p. 70.

† A fair skin, ruddy cheeks, with black hair, were to be found among the Israelites, for they are mentioned as traits of beauty in Canticles. Cap. 5, v. 10, &c. "Dilectus meus est candidus et rubicundus, electus ex millibus." "Comæ ejus quasi elatæ palmarum, nigræ quasi corvus."

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considerable variety of complexion. In the West Indies, I have been assured, that they are very distinguishable by peculiar features, black bushy hair and eyes. In England, it is by no means uncommon to see Jews with a sanguine complexion, and with light hair and beards, and blue eyes; and in some towns in Germany, where Jews are numerous, I have been informed that they are remarkable for strong bushy red beards.

Unless there is some error in the preceding account, which I cannot discover, I think it must be allowed, that considerable varieties of complexion have sprung up within the limits of the Semitic race, since we have black Arabs and Abyssinians, and Jews belonging to the xanthous division of our species. It seems that these variations are not unconnected with the influence of climate. Africa appears to have given birth among the Semitic nations spread over it, to races of sable hue, who in complexion resemble the more ancient inhabitants of that part of the world. In colder countries, as well as in mountainous tracts of Arabia itself, the sanguine, or xanthous variety exists.

These facts are parallel to those observed in the history of the Indo-European race; and in the following chapters of this book, comprising the history of the other Western Asiatic nations, phænomena of a similar description will be noticed.

I shall make an attempt to investigate the theory of these phænomena, when I proceed to con-

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sider by themselves the causes which have given origin to varieties in our species. At present I am only stating facts, and tracing the history of particular races with a reference to some general results, to be collected in the sequel.

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CHAPTER III.

Of the Georgians.

THE country which lies under the feet of Mount Caucasus, comprehended by the ancients under the names of Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, is inhabited by a people divided into several tribes, who are known in Europe by the denomination of Georgians. They are said still to retain among themselves the name of Iverians. The Persians term their country Gurgistan, perhaps from the river Kur, or Cyrus, which flows through it, and thence it is probable that the European appellation of this people is derived.*

The Georgian race is divided into several branches, which are distinguished from each other by their dialects. The language of the whole nation is allowed by all those who have examined it, to be entirely peculiar, and to exhibit no traces, as yet discovered, of affinity with any other known idiom. The principal tribes of the Georgian race are the following.

1. The Iberians, or proper Georgians, who inhabit the interior provinces of Kartuel, Kacheti, Soncheti, and Imirette, or Emmeretia, are the most

* Mithridates, i. p. 428.

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cultivated of the whole race. The old, or learned Georgian, into which the Bible, and the ecclesiastical rituals were translated, was an obsolete dialect of the Kartuel. The modern dialect of these provinces is the common Georgian language.*

2. The Mingrelians in Mingrelia, the ancient Colchis, and in Guria or Guriel on the Euxine.

3. The Suani, who are the Soani of Pliny, and inhabit the western extremity of the Caucaséan chain, to the northward of Mingrelia or Colchis, are a barbarous people, still calling themselves by the name of *Tson*, and speaking a rude dialect of the Georgian.

4. Klaproth reckons as a fourth branch of the Georgian nation, the Lazi, who are probably the remains of the people known by that name to Pliny, and to the Byzantine writers, and by the latter regarded as the posterity of the ancient Colchians. Klaproth says that the Lazi extend along the south-eastern angle of the Euxine, from the neighbourhood of Trebisond to the boundary of Guria;† but Reineggs, who was personally well acquainted with the countries bordering on Caucasus, affirms that the present territory of the Lazi is to the northward of Mingrelia, from which they are separated by the river Enguri. Reineggs adds, "the Lazi are of opinion that their ancestors dwelt in the country near Trebisond, and are proud

* Adelung, *ubi supra*. † Klaproth, *ubi supra*, p. 110.

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of the remembrance that they once ruled over the whole of Iberia.*

Klaproth has given a vocabulary of the Lazian dialect, which proves it to be a branch, though considerably differing from the other dialects of the Georgian language.

The Georgians, who on the whole appear to be the descendants of the old Iberians and Colchians, are described by all travellers as a people of fine form, and of European features. The Georgian women, according to Reineggs, are more beautiful than the Circassians,† but the complexion of the race is not so fair as that of the latter people, who are natives of the heights of Caucasus.

* Reineggs, Description of Caucasus, &c. vol. i. pp. 333 and 341.

† Reineggs, *ubi supra*, p. 289, vol. i.

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CHAPTER IV.

Of the Caucaséan Nations.

UNDER this name are comprehended by modern travellers and geographers, a variety of tribes who have long ago lost all traces of connexion with each other, except those which an accurate comparison of their dialects affords. They inhabit the heights and valleys of the great chain of Caucasus.

The Russian, or rather German travellers, Güldenstedt, Pallas, and Reineggs, and lastly Klaproth, have given us most of the information we possess respecting these nations. The latter, particularly, by a copious vocabulary of their languages published in his "Sprach-atlas," has afforded an opportunity of forming some idea of their relations to each other.

Güldenstedt, and other former writers, included among the Caucaséan races some tribes belonging to nations already mentioned, as the Ossetes, who are probably a remote branch of the Indo-European stock. The remaining Caucaséan nations are distributed by Güldenstedt into four classes, viz. the Abassi, the Circassians, or Tscherkessi, the Kisti, or Ingushi, and the Lesgi. Klaproth reduces these four classes to three, by including the Abassian and Circassian together, under the

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name of Western Caucaséan, but this is merely a nominal alteration, for these last nations were before known to be allied. I shall mention the most remarkable circumstances in their history, dividing them into Western, Middle, and Eastern Caucaséans.

1. The Western Caucaséans consist, as above noticed, of the Circassians and Abassi. Güldenstedt observed, that the languages of these two nations are dialects of one mother tongue, but that they have become so different in the course of time, that it is necessary to take pains in order to discover their affinity. That this is nearly the truth may be seen at once by inspecting Klaproth's vocabularies.

The Abassians appear to be very ancient inhabitants of the north-western part of the chain of Caucasus.* They are chiefly pastoral and predatory people. They are divided into two nations, termed the Great and the Little Abasa.

The Abassians, according to Klaproth, are distinguished by narrow faces, heads compressed at the sides; by the shortness of the lower parts of their faces; by prominent noses and dark brown hair.†

The Circassians are to the eastward of the Abassians. They inhabit the country between Caucasus and the Kuban, and further eastward the provinces of Great and Little Kabarda on the Terek. The people of these provinces are also

* Mithridates, p. 439. † Travels in Caucasus.

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called Kabardines. The Circassians term themselves Adigi, and by the Tartars are named Tscherkess, whence the appellation by which they are known in Europe. Their country abounds with high forest tracts, and their climate is cold.*

Pallas informs us that the Circassians are a handsome race of people. "The men," he adds, "especially among the higher classes, are mostly of a tall stature, thin form, but Herculean structture; they are very slender about the loins, have small feet, and uncommon strength in their arms. They possess, in general, a truly Roman and martial appearance." He thinks, however, that they have some traces of intermixture with the race of Nogays. "The women are not uniformly Circassian beauties, but are for the most part well-formed, have a white skin, dark brown or black hair, and regular features: I have met with a greater number of beauties among them than in any other unpolished nation."† Other travellers represent a mixture of *red* in their hair, as a characteristic of the Circassians.‡ Klaproth says, "they have brown hair and eyes, long faces, thin, straight noses and elegant forms.§ Reineggs denies their claim to superior beauty. He says, "I know not what can have given occasion to

* Mithridates, *ubi supra.* Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, and Travels in Caucasus. Malte-Brun, *ubi supra.*

† Pallas, ibid. vol. i. p. 398.

‡ Malte-Brun, book xxv. English Translation.

§ Klaproth's Travels in Caucasus.

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the generally received prejudice in favour of the female Tscherkessians. A short leg, a small foot, and *glaring red* hair, constitute a Tscherkessian beauty."*

2. The Middle Caucaséans inhabit the high country above Kabarda, and the habitations of the Circassians, towards the sources of the Terek, and other rivers which flow into it from the heights of Caucasus. There are several tribes or nations belonging to this division of people, who, however, seem to be nearly allied in language. The principal of these are the Mizjeghi, a name which, according to Klaproth, comprehends the Inguschi, and the Tschetschenghi, or Taschi; the latter being to the southward, nearer to Georgia. The Inguschi are termed by Güldenstedt Kisti.

3. The Eastern Caucaséans, or the Lesghi, are the inhabitants of the eastern region of Caucasus, which is termed Lesghistan. They are divided by Güldenstedt into seven tribes, or nations, one of which is the Avares, supposed to be the remains of the people once so formidable under that name."†

The languages of these nations of Mount Caucasus have hitherto been considered as entirely distinct from each other, and it has been supposed that the tribes thus distinguished by their dialects, belong to separate families of men. But the comparative vocabularies collected by Klaproth, suffi-

* Reineggs, vol. i. p. 289.

† Reineggs, *ubi supra*. Mithridates, i. p. 447.

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ciently prove, that although the differences are great, there is nevertheless that species of affinity between them, which evinces a common origin at some very distant era. A very remarkable circumstance in the history of their language is the affinity which they display, as Klaproth has observed, in a multitude of words, to the dialects of northern Asia, particularly those of the Tschudish or Finnish nations, and of the tribes of Samoiedes.

The chain of Caucasus is the wall of separation between the south-western Asiatics and those of the north, and there are still found in its neighbourhood vestiges of the different families of men, who have made a path over it, in their transit from Media and Syria into Europe, or northern Asia. We have already, in a preceding book, traced the history of one of these great branches of the human race, and in the following we shall proceed to another division, who, as above hinted, appear to have taken their journey through the same quarter, but to have turned afterwards in a different direction.

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BOOK VII.

SURVEY OF THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF PARTICULAR RACES, CONTINUED.

PART V. OF THE RACES OF PEOPLE INHABITING NORTHERN AND EASTERN ASIA, INCLUDING SOME NATIONS IN THE EASTERN PARTS OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

General Remarks. Division of Nations.

NORTHERN Asia possesses a greater variety of nations than Europe or Southern Asia, though by no means such a multitude of distinct and independent races as Africa or America. In the northern and eastern parts of Asia, some families of nations, comparatively few in number, are spread over a great extent of country.

Strahlenberg was, I believe, the first who attempted to make a systematic survey of the races of men spread over the north of Asia. He had opportunities for acquiring the requisite information on this subject, during his long exile in Siberia.

Strahlenberg distributed the whole of the nations inhabiting this part of the world into six

classes. I shall follow his order and division with but little alteration in the general outline. It will be necessary, however, to add a seventh class for the Chinese and Indo-Chinese nations, which were not included by the historian of Siberia in his enumeration.

The first of these classes will include all the nations termed Tschudes by the Russians; and by some writers on ethnography called Finnish races, from a western or European branch of the same stock. It comprises many nations spread through the countries on both sides of the Uralian chain, from the river Obi in Siberia, to the White Sea, and to Finnland in Europe. Among these are the Finns, Laplanders, Permians, Vogouls, Ostiaks, and in the south, the Hungarians, with many nations of inferior note that will afterwards be mentioned.

A second class includes the tribes of Samoiedes, who are spread along the shores of the Icy Sea, from the Gulf of Kara almost to the Lena. We shall find, that this race of men, like many others in Siberia, can be traced to its original seat on the great central steppe; on some parts of which remains of it are to be found.

A third division consists of the Mongolian and Kalmuc tribes, a class of men strongly marked as a distinct nation.

A fourth class, by far the most extensively spread in Asia, and next to the Indo-European, the most widely dispersed family in the whole human spe-

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cies, is the Turk or Tartar race. Many powerful and numerous nations belong to this class, as the Tartars scattered through the Russian empire; the Usbeks, Turkomans, Kirguis, in different parts of central Asia; and several other warlike tribes, who, according to Abulgasi Khan, the celebrated historian of his nation, profess to derive their origin and name from a common ancestor. The branches of this race are identified by the near resemblance of their languages, while their physical characters differ considerably.

A fifth nation is found further towards the east, somewhat resembling the Mongoles in the cast of their features and the shape of their heads, though also marked by characters peculiar to themselves. These are the Tungusian race, many tribes of which inhabit the countries bordering on the rivers of Eastern Siberia, where they are now reckoned among the subjects of the Russian empire. Other branches of the same stock are found within the frontier of the Chinese dominion: here they have the name of Mantschu, or Mandshures, and are improperly termed Mantchou Tartars. Of this nation are the last conquerors, and the present rulers of the Chinese empire.

Strahlenberg has included in a sixth class several remote nations in the eastern extremities of Asia, as the Kamtschatkans and the Koriaks. In this I shall follow him, but must add to the number some races of men unknown in his time. The natives of this region were probably driven into their

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remote situation by other tribes to the southward of them; but their origin lies beyond the reach of history. In this department I shall include some tribes of people inhabiting the eastern shores and islands of Asia, as the Kurilian race, and the Japanese.

A seventh class will comprise the Chinese, as well as those nations sometimes termed Indo-Chinese; races of people who bear much resemblance to the Chinese in their physical traits, as well as in their social character and manners; it is still more important to observe, that they are allied to the Chinese by the character of their languages, which are of the kind termed monosyllabic. It is unnecessary to define this class of nations more accurately at present than by referring to it the races in general which are spread over the northern and eastern confines of India, and which reach from Nepaul, and even from Tibet, through the whole of the eastern peninsula.

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CHAPTER II.

Of the Tschude, or FinnishRace.

SECTION I.

General Account of the Nations belonging to this Family.

THE countries in the east of Europe, and the north of Asia, to a considerable distance on both sides of the great Uralian chain, were occupied in the earliest times of which we have any trace, by a variety of nations, some more nearly, others more remotely connected by marks of a common origin; all of them, however, looked upon by their Slavonian neighbours, who were their earliest invaders and conquerors, as branches of one race. When the Russians spread themselves into the countries lying to the eastward of the Vistula, they gave to the former inhabitants the name of Tschudaki, or Tschoudes, which has since extended to tribes more remotely situated, but connected by a general resemblance of manners, religion, physical characters, and language, with the people who first received that denomination. By the German nations, who found some western branches of the same stock spread over the southern shores of the Baltic, and in Scandinavia, they were termed Finnas, or Finns; and under this name, or that of Fenni, they were known by distant report to the Romans through the medium of the Germans.

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M. Klaproth has proposed to distinguish this stock of men by the term Uralian, pointing out the Ural mountains as their ancient and primitive habitation. "All," he says, "that we know of them by history and philological researches, indicates their origin from the Uralian chain, whence they descended towards the west and the east. He adds, that before the movements among the northern nations,* they appear to have been spread, at least in Europe, much further towards the south, than in modern times; and probably reached as far as the Euxine, where they were comprehended, with other nations, under the vague appellation of Scythians.† It appears certain, that some tribes of this stock have crossed the Ural into Europe; but there is no historical ground for supposing that the western branch of the Tschudic race, namely the Finnish nations, ever inhabited this range of hills; and M. Klaproth's idea of deducing all the races of men from some high mountain chains, in the manner of botanists, who trace the diffusion of plants from such centres, is, as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe, a chimerical notion.

The modern Russians attribute to the Tschudes a variety of ancient remains, which are scattered over eastern Siberia. In the countries bordering on the Irtish and Yenisei, there are found in great numbers, ancient tombs, consisting of earthen mounds, surrounded by upright stones. In these tombs are found a variety of ornaments and imple-

* Vor der Völkerwanderung.

† Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta, p. 182.

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ments of gold, silver, and copper. They are declared by the present inhabitants of the country, who are Tartars, to belong, not to their ancestors, but to some more ancient people, unknown except by such remains; and Pallas has remarked, that this assertion is confirmed by comparing them with the tombs of the Tartar tribes, which are built partly of stone, and are of a different construction from those attributed to the Tschudes. Relics of the same people are found in numberless mountains in the chain of Altai, and throughout the southern parts of Siberia. Such are the excavations made by ancient miners, who, in quest of the precious metals, have dug their way into the bowels of the earth in every part of this region. According to the opinion of Pallas, these mines are doubtless the work of the same people, to whom the tombs above described belonged; for the Tartars, and other late inhabitants of the country, seek only for iron, of which the early miners appear to have been entirely ignorant. Still it remains uncertain whether this ancient people was in reality of the race called Tschudes. The Siberian tombs, termed by the inhabitants kourgani, are found in the greatest number and magnitude on the banks of the Yenisei, which hence appear to have been the chief seat of the nation to whom they belonged. The most remote branch of the Tschudes reaches no further eastward at present, than the middle course of the river Obi.

Much has been written on the history of the Tschudes, by German and other northern geographers and historians. It will be proper to cite, in

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this place, an enumeration of the different tribes belonging to this race.

"To the Finnish nations," says M. Gatterer,* "whom I look upon as the remains of the old Scythians, and who all speak only one principal language, though divided into various dialects, belong the following tribes:

1. The Finns themselves, properly so called, both of Swedish and Russian Finnland, who give themselves the name of *Suoma-lainen*, but are termed by the Russians Tschuchonetz, or Tschuchna.

2. The Laplanders, in the northernmost region of Norway, Sweden, and Russia; by the Russians they are termed Lopari; they call themselves *Sabme* and *Almag*.

3. The *Ishores*, in Ingermannland, or Ingria, so named from the Ishora, or river Inger.

4. The Esthonians, in Eastland, who are termed *Tschud*, in the Russian annals, and by the Finns are called *Viro-lainen*.

5. The Livonians near Salis, in the circle of Riga, and in Courland on the shore of Angern.

6. The *Votes* or *Votiaks*, on the river Viatka, in the territory of Kasan and Oremburg, who name themselves *Ud*, or *Mordi*, and are termed by the Tartars *Ar*: they speak a less mixed dialect, which approaches very nearly to that of the Tscheremisses, and more closely to that of the Permians.

7. The Tscheremisses, or as they term themselves, *Mari*, on the left side of the Volga, in the

* In his work entitled, "Einleitung in die Synchronistische Universalhistorie. Gotting. 1771. Gyarmathi, p. 281.

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Kasan and Oremburg territory, whose language is much intermixed with that of the Tartars.

8. The Morduines, called by the Russians Mordwa, who term themselves Moksha, dwell in the Oremburg territory; their language varies greatly from the before mentioned: a particular tribe of them, termed Erzja, have a dialect somewhat peculiar.

9. The Permians, called in the Icelandic Sagas Beormahs; and,

10. The Syrjanes; both of these nations live upon the rivers Vitchegda and Vim; they call themselves Komi, and speak a pure Finnish dialect.

11. The Vogouls, called by the Permians, Vagol, and in the Russian annals Vogulitsch and Ugritsch, are the first people in Siberia, living partly in the mountains of Yugori, and partly along the flat countries on both sides of them: their language corresponds with the Hungarian and proper Finnish, but most nearly with that of the Khondish Ostiaks.

12. The Khondish Ostiaks, or as they name themselves, Chondi-chui, that is, people of the Khonda, live on the lower Irtish, and lower Obi, near Surgut, Tobolsk, and Beresof. Their language is most nearly allied to that of the Permians and Vogouls.

13. The Hungarians, who name themselves Madjar, and speak a Finnish dialect.*

We shall obtain a more extensive knowledge of

* He refers to Herr Hofrath Schlözer's Probe Russischer Annalen. S. 10. u.

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this family of men by a brief survey of the history of particular nations belonging to it; but, previously to this, it must be observed, that the whole Tchudish race may be most conveniently divided into three departments. These may be denominated the Finnish, Permian, and Uralian. The first, or Finnish branch, may be considered as comprehending all the tribes of Finnish extraction, whose abodes are to the westward of the White Sea, and the great Russian lakes; as the Laplanders, the Finnlanders, Esthonians, Karelians, the Lievi, or Lifi, in Courland, the Finns of Olonetz, and the remains of the same race on the river Inger, above mentioned. The second, or Permian branch, may include the people of Permia, the Syrænians, and Votiaks. Klaproth confines the name of Permian to these three tribes, but it may be so extended as to comprehend the old Beormahs, or the people of Biarmia, mentioned by the northern fabulists, as well as the nations termed by Klaproth, Volgian Finns, namely, the Mordouins, Mokshas, Tscheremisses, and other tribes in the adjoining parts of the Russian empire. The third, or Uralian branch, includes the Vogouls, in the countries near the Uralian chain, the Ostiaks of the Obi, and lastly, the Hungarians, who, notwithstanding their remote separation, are proved by the affinity of their language to belong to the Siberian, or Eastern department of the Tschudish race.

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Section II.

Of the Finns and Laplanders.

The affinity of these nations, though they are now so different in many respects, is a point on which all northern antiquarians are agreed. Ohthere, the northern voyager, terms the Laplanders Finnas, and so they are now called by the Danes. Leemius, speaking of the Finni Maritimi of Norway, and the Lappones Montani, asserts that they constitute one nation. Gunnerus, in his commentary upon Leems says, "it is beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the Finns, or Laplanders, are the same nation as the Finnlanders. He adds, that the resemblance of their language is, considering their long separation, surprising. This is proved in a diffuse comparison of their dialects by Schnitler. Add to this, that the Finnlanders call themselves Same, or Some, and their speech *Samegiel*, which are almost exactly the denominations used by the Laplanders. The Russians also call their Laplanders Kaiani, evidently supposing them to be of the same stock as the Caiani, or Quæni, who are Finnlanders. Both the Laplanders and the Finnlanders deduce their origin from *Jumi* or *Yumo*,*

* Johannes Tornæus says, there is an ancient tradition among the Laplanders, that their first founder was Jumi, and he speaks thus of the Finnlanders. "They did, in former times, acknowledge one Jumi for their founder." See Scheffer's History of Lapland, p. 38.

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and both are said to have worshipped the same deity, *Jomala*, in common with the Beormahs.*

The languages of the Finns and Laplanders do not resemble so much, or so obviously, as the Swedish and German;† but a great number of words, descriptive of simple ideas and objects, are nearly the same in both; and the grammatical forms have evidently sprung out of a common origin. This is a point completely established by Adelung, the author of the Mithridates, to whose work I must refer such of my readers as entertain doubt on this subject.‡

Travellers have been struck with the different aspect of the Finns and Laplanders. Von Buch has remarked, that although the Laplanders and Finns have the same origin, they were probably separated before they came to inhabit the north: the Laplanders descended from the White Sea, towards Norway and Sweden, and the Finns came up from the Esthonia. "The two nations," he adds, "are remarkably different in manners and physiognomy. The Laplanders are small in general: a man of five feet eight inches in stature is not seen among many hundreds of them. The Finns, though they remain for centuries in the same

* Scheffer. ibid.; item Dr. I. R. Forster, *ubi supra;* item Gunner, *ubi supra.*

† Leemius de Lapponibus.

‡ In the second volume of the Mithridates, the languages of the Finns and Laplanders are accurately examined, and their grammatical forms compared. Leems has also a great deal of information on the dialect of the Laplanders.

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country, do not become smaller than the Swedes and Norwegians. The cause, as this intelligent traveller thinks, is very obvious. It lies in the difference of culture. The Finns use hot baths and warm clothing. The Laplander never keeps himself in the degree of temperature necessary for the developement of physical life.*

Linnæus has thus briefly drawn the description of these two races.

"Fennones corpore toroso, capillis flavis prolixis, oculorum iridibus fuscis."

"Lappones corpore parvo, capillis nigris, brevibus, rectis; oculorum iridibus nigrescentibus."†

These diversities are not, however, always so strongly marked. Scheffer, the historian of Lapland, has remarked, that these two nations have a considerable resemblance in person. He says, "their bodies and habits are very nearly the same. The Finnlanders have well set limbs, and so have the Laplanders; both have black hair, stern countenances, and broad faces; and what small difference there is between them, must be ascribed to their different diet and climate."

Of the Laplanders, in particular, we have the following accounts from the last mentioned author.

"They are not only very short of stature, but extremely lean, so that it is the greatest rarity that can be, to meet with a fat man among them. 'This nation,' says Peter Claudi, 'is very lean, and without moisture; because the cold, which hin-

* Von Buch, Travels in Scandinavia. † Fauna Suecica.

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ders their growth, dries up likewise the moisture of their body and blood. They are also very nimble and active.' Their breasts are very broad, their waists slender; they have spindle shanks, but are extremely swift on foot. They are very strong-limbed, as Jovius observes; and Peter Claudi says, they exceed other men in strength, as appears by their bows, which a Norwegian can scarce bend above half. But they have no less activity than strength, the first of which is most conspicuous in their swimming over lakes and rivers, with incredible nimbleness; and they are so skilful in diving, that they will continue for a considerable time under water." Ziegler affirms, "that the Laplanders are so active, that with their quivers and arrows on their backs, they will throw themselves through a hoop, not above a cubit in diameter."

"As to the structure of their bodies, in particular, they have very thick heads, and prominent foreheads, hollow and large eyes, with short and flat noses, and wide mouths."

"Their hair is short, straight, and thin; and so is their beard, the hair of which scarcely covers their chins. The colour of the hair of both sexes is black, contrary to what the rest of the northern nations have, who are inclined to fairness. The hair of both sexes, says Tornæus, is black and hard; and among all the Laplanders that I ever saw, I met with but one who had yellowish hair. But this must be understood of Lulah Lappmark, for in Uma Lappmark, are many with fair hair. Nicolaus Landius, a native of the Pitha Lapp-

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mark, assures us that the inhabitants of the Uma Lappmark are not only much taller, but also handsomer than those of Lulah Lappmark: they have such an aversion to the latter, that they will seldom converse with them, even at their greatest fairs. Olaus Magnus says, that the females in these parts are handsome, their complexion being a mixture of white and red."

This is confirmed by the testimony of Tornæus, and of Scheffer himself.*

It appears, from these statements, that the fair or sanguine complexion, has sprung up in some tribes of genuine Laplanders; as it has become prevalent among the Finns, and is very general, as we shall see, in other branches of the Tschudish race. It seems here, as if the appearance of the xanthous variety, with a fair, florid complexion, was the result or accompaniment of a greater degree of vigour in physical life, and a more ample developement of the body, and particularly of the sanguiferous system. Perhaps this state of the constitution and bodily growth is connected with the abode of the parents, and the birth of the infant, in a cold climate. The adaptation of such a habit of body to a cold climate is evident. But when the cold is extreme, and nutrition is defective, this additional degree of vigour and developement is not given to the bodily

* See the History of Lapland, by John Scheffer, Professor at Upsal, who was employed by the Chancellor of Sweden to travel into Lapland, and write a history of that part of his master's dominions. Chap. v.

frame. Nature has not power, with such defective means, to accomplish it.

Section III.

Second Division. Of the Permians.

The proper Permians are the native inhabitants of the Russian province of Permia; particularly the northern country, watered by the Kama and Vishera, westward of the Ural. The old town of Tcherdyn was the Great, or Old Perme. The inhabitants were brought in the fourteenth century, to adopt the Christian faith, by St. Stephen, the Permian, who invented for them an alphabet. They name themselves Koma or Koma-murt.*

The Syrænes are, in reality, the same people with the Permians; they inhabit the country on the Vitshegda, to the westward of the Permians. Some of them are still Pagans. They border to the northward on the Samoiedes.†

The Permians appear to have been formerly spread over all the country, from the present Perme, and even from the Ural chain, to the Dwina and the White Sea, for it was in the latter situation that the northern voyagers placed the people whom they named Beormahs, or Biarmiers, and the country termed Biarmeland, which was represented as more populous than Finnland. In the age of Ohthere, the adventurous navigator of the north, who described his voyage to King

* Klaproth's Asia Pol. p. 187. † Ibid. p. 186.

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Alfred, the Beormahs spoke the same language as the Finnas.* They worshipped Jumala, the ancient deity of the Finnas.† By the Finnas are probably meant the Laplanders, who have been commonly distinguished by that name.

The language of the Permians is a cognate dialect of the Finnish, or Tschudish stock. It approaches considerably to the idiom of the Vogouls on the Uralian mountains.

The Votiaks inhabit districts on the Viatka; and between that river and the Upper Kama;‡ they are a tribe of the Tschudish stock,§ and give to themselves the name of Out-Mourt. They inhabited the same country before the invasion of Russia by the Tartars, when they were governed by princes of their own.

The Votiaks, according to the description given of them by Pallas, have many traits which distinguish them from the Tscheremisses, a tribe of the

* The History of St. Olaus, king of Norway, says, in express terms, "The god of the Biarmi, whom they call Jumala, stands upon an altar." And Ferrodus, in his history, speaking of a certain temple of the Biarmi, says, "Here you see a god, famous among them, under the name of Jumala." Scheffer's History of Lapland, p. 54; item Gunner, *ubi supra*.

The Golden Woman was worshipped by the ancient Finns, under the name of Jumala. The Tscheremisses, Morduans, and other nations of the same race, says Strahlenberg, still call their idols, Jumala; and the Laplanders term the deity Jubmal, or Immel.

† Pallas, Voy. en Sibérie, tom. vii. p. 16.

‡ Klaproth, Asia Pol. p. 185.

§ Pallas, ibid. p. 14. Klaproth, ibid.

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same race who will presently be mentioned. "They are more lively, gay, and less obstinate; but, on the other hand, much addicted to drunkenness."—"Among them are very few tall, well-made, and robust men. The women are small, and not handsome. There is no nation among whom hair of a fiery red is so common as among the Votiaks, yet there are individuals who have brown, and others who have black hair, but most generally it is of a chesnut colour; they have, however, in general, red beards."

The Tscheremisses and Mordouans are considered by Klaproth as forming by themselves a particular branch of the Tschudish nation, distinguished somewhat in their dialects from the preceding tribes, and mutually resembling. He hints, that among them are, perhaps, some relics of the language and race of the ancient Chasares, but this is only a conjecture.

"The Tscheremisses inhabit countries watered by the same rivers, Viatka and Kama; they form a considerable horde in the government of Kasan. They are of a middle stature; almost all of them have hair of a clear chesnut colour, or of a light red; these colours are most conspicuous in their beards. Their faces are very white, but their features broad; they are by no means robust, and are cowardly, timorous, thievish, and excessively obstinate."*

According to Strahlenberg, the Tscheremisses used to worship Jumala, without any image or

* Pallas, Voy. en Sibérie, tom. vii. p. 24.

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temple, under green trees. They made a fire, and threw meat and bread into it, crying, "Jumala sargala." Jumala, have mercy upon us.

The Mordouans are found in the governments of Kasan, Oremburg, and Nishnii. They are divided into three tribes, termed Moksha, Ersao, and Karatag.* The former live in the forests, along the banks of the river Moksha, and in the mountainous regions between the Soura and Volga. The names of rivers and brooks indicate, as Pallas observes, that the government of Pensa was formerly inhabited by them.† They differ in dialect from the other tribes of Mordouans.

The Mordouans pretend that they were never idolaters, but worshipped the heavens,‡ and as Pallas remarks, like all the nations of Tschudish origin, they turn to the east on saying their prayers. Strahlenberg says, that the Mordouans used to sacrifice oxen to their god Jumi-shipas, which is the same as Jumala.

"The Mordouans differ little from the Russians, except in complexion, in which they resemble the rest of the Tschudish nations." Pallas says, "Les Mokshaniens sont moins sales que les Ersaniens. La couleur blonde et même rousse des cheveux est moins commune chez eux que parmi les autres; la

* Pallas, ibid. tom. i. p. 128.

† Pallas, Travels in Crimea, vol. i. p. 27.

‡ Pallas, however, observes that the Mordouans have lost, in a great measure, the memory of their ancient usages and traditions. They worship the *sky*, under the name of *skai*.

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plupart les ont bruns ou châtains. Leurs femmes sont, ainsi que les Ersaniennes, rarement belles, mais en revanche très laborieuses."*

Section IV.

Third Division—Uralian or Siberian Tschudes.

The forests on both sides of the Uralian mountains, and the low countries on the eastern side, as far as the Obi and its tributary streams, are inhabited by races of wandering savages, who are pagans, and from the Russians receive the denomination of Tschoudes, in common with the Finnish and Permian tribes. They are divided into two principal nations, the Vogouls, and the Ostiaks. Their languages spring from the same stock as the Finnish and Permian dialects, but they form a separate branch, marked by strong mutual affinities, which exclusively belong to them, and to a third dialect, the idiom of a people long since separated from them. These are the Onoguri, or Hungarians.

The dialects of these three nations form together one great division of the Tschudish language. The tribes of people to whom they belong, are probably connected in lineage. I shall add some observations on the history of each of them.

¶ 1.—*Vogouls.*

1. The Vogouls term themselves Mansi. They inhabit districts of the Uralian chain from the

* Pallas, Voy. i. 128, &c.

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Vitchera, on the western side, to the Khonda, and Tauda on the eastern. They have no community, but wander in separate families through the forests, and live by hunting. They still retain much of their ancient idolatry. There are many rivulets and places in this part of Siberia, which bear the name of Schaïtanka, or Schaïtanskaia, from the idols of the Vogouls, which the Russians commonly term Schaïtan. One of these, says Pallas, was lately found near the Sosva and the Lobva, in a forest newly consumed by fire. It was a statue of copper, representing a man holding a javelin in his hand, and stood near a very lofty pine tree.*

The language of the Vogouls, according to Gatterer, resembles the Hungarian, and the proper Finnish, and more especially the dialect of the Khondish Ostiaks. Georgi, in his description of the nations inhabiting the Russian empire, derives it from the Finnish, but allows that it has so much peculiarity, that it may be considered as a particular language.† Pallas says, "their language has much affinity with the Finnish, as far as I could ascertain by a vocabulary; but they have several dialects. The Vogouls on the borders of the Sosva differ from those of the Toura, as well in their pronunciation, which is shorter and more masculine, as by their manner of expression. They are more lively than the others, who are naturally phlegmatic."‡

* Pallas, Voy. en Sibérie, ibid.

† Mithridates, i. p. 559. ‡ Pallas, vol. iii.

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"The Vogouls are little and effeminate; they have some resemblance to the Kalmucs, except that they are whiter. They have round faces; their women are tolerably handsome. They have long hair, of brown or black colour; fair or red-haired persons are rarely seen among them. They have little beard, and what they have is very late in its growth."*

¶ *2.—Ostiaks.*

The Ostiaks† inhabit a considerable extent of country upon the Obi and Irtish; they were one of the first nations of Siberia discovered by the Russians. They are still idolaters and savages; Pallas makes the following observations respecting their language, "La langue des Ostiaks de l'Obi a beaucoup d'affinité avec la langue Finoise ou Tschoude; mais elle en a davantage avec la Vogoule. On rémarque plusieurs dialectes différens, selon les contrées. Ceux qui demeurent au dessus de Bérézof, et qui bordent les Vogouls, parlent un langage très mélangé. Le Mordouan est, de tous les dialectes Finois, les plus éloignés, celui qui a le plus de ressemblance avec l'Ostiak."

From the same author we have the following description of the physical characters of the Ostiaks. "The greater part of the Ostiaks are of middle stature, rather short than tall, slightly robust,

* Pallas, vol. iii.

† The Ostiaks of the Obi, Irtish and Khonda, are properly the nation so termed. Other savage tribes are termed Ostiaks by mistake; as those of the Jenisei, who are a different people.

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with thin and slender legs; they have almost all a disagreeable figure and pale complexion; no particular feature characterizes them.* Their hair, *commonly reddish, or of a golden white,* renders them still more ugly, particularly the men, who let it fly in all directions round their heads. There are very few agreeable figures among the women, particularly when they are advanced in age. The Ostiaks are very simple, timorous, and full of prejudice. They are tolerably good-natured. Their life is hard, and by no means pleasant. The men are much given to idleness. They are very slovenly, and even disgusting in their way of living."

¶ *3.—Hungarians.*

It has long been known, that a certain affinity exists between the language of the Hungarians and the dialects of the Finns, and other Tschudish tribes. By Strahlenberg it was reckoned an indisputable fact, that the Hungarians are a branch of the Tschudish race. Some writers have been disposed to be incredulous on this subject; they have ascribed to the Hungarians a Tartar, or Turkish origin, and have attributed the coincidence between their idiom, and that of the Finns, to casual intercourse. Lately, however, this question has been thoroughly examined by several well informed persons, particularly by Gyarmathi, a native Hungarian, who has made himself extensively acquainted with the dialects of other Tschudish

* Tom. v.

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nations. He has established on satisfactory grounds, that the Hungarian language corresponds with the Finnish, Lapponic, and Esthonian dialects, not only in a great multitude of particular words, but what is more essential, in its structure and grammatical forms. A number of Tartar as well as of Slavonian words enter into the composition of the Hungarian speech, as we might conjecture from the intercourse of the nation with Tartar and Slavonic tribes; but the language is, in its intimate structure and foundation, a Finnish, or rather Tschudic dialect.*

Of all the dialects belonging to this family of

* See Gyarmathi's work, entitled, "Affinitas Linguæ Hungaricæ cum Linguis Fennicæ Originis grammatice demonstrata. Auctore Sam. Gyarmathi. Gotting. 1799."

From his analysis it appears, in the first place, that there is an essential affinity in the structure of the Hungarian and the Finnish dialects, more strictly so called, including the idioms of the Finns, Laplanders, and Esthonians; but the affinity of the Hungarian language with these is, especially in the vocabulary, more remote than that which exists between the Lapponic, Finnish, and Esthonian dialects themselves. On the whole, however, there seems to be no room left for doubt, that the ancestors of all these nations spoke at some distant period a common language, though their long separation has introduced great changes in their vocabularies, and each tribe has borrowed a great number of words from its neighbours; the Finns, for example, from the Swedes, and the Hungarians from the Tartar tribes, with whom they lived a long time in intimate connexion. Secondly, there appears to be also a grammatical affinity between the Hungarian language and the dialects of the Tscheremisses, Votiaks, Ostiaks, Permians, and other tribes in Eastern Russia, and even a greater affinity between these languages, in respect to their vocabularies, than between the Hungarian and the northern Finnish.

languages, the Hungarian bears the nearest affinity to those of the Vogouls and Ostiaks of the Obi, and these three nations are included by Klaproth, under a common denomination, that of Ugorian Finns. It seems that the northern region of the Ural mountains is termed Jugria, or Jugoria, in the Russian annals. The country to the southward towards the Upper Jaik, inhabited by Bashkirians, is named Great Hungary by Plano Carpini, who was sent on a mission to the Great Khan, in 1246. Ruysbroek terms the same region Pascatir, that is Bashkiria. He says, "C'est de ce païs de Pascatir que sortirent autrefois les Huns, qui fûrent dépuis appellés Hongrois." The Hungarians appear to have been confounded with the Huns by mistake. Their ancient appellation was Ugri, Ugori, and Unn-Ugri, and they have taken the name of Madjiar from their most powerful tribe. In the Russian annals they are termed Ugri. From a part of this nation, who remained in their native country, intermixed with Tartars, it appears probable that the present Bashkirians are descended, who have however lost, as it is said, all traces of their Hungarian speech.*

* These passages are cited by Klaproth. Strahlenberg however, assures us, that the Bashkirians, though they now speak the Tartar language, and are generally reckoned among the nations of Tartar stock, are still considered by the Tartars of the neighbouring country as belonging to a different race, and are termed Sari Yshteck, *i. e.* red or yellow haired Ostiaks, being taken for a part of the Ostiaks who have red hair generally, and speak the Ugorian language. "Hence," he says, "it is a

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These historical notices would not be conclusive of themselves, but when conjoined with the data arising from a comparison of the Hungarian language with those of the nations of the Ural and Obi, they afford sufficient ground for concluding the Hungarians to be a tribe of this same stock, and to form, together with the Vogouls and Ostiaks, a department of the Tschudish race, which may be termed Uralian, or, as Klaproth denominates it, Ugorian. The country whence the Hungarians issued may therefore have been, as Ruysbroek says, the region of Bashkiria, at the southern extremity of the great Uralian chain.

Section V.

Further Remarks on the Physical Characters of the Tschudish Nations.

We have in the preceding accounts several instances of considerable variety in the complexion and features of the Tschudish nations. On this subject I shall here cite some general observations made by a philosophical writer, who appears to have described the nations belonging to this race with great accuracy.*

natural supposition, that those Bashkirs who have red hair, are of Ostiak or Ungarian, *i. e.* Ugorian race." Hist. of Siberia by Strahlenberg.

* Passages cited by Gyarmathi from the work of Dobrowsky, entitled, "Literärische Nachrichten von einer auf veranlassung der Böhmischen gelehrten gesellschaft der Wissenschaften im jahre 1792, unternommenen Reise nach Schweden und Russland,

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"Die augen der Finnen liegen etwas tiefer. Ihr haar ist gröstentheils roth. Auch einige andere sprachverwandte der Finnen, als die Permäcken (Permier), Siränen, Wotjaken, die Obischer Ostjaken, haben fast durchgängig rothe haare, und bläuliche augen. Die alten Russen die nicht Slawish reden, sind wahrscheinlich vom Finnischen volkerstamme. Daher ihr nahme *Russ, Russland,* von dem worte *Rusy* (hung röska) roth von haaren.

"Dieser umstand ist desto merkwürdiger, da andere Sprachverwandte der Finnen, als die Lappländer, Tscheremissen, Morduinen, Wogulen, schwarze haare und schwarzbraune augen haben. Zu den schwarzhaarigen stamme gehören wohl auch die Ungern, daher denn ihre sprache mit der Wogulischen näher verwandt ist."

Von Buch has given some occasional observations on the physical characters of the Finnish races. He considered the Finns and Laplanders as very different in person, though allied in origin. His remarks on this subject have been inserted in a former page. He accounts for the physical differences of these nations by referring them to the diversity of their manners. He says, that while the Finns are well clothed and fed, and promote their vigour of body by the use of hot baths, the Laplander never keeps himself in a degree of heat

Von J. Dobrowsky, nebst einer vergleichung der Russischen und Böhmischen sprache, nach dem Petersburger vergleichungswörterbuche aller sprachen. Prag. 1796.

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necessary for the developement of physical life in an energetic state.

The same traveller notices some remarkable differences of person among the Laplanders themselves. He says, the Laplanders of Nordland have often fine figures. "The flat faces and fair hair supposed to be universal in Nordland, are not seen here. On the contrary, I saw with astonishment several true Turkish physiognomies, with noses and bones extremely prominent, and black dazzling eyes, without any trace of the fair physiognomy of the Danes."* But these instances are exceptions. The Laplanders for the most part resemble the Mongoles in their features, and in the form of their skulls.†

It appears however in general, that those Tschudish nations who remain in the ancient abode of their race bear still, in complexion and features, a strong resemblance to the Mongoles, while in Europe, and in the north, they have deviated either in features, or colour, or in both.

* Von Buch's Travels in Scandinavia.

† Blumenbach, Decad. v. Cranior. p. 9; item Tab. 43.

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CHAPTER III.

Of the Samoiedes.

The Samoiedes are a race of miserable, destitute savages, who live to the northward of the Ostiaks on the Obi, and along the shores of the Frozen Ocean, from the gulf of Kara, and the European side of the Ural mountains, to the neighbourhood of the Yenisei. They have some herds of reindeers, but live principally by hunting, and by eating dead whales and other marine animals found upon the sea-coast. They are addicted to idolatry, and the most abject superstition, and are in every respect in the lowest state of wretchedness and degradation of which human nature is capable.*

* The physical weakness of this race is illustrated by the following observations. "Les Samoièdes sont les hommes les plus craintifs de la terre; tout evènement ou objet imprévu les jette dans une forte terreur. Une chose rémarquable, c'est que les magiciens, et un grand nombre de Samoièdes ont quelque chose d'effrayant dans la figure; ceci provient de la sensibilité extraordinaire de leurs fibres, du climât qu'ils habitent, de leur imagination, et de leurs préjugés. Des personnes dignes de foi m'ont assuré, qu'on trouvoit de figures pareilles chez les Toungouses et les Kamtschadales." "Pour peu qu'on les touche dans quelque partie du corps sensible, un cri, ou un coup de sifflet imprévu, un réve, &c. mettent ces malheureux

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The Samoiedes of the Obi, who may probably be considered as a specimen of the whole race, are said by Pallas to differ entirely in language, as well as in their persons and countenances, from their neighbours the Ostiaks. He adds, "Les visages de ces derniers ressemblent à ceux des Russes, et beaucoup plus encore à ceux des Finois, tandis que les Samoièdes ont beaucoup de ressemblance avec les Toungouses. Ils ont le visage plât, rond, et large; ce qui rend les jeunes femmes très-agréables. Ils ont de larges lèvres retroussées, le nez large et ouvert, peu de barbe, et les cheveux noirs et rudes. La plupart sont plutot petits que de taille mediocre, mais bien proportionnés, plus trapus et plus gras que les Ostiaks. Ils sont en revanche plus sauvages et plus rémuans que ce peuple."

The Samoiedes give themselves the name of Khasova: by the Tungusians they are called Jiandal. It was observed by Strahlenberg, that some traces of their language are discoverable in the southern parts of Siberia, in the countries near Tomsk and Krasnoiarsk, and Pallas has clearly

hors d'eux mêmes, et les font presque tomber dans une espèce de rage." "Lorsqu'ils ne peuvent assouvir leur fureur, ils frappent des pieds et des mains, poussent des hurlemens, se roulent par terre, &c. Les Samoièdes et les Ostiaks, pour guérir ces maniaques, allument un morceau de peau de renne, ou un petit tampon de poils de rennes, et ils leur en font respirer la fumée par les nez." Pallas, tom. v. p. 180.

It seems that these wretched people have some notion of a future state. Pallas, p. 178.

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proved, that the Samoiedes originated from the southern tracts of the country bordering on the Yenisei and the chain of Sayan. Many facts indicate, as he observes, that these regions were formerly much more populous than they now are, and it will no longer be doubted that the Samoiedes had there their ancient seat, when it is known that the Koibals, the Kamaches, the Motors, the Soiots, and the Karakasses, have the same figure as the Samoiedes, and speak their language. The Samoiedes themselves declare that they came from some eastern countries.*

The Karakasses here mentioned are a tribe of idolatrous people inhabiting the country near Oudinsk. Pallas describes them in the sequel of his travels. He says, "La tribu des Karakasses est le plus rémarquable, quoiqu'elle ne consiste qu'en 22 hommes propres à marier. Ils ont conservé la langue Samoiède, comme les Koïbals et les Motors de l'Enisséi, et la parlent même plus purement. Ils adorent le ciel et le soleil. Ils partagent la vénération de quelques autres peuples de la Sibérie pour les fleuves et les montagnes."

The Koibals live in the neighbourhood of the river Kali: some of their tribes between Abakan and the Yenesei, and to the eastward of that river. Pallas informs us, that their way of life is now not very different from that of the Tartars, but that they are distinguished from that people by their

* Observations sur les Samoièdes, in the fifth volume of Pallas's Travels in the north of Asia, p. 164.

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features, and language, and consequently by their origin. "Ils ressemblent," he adds, "beaucoup aux Toungouses; ils ont le visage rond, plât, et assez garni de barbe. Leur langue a beaucoup d'affinité avec la Samoiède, quoiqu'elle soit très corrompue par la Tartare. Ce qui en a été conservé par les différéntes hordes, prouve que ces tribus dispersés sont les restes des Samoièdes chassés de leurs habitations, et relègués dans les pays Septentrionaux. Ces hordes sont les Karagasses, dont j'ai parlé, les Kamaches, les Motors, qui occupent la partie orientale de l'Enisséi, et les Soiotes, qui habitent les montagnes de Saian au-déla des confins de la Russie."

Pallas has added a vocabulary of fifty words, including numerals, in these several dialects, which afford convincing evidence that they are all, including the idiom of the northern, or proper Samoiedes, branches of one language, but little altered.

Klaproth has given some particulars which render more complete the history of the Samoiedes. He says, that this race of people are the aboriginal inhabitants of the upper Yenisei, and the eastern continuation of the Lesser Altai, which is known in Europe under the name of the Chain of Sayan. "From these elevated regions they descended, as it appears, in very early times, along the Yenisei and Obi, further towards the north, and advanced to the coast of the Icy Sea. On that coast they spread themselves eastward to

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the river Chatanga, and westward as far as the Mesen and the White Sea: they inhabit the lower regions of the rivers Mesen, Petchora, and Obi, the lower Yenisei, the Pyæsina, the lake Pyæsino, and the Chatanga."

The most southern remains of the Samoiedes are the Soiots, or Uriangchai, who dwell chiefly under the Chinese dominion, between the chain of Sayan, which forms the southern frontier of Siberia, and the mountains of Changai and Altai, and the river Tes. The Uriangchai, or Chinese Soiots, consist of four tribes, who pay a yearly tribute in skins and roots. The Russian Soiots are a poor, wandering tribe near Tunkinsk, at the south-western extremity of lake Baikal.

To the northward of Sayan, on the river Tuba, on the right of the Yenisei, dwell the Motors, who, in 1618, inhabited the country where Abakansk was since built. They are almost extinct.

The Koibals inhabit both sides of the Yenisei, from Abakansk upwards, as far as Sayan. They are now baptized, and have been taught agriculture. Klaproth has collected a considerable vocabulary of the Motor and Koibal languages.

Near the source of the Uda, in the chain of Sayan, is the dwelling of another small Samoiede tribe termed Karakass, who are as poor as the Soiots. The Kamashes are a small nomadic horde, who formerly wandered above the sources of the river Kan and Mana, to the right of the Yenisei. They are supposed to be the remains of a

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powerful nation. Their language approaches most nearly to that of the Koibals.

To the northward of these tribes the Samoiede races have disappeared from the Yenisei, till they are found again about the lower Tunguska. From this quarter various petty tribes are scattered as far to the eastward as the mouth of the Lena. To the westward several hordes are improperly termed Ostiaks. The Ostiaks of the Tas, and those termed Luah-Ostiaks, are in reality Samoiedes.

Very considerable vocabularies of the Samoiede dialects have been collected by Pallas and Klaproth, and by the latter they have been carefully compared with the other Asiatic languages. The result of this comparison is, that although the Samoiedes are a peculiar nation, and their language a distinct one, yet numerous analogies exist between the words of which it is composed and those of other languages. By far the greatest number of coincidences are between the Samoiede and Tschudish dialects, and, next to these, between the Samoiede and Caucasean languages. These coincidences cannot be attributed to accidental resemblance, as any one may be convinced by looking over the vocabulary. Nor can they have arisen from any recent intercourse; they consist of words designating the most simple and universal objects, such as each nation expresses by vocables of its own, without borrowing from its neighbours. These phænomena are perhaps evidences of a common origin between nations

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long since separated, and differing widely in habits as well as in physical characters.*

* In the few specimens we have of the dialects of the Mordouans and other Tschudish nations, and in those of the Samoiede stock, I have even observed some traces of coincidence with the Anglo-Saxon, which induces me to suspect, that a full examination might prove some affinity between the vocabulary of our ancestors and that belonging to these barbarous idolaters. Thus *Skai* means *Sky* in the language of the Mordouans: *Buït*, or perhaps *wet*, water in the Samoiede dialect; our word *hundred* is unlike the term for this numeral in other Indo-European languages: but there is a word very much resembling it in the vocabulary of the Motors.

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CHAPTER IV.

Of the Mongolian Race.

According to Pallas it is probable that the countries near the mountains of Altai, and particularly to the northward of that chain, have been the cradle, from time immemorial, of the Mongolian nations. The lakes, the mountains, and rivers in that region, possess even now the names formerly given to them by people of this stock. Klaproth is of opinion, that the primitive seats of the Mongolian race were the elevated countries in Eastern Siberia around lake Baikal.

The whole of this great nation is said to have been divided, from the earliest times, into three branches: the Mongoles proper, the Buriæts, and the Kalmucs.

The proper Mongoles are divided into many hordes. Those who dwell or wander to the southward of the great desert of Gobi, and between it and the Chinese wall, consist of forty-nine tribes. Northward of Gobi, between the mountains of Tang-nu and Altai and the river Amur, are the Chalca-Mongoles, of whom there are eighty-six divisions.

The Buriæts, settled in the reign of Genghis, in

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the mountains near lake Baikal, where they still continue.* They are the people termed Bratski by the Russians.

The third great division of the Mongolian race are the Kalmucs, or Oelœts, consisting of four tribes termed Dsoongar, Torgod, Khoskot, and Duerbet. The Kalmucs say they formerly occupied the country between the Koko-noor, or Blue Lake, and Tibet. According to Klaproth, they occupied that country subsequently to the time of Genghis. The Khoskots remain in Tibet and near the Blue Lake. The Duerbets are chiefly in the neighbourhood of the Irtish, the Jaik, and the Volga. The Dsoongars are those who inhabit the left, or the western countries from Tibet towards Mount Altai and the Irtish. The remains of the Torgots are in the deserts near the Volga.†

The physical characters of the Kalmucs and Mongoles are well known to be peculiar. These nations are commonly taken as the type of a certain character of organization, which, though common to many races of men, is considered as constituting a distinct variety of the human species. On this account I shall cite at some length the observations of the most accurate travellers.

The following is an abstract of the description given by Pallas.

"On distingue très facilement par les traits du

* Pallas, ibid.

† See Pallas, Voyages en Sibérie, tom. ii. containing extracts from his "Recueils Historiques sur les Peuplades Mongoles."

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visage, les principales nations Asiatiques qui se mêlent rarement par les mariages; mais parmi ces peuples, il n'en est aucun où cette distinction soit aussi caractérisée que chez les Mongols. Si l'on fait abstraction de la couleur, un Mongol ressemble moins aux autres peuples, qu'un Nègre à un Européen. Cette conformation particulière se distingue surtout dans le contour du crâne des Kalmouks; mais les Mongols ou les Bouriats ont une si grande conformité avec ceux-ci, tant pour le physique que pour les mœurs et l'économie rustique, que tout ce qu'on peut rapporter sur une de ces nations, peut s'appliquer aux autres. Les Kalmouks sont généralement d'une taille médiocre; on en trouve plus de petits que de grands. Ils sont tous bien faits; et je ne me ressouviens pas d'en avoir jamais vû un seul contrefait. Ils abandonnent entièrement leurs enfans à la nature, de sorte qu'ils sont tout sains, et ont le corps bien proportionné. Ils ont généralement la taille et les membres minces et deliés. Je n'ai pas vû un seul homme chez eux, et principalement parmi les hommes du peuple, qui eût beaucoup d'embonpoint.

"Les traits caractéristiques de tous les visages Kalmouks sont, des yeux dont le grand angle placé obliquement en descendant vers le nez est peu ouvert et charnu; des sourcils noirs, peu garnis et formans un arc rabaissé; une conformation particulière du nez, qui est ordinairement camus, et écrasé vers le front; les os de la joue saillans,

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la tête et le visage fort ronds. Ils ont aussi la prunelle fort brune, les lèvres grosses et charnues, le menton court, les dents très-blanches; ils les conservent belles et saines jusques dans la vieillesse. Ils ont tous les oreilles d'une grosseur énorme, et detachées de la tête. Tous ces caractères sont plus ou moins sensibles chez tous les individus, et sont souvent rassemblés dans un seûl. Une chose fort rémarquable c'est que le mélange du sang Russe et Tartar avec le sang Kalmouk et Mongol produit les plus beaux enfans, tandis que ceux d'origine Kalmouke et Mongole ont des figures très difformes jusqu'à l'âge de dix ans; ils sont même fort boursouflés et cacochymes; ce n'est qu'en grandissant que leurs traits prennent une forme plus régulière." The following remark however seems scarcely to agree with some of these assertions. "D'après le rapport de plusieurs voyageurs, on seroit tenté de croire que *tous* les Kalmouks ont une figure laide et hideuse. On voit au contraire, tant parmi les hommes, que chez les femmes, beaucoup de visages ronds et fort jolis; on voit même des femmes qui ont les traits si beaux et si réguliers, qu'elles trouveroient un grand nombre d'adorateurs dans toutes les villes de l'Europe.

"Tous les Kalmouks naissent avec les cheveux noirs, et je n'ai jamais vû une seule exception parmi eux; je n'en ai pas trouvé un seul avec des cheveux châtain-clairs. Ils ont naturellement la barbe très forte; ils ne portent que deux petites

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moustaches, et un petit bouquet sur la lèvre inférieure. Les vieillards et les prêtres sont les seuls qui portent la barbe avec les moustaches. Ils arrachent le reste; ils ont grand soin ainsi que les Tartars de s'épiler tous le corps. Les Kalmouks ont l'odorât très-subtil, l'ouie très-fine, et la vue très-perçante. Cette subtilité de l'odorat leur est fort utile dans leurs expéditions militaires, pour sentir de loin la fumée du feu ou l'odeur d'un camp, et se procurer du butin ou quelque bon quartier. Un grand nombre entre eux disent, en mettant le nez à l'ouverture d'un terrier, de renard, ou autre bête, si l'animal s'y trouve ou non. L'ouie les avertit à une distance bien plus considérable encore, du bruit des chevaux qui marchent, des lieux ou l'ennemi se trouve, de ceux où ils pourront rencontrer un troupeau, ou quelque piece de bétail égarée; il leur suffit, pour cela, de se coucher ventre à terre, et de mettre un oreille contre le gazon. Ce qu'il y a de plus étonnant encore, c'est la perspicacité de la vue du plus grand nombre des Kalmouks, et l'éloignement extraordinaire d'on ils apperçoivent souvent de forts petits objets, et cela d'une place fort peu élevée dans des deserts immenses, absolument plats, et malgrè les ondulations de leur surface, et les vapeurs que les grands chaleurs attirent."

It seems that the Mongoles and Buriats in Dauria often intermarry with the Russian inhabitants. These mixed marriages, as Pallas informs us, produce a caste of mulattoes who are called

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Karimki. The persons of the latter are thus described. "They resemble in figure and countenances the Mongoles, and have regular and agreeable features. Their hair is black, or of a deep brown colour."*

Dr. Clarke has drawn, in very strong terms, the description of the Kalmucks. "We saw a horde of these people, who were all quite naked, with their skins *perfectly black*." He adds, that "their hair is coarse and black, their language guttural, and harsh. Nothing is more hideous than a Calmuck. High, prominent, and broad cheek-bones; very little eyes, widely separated from each other; a flat and broad nose; coarse, greasy, jet-black hair, scarcely any eyebrows, and enormous prominent ears, compose no very inviting portrait."

* Pallas, tom. vi. p. 90.

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CHAPTER V.

Of the Tartar, or Turkish Race.

SECTION I.

General Remarks on the History of the Tartar, or Turkish Race.

THE name of Tartars, or Tatars, has been variously applied. It was long customary among geographical writers to give this title to the Kalmucs and Mongoles, and even to use it as a distinguishing name for those races of men who resemble the Kalmucs in features, and who have been supposed, whether correctly or not, to be allied to them in descent. Later authors, more accurate in the application of terms, have declared this to be an improper use of the name of Tartar, and by them the appellation has been given exclusively to the tribes of the Great Turkish race, and chiefly to the northern division of it, viz. to the hordes spread through the Russian empire, and independent Tartary. A recent author, who has devoted himself to the study of Asiatic history, contends that the modern acceptation of this name is incorrect; and he has proved from several Chinese authorities, that the term Tata, which has been corrupted in European orthography,* was origin-

* Mr. Klaproth says, that the usual and erroneous way of

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ally given by the Chinese themselves to the Yuan, that is, to the Mongoles and the Eliuths. These, according to Klaproth, are the true Tartars; and the title, which properly belonged to the nation of Genghis Khan, was transferred, by mistake, to a conquered and vassal race who fought under his banners.

Whatever may be the true origin of the name of Tartar, custom has appropriated it to the race of men extensively spread through northern Asia, of whom the Ottoman Turks are a branch. It would, perhaps, be more strictly correct, to call all these nations Turks, but the customary appellation may be retained when its meaning is determined.

The Tartars are now one of the most widely dispersed nations in the world. The different hordes of this race are spread from the shores of the Lena, in Eastern Siberia, into various countries of Europe and Southern Asia. They differ considerably from each other in physical characters, but are every where identified by their language, and by a strong resemblance in their manners. Judging from their history, we might suppose them to be a race incapable of great improvement or social culture. They remain every

writing this name, has taken its rise from a *bon-mot* of St. Louis, who, when the arrival of the Tartars in Western Europe was apprehended, is said to have exclaimed, "Erigat nos, mater, cœleste solatium, quia, si perveniant ipsi, vel nos ipsos quos vocamus *Tartaros*, ad suas *Tartareas* sedes unde exierunt retrudemus, vel ipsi nos omnes ad cœlum advehent."

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where barbarians, though living in the neighbourhood, and even within the borders, as subjects or as conquerors and masters, of nations long ago civilized.

The Tartars are one of those nations who have ever been tenacious of their speech. The dialects of the hordes into which they are separated retain their resemblance in a surprising degree. It is said that a Turk from Constantinople can hold a long conversation with a Tartar from Tomsk, or Yeniseisk in Siberia.*

Many nations of Tartar, or Turkish origin, have handsome features, and differ little from Europeans in form; others have a considerable resemblance to the Mongoles. It has been a general opinion, that the former is the genuine character of the Tartar race, and that wherever the physiognomy of the Mongole or Kalmuc prevails, it has arisen from intermixture with people of that stock. This opinion is not supported by an examination of the languages of particular tribes. Many Tartar nations resembling the Mongoles in physiognomy, speak a genuine Turkish, or Tartar dialect. It may also be observed, that many other nations, besides the Tartars, as the Samoiedes, and Tungusians, and some of the Tschudes, have a cast of features nearly approaching to that of the Mongoles; yet some of these nations appear to be entirely distinct from the Mongole race. Even the Chinese have a similar physiognomy, and this is far

* Klaproth, Asia Polyglott.

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more general among them, than any intermixture with the Mongoles will explain. It would appear then, that this character of countenance is a physical peculiarity, common in a greater or less degree to all the races of people who inhabit these high regions of Asia; the Tartars in some measure partake of it, but there is no proof that this depends upon an intermixture of their breed with the Mongole race.

It is difficult to determine what was the original abode of the Tartars, or the country where they were first formed into a nation. M. Klaproth is persuaded that he has discovered their history in the early annals of the Chinese empire. They are, according to this writer, the Hiongnoux, or rather the Chiung-nu, whose history De Guignes has investigated, and who are generally supposed to be the Huns, or Chuni, of the later Roman and Byzantine writers.

According to the outline of the history of this people, which Klaproth has founded on a comparison of the somewhat vague accounts contained in the Chinese annals, the Chiung-nu dwelt originally, or according to this writer's favourite hypothesis, saved themselves during the deluge, on the mountains Tangnu and Great Altai. In a very early age they are found to the northward of the Chinese provinces Shensi and Shansi. The period of their greatest power, during which the Chiung-nu carried on bloody wars with the Chinese, lasted till the middle of the first century of our era, when they were broken by a great famine, and

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intestine divisions following, the southern Chiung-nu submitted themselves to the Chinese empire, and joined in expelling the northern tribes of the same nation from their country. The latter were forced to migrate towards the west, and this movement gave impulse to the first great migration. The country abandoned by the northern Chiung-nu, between the Upper Amur, the Selenga, and Mount Altai, was then occupied by tribes of Tungusian and Mongolian origin, who gradually became powerful and dangerous neighbours of the southern Chiung-nu, a great part of whom they finally expelled from their country, in the early part of the third century. The tracts possessed by them between the wilderness of Gobi and the northern borders of China, were seized by nations of a different race. Then took place the second migration of the Turkish tribes towards the west of Asia, where they became known to Europeans in the reign of the Emperor Justin the second.

At the time when the Tartar, or Turkish race, made themselves known to Europeans, they were in possession of countries bordering on the Caspian, and stretching thence northward and eastward to an unknown distance. It is unnecessary in this place to attempt, by the imperfect notices of their history, to trace the steps of their dispersion over the extensive countries occupied by them. I shall content myself with enumerating the principal divisions of the Tartar or Turkish race, adding some observations on their abodes, and such

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brief accounts as I can collect of their more remarkable physical characters.

Section II.

History of the different nations of Tartar or Turkish origin.

¶ 1. *Western Tartars.*

1. *Tartars of Kiptshak.*
2. *Tartars of the Crimea.*
3. *Nogay Tartars.*
4. *Bashkirs.*

1. The Tartars of European Russia. The Russian provinces of Kasan, Astrachan, and Oremburg, together with the later conquests in the Crimea, were comprised in the old Tartar kingdom of Kiptshak. The dialect of Kasan is the idiom which, by the Russians, is termed the Tartar language ;* it differs little from the dialects of the Oufa, Oremburg, and other Tartars of old European Russia; and the people resemble in their manners.† The Kiptshak Tartars have the features of Europeans; they are of darker complexion than the Russians; they have generally dark brown or black hair, and very strong, thick beards.‡

2. Tartars of the Crimea. The language of the Crim Tartars differs but little, according to Pallas, from that of the Turks. "The same writer

* Mithridates, th. i. p. 487. The Tartars of Kiptshak are omitted by Klaproth.

† Pallas, *ubi supra*.

‡ Pallas's Travels into the Southern Countries of the Russian empire, vol. ii. p. 348, &c.

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informs us, that the physiognomy of the true Tauridan Tartars bears great resemblance to that of the Turks and Europeans. There are handsome, tall, robust people among them, and few are inclined to corpulency; their complexion is *rather fair*; they have black, or dark brown hair."

Pallas was particularly struck by the appearance of the mountaineer tribes inhabiting the hilly districts near the southern coast of Crim Tartary; these people by the Tartars are termed Tat, a contemptuous appellation, and are uniformly spoken of as a distinct race. They have a strange physiognomy, different from that of all other inhabitants of Crim Tartary. Faces of an uncommon length, as well as arched noses exceedingly long, and high heads, compressed with a view to make them unusually flat, all contribute to produce distorted countenances: the greater part of these people have the figures of satyrs." "It is further remarkable, that the hair and beards of these mountaineers are almost uniformly light brown, reddish, or even flaxen; a circumstance seldom occurring in the Crimea."

It has been conjectured that these people are remnants of some nation foreign to the Crimea. Some have supposed them to be descendants of Genoese settlers: others have fancied that some descendants of the ancient Goths are still extant in the Crimea, an opinion which is refuted by Pallas, who declares, that no vestiges whatever are perceptible of the Gothic language in any of the Tartar dialects. It does not appear from Pallas, that

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these mountaineers have any distinct language, and their physical peculiarities alone are not sufficient to warrant us in putting them down as a separate race.

3. The Nogay Tartars inhabit districts to the westward of the Caspian, and to the northward of the Euxine. They form a distinct branch of the Tartar, or Turkish race. Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, they inhabited the steppes to the north-east of the Caspian, between the Tobol and the Jaik, and they were gradually forced to retire towards the neighbourhood of Astrakan by the encroachment of the Kalmucs.*

Both Pallas and Klaproth assure us, that the Nogays bear a strong resemblance to the Mongoles in features.† Their language, according to the latter writer, is nearly pure Tartar, tolerably free from intermixture with Kalmuck or Mongole words.

4. The Bashkirs are a Tartar nation inhabiting the lower or southern parts of the Uralian chain, and the country on the Upper Jaik, of which they are supposed, by Pallas, to be aborigines. They are the least civilized people of all that region; are addicted to predatory warfare. The Bashkirs are said to exhibit greater variety in their persons and features, than most other Siberian nations. "Man sicht grosse, fette, magere, mit Turkischen, Mongolischen, und Russischen gesichten. Die meisten sind ansehnlich, von star-

* Klaproth, As. P. p. 219.

† Pallas ibid. Klaproth, ibid.

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kem gliederbau; nie sieht man blonde; alle aber haben kleine augen."*

¶ 2. *Of the Southern Tartar Nations, commonly termed Turkish.*

5. *Turkomans.*
6. *Usbeks.*
7. *Turks of Turkestan.*

5. The Turkomans, or Trukhmenes, as they are termed by the Russians, are nomadic Tartars, who wander with their herds, partly in the north of Persia and in Georgia and Armenia, and partly to the eastward of the Caspian, where they are chiefly subject to the Usbeks, or rather in alliance with them.†

Pallas describes the Turkomans as a lively, polite, and intelligent people. From them the celebrated Seljukian Turks are said to have descended.

6. The Usbeks are a rude and uncivilized people, divided into several tribes, who chiefly follow a nomadic life. Their principal tribes are the Usbeks of Tachshent; the Aral Usbeks who inhabit the shores and islands of lake Aral, and are governed by a khan of their own; the Usbeks of Balkh; and, lastly, those subject to the khanate of Chiva.‡

7. Eastern Turks, or Turks of Turkestan. In

* Klaproth, p. 220. † Klaproth, ibid. p. 216.

‡ Klaproth, *ubi supra*; item Adelung in Mithridat. th. i. p. 457, with a reference to the Geographisch. Ephemerid.

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Turkestan, on the borders of Mongolia, are the scanty remains of a once powerful nation, amounting now to about two thousand families, among whom are included the hordes of Karakalpaks. From this nation originated the tribe distinguished by the celebrated name of Osmanli, or Ottoman Turks.*

¶ 3. *Tartars of Northern Asia.*

8. *Kirguis.*
9. *Siberian Tartars.*
10. *Yakuts.*

8. The Kirguis, or Kirkis, constitute one principal branch of the Turkish or Tartar nation. Their ancient country is in the southern region of Siberia, between the rivers Yenisei and Obi. By Abulgasi they are derived from Kirkis, a son of the fabulous Ogus-khan. They are divided into several hordes, or nomadic nations.

1. The Siberian, or Eastern Kirguis, formerly subject, in part, to Russia; they have entirely abandoned Siberia, and wander in Chinese Turkestan under the name of Burut.

2. The Kirgis-Khasak, or Western Kirguis, divided into three hordes—the Great, Middle, and Little Horde.†

These hordes wander in the extensive deserts of Great Tartary, to the northward and eastward of lake Aral, and from the Jaik to Chinese Turkestan.

* Mithridates, i. p. 459. † Klaproth, *ubi supra.*

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The Kirguis pretend to be descended from the Nogays. They are said to speak a pure Tartar dialect.* Their persons are described, as below, by Pallas.†

9. The Siberian Tartars.

The Tartar tribes spread through the Russian dominions in Asia, consist chiefly of the descendants of ancient emigrants, who crossed over the Ural mountains before the conquest of Siberia, and having subdued the native inhabitants, established the khanate of Sibir. A great proportion of these were colonists from Kasan, and other Tartar districts of Russia. They are intermixed with Buchars, a people of Bucharian or Persian origin. Of this description are the Tartars of Tomsk, Tara, and Tobolsk.‡

The Sagaiks, Beltires, and other Tartars, who inhabit the mountains of Kousnezk, though on the

* Mithridates, i. p. 489.

† "Les Kirguis marchent peu ; ils sont continuellement à cheval; de sorte qu'il est très rare de trouver un borpiéton parmi eux; ils ont presque tous les jambes cagneuses. Ils sont d'une taille mediocre, el la plupart des jeunes gens sont assez bien de figure : ce qui provient peut être de leur alliance avec des femmes Kalmoukes, ou d'autres nations, qu'ils enlèvent dans leurs brigandages. Les hommes agés sont laids et hideux ; ils ont la figure des Juifs ; leur vie oisive leur donne trop d'embonpoint, et ils sont fort mal bâtis. Les jeunes gens ne portent que la moustache ; les vieillards laissent croître la barbe ; ils se rasent la partie inférieure des lèvres jusqu'à la pointe de menton." Pallas, Voy. ii. p. 292.

‡ Klaproth, *ubi supra.* Adelung, *ubi supra.* Pallas, Voy. en Sibérie, iv. p. 473.

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Mongolian frontier, are true Tartars. Pallas says they have the true Tartar physiognomy, without any mixture of the Kalmuc. He adds, "Ils ont la barbe très forte, et sont très vélus sur le corps; plus grands et plus nerveux que les Tartars de Katschintzki."

The Katschintzki Tartars inhabit the country westward of the Yenisei between the river Jious and Abakan. Their language proves that they are Tartars, though it is so intermixed with Mongolian words, that a Tartar of Kasan could scarcely understand them. Pallas says, that in their persons and features they approach the Mongoles.

10. The Yakuti, or Socha.

The nation termed by the Russians Yakuti are the most northern tribe of the Tartar race. They inhabit the country on the lower course of the Lena, and have spread themselves thence over the best pasture countries towards the Indigirka, and Covima, or Kolyma.* They now form a considerable nation. In the time of Billing's visit to Yakutsk, their number was computed at fifty thousand males.

The Yakuti term themselves Socha. According to their tradition they came into the north of Asia about three centuries ago; their original country being the fertile plains situated to the west of the lake Baikal. Sauer assures us, that there is a nation now called Socha in the district of Krasnoiarsk, who speak the same language as

* Sauer, in Billing's Voyage.

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the Yakuti.* This writer supposes them to be Mongoles, but their language proves that he is mistaken.

The Yakuti are certainly Tartars, for their language is understood by the Tartars of Kasan,† and it has borrowed but few words from the Mongolian.‡ This would seem to denote that they have not undergone much intermixture with the Mongole race.

Those writers who assume that physical resemblances can only proceed from the blending of races, have taken it for granted that the Yakuti have derived from this source the character of their physiognomy. "They have the Asiatic or Mongolian features in a considerable degree."‡ "Their complexion is a light copper colour: they are generally of low stature, with more regular and pleasing countenances than the Tungusians."§ They are, in general, a hardy and vigorous race; their stature is very different; the affluent, who live on the south side of the Virchoganski chain, are stout men, from five feet ten to six feet four inches high. The indigent inhabitants of the more northern parts are below the middle size, evidently stunted by the badness of food and severity of climate.‖

* Sauer, ibid. † Capt. Cochrane's Pedestrian Journey.
‡ Klaproth, *ubi supra*.
§ Capt. Cochrane's Pedestrian Journey.
‖ Sauer's Account of Billing's Voyage.

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Section III.

General Observations on the Physical Characters of the Tartar or Turkish Races.

Some notices have been already given of the physical character peculiar to the several tribes of Tartar origin, and we have now only to add a few general observations.

It seems, that the tribes of this stock vary considerably in person; some resembling the Mongoles, and other northern Asiatic nations, in the shape of their features, while others differ little from Europeans. It is difficult to conjecture which was the original character of the race. Has the resemblance of some tribes to the Mongole physiognomy arisen solely from occasional intermixture with nations to whom that character is peculiar, or is it originally common to them and the Tartars, though the latter display it in a less degree, and in some countries have acquired a different form of countenance?

If there is any truth in M. Klaproth's opinion respecting the Chiung-nu or Hiongnoux, we must conclude that the Tartars, probably, had long ago a physiognomy and figure nearly resembling those of the Mongolian tribes. This writer, as we have observed, seems to have proved, as far as this point can be proved from such authorities as are extant, that the Chiung-nu were the people since called Tartars, or Turks, and he regards them as the ancestors of all the tribes of Tartar, or, as he would

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exclusively term it, of Turkish origin, who have spread themselves over the greatest part of Asia. It has been generally admitted, since the celebrated De Guignes investigated the history of this people, that the Chiung-nu, or Hiongnoux, were the Huns, or Chuni, who invaded Europe under the famous Attila. Now the Huns of Attila are represented, by the writers who describe them, as a race strongly marked with physical characters similar to those of the Kalmucks and Mongoles. The description given by Jornandes, and probably copied by him from Cassiodorus,* has often been cited. "Formâ brevis, lato pectore, capite grandiore, minutis oculis, rarus barbâ, canis aspersis, simo naso, teter colore, originis suæ signa restituens."† If the Huns were really the ancestors of the Tartar, or Turkish race, we must conclude, that this people had very similar features and persons to those of the other eastern Asiatic nations, at the period of their first emigration from the remote and mountainous regions of Daouria.

A late traveller in the east has given us a particular account of the Turkoman tribes to the northward of Persia and Khorasan. From this nation of Tartars the celebrated Seljukian Turks were, as we have before observed, descended, and perhaps they may be considered as a specimen of the genuine Tartar race. It appears, that the Mon-

* See Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c. chap. 34.

† Jornand. c. 35. p. 661.

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gole characters here predominate; that the regular physiognomy of the European, or Western Asiatic, seems to occur not unfrequently as if it were a variety spontaneously appearing in the stock. In the desert, northward of the Elburz range of mountains, and the steppe of Khaurezm, there are three Turkoman tribes, termed Tuckeh, Goklan, and Yamūt. They are described as follows by Mr. Fraser.

"The general characteristic appearance of these tribes varies considerably; but there is also much individual variety among them. The Tuckehs have a great deal of the Tartar, *i. e.* of the Mongolian physiognomy; many of the men were tall, stout, and well made; with scanty beards, eyes small, and drawn up at the corners; high cheek-bones, and small flat noses: some, on the contrary, had handsome features, more resembling those of Europeans than Asiatics.

"The Gocklans also bore marks of Tartar origin in their countenances, but less than the Tuckehs, and even in the same family remarkable differences of feature were to be seen. Khallee Khan, the chief of an encampment, with whom I lodged, was a handsome man, not unlike a Persian; while his brother was strongly marked with the Tartar features. This, however, was more obvious in the women than the men; most of them were extremely ugly, haggard, and withered; the elder ones were particularly frightful, affording admirable representations of Hecate and her wëird sis-

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ters. The mother of the Khan, who came out to welcome us, with her silver-white hair, and her unearthly yellow visage, had she been in Scotland, some years ago, or in many parts of India *now*, could never have escaped being burnt or drowned for a witch. Yet I observed some young women remarkably handsome, with piercing black eyes, a nut-brown ruddy tint, and sweet, regular, intelligent countenances; nor was it easy to believe, that the withered hags beside them could have once been lovely, fresh, blooming like them; the children too were better looking than their mothers, and many of them quite beautiful.

"The Yamoot men have much less of the Tartar cast of countenance, than those of either of the other tribes; there was, however, in most of them, a peculiarity which distinguished them from the Persians, though it was not easy to decide, whether it consisted in feature or in manner, or probably in both; their complexion was, in general, lighter, and more sallow than that of the Persians; and many of them had eyes and hair so fair, that I took them for Russians, whom they also resembled in a certain harsh irregularity of feature; but by far the greater number that I saw would not have been distinguished by an indifferent observer from the villagers and peasantry about Astrabad."

The preceding account seems favourable to the opinion that the characters of the Mongolian and European are originally blended in the Tartar race; or that this variety originates naturally in

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the stock, and is not merely the effect of occasional intermixture.*

* It has been reported by several writers, that there exists among the Tartars a race of speckled, or spotted colour, who have been termed, "Pestraya orda," or the Pied tribe. They were mentioned by the author of the "Histoire des Tartares," and by Strahlenberg, who says that he saw many individuals of this description, and that such speckled people are common on the river Tschulim, and near Krasnoiar, on the Yenisei. One person had half of his hair white and the other black. According to Strahlenberg, this spotted appearance is often a congenital character. Gmelin adds his testimony to this account. "Des personnes dignes de foi m'ont assuré qui il y a parmi les Jakoutes et les Tartars de Tschonlim, des gens qui naissent avec de pareilles taches de cheveux blancs : et cela ne vient chez eux ni d'aucune cause particulière, ni par suite de maladie." Pallas saw a Tartar who had many spots on his head, from which the hair grew of a white colour. This was the effect of disease. The story that such a connate variety exists, wants confirmation; and still more the report that a whole race existed of similar character. See, however, Strahlenberg's History of Siberia, p. 173. Gmelin, preface to the second volume; and Pallas, 8vo. edition, vol. vi. p. 316.

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CHAPTER VI.

History of the Tungusians. Physical Character of the Tungusians of Daouria. Of the Mantschu.

The Tungusians wander over the immense mountainous regions which extend from the lake Baikal to the sea of Okotsk. To the northward they are dispersed through various countries on the Lena, the Indigirka, Kolyma, and Tungooska rivers, towards the Icy Sea. But their proper and original country is, probably, Daouria, to the northward of Corea and China, where they occupy the districts watered by the Amoor and Usuri rivers. To the northward of the river Uda, they are found on the shores of the great eastern ocean.*

All the tribes of Tungusians within the limits of the Chinese dominion, bear the general name of Mantschu: they are improperly termed Mantschu Tartars. The Tungusians, in the dominions of Russia, are divided into Dog-Tungusians, Horse-Tungusians, and Reindeer-Tungusians, according to their different habits.†

The Tungusians have been a distinct race from very early times. Long before the era of the

* Billing's Voyage, by Sauer. Klaproth's Asia Polyglott.

† Pallas's Voy. en Sibérie. Mithridates, th. 1. Gmelin, par Keralio, tom. i. p. 272. Klaproth, *ubi supra*.

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Mantschu empire, which was established in the sixteenth century, nations of the same race appear to have been powerful on the northern frontiers of China. From Klaproth's investigations, it appears extremely probable, that the ancestors of the same Mantschus were the people who erected the powerful empire of Kin, at the beginning of the twelfth century; and that the Kitan who established the empire of Liao, at the commencement of the tenth, were another nation of the Tungusian race.

The language of the Tungusians is peculiar to themselves. An observation of Klaproth, which he has confirmed by proofs, is here deserving of our attention. He says, that "the Tungusian, Mongolian, and Turkish dialects, display a singular and remarkable connexion between themselves:* but what appears yet more striking, is the great number of correspondences which the Mantschu vocabulary in particular displays with other Asiatic, and still more with European languages."†

The persons of the Tungusians are thus described by Gmelin:‡ "Les Tongouses ont le visage conformé à peu près comme les Kalmouckes; cependant ils l'ont un peu moins large: il m'a

* "Dir Tungusischen, Mongolischen, und Turkischen dialecte zeigen unter sich einen sonderbare zusammenhang." Asia Polyg. p. 195.

† This observation is followed by a vocabulary containing eight columns (in his quarto work) of words thus resembling.

‡ Gmelin. Voy. en Sibérie per Keralio, tom. i. p. 279.

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semblé qu'en général leur taille étoit peu élevée. Leurs cheveux sont noirs, et la plupart les portent tressés comme les Chinois." "Il est très rare de voir un Tongouse qui ait de la barbe; dès qu'il paroit, ils l'arrachent."

The Tungusians of Daouria, call themselves Donki, or Oevoenki. Strahlenberg terms them Vonki. The Chinese call them Terguezin.

Pallas thus describes their persons. "Leur visage est plus applati et plus grand que celui des Mongols; c'est une ressemblance que je leur trouve avec les Samoyèdes. Ils ont peu de barbe; plusieurs n'en ont point du tout, sans se l'être arrachés. Lors de mon voyage en Daourie, j'avois emmené avec moi un vieillard Toungouse et son fils. Quoiqu'âgé de soiscente-dix ans, il étoit fort gai, et avoit la peau du visage aussi douce qu'un adolescent. Leur chevelure est noire et longue; ils la laissent pendre naturellement autour de la tête à une longueur uniforme. Ils conservent une loupe de cheveux plus longue sur le sommet de la tête et en forment une tresse pour y attacher leur arc, et le tenir à sec, lorsqu'ils sont obligés, dans leurs voyage, ou à la chasse, de traverser une rivière profonde à la nage."*

The Mantschu, or Tungusians of China, are described by Mr. Barrow, who informs us, that in features and complexion they in general resemble the Chinese. The description which this accurate

* Pallas, tom. vi. p. 19.

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and intelligent writer has given us of the countenances and persons of the latter, will be cited in a following chapter. But though this resemblance is observed as a general fact, there are, as Mr. Barrow says, many exceptions to it. "We observed several, both men and women, who were extremely fair, and of florid complexion; some had light blue eyes, straight or aquiline noses, brown hair, immense bushy beards, and had much more the appearance of Greeks than of Tartars." The conjecture that this cast of countenance was derived from the Greeks of Sogdiana, appears neither probable nor necessary to explain a phænomenon which has so many parallel facts.

* Travels in China, by John Barrow, Esq., London, 1804, p. 185.

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CHAPTER VII.

Of some other Nations in the North-eastern Extremities of Asia.

Section I.

Enumeration of these Races.

We have mentioned the principal nations in the northern and eastern parts of Asia. In order to complete the survey of this part of the human species, we must take some notice of several tribes of lesser extent and importance.

In the remotest parts of Siberia, beyond or between the last hordes of Samoiedes and Tungusians, there are several tribes considerably resembling them in many respects, particularly in their manners and physical characters, but speaking languages peculiar to themselves, and, therefore, to be considered as distinct races, though they have been, till of late years, confounded with other nations. I shall collect some brief accounts of these races from the authors who have described them. In the same chapter will be subjoined a few observations on the people who occupy the eastern coast of Asia, and the adjacent islands. All these particulars will fall under the following heads:

1. Accounts of the Ostiaks of the Yenisei, improperly so termed.

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2. Of the Yukagers.
3. The Koriaks and Koriak Tschuktschi.
4. The Northern Tschuktschi.
5. Of the Kamtschadales.
6. The Aino or Kurilian race.
7. The Japanese, and Lieu-kieu.
8. The Koreans.

Section II.

Of the Yenisean Ostiaks.

A distinct race of people, speaking a language entirely peculiar to themselves, are spread over the cold and barren deserts on both sides of the river Yenisei, and the tributary rivers, from the mouth of the Abakan to Mangaseya, or Taruchansk. They have been mistaken for Ostiaks, and are improperly termed Ostiaks of the Yenisei, of Imbazk, and Pampokolsk. They resemble the southern Samoiedes in their habits, and like them are shamanists. The Arinzes, or Arals, scattered over the districts inhabited by the Tartars Katschinski, and several other tribes in the same parts of Siberia, are proved by their dialects to be branches of the same race.

This race of people, of unknown origin, is spread over countries of considerable extent, which separate the two great divisions of the Samoiedes, viz. those of the south near the chain of Sayan, and other tribes of the same race, better known, who live in the north, towards the shores of the Frozen Ocean.

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Strahlenberg has given vocabularies of two dialects belonging to this stock of people.* Adelung has described them under the title of Yenisean Ostiaks,† and Klaproth has very properly distinguished them, by a distinct denomination, that of Yeniseans.‡

Section III.

Of the Yakagers.

These people term themselves Andon Domni, and by their neighbours, the Koriaks, are called Jedel, or Whites; they inhabit the shores of eastern Siberia, beyond the Lena, between the country of the Yakuts and that of the Tschuktschi, and the rivers Indigirka, Yana, and Kolyma. They resemble the Samoiedes in their manners. We have a brief account of them in Sauer's narration of Billing's voyage, with a copious vocabulary of their language,§ which appears to be entirely distinct from all the neighbouring idioms, and to have little or no affinity to any other known dialect.

In the year 1739 the Yukagers were very numerous. The tribes of the Omolon, were called Tsheltiere; those of the Alasey, Onioki; and those of the Anadyr and Anini, *Tschuvantsi*, and

* Strahlenberg. Tab. Polyglott. in Hist. of Siberia.

† Adelung, Mithridates, i. p. 560.

‡ Klaproth, Asia Polyglott. p. 160.

§ Sauer, p. 61. Compare Mithridates, 561, and Klaproth, p. 315.

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Kudinsi. Wars with the Tschuktschi and Koriaks have almost extirpated the race. There was once a numerous nation on the Kolyma called Konghini, the ruins of whose villages, with stone hatchets and arrows, are still found.*

Some further particulars respecting this nation have been given by Captain Cochrane. He says, "the descendants of the Yukagiri inhabit the banks of the two rivers Aniny. They were formerly a formidable and warlike people, and it cost the Russians much trouble to subjugate them."—"They are now all but extinct as a pure race. They are certainly the finest race of people I have seen in Siberia; the men well-proportioned, and with open and manly countenances; the women are extremely beautiful." This applies to the mixed race, between the Yukagiri and the Russians. The author assures us, that the Yukagiri have the Tartar or Asiatic features, meaning doubtless the character of countenance termed Mongolian. In another place he remarks, that they are not very unlike the Yakuti.

The same traveller informs us, that the *Chuansi*, or *Chodynsi*, a tributary nation inhabiting the country between the two Aninis and the Anadyr, have also Asiatic features.†

These are the Yukagir tribes mentioned by Sauer, in a different orthography.

* Sauer, *ubi supra.* † Vol. i. p. 319.

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SECTION IV.

Of the Koriaks.

BEYOND the Yukagers, towards the north-east, in the countries between the river Omolou and the gulf of Anadyr, are tribes of a nomadic people named Koriaks, from Kora, in their language the term for rein-deer, of which animals they have numerous flocks. This nation has been long known to the Russians. They border on the Kamtschatkans, and even possess the northern part of the peninsula which is distinguished by their name.

In a vocabulary of the Koriak language, Klaproth has pointed out a considerable number of coincidences, apparently not accidental, between the words of this people, and those of other Asiatic nations; by far the greater number of these corresponding words occur in the dialects of the Tschudish or Finnish tribes.*

The Koriaks, according to Lesseps, speak the same language as the Tschuktschi, and resemble them in every respect. The latter, according to this writer, and the description seems to apply to both nations, are taller than the Kamtschatkans, and have features with little or nothing of what is termed the Asiatic character, but very swarthy complexions.†

* Asia Polyglott.

† Lesseps's Travels from Kamtschatka.

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Section V.

Of the Tschuktschi.

To the northward of the Koriaks, and from the Kolyma to the shores of Behring's Straits, are hordes of Tschuktschi. These people are partly nomades, the wandering, or rein-deer Tschuktschi; but there are also tribes termed Stationary Tschuktschi; the latter are less known; they inhabit Tschukotskoi Noss, and the mouth of the Anadyr. The Nomadic Tschuktschi are further to the westward.

Until very lately all these tribes were supposed to be of one nation. All the travellers who have visited them have described them as a fine, stout, active people, and they have been thought to resemble the American Indians more than the neighbouring nations of Asia, in their manners and persons. Hence it was conjectured, before any thing was known of their language, that the Tschuktschi are of American origin. If this opinion were established in respect to the Tschuktschi in general, it would also include the Koriaks, who are asserted by Steller, Sauer, and all other travellers, to be of the same race, and to speak nearly the same language as the Nomadic Tschuktschi.*

Our enterprising countryman, Captain Cochrane, saw at the fair of the Tschuktschi, beyond the Kolyma, people from a variety of tribes. He

* See Klaproth, Asia Polyglott. Vater. Mithridat. iii. th. 3. abtheilung.

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observes, that "they know nothing of their origin, or first settlement in the country, or of the Tartar nations subject to Russia, nor do they understand any Tartar words. Their language," he adds, "bears no affinity to the Asiatic idioms, though it is understood by the Koriaks. The features of the Tschuktschi, their manners, and customs, pronounce them of American origin, of which the shaving of their heads, puncturing of their bodies, wearing large ear-rings, their independent and swaggering way of walking, their dress and superstitious ideas, are also evident proofs; nor is it less than probable, that the Esquimaux, and other tribes of Arctic Americans, may have descended from them, for several words of their languages are alike, and their dress perfectly similar."

Sauer informs us, that the Tschuktschi are tall and stout people, and hold little men in the utmost contempt. Cochrane says, that "the persons of the Tschuktschi are not peculiarly large, though their dress, which is clean, but of enormous size, gives them almost a gigantic appearance. They have fair or clear skins, but ordinary though masculine features. In conduct they are wild and rude. They have no diseases, and live to a great age."*

It seems, from this account, that the Nomadic Tschuktschi hold intercourse with the American nations, and resemble some of them in manners, and in their persons. The same remark must also

* Capt. Cochrane's Pedestrian Journey, vol. i. p. 328.

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apply to the Koriaks; for the latter, as this traveller assures us, are undoubtedly "*the same race as these Tschuktschi.* They have the same features, manners, and customs, and the same language."*

Of late it has been discovered, that the Stationary Tschuktschi speak a different language from the nomadic part of the nation. Two tribes of Stationary Tschuktschi have been described by the Russian lieutenant Koschelew; one of them at the promontory of Tschukotskoi Noss; the other on the coast, near the mouth of the Anadyr. By comparing the vocabularies of this people with collections of words from the languages of Greenland and Kadyak, it has been clearly proved that these Tschuktschi are a tribe of Esquimaux. We shall have occasion to mention them again, when speaking of the nations of America.

According to Vater, who has examined the vocabularies of both these divisions of the Tschuktschi, as they are found in different collections, two thirds of the words describing objects of all kinds, are nearly the same in the languages of the Koriaks and the Nomadic Tschuktschi, while, on the other hand, there are not many words in

* At the fair of the Tschutktschi were two individuals from a nation on the American continent, termed Kargaules. "They bear," says the author, "more nearly the features of the Tschukstchi, than those of the hideous-mouthed inhabitants of the islands in Behring's Straits, though of a browner or more dirty colour." Vol. ii. p. 17.

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the vocabulary of these last, which coincide with those of the Stationary Tschuktschi.

From all this it appears, that there are two races of Tschuktschi. The American origin of one of them, or at least their affinity to the American race of Esquimaux, has been proved by a comparison of languages. The other, the nomadic race, allied to the Koriaks, are the people who have been often thought to resemble the Americans in their persons and manners. They appear to maintain a communication with the natives of the American continent, but have not as yet been ascertained to be allied to them in descent.

Section VI.

Of the Kamtschadales.

The Kamtschadales are the inhabitants of only the southern part of the peninsula of Kamtschatka, the northern parts being possessed by the Koriaks. They term themselves Itelman. By Steller, who described them with accuracy, they were imagined to be of Mongolian origin, an hypothesis chiefly founded on a physical resemblance, and which is contradicted by an examination of their language. It appears that they constitute a distinct race, which however is divided into four tribes who scarcely understand each other. They are shamanists, and a people of rude and squalid manners.

The Kamtschadales are described as a people of short stature, swarthy complexion, of black hair,

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little beard, broad faces, short and flat noses, small and sunk eyes, small eyebrows, protuberant bellies, and small legs. In all these respects it has been thought that they bear a resemblance to the Mongoles.*

Section VII.

Of the Aino, or Kurilians.

A race of people, marked by some peculiarities which distinguish them from the natives of the neighbouring countries, are found on the eastern coast of Asia, to the southward of the great river Amoor, and on some of the islands in the adjacent seas. They inhabit the great island or peninsula of Tarakai, or Sachalin, and the whole chain of Kurilian isles running from the extreme point of Kamtschatka, where the Aino are also found, to the strait of Matmai, which separates the Isle of Jesso from Nipon. Jesso itself, or Insu,† or Matmai, may be reckoned as one of the Kuriles: it is subject to Japan, but peopled by the Aino.

The language of this race is peculiar to them, but it is said to have many words which are to be found in the Northern Asiatic dialects. It displays the greatest number of coincidences with the

* Cook's Last Voyage, vol. iii. p. 360. Lesseps has given a similar description of them.

† Broughton says, that the name of this island is Insu, and that Matzmai is the denomination of the principal town in it. He suspects that the name of Eso, or Yeso, was given by the Dutch navigators, who meant by the term Esau, to allude to the hairy inhabitants. Broughton's Voy. pp. 272, 312.

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idioms of the Samoiedes, and a few also with the languages spoken by the nations of Caucasus. These observations are proved by Klaproth's comparative vocabulary of the Aino, and other Asiatic languages.*

The most detailed account of this people is to be found in Capt. Von Krusenstern's voyage.† Some particulars respecting them are given by La Pérouse and Broughton.‡ The former of these writers says, that "the Aino are rather below the middle stature, being at most five feet two or four inches high." "They have a thick bushy beard, black rough hair, hanging straight down, and, excepting in the beard, they have the appearance of the Kamtschadales, only that their countenance is much more regular. The women are ugly enough; their colour, which is dark, their coal-black hair combed over their faces, blue-painted lips, and tatooed hands, allow them no pretensions to beauty." La Pérouse says, that "they are a very superior race to the Chinese, Japanese, and Mantschus, and their countenances more regular, and more similar to those of Europeans." "The inhabitants of the Bay of Crillon were particularly beautiful and of regular features." The same writer adds, that their skin is as dark as that of the Algerines. Broughton says, they

* Asia Polyglott. p. 300, *et seq.*

† Von Krusenstern's Voyage, vol. ii. chap. 2.

‡ La Pérouse's Voyage, cap. 20. Broughton's Voyage to the North Pacific, p. 88—105.

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are of a light copper colour, but Von Krusenstern declares that they are nearly black."

But the most remarkable circumstance in the physical character of the Aino is, that though the eastern Asiatics are in general very deficient in hair, and almost beardless, they are the most hairy race of people in the world. "Their beards," says La Pérouse, "hang upon their breasts, and their arms, neck, and back, are covered with hair. I observe this circumstance," he adds, "as a general characteristic, for it is easy to find individuals equally hairy in Europe." Broughton declares that their bodies are almost universally covered with long black hair, and that he observed the same appearance even in some young children. Notwithstanding this strong testimony, which is quite sufficient to establish the fact, Von Krusenstern has chosen to consider the account as an idle story. He says that he examined many persons at the bay of Romanzoff, and found them not more hairy than Europeans: but he allows that one of his lieutenants saw a child eight years old, whose body was entirely covered with hair, while his parents were quite smooth.

Section VIII.

Of the Japanese and Lieu-kieu.

The islands of Japan, and those of Lieu-kieu, or Loo-choo, are inhabited by kindred nations, who are proved by a comparison of their vocabularies

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to be connected in descent.* The dialects of these two nations are evidently branches, though considerably diversified, of the same parent stock. Many resemblances in single words have been pointed out between them and other Asiatic languages, but these are in no instance sufficiently numerous to indicate an affinity with any particular race. The Japanese have, at an early age, been connected with China, to which they probably owe their progress in civilization,† and they use a particular dialect of the Chinese language on many occasions: but the Japanese language is itself entirely distinct,‡ and the people appear to have been in their origin distinct from the Chinese, though they resemble them in person.

The following remarks on the Japanese are from Kæmpfer, a writer who has given us much information respecting the history of this people.

He observes, that there is a great difference between the inhabitants of different provinces in the Japanese empire. He says, "although the Japanese in the main, particularly the common people of Nipon, be of a very ugly appearance, short-

* See a comparative vocabulary of the Japanese and Lieu-kieu languages in Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta, p. 330—333. Also a comparative vocabulary of the same languages in Capt. Hall's Voyage to Loochoo—appendix.

† This the Japanese historians allow in part, see Kæmpfer, p. 92.

‡ Kæmpfer, p. 84. Klaproth, *ubi supra*. The Japanese is a polysyllabic language, entirely different in its character from the Chinese and its cognate dialects.

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sized, strong, thick-legged, tawny, with flattish noses, and thick eyelids (though the eyes stand not so deep in the forehead as those of the Chinese) yet the descendants of the eldest and noblest families, of the princes and lords of the empire, have somewhat more majestic in their shape and countenance, being more like the Europeans. The inhabitants of the provinces Satzuma, Oosijmi, and Finga, are of a middle size, strong, courageous, and manly, otherwise civil and polite. The same is observed of some of the northern provinces in the great island of Nipon, but the natives of some districts of Saikokf, particularly of Fisen, are short, slender, but well-shaped, of a good handsome appearance, and extremely polite. The inhabitants of the great island of Nipon, particularly of its eastern provinces, are known from others by their big heads, flat noses, and musculous fleshy complexion."*

It appears from this account that there is much diversity in the stature, form, and colour of the Japanese. The physical character of the nation in general bears a strong resemblance to that of the Chinese. This clearly appears from the description of the Japanese by Thunberg, written with the accuracy of an anatomist, which I shall extract.

"The people of this nation are well made, active, free, and easy in their motions, with stout limbs, although their strength is not to be com-

* Kæmpfer's History of Japan, p. 95.

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pared with that of the northern inhabitants of Europe. The men are of the middling size, and in general not very corpulent; yet I have seen some that were fat. They are of a yellowish colour all over, sometimes bordering on brown, and sometimes on white. The lower class of people, who in summer, when at work, lay bare the upper part of their bodies, are sun-burnt, and consequently brown. Ladies of distinction, who seldom go out in the open air without being covered, are perfectly white. It is by their eyes that, like the Chinese, these people are distinguishable. These organs have not that rotundity, which those of other nations exhibit, but are oblong, small, and are sunk deeper in the head, in consequence of which, these people have almost the appearance of being pink-eyed. Their eyes are dark brown, or rather black, and the eyelids form in the great angle of the eye a deep furrow, which makes the Japanese look as if they were sharp-sighted, and discriminates them from other nations. The eyebrows are also placed somewhat higher. Their heads are in general large, and their necks short; their hair black, thick, and shining, from the use they make of oils. Their noses, although not flat, are yet rather thick and short."*

Capt. Hall has described the Loochoo islanders, and although his account is not so minute as might be wished, in respect to their physical characters, it is sufficient to show the general re-

* Thunberg's Travels, vol. iii. p. 250.

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semblance of their persons to the Japanese. He says, "Their hair, which is of a glossy black, is shaved off the crown. Their beards and mustachios are allowed to grow. They are rather low in stature, but are well-formed, and have an easy, graceful carriage. Their colour is not good, some being very dark and others nearly white, but in most instances they are of a deep copper. This is fully compensated by the sweetness and intelligence of their countenance. Their eyes, which are black, have a placid expression."*

Section IX.

Of the Koreans.

The people of the Korean peninsula must be mentioned, in order that we may have a complete enumeration of the races of men on the eastern coast of Asia; though it would appear that this nation can be traced from another part of the continent.

Korea, according to Chinese authorities followed by Klaproth, was originally inhabited by people resembling the Japanese, and perhaps of the same stock. The Kaoli, or Koreans, came into it in the second century before our era, from the north; they formed kingdoms which long

* Capt. Hall's Voyage to the Great Loochoo Island, p. 71. P. Gaubil wrote an account of the Lieou-kieou islands, which is inserted in the twenty-third volume of the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses.

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were independent, till they fell under the power of Genghis-khan, since which time Korea has been subject to the Mongoles, and afterwards to the Chinese.

The Koreans, though a subject people, are still a distinct nation, and speak a language, which appears, in a vocabulary collected by Klaproth from various quarters, to be very peculiar."*

According to Broughton, the Koreans, at least the inhabitants of Chosan, are very ordinary in their persons: in features and complexion they resemble the Chinese, particularly in their eyes, which are small.†

* Asia Polyglott. p. 335.

† Broughton's Voyage, p. 330.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Chinese, and Indo-Chinese Nations.

SECTION I.

Of the Chinese.

MANY writers have assumed that the Chinese were originally a branch of the Mongolian or of the Tungusian race, founding that opinion on the resemblance in features, which subsists between all these nations. Others have found authority in the fabulous books of the Hindoos for deriving them from India. But the monosyllabic speech of the Chinese, as different from the rude but polysyllabic languages of the northern Asiatics, as from the polished idioms of the Indo-European nations, affords proof that the Chinese are a distinct people from both. They must have formed, in relation to all these, a separate and peculiar race, from that immemorial time, when the families of men were first divided and spread over the earth. Perhaps the neighbouring nations, who have also monosyllabic languages, may be looked upon as branches, though remote ones, of the same stock. I shall mention them after the Chinese.

The fables of the Chinese mythology have their centre in the mountainous region of Kuen-lun, or

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Kulkun, to the north-west of China, and this country Klaproth conjectures to have been the cradle of the Chinese race. Over so great an extent of country as this empire occupies, it is probable that various races have been scattered, which have been gradually conquered or exterminated by the Chinese. Barbarous tribes are said to remain in some mountainous districts of China, the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants.

The history of the Chinese is a perfect chaos, in which a spark of light has scarcely been elicited. I have not the courage to enter upon such a field, full as yet of the monsters which no literary Hercules has subdued. The following are some accounts of the physical characters of the Chinese, in those parts of their vast empire to which Europeans have gained access. It must, however, be remembered, that the greater part of the country, as well as the appearance of the inhabitants in most of the provinces is, as yet, unknown.

The persons of the Chinese near Maimatschin, on the Russian frontier, are thus described by Pallas, and the description may probably be considered as giving a tolerably correct idea of the Northern Chinese.

" Ils sont très bien formés dans leur jeunesse; on en voit beaucoup qui ont des figures très agréables, un beau teint, de petits yeux noirs qui forment l'angle, et des cheveux du plus beau noir. Cependant ils préférent ceux qui ont une figure

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Mandshoure, c'est-à-dire, le visage large, de hautes mâchoires, un nez très-large et d'énormes oreilles. Cette dernière conformation est propre aux Chinois, et presque générale parmi eux. Ils ont la barbe noire, et clair-semée : les gens âgés sont les seuls qui la laissent croître. Ils ont tous une très longue chevelure d'un noir luisant, mais ils se rasent la tête, comme les Mandshours ; ils ne conservent qu'une petite touffe de cheveux sur le sommet de la tête, et ils ont soin de la tresser. Ils avouent cependant qu'ils préféréroient porter leurs cheveux. Leur barbiers en seroient très fâchés, parceque ce sont eux que leur rasent la tête. On reconnoît les logis des Chinois aux enseignes qu'ils ont à leurs maisons."

Mr. Barrow informs us that the Chinese are somewhat taller, and more slender than the Mantschu-Tartars. He adds that, "the small eye, elliptical at the end next the nose, is a predominant feature in both the Mantchoo and Chinese countenance, and they have both the same high cheek-bones and pointed chins, which, with the custom of shaving off the hair, give to the head the shape of an inverted cone, remarkable enough in some subjects, but neither so general, nor so singular, as to warrant their being considered among the monsters in nature," or receiving the Linnæan definition.* "The head of our worthy conductor,

* This definition of a Chinese is whimsical enough, "Homo monstrosus, macrocephalus, capite conico, Chinensis."

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Van-ta-gin," continues Mr. Barrow, "had nothing in its shape different from that of Europeans, except the eye."

The natural colour of the Chinese and Mantschu-Tartars is, according to Mr. Barrow, between a fair and a dark complexion, or that of an European brunette, becoming brown in the labouring class, who are exposed to the sun. "We saw women in China, though very few, that might pass for beauties even in Europe. The Malay features prevail in most; a small black, or dark brown eye; a short rounded nose, generally a little flattened; lips considerably thicker than in Europeans, and black hair, are universal.*

Section II.

Of the Indo-Chinese Nations.

Under this name may be comprehended a variety of nations, resembling the Chinese in the most remarkable features of their countenance, and in their bodily structure, and, like them, speaking languages, which consist chiefly of monosyllables, and are distinguished from other idioms by a peculiar mode of utterance. These nations occupy the vast region of Tibet, to the westward of China, as well as the mountainous boundary between that country and the great valley of the Ganges. The vast chains of lofty mountains which traverse and enclose these countries, descending from Western, or Little Tibet towards the south-east, are con-

* Barrow's Travels in China, p. 185.

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tinued to the eastward of the Buramputra, and forming the eastern peninsula beyond the Ganges, terminate in the projecting land of Malacca, and in Cochin-China.* All these mountainous countries, with the exception of Malacca, which is occupied, as we have before observed, by an insular race, are inhabited by nations similar to those above described, and included under the term Indo-Chinese.

The languages and history of these nations are too imperfectly known to admit of any attempt to discriminate them accurately from each other, or determine their number, their affinities, and distinctions. I shall only describe some of the most remarkable of them, beginning with the Tibetans.

1. Tibet, or Tangut, has long been the chief seat of the religion and hierarchy of Buddhism, or Lamaism. The country is governed by the lamas, or high priests of this religion, one of whom, the lama of Lassa, was raised to the supreme power by the Chinese, who hold this country under their influence. The ancient history of Tibet is unknown. The people appear to have derived all their knowledge, literature, and mythology, from

* "The countries immediately to the south of Hemalleh and Hindoo Coosh, are rendered rugged by lower mountains, which run parallel to the great range, and by branches which issue from it. In the hilly regions thus formed are Assam, Bootaun, Nepaul, Kamaoon, and Sirenuggur, all under Hemalleh." Elphinstone's Caubul, p. 89.

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the Hindoos, who introduced among them the worship of Buddha. They have no idea of any centre of learning and civilization in their own country, or in northern Tartary;* a circumstance which refutes the speculations which some Europeans have formed, respecting their origin and history.

Tibet contains many nomadic tribes, with whose languages and characters we are quite unacquainted: the proper Tibetan idiom, however, is said to have a considerable affinity to the Chinese; many of the roots in both languages being common to them.† They may, perhaps, be considered as cognate, and the nations therefore, as of kindred origin. Klaproth has also shown a number of coincidences between the Tibetan and other Asiatic languages, chiefly the Tschudish and Caspian idioms.†

Mr. Turner has described the physical characters of the Bhoteeans, and his description may probably be regarded as referring to the Tibetans in general.

"The Booteeas have invariably black hair, which it is the fashion to cut close to the head. The eye is a very remarkable feature of the face; small, black, with long, pointed corners, as though stretched and extended by artificial means. Their eyelashes are so thin as to be scarcely perceptible, and the eyebrow is but slightly shaded. Below the eyes is the broadest part of the face, which is rather flat, and narrows from the cheek-bones to the chin; a character of countenance appearing first

* Turner's Embassy to Tibet. † Klaproth's Asia Polyglott.

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to take its rise among the Tartar tribes, but which is by far more strongly marked in the Chinese. Their skins are remarkably smooth, and most of them arrive at a very advanced age, before they can boast even the rudiments of a beard."

He adds, "Many of these mountaineers are more than six feet high. Taken altogether, they have a complexion not so dark by several shades as that of the European Portuguese." In describing the people of the mountainous districts, to the northward of Bhotan, he observes, "I never beheld a more florid picture of health than was exhibited in the complexion of the mountaineers we met to-day; the women in particular, with their jet-black hair, and clear, brisk, black eyes, had a ruddiness which the most florid English rustic would in vain attempt to rival."

This writer terms the Tibetans, *Tartars*. In describing a chief at Teeshoo Loomboo, who was by birth a Mantschu, he says, "his countenance was unequivocally *Tartar*." The meaning of this term is explained as follows: "small eyes, thin eyebrows, high cheek-bones, without even the rudiments of a beard; a complexion not darker than that of an Arab or Spaniard."

There are several mountainous districts in the northern parts of Hindoostan, inhabited by races of people distinct from the Hindoos. The physical characters of these tribes resemble those of the Tibetans and Chinese; the languages of some of them, as it appears by vocabularies, are not of

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the monosyllabic class;* they are therefore either allied to nations far removed from them, or are distinct races, though partaking of the physiognomy so prevalent in Eastern Asia.

2. The Ava, or Birma, nation speak a peculiar monosyllabic language, which is divided into a great number of dialects.† It is said to be very remote from the language of the adjoining country of Siam, but has among its roots many which resemble the Tibetan.

The language of Arrakan is a dialect of the Ava, or Birma.‡

3. The Siamese.

The language of Siam is a monosyllabic tongue, differing, according to Klaproth, in most of its roots from the Chinese, as well as from the other Indo-Chinese languages. It is spoken through Siam, Laos, and in the southern parts of the Chinese province of Yun-shan. Kæmpfer observed,§ that the Law, or people of Laos, do not differ much from the Siamese, either in language or writing, and this opinion, which was embraced by Dr. Ley-

* Accounts of these tribes are to be found in several volumes of the Asiatic Researches, as in the following places;

Vol. iii. On the inhabitants of the Garrow Hills.

Vol. iv. On the natives of the hills near Rajamahal.

Vol. vii. Account of the Kukis, or mountaineers of Tripura.

† Klaproth has given specimens of eleven of these dialects of the Ava language in his Atlas.

‡ Mithridates, th. i. p. 78.

§ Kæmpfer, Hist. Japan, p. 26. Dr. Leyden, in Asiatic Res. vol. x. Klaproth, p. 364.

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den, seems to be sufficiently confirmed by a short vocabulary of the two languages furnished by M. Klaproth.* To the Siamese also belong the dialects of two principalities near Laos, termed Pe-y and Pa-pe.

4. Anam.

It appears from what has been said, that the western parts of the further peninsula, or of Trans-gangetic India, are occupied by the Ava nation; and the middle parts by the Siamese. The eastern tracts, including Tunkin, Cochin-China, and part of Cambodja, are inhabited by a race who term their country Anam.† Their language is monosyllabic, though it is said to differ from the Chinese.

In their persons the race of Anam resemble the Chinese. Both sexes, as Mr. Barrow informs us, are coarse-featured, and in colour nearly as dark as the Malays.‡

* Klaproth, ibid. Adelung in Mithridates, th. i.

† Pegu, to the south of Birma, is said to have a peculiar language, but it is little known.

‡ Barrow's Voy. to Cochin-China, p. 308.

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CHAPTER IX.

General Observations on the Races of Men described in this Book, particularly on their Physical Characters.

ENOUGH has been said in the preceding pages to show the error of those writers, who have assumed the existence of one particular and distinct race of men, to which the characters of what has been termed the Mongolian variety of our species, are peculiar. We have seen that there are many nations, distinct and separate from each other, as far as we can judge from all the testimony of history, and an entire difference of languages, to whom these characters are common.

Some have supposed that the Mongoles imparted these peculiarities of countenance to those Tartar tribes who partake of it, and even to the Chinese, by the intermixture of races, both these nations having been subject to Genghiz Khan and his successors. But conquerors do not so readily impose their features as their laws on conquered nations. The numbers of the barbarians who conquered China bore too small a proportion to the vast population of that empire to produce any such effect. Besides, the form of countenance termed Mongolian or Tartar, is common, not only to those nations who are known

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to have had political connexions with the Mongoles, but to almost all the races of men spread over the northern and eastern parts of Asia. It prevails, as we have seen, in several of the tribes of Tschudish or Finnish origin, as among the Laplanders; also among the Samoiedes, the Tungusians, the Yukagiri, the Koriaks, Kamtschadales, Japanese, as well as all the various Indo-Chinese nations, who are scattered southward from the Himmalaya mountains, to the extremity of Siam. This phænomenon is obviously too general to be the remote consequence of Genghiz Khan's conquests, or the political alliances of the Mongoles.

The same physical characters, being common to all the nations of this part of the world, seem strongly to denote a connexion between the local circumstances, or the physical state of the regions in which they appear, and the phænomena displayed in the organization of the human species. But what peculiarity can be found to be common to such extensive and various regions, which contain as great a diversity of climates as Europe or America? It is difficult to imagine any. It must however be observed, that most of the races we have described are believed, on certain or probable grounds, to have had their origin, and to have grown into nations, if we may be allowed the expression, in different parts of the great elevated steppe which forms the centre of Asia. From their original seats they may have descended, many of them at least, at a comparatively late era, to occupy the various countries

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where they are now dispersed. The Finns appear to have proceeded from that part of the central chain which is nearest to the Caspian and the feet of the Uralian mountains. They are said to have left vestiges of themselves in the chain of Caucasus.* The Mongoles are natives of the higher regions of the Steppe; the Chinese and the Tungusians of Kuenlun and Daouria. The Yakuts and several other Tartar tribes belonged originally to the northern or western parts of the same mountainous region. The Samoiedes descended from the country now occupied by the Soiots. If physical circumstances, climate, and local situation, giving rise, as they do, to a remarkable peculiarity in all the other productions of Nature, have ever power to call forth those variations to which our species is prone, we should expect to find some proofs of this influence in the region, so remarkably constituted, which appears to have been the cradle, and for many ages the dwelling place of all these nations. All the naturalists who have visited the central region of Asia, concur in describing its climate and productions as displaying a striking and pecu-

* The Russian *Hofrath* von Orlay, a native Hungarian, declared, that in his travels in the Caucaséan mountains, he found in those countries a people called Ugritchi, or Uhritschi, who spoke a dialect of the Hungarian language. See note in Mithridates, ii. th. p. 771.

Several of the Caucaséan languages contain a considerable number of words corresponding with the vocabularies of the Finnish dialects: a fact repeatedly observed by M. Klaproth.

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liar character.* The north of Asia differs not more widely from Europe, in respect to the moral character and the social state of the nations found in it, than in the natural productions of the soil: and the difference is still greater when we advert to the great central steppe, the highest region of the world, where dry and cold plains of vast extent are covered only with saline plants, and with animals endued with a habit and structure fitting them for the local circumstances under which they are destined to exist. If the physical influences which surround them are capable of modifying all the other productions of nature, it is not improbable that their effect may also be discoverable on

* M. de Humboldt. Considérations sur les Steppes, Tableau de la Nature.

"Cette campagne aride est presque partout de nature saline plus ou moins forte: on peut s'en convaincre par le genre des plantes qu'elle produit. Cette constitution du sol, joint à sa couleur, qui augmente beaucoup l'ardeur du soleil, doivent necessairement faire varier la végétation. Je vis dans les montagnes de cette campagne inculte, beaucoup de plantes qui aiment une terre saline, et plusieurs autres qui appartiennent exclusivement à cette contrée. Ce spectacle de la nature me rappella l'opinion de Strahlenberg; ce savant regardoit la chaine des montagnes élevées, qui s'étend de la mer glaciale aux extremités de l'Oural, comme la ligne de démarcation entre l'Europe et l'Asie."—"Les montagnes de ce désert sont une prolongation de l'Oural. Elles séparent les steppes de l'Asie des contrées septentrionales de la Russie, garnies de collines, dont le sol fertile produit des plantes Européennes." Pallas, Voy. dans plus. Prov. de l'Empire de Russie et dans l'Asie Septentrional, tom. ii. p. 248.

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the form and constitution of men. Races which have for ages existed under the operation of such causes, may afterwards retain, by hereditary transmission, the characters impressed upon them; and it is impossible to determine how long such an impression may subsist, even when the circumstances which first gave rise to it are wholly withdrawn, or only exert their agency in a less degree.

Before we entirely leave this part of the subject, it may be worth while to take a brief review of the variations which the several races we have just surveyed, appear to have undergone.

The Tschudish tribes in Asia display a considerable resemblance to the Mongoles. This we find to be the case in the description of nations near the Uralian chain, particularly the Vogouls. In several branches of the Finnish stock, spread into Europe, this character has diminished or has disappeared. The Hungarians have acquired in the south of Europe a vigorous, symmetrical figure, and have become one of the finest races of mankind.* Further northwards, the Finns, as well as the Permians, and the Votiaks especially, are generally of fair complexion, with red hair. The xanthous variety has become almost universal in some tribes, and their features differ but little from those of the Russians. But the poor and indigent inhabitants of the extreme north, are

* This fact has been observed by Blumenbach, as a proof of the influence of climate.

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still a stunted race, of puny stature, feeble circulation, and dark complexion. This diversity is perceived by comparing the Finns with the neighbouring Laplanders. A similar observation may be made in Asia, on comparing the red or yellow-haired Ostiaks of the Obi, with the Samoiedes, who live to the northward of them, on the shores of the Frozen Sea.

The Tartar, or Turkish races, display considerable varieties. In Europe, both the Osmanli and the Kasan Tartars, are formed according to the European model of beauty; the latter, indeed, in the darkness of their complexion, retain a peculiarity that may be termed Asiatic. Many tribes of Asiatic Tartars are fine races of men, with regular features; in fact, a great part of the Siberian Tartars are of European origin; but the Nogays, the Yakuti, and other tribes in the East, have been set down by ill-informed persons, as Mongolian nations, solely from their resemblance to that people, while nothing in their history or language proves them ever to have undergone any considerable mixture with that race.

The varieties in the complexion of the Mantschu, or Tungusians, have been already noticed. It appears from Mr. Barrow's account of them, that these races of men have displayed the same diversities of colour which we find in Europe. It is hardly to be doubted that similar variations might be found among the Mongolian and other

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nations resembling them, if the countries inhabited by them were accurately surveyed.*

* "It was observed by Benedict Goez, in 1603, that the people of Chalca, a high region in central Asia, had red hair and beards like the Germans. Were these, as it would appear probable, the Chaca-Mongoles?" (See Murray's Account of Travels in Asia, vol. i. p. 465.)

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BOOK VIII.

SURVEY OF THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF PARTICULAR RACES, CONCLUDED.

PART VI. HISTORY OF THE NATIVE RACES OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory and General Observations.

SECTION I.

General Remarks on the Nations of America in comparison with each other.

MUCH has been written on the population of the New Continent, and a variety of conjectures have been proposed as to the origin of its inhabitants. Some writers have derived them from Europe, some from Africa: of late it has been the most general opinion that the American nations came originally into the continent they now inhabit, from the north-eastern extremity of Asia. It is not my design to enter fully into this inquiry at present: the facts which are most calculated to throw light upon it will develope themselves in the course of the following pages: but in order that the bearing of these facts may be evident, it

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will be requisite, before we enter into the history of particular races, to make some general observations on the native people of America collectively.

We shall first inquire whether all the races discovered by Europeans in the New World, are people of a similar description, and appear to belong to the same stock, or on the contrary constitute distinct families or classes of mankind, which may be thought, with probability, to have had their origin in different parts. In this inquiry we shall survey, briefly, the most striking facts connected with the physical structure and constitution of the American races, and with the history of their languages. In the second place we shall point out what races in the eastern hemisphere have been supposed, with the greatest probability, to be related to the people of America, and to be the stock from whence they derived their origin.

We have now to inquire whether there are reasons for believing all the American races to be related to each other, and to belong to one stock. With this view we shall offer some brief, but general remarks on their physical characters, and on the history of their languages.

¶ 1. *On the Physical Characters of the American Aborigines.*

The mutual resemblance of the American races, in respect to their physical characters, has been by some writers much exaggerated. We shall find, in collecting the observations of various tra-

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vellers and other writers, on particular nations, that there exist considerable diversities of figure and complexion among them. "Rido fra me stesso," says Molina, "quando leggo in certi scrittori moderni, riputati diligenti osservatori, che tutti gli Americani hanno un medesimo aspetto, e che quando se ne abbia veduto uno, si possa dire di avergli veduti tutti. Cotesti autori si lasciarono troppo sedurre da certe vaghe apparenze di somiglianza, procedenti per lo più dal colorito, le quali svaniscono tosto che si confrontano gl' individui di una nazione con quelli dell' altra. Un Chilese non si differenzia meno nell' aspetto da un Peruviano, che un Italiano da un Tedesco. Io ho veduto pur dei Paraguai, dei Cujani, e dei Magellanici, i quali tutti hanno dei lineamenti peculiari, che li distinguono notabilmente gli uni dagli altri."*

Notwithstanding these instances of variety which appear in the American, as well as in all other races of men, it has been observed by those persons who have had opportunities of comparing the native people of different parts of the New World, that these races bear a strong resemblance to each other in their most remarkable characters, both physical and moral. There are many striking circumstances in the accounts given by Molina and Azzara of the southern tribes, which may be

* Molina sulla Storia Naturale del Chili, p. 336. Dr. B. S. Barton on some remains of Antiquity found at Cincinnati. Transact. of the American Philos. Society, vol. iv.

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recognised in the nations of Mexico and Peru, and even in the descriptions which the most intelligent travellers, particularly Messrs. James and Keating, have drawn from actual observation in the interior of North America. Herrera was, perhaps, one of the first who noticed particularly this resemblance, and drew from it a very obvious inference. "Es cosa notable," he says, "que todas las gentes de las Indias, del norte y del mediodia, son de una misma inclinacion y calidad, porque segun la mejor opinion procedièron de una misma parte; y asimismo los de las islas, à las quales passaròn de la tierra firma de Florida."* These observations seem chiefly to be applied to the moral character of the native races, but there is an equal resemblance in the principal traits of their bodily organization. Few or no travellers are so capable of forming a correct opinion on this subject, as the Baron Von Humboldt. He says, "The Indians of New Spain bear a general resemblance to those who inhabit Canada, Florida, Peru, and Brazil. They have the same swarthy and copper colour, straight and smooth hair, small beard, squat body, long eye, with the corner directed upwards towards the temples, prominent cheek-bones, thick lips, expression of gentleness in the mouth, strongly contrasted with a gloomy and severe look."—"Over a million and a half of square leagues, from Tierra del Fuego to the river St. Lawrence and

* Herrera. Historia de las Indias.

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Behring's Straits, we are struck at the first glance with the general resemblance in the features of the inhabitants. We think that we perceive them all to be descended from the same stock, notwithstanding the prodigious diversity of languages which separates them one from another." "In the faithful portrait which an excellent observer, M. Volney, has drawn of the Canada Indians, we undoubtedly recognise the tribes scattered in the savannahs of the Rio Apure and the Carony. The same style of features exists in both Americas."*

It must on the whole be allowed, that although there exist among the American nations considerable diversities, as in every other great division of mankind, still there prevails among them a similar character; or a common type of organization. This may admit of comparison with that degree of resemblance which is to be traced between the different nations of Europe, or among the races of Africa, or those of the north-eastern parts of Asia. It is not universally prevalent in the same degree, but there appears to be in every instance some approximation to it. Thus it seems that there are few or no races of people in America, whose skulls do not display something of the platybregmate form, with some peculiarities which have already been mentioned, and which will be pointed out more particularly in the sequel; their stature is generally superior to that of the nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, though to this remark there

* Political Essay on New Spain, book ii. chap. vi.

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exist some notable exceptions. Their bodies are remarkably smooth, and devoid of pilar hair, while that of their heads is generally lank, though in some few instances curled, but in none crisp or woolly. Their colour, though not uniform, some races being white, with a florid complexion, and even with red or yellow hair, while others are nearly black, is yet subject to fewer varieties than we might expect from the diversity of the climates they inhabit, and a coppery red hue prevails more extensively among them than in any other department of the human species. To conclude, it is evident that their physical characters, in different parts of the continent, have that sort of general resemblance, which is strongly favourable to the opinion, that all these nations are of one stock. But of this the reader will, perhaps, be more fully convinced, after he has gone through the description of particular nations.

¶ 2. *Relations between the American Languages.*

It has often been observed, that a great variety of languages exists among the native people of America. Mr. Jefferson was of opinion that these idioms are radically different from each other, and that if we compare the number of languages essentially distinct and unconnected, which are to be found in America, with those in Asia which have either lost in the course of time all resemblance to each other, or were always different, we shall find the former to be to the latter in the pro-

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portion of twenty to one. From the greater number of languages supposed to exist among the American tribes, this acute and philosophical writer infers, that the nations of the Western Continent are of greater antiquity than those of Asia and Europe.*

Perhaps it would not be difficult to show, that this inference does not arise necessarily from the premises on which it is founded, but it will be sufficient, at present, to make some observations on the remarkable facts which are connected with the history of the American languages.

It would be easy to point out instances, in which nations, who cannot understand each other in conversation, are yet of kindred origin, and speak languages which, when accurately analysed, are proved to be kindred dialects. A German, for instance, cannot converse with an Englishman, or a Greek with an Italian; still less can a Swede understand a Persian, or a Russian a Hindoo. Yet all these people speak dialects belonging to the Indo-European family of languages.

In the examples above pointed out, an affinity is established by two sorts of proofs: first, by the most obvious one of coincidence in vocabularies, or by the fact, that a considerable proportion of the etymons, or roots of several languages, are possessed by them in common; and secondly, by a near analogy, in the rules of structure, or in grammatical forms. Both these marks of relationship

* Notes on Virginia, by T. Jefferson, Esq., p. 165.

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concur in the instance of the Indo-European dialects; nobody, indeed, would expect to discover them in any instance altogether separated; yet it is the fact that these two classes of phænomena are to be found existing by themselves. In the New World there are numerous classes of languages, which present, when compared with each other, almost an entire difference in their vocabularies, and yet bear a striking analogy in their grammatical forms. On the other hand, while these idioms in general differ remarkably from those of Asia, in their structure and grammatical principles, a number of verbal coincidences have been discovered between the languages of the two continents, which have appeared when taken collectively, too considerable to be ascribed to accident. On this last series of phænomena I shall make some further observations, but I shall advert in the first place to the analogies in grammatical structure, which have been remarked to exist between the American languages, when they are compared with each other.

I believe Professor Vater was the first who observed the remarkable analogy of structure which exists between the most distantly separated of the American languages. He says, "In Greenland, as well as in Peru; on the Hudson river, in Massachusets, as well as in Mexico, and as far as the banks of the Orinoco, languages are spoken, displaying forms more artfully distinguished, and more numerous, than almost any other idioms in

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the world possess." "When we consider these artfully and laboriously contrived languages, which, though existing at points separated from each other by so many hundreds of miles, have assumed a character not less remarkably similar among themselves, than different from the principles of all other languages, it is certainly the most natural conclusion, that these common methods of construction have their origin from a single point; that there has been one general source from which the culture of languages, in America, has been diffused, and which has been the common centre of its diversified idioms.*

* Mithridat. th. iii. p. 328. To the learned editor of this work, who is the author of that part of it which relates to the American languages, we owe the most important and valuable information respecting the native races of the New World. A collection of grammars, vocabularies, of catechisms, and other religious compositions, brought to Europe by Von Humboldt, from the convents and missions of Mexico and Peru, are only a part of the unpublished materials of which this profound critic has availed himself, in compiling his laborious work on the American languages.

But, though so much is due to Professor Vater, it must be observed, that he was not the first who attempted, and with considerable success, to investigate the affinities, and trace the history of the American idioms. It is but justice to mention, in this place, the names of two writers who preceded him; the one in South, the other in North America. Abbot Hervas has been repeatedly cited in the former parts of this work. This diligent compiler has given us a catalogue and brief account of all the languages, known to him, of South America, which he collected, not so much from works already published, as through the medium of an extensive correspondence with

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The same phænomena have been adverted to by the Baron Von Humboldt, and as his authority carries justly much weight, in all that relates to the nations of America, I shall cite his own expressions on this subject. "In America," he says, "(and this result of more modern researches is extremely important with respect to the history of our species) from the country of the Esquimaux to the banks of the Oronoko, and again, from these torrid banks to the frozen climate of the Straits of Magellan, mother tongues, entirely different with regard to their roots, have, if we may use the expression, the same physiognomy. Striking analogies of grammatical construction are acknowledged, not only in the more perfect languages, as that of the Incas, the Aymara, the Guarani, the Mexican, and the Cora, but also in languages extremely rude. Idioms, the roots of which do not resemble each other more than the roots of the Sclavonian and Bis-

ex-jesuits, and other Catholic missionaries, persons who by long residence among the native inhabitants, had acquired accurate and extensive information. (See Heryas's Catalogo delle Lingue conosciute, e notizia della loro affinità, e diversità. Cesena, 1784.)

In North America, a considerable progress had been made by the ingenious Professor Barton, of the University of Pensylvania, in investigating the history and connexions of the native inhabitants through the medium of their languages, and this writer has the merit of having first explored a hitherto untrodden field, and one which, from the scantiness of previous information, held out certainly no very inviting prospect. His work will frequently be cited in the following pages.

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cayan, have those resemblances of internal mechanism, which are found in the Sanscrit, the Persian, the Greek, and the German languages. Almost every where in the New World we recognise a multiplicity of forms and tenses in the verb, an industrious artifice to indicate beforehand, either by inflection of the personal pronouns which form the terminations of the verb, or by an intercalated suffix, the nature and the relation of its object and its subject, and to distinguish whether the object be animate or inanimate, of the masculine or the feminine gender, simple or in complex number. It is on account of this general analogy of structure; it is because American languages, which have no word in common, the Mexican, for instance, and the Quichua, resemble each other by their organization, and form complete contrasts with the languages of Latin Europe, that the Indians of the missions familiarize themselves more easily with other American idioms than with the language of the mistress country."* The Jesuits, in consequence of this circumstance, had adopted the practice of communicating with a great number of different tribes, through the medium of some particular native languages. Hordes, whose proper idioms were entirely peculiar, were easily brought to speak in common one of the native languages, as the Guarani, or the Tamanac, when it was found impossible to teach them Spanish.

* Baron Von Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. iii. p. 248 of the Translation.

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The observations on the structure of the American languages suggested by Professor Vater, and the Baron Von Humboldt, have been more fully developed and confirmed, and in a surprising manner extended by Mr. Duponceau. This intelligent philologer has proved, from ample resources in his possession, that "the American languages, in general, are rich in words and in grammatical forms, and that in their complicated construction, the greatest order and regularity prevail," and he has rendered it extremely probable that these complicated forms of language, to which he has given the appropriate term of *polysynthetic*, exist in all the American languages from Greenland to Cape Horn, "although these languages differ essentially from the principles of construction which are to be found in the idioms of the old hemisphere."* As many of the languages of America are yet little known, it is evident that this conclusion can only be thus far extended by inference. Similar principles, however, are known to prevail in many of the most remarkable dialects, in very distant parts of America: in North America, in the idiom of the Karalit, or Esquimaux; in the dialects of the Delawares, or Lenni Lenape; and of the Iroquois: in the middle region of America, in the

* Transactions of the Literary and Historical department of the American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia. Vol. i. Preliminary Dissertation by Mr. Duponceau. The luminous and comprehensive survey which this dissertation contains, entitles the author to a place in the highest rank of philological critics.

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Poconchi, the Mexican, Tarascan, Mixtecan; and in South America in the Caribbean and Araucan.* In a great number of languages, of which no grammars or dictionaries yet exist, there are still specimens which afford a tolerable opportunity of estimating their general character and analogies, and as far as these data extend, it would appear that similar laws of construction are universal among the idioms of the New World. "Many of these languages, as that of the Lenni Lenape in particular, would rather appear from their construction to have

* These dialects have moods, or conjugations, by which the sense of verbs is modified, as in the Hebrew, but much more extensively: there are *reflected, transitive, compulsive, applicative, meditative, communicative, reverential, and frequentative,* as well as many other complex forms.

In this susceptibility of inflections in the verb, so that its various forms express not only the principal action, but the greatest possible number of moral ideas, and physical objects connected with it, it appears that the peculiarity of the American Indian languages, in a great measure consists. See Mr. Duponceau, *ubi supra,* p. 31. We may form some idea of the polysynthetic system, as it is termed by this writer, by supposing the conjugations of Hebrew verbs, which modify the sense, as well as the use of suffixes and affixes, multiplied to a great extent. This author gives an example of the structure so termed. The sentence, "I do not wish or like to eat with him," is expressed in the Araucan, or Chilian language, by one word, "iduanclo-clavin;" in the Delaware by "n'schingiwipoma."

The feminine inflections of verbs, of which the rudiments exist in the Hebrew, are in some of the Indian languages extended to a great length; it is indeed said, that among some American nations, an almost entirely peculiar set of words is used in the conversation of women. (See Correspondence with Mr. Heckewelder.)

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been formed by philosophers in their closets, than by savages in the wilderness." This is an assertion which though true, appears improbable, and the author of the remark offers the best defence that can be given. "If it should be asked," he says, "how this can have happened; I can only answer, that I have been ordered to collect and ascertain facts, and not to build theories."

On a subject so obscure as the origin of languages, it would be absurd to draw positive conclusions, but if we may form a probable inference, from the phænomena above pointed out, it would coincide with the opinion suggested by Professor Vater, that the languages of America received their culture and organization from one common point; and this can hardly be maintained in any other sense than that they had one origin, or sprang, notwithstanding the differences in their vocabularies, from a common mother tongue. There is perhaps something in the complicated structure of words so remarkable in these idioms, which is unfavourable to the preservation of particular roots, or it is perhaps a general fact, that the forms and laws of structure in languages are more durable than individual words or etymons.

The foregoing considerations on the languages of the American nations, tend obviously towards the same conclusion as the remarks previously offered on their physical characters. How far either, or both, are conclusive, the reader is enabled to judge.

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Section II.

Remarks on the American Languages, and on the Physical Characters of the People, in comparison with those of other Races.

We have hitherto taken a brief and general survey of the races of people who form the population of America in relation to each other. It is now time to make some remarks by way of comparing them with the rest of mankind.

¶ 1. *On their Languages.*

In pursuing the subject of languages, in the first place, it may be observed that the comparison of the American idioms with those of the old continent, has led, as yet, to no very decisive conclusion. The languages of the American nations have been compared with those of the eastern hemisphere, both in relation to their grammatical structure and their vocabularies. It was thought by Dr. Vater, that the Biscayan, or Cantabrian language bears a considerable analogy, in many of its grammatical forms, to the idioms of the New World: this language abounds in complicated inflections of words, capable, like those of the American dialects, of expressing a multiplex variety of modifications in the original idea; but we learn from Mr. Duponceau, that these languages, in the want of a verb substantive, and in opposite methods in the composition of words, differ so far from the Basque, that they cannot be nearly asso-

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ciated with it. This learned writer has observed some peculiarities of structure in the languages of Southern Africa, especially in that of Congo, which appear to him to indicate a nearer approach to the character of the American idioms. The analogy exists chiefly in the forms of the verbs, which in both these classes of languages are, as he expresses himself, synthetic in a high degree.* Yet even in this instance it seems there are differences not less essential. On the whole, it does not appear that any mode of speech, as yet known in the eastern hemisphere, can with certainty be classed, in respect to its laws of structure, with the polysynthetic idioms of the New World.†

This conclusion, however, need not make us despair of finding affinities in words, or etymons, nor does it prove that the idioms of America and Asia were always entirely distinct. Many instances might be pointed out, in which languages, having a great proportion of words in common, and spoken by nations, whose history proves them

* It may be seen, from the remarks on the last paragraph, that the Hebrew dialects have many of the peculiarities belonging to the Indian languages; as the conjugation of verbs, giving rise to a modification in the sense; the use of affixes and suffixes; the feminine forms, &c.: but all these are in so inferior and limited a degree in Hebrew, that the analogy is very distant.

† Mr. Duponceau suspects, that the Grusinian or Georgian language bears a still nearer analogy to the American languages than any of the above mentioned; but on this subject we require further information.

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to have been connected, differ from each other in grammatical structure. It seems, indeed, not a very promising task, since the American languages have acquired such an immense variety in their vocabularies, and have lost so far the mutual resemblance which they probably once had, to look for coincidences between these idioms, and those of nations from whom the American races must have been separated from a very remote period.* However, some of their languages may have retained more of the original stock of words than others, and at any rate, in the whole of them together, it seems likely that such traces may be discovered. A comparison was commenced by Professor Barton, of Philadelphia, between the American idioms and those of Northern Asia, in which the author availed himself of the Petropolitan vocabularies. In this attempt, although it must be confessed that no certain conclusion has been established, yet, on the whole, perhaps, more has been discovered than might have been expected. Profes-

* Perhaps the singular method of syntaxis in some of the polysynthetic languages, is unfavourable to the preservation of particular roots, the original words being overwhelmed and lost in the superstructure which is raised upon them. Some reasons for this opinion will appear below, in the remarks to be offered on the idioms allied to the Mexican. At any rate, the propensity to invent a great variety of words, and the fondness for copious and diversified expression, for metaphor and circumlocution, for which the American nations are remarkable, must tend to innovation in the vocabulary, especially in the case of oral languages, in which obsolete words are soon entirely lost.

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sor Barton himself speaks in confident terms, he says that, "traces of the Samoiede dialects are unequivocally preserved in an immense portion of America. He has also discovered words common to the vocabularies of some American nations, and those of the Koriaks, Tungusians, Vogouls, and Kamtschatkans.* Professor Vater has gone over the same ground with more ample resources at his command, and he has shown, that in respect to most of the words denoting universal ideas and sensible objects, of perpetual recurrence, words may be found nearly resembling each other, in some of the idioms of America, and some of those spoken in Northern Asia.† This is certainly re-

* Dr. Barton's New Views on the Origin of the American Aborigines. Philadelphia.

† Vater in Mithridat. th. iii. p. 349.

The following examples, extracted from the vocabulary above cited, which extends to above sixty words, may serve as a specimen of these analogies. It must be observed that several of the American idioms mentioned are dialects of the Algonquin language, though variously named, as the Penobscot, Illinois, Delaware, New England, Mahican, Acadian.

	AMERICAN LANGUAGES.		ASIATIC LANGUAGES.	
	Nations.	Words.	Words.	Nations.
Mother	Tuscaroras / Six Nations	Anah	Anee	Tungusian
	Greenland	Ananak	Ana or Anakai	Tartar.
Son	Penobscot	Naman	Nioma.	Samoiede.
Brother	Illinois	Nika (my brother)	Neka	Samoiede.
Child	Delaware	Nitsch	Nuetschu.	Samoiede.

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markable, and yet if we consider the number of words which have been compared, the proportion of coincidences is not sufficient to do away all doubt. The only American language detected

	AMERICAN LANGUAGES. Nations.	Words.	ASIATIC LANGUAGES. Words.	Nations.
Man	Tuscarora	Nekets	Noekoet	Kalmuc.
	Acadia	Kessona	Hassee	Ostiak.
Woman	Tuscarora	Kateocca	Kaddi	Tartar.
Nose	N. England	Peechten	Patsh	Samoiede.
Eye	Mahican	Keeksq	Kus	Tartar.
	Brazil	Desa	Dees	Jenisean.
Ear	Chilese	Pilun	Pil	Ostiak.
Cheek	Huastec	Xal or Chal	Chalga	Mongole.
Tongue	Quichua	Kalli	Kyle	Mongole.
	Caribbee	Inigne	Ingni	Tunguse.
Beard	Tarahumara	Etshaguala	Sagal	Tartar.
			Sachyl	Kalmuc.
Sun	N. England	Cone	Cun	Tartar
	Tarahumara	Taika	Tueikuel	Koriak.
Star	Kotow	Alagan	Alak	Assan.
Year	Quichua	Huata	Hoet	Ostiak.
Water	Mexican	Atl	Agel	Vogoul.
Sea	Mexican	Uejatl	Bayægl	Yakuti.
River	Vilela	Itels	Idel	Tartar.
Fire	Brazil	Tata	Tat	Ostiak.
Stone	Mexican	Tetl	Tat	Tartar.
	Cora	Teteti		

To these I must add the following very curious instances of coincidence between the Algonquin and the Irish languages.

	Irish.	Algonquin.
Island	Inis	Inis.
Lie	Gai	Ga.
Water	Uisce	Isca.
Soft	Bog	Boge.
All	Cac'uile	Kak eli.
Every thing	Cac'cini	Kak ina.

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with certainty in Asia, is that of the Esquimaux, which is spoken by the Tschuktschi, but this fact is of itself of importance, though it should be allowed that the Tschuktschi are a colony from America, since it proves that a communication and interchange of inhabitants has really existed between the two continents.

¶ 2. *On their Physical Characters.*

The evidence arising from this comparison, whatever it may be, is of much greater weight, as coinciding with that obtained from another quarter. It is in the idioms of Northern Asia, that the most numerous analogies have been discovered to those of the Western Continent, and to the people of the same region, the physical structure of the American races displays by far the nearest resemblance.

We have had occasion to observe in a former part of this work, that the form of the skull prevalent among the Mongolian, and other races of Eastern Asia, bears a near analogy to that of the American nations. Blumenbach pointed out this resemblance, and although he has laid down two separate descriptions of form as belonging to these two classes of nations, the line of distinction between them is allowed to be more feebly marked than between those which belong to the other departments of mankind. On this subject I must refer the reader to what has been said above, in the third chapter of the second book, and particu-

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larly to the observations there to be found on the different forms of platybregmate skulls. It has been remarked by several writers, that the cheek-bones of the Americans are almost as prominent as those of the Mongoles. In other respects the physical characters of these races are said to resemble each other. "The analogy between them," says Von Humboldt, "is particularly evident in the colour of the skin and hair, in the want of beard, the shape of the cheek-bones, and the direction of the eyes. We cannot refuse," he adds, "to admit, that the human species does not contain races resembling one another more nearly than the Americans, the Mongoles, the Mantchoos, and the Malays." We shall have occasion to observe, in the sequel, that there are many nations in America who resemble the Asiatics not less remarkably in other peculiarities, both of person and moral character, than in those here specified.

The opinion of Blumenbach and Von Humboldt has been confirmed by the distinguished naturalists, Von Spix and Von Martius, who were lately sent by the king of Bavaria into South America. These writers have made the following remarks on the resemblance between the native Americans and the Chinese colonists, settled in the Brazils. "The physiognomy of the Chinese was particularly interesting to us, and was in the sequel still more so, because we thought we could perceive in them the fundamental lines which are remarked in the Indians. The figure of the Chi-

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nese is, indeed, rather more slender, the forehead broader, the lips thinner, and more alike, and the features in general more delicate and mild, than those of the American who lives in woods; yet the small, not oblong, but roundish, angular, rather pointed head, the broad crown, the prominent sinus frontales, the low forehead, the pointed and projecting cheek-bones, the oblique position of the small, narrow eyes, the blunt, proportionably small, broad, flat nose, the thinness of the hair on the chin and the other parts of the body, the long, smooth, black hair of the head, the yellowish or bright reddish tint of the skin, are all characteristics common to the physiognomy of both races. The mistrustful, cunning, and, as it is said, often thievish character, and the expression of a mean way of thinking, and mechanical disposition, appear, in both, in the same manner. In comparing the Mongole physiognomy with the American, the observer has opportunity enough to find traces of the series of developements, through which the Eastern Asiatic had to pass, under the influence of the climate, in order at length to be transformed into an American."

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CHAPTER II.

History of the Nations in the Western and Northern parts of America.

SECTION I.

Two Classes of Nations traced into the North-western parts of the Continent.

ALL the indications that we can discover respecting the first population of America, and the early history of its native inhabitants, appear to centre remarkably in the north-western extremity of that continent. From that quarter many of the most extensively spread races are reported in their own traditions, which in this respect are almost unanimous, to derive their origin, though now inhabiting countries the most remote from it, and from each other. But, it is not unimportant to observe, that of the principal families or groupes of nations, which have been distinguished among the native tribes of America, there are at least two, which may be traced by very clear proofs from countries not far distant from Behring's Strait: thence, as from a common centre, these vestiges appear to diverge in different directions, and to reach on one side to the most easterly part of the American continent, and on the other, to the Isthmus of Darien. These lines may, indeed,

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be said to lead us in the opposite direction beyond the limits of the New World, for indications have been discovered which connect both the families of nations we have alluded to, with the history, or the population of the Old Continent.

The instances, in which a connexion may actually be traced between the nations of America and those of Asia, are, first, that of the Esquimaux, and other tribes allied to them in origin, who have spread themselves along the shores of the Polar Ocean, from one extremity of North America to the other, where they have been found every where at the mouths of rivers, and on the inlets of the sea; and secondly, the inhabitants of countries bordering on the Pacific, and reaching almost from the promontory of Aliaksa, to the gulf of California, and thence to the neighbourhood of Darien. The latter display marks of affinity more or less intimate with the races of Anahuac or Old Mexico. But general statements of this description are not sufficient on a subject so important to the history of the American people, and I shall endeavour to lay before my readers a brief account of the principal facts which illustrate the origin and progress of the nations I have now particularly mentioned. I shall begin with the second series, because it presents the most interesting investigation, and one which is of the greatest consequence in an historical point of view. In following the traces of those tribes, who are connected by language or other memo-

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rials with the inhabitants of Mexico, I shall begin from what appears to be the furthest point of their southern progress, and proceed northwards, taking at the same time some notice of other nations who are spread through the adjoining countries, and adding such remarks respecting them and the regions they inhabit, as appear important and likely to throw light upon the history of the New World.

Section II.

History of the Nations of Anahuac.

Anahuac, or Old Mexico, afterwards called New Spain, contained, at the period of its discovery, many nations, besides the celebrated Aztecas. Clavigero reckons the languages spoken in that country to be thirty-five, several of which were entirely distinct from each other. On this subject he says, "We can safely affirm, that there are no living or dead languages which can differ more from each other, than those of the Mexicans, Otomies, Tarascas, Mayas, and Mixtecas, five languages prevailing in different provinces of Mexico."* Von Humboldt says, that the number of these languages exceeds twenty, of which he has given the names, and he adds the following remark: "It appears, that the most part of these languages, far from being dialects of the same, as

* Clavigero Hist. of Mexico, tom. i. dissert. i. A. Von Humboldt's Polit. Essay on New Spain, vol. i. p. 138. English Translation.

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some authors have falsely advanced, are at least as different from one another as the Greek and the German, or the French and Polish." It is, however, singular, that many of these nations, differing as they do in respect to languages, suppose themselves to be descended from one original. We shall make some observations on the most remarkable among the other nations of Anahuac, after we have done with the Mexicans and the tribes akin to them, who were by far the most extensive and powerful race in this region.

It is well known that the Mexicans had the art of representing the transactions of their history in picture-writing. This art was not improved among them, as it was in Egypt and in China, into a method of representing abstract ideas by corresponding symbols: it always remained what is properly termed picture-writing; yet, in the minds of those persons who have carefully studied the remains of Mexican antiquity, there has existed no doubt that the species of hieroglyphics known to this people was sufficient for purposes of chronology and historical narrative. The more imperfect method of using for similar objects strings of knotted cords, such as those which were chiefly found among the Peruvians, and were termed by them *quippus*, appears also to have been known to the Mexicans, and was, perhaps, generally practised by them before the invention of hieroglyphics. The latter method superseded the former more rude and imperfect one among the Mexi-

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cans,* as it is known to have done in China, where, before the invention of hieroglyphic writing, strings of variegated cords are reported to have been the only chronicles. The historical paintings of the Mexicans, of which there were prodigious numbers, were zealously destroyed by their Spanish conquerors, as encouraging the attachment of the people to their horrible superstition; but when this danger had passed by, and the value of these documents had been discovered, collections were anxiously formed by curious and wealthy individuals, and a considerable number has escaped the wreck. Fortunately this change in the conduct of the Spaniards took place before the meaning of the symbols, and their chronological application had perished from the memory of the natives. Interpreters were yet found, capable of explaining whatever was obscure in the works of their ancestors. In the course of the first century after the conquest, a great number of works were composed on the antiquities of the Mexicans and other nations of Anahuac, both by Spaniards and by learned natives of Mexico and Texcuco, several of whom were descendants of the royal houses of Montezuma and Ixtilxochitl; the latter wrote in the Aztec language, and their compositions are known to few persons in Europe; but the intelligent and indefatigable Abbot Clavigero professes to have given us an account of whatever was most remark-

* Von Humboldt, Vues des Cordill. Eng. Trans. vol. i. p. 109.

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able in them, as well as in the collections of Gomara, Torquemada, Boturini, and other Europeans, who have occupied themselves with the ancient history of New Spain.

The most important and the best authenticated event in the history of this people, is the arrival of the Nahuatlacas, or the Seven Tribes in Anahuac; which, according to Clavigero, and the authors deemed by him most worthy of credit, took place in 1178, and the eighteen succeeding years.* They came from Aztlan, a country far to the north-west of Mexico, and the different stages of their wandering march were recorded in their hieroglyphic tables. They were termed collectively the seven tribes; all spoke the same language, and were originally of the same race; individually they were the Sochimilcas, who founded Xochimilco on the shore of the lake of Chalco; the Chalchese, who settled eastward of the same lake; the Colhuas, of Colhuacan, a country distinct from the more celebrated Acolhuacan; the Tlascalans; the Tlahuicas; the Tepanecans, long the most powerful people in Anahuac; and lastly the Aztecas, or Mexicans, who, like the ancient Romans, were for many years an insignificant people, but finally acquired a preponderating influence over all the neighbouring countries.†

There were many nations in Anahuac before the arrival of the Aztecas, and the other six tribes, at the era above-mentioned. Some of these na-

* Clavig. vol. ii. diss. 2. † Clavig. vol. i. book ii.

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tions, as Clavigero and Vater have proved, by an accurate examination of facts and documents, were originally of the Mexican race, and spoke the same language with that people, whom they had preceded in their migration from the unknown mother-country of the whole stock. Others were of different races, though they all bore a general resemblance in their manners and their characters, both physical and moral. I shall mention the most remarkable nations of each class.

The Toltecas were the most ancient people of the Mexican race. They came originally from an unknown region, termed by them Huehuetlapallan, whence their march, according to their hieroglyphic tables, their only records, began in the year of our era 596, and this is the very oldest epoch in the History of the New World. I shall not pretend to deliver any opinion respecting the authenticity of their annals. It is sufficient to remark, that to such writers as Clavigero, Von Humboldt, and Professor Vater, they have appeared not undeserving of attention, though scarcely the objects of implicit confidence. The baron Von Humboldt terms the Toltecas the Pelasgi of the New World. He says, "The Toltecas introduced the cultivation of maize and cotton; they built cities, made roads, and constructed those great pyramids which are yet admired, and of which the faces are very accurately laid out. They knew the use of hieroglyphic paintings; they could found metals, and cut the hardest stones; and they had

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a solar year more perfect than that of the Greeks and Romans."* The Toltecas are said to have been a warlike and civilized people, but by various calamities they lost possession of Mexico, after an abode of uncertain duration, and their descendants chiefly remained in the southern provinces of Guatimala, Tabasco, and Nicaragua, where they retained the Mexican language and manners.

The Chechemecas were the next people of the Mexican race who came to Anahuac. They were a more wild and barbarous people than the Toltecas, and some of their tribes never adopted the habits of civilized life, but blending themselves with hordes of the Otomies, a savage nation bordering on Mexico, continued to follow a nomadic life in the mountainous countries to the northward of that empire. The Chechemecas are said to have come from a northern country, termed Anaquemecan, where they had long dwelt, under a succession of kings of their own race. They arrived in Anahuac in the year 1170, not many years before the first of the Nahuatlacas; they occupied the countries formerly under the Toltecas, but settled chiefly in the eastern parts. According to some authors,† the Tlascalans were a tribe of this race, and were originally called Teochechemecas. The Chechemecas also subdued the Totonacs, who, according to the traditional accounts credited among themselves, had inhabit-

* Political Essay, i. p. 133.

† Torquemada. See Clavig. book ii.

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ed the country on the Texcucan lake, before the arrival of their conquerors.*

The Acolhuas, a more civilized and polished nation, were also of the same stock; for in Texcuco, their capital city, the purest dialect of the Mexican language was spoken, and the names of their chiefs were all Mexican. They were never subdued by the kings of Mexico, but were in alliance with them at the arrival of the Spaniards. They came from Teo-acolhuacan, a country not far distant from Anaquemecan, but the date of their arrival in Anahuac is not exactly known.

I now proceed to the nations of Anahuac, who were of different race from the Mexicans, as far as their history and language can afford ground for such a conclusion.

I have already mentioned the Otomies and Totonacs, two barbarous races, said to have inhabited the country about the lake of Texcuco, before the arrival of the Chechemecas. Farther to the northward than these, and quite beyond the northern boundary of the Mexican empire, dwelt the Huaxtecas, an important nation, on account of a fact pointed out by Vater, and first discovered, as I believe, by him, which tends to confirm the historical tradition of the Mexicans. Huaxtecapan is separated by the whole of Acolhuacan, and by the length of a great part of the Mexican empire, from Yucatan and Guatimala. Yet the languages of the last mentioned countries are certainly con-

* Torquemada. Clavig. Dissert. 2.

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nected with that of the Huaxtecas, and evince that an intimate relation formerly existed between these northern and southern tribes, who are now separated by many intervening provinces. This fact cannot be accounted for, unless we allow that the whole Mexican race was foreign to Anahuac, and on entering the country from the north, dispossessed the former inhabitants of the central parts. The prevailing language of Yucatan and a part of Tabasco, is the Maya; this idiom was understood by the original inhabitants, now long since extinct, of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Jamaica, who were, perhaps, originally colonies from Yucatan. In Guatimala were spoken various dialects of the Poconchi, or Pocoman.*

The people of Yucatan were advanced in civilization. Bernal Diaz, who first visited them, was astonished at the appearance of their houses and Teo-callis, or pyramidal temples.

In the neighbouring Chiapa, at least ten languages are enumerated,† which are said to be all different from each other. The Chiapanese had

* Vater has compared the Maya and Poconchi, and has detected numerous coincidences between them, in words expressive of the most simple ideas; there is scarcely less agreement between both these southern languages, and the Huaxteca in the north. This learned writer is of opinion that the language of the Othomi will also be found to have relations to the same stock, but of this he speaks doubtfully, and the specimens of coincidence, as yet offered, amount to nothing that can be depended upon.

† Vater, Mithridat. 3 th. 3 abtheil. p. 31.

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hieroglyphic paintings, and the same method of computing time as the Mexicans, but the figures used by them in representing days and years were totally different. They also, according to their tradition, came from the north, under a patriarch Votan, and it is said that their painted histories contained a representation of an universal deluge.*

Northward of Chiapa, and to the south-east of Mexico, were two cultivated nations, the Zapotecas and Mixtecas, who had peculiar languages and systems of mythology, but traditions similar to those of the Chiapanese.† Ruins of splendid buildings are found in their country, with pillars of porphyry.

The Tarascas, who inhabited the fertile and extensive country of Mechoacan, to the north-west of Mexico, were always independent of that kingdom. They had a sonorous and harmonious language, distinct from all others. Their country was very populous, and in arts and cultivation they were equal to the Mexicans, who could never subdue them, but their king submitted voluntarily to the Spaniards.‡

Before we leave the nations of Anahuac, it may be worth while again to remark, that although they differed so much in languages, they generally

* Clavig. book ii. sect. 14.

† Clavig. ibid. Fra Greg. Garcia wrote expressly on the mythology of the Mixtecas, in his work "on the origin of the Indians."

‡ Clavig. book ii. sect. 13.

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considered themselves as descended from the same race, and that they had even mythological stories, which accounted for the diversity of their languages. Acosta has preserved one of these tales, in which the Tarascas are asserted to have spoken originally the language of the Aztecas, and to have emigrated with that people from Aztlan,* and Gomara relates, that an allegory was current among the Mexicans, of a more extensive meaning. An old man, named Iztac-Mixcoatl, and his wife, Itancueitl, had six children, each of whom came to speak a different language, called Xolhua, Tenoch, Olmecatl, Xicallancatl, Mixtecatl, and Otomotl, the names appropriated to six of the principal nations of Anahuac.†

I shall now proceed to survey the nations, inhabiting the western coasts of America, to the northward of Mexico. It is in this region that we find traces of the ancient Mexicans, and their primitive country of Aztlan was probably situated either

* Clavig. Diss. i.

† According to this tale, the Aztecas, arriving after a long peregrination, at Michoacan, were desirous of settling in so pleasant a country, which was however too small for the whole nation. Their god Huitzilopochtli consented that a part might remain, and while they were bathing in the lake of Pazcuaro, advised the others to steal their clothes, and pursue their journey. The former party were so incensed on being thus robbed, that they resolved to separate themselves for ever from their thievish brethren, and accordingly adopted a new language, the Tarasca.

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within the same limits, or beyond them, in the east of Asia.

Section III.

Traces of the Aztec Migration to the southward of the Rio Gila.

In the countries lying to the eastward of the Gulf of California, between the sea-coast and the highest ridges of the Cordillera, and reaching northward as far as the great rivers Gila and Colorado, many traces are found of the temporary abodes of the Aztecas, during their migratory march, which probably took place through this region.

These traces are of various descriptions. I shall briefly notice them under the two following heads.

1. Extensive ruins have been discovered in various places in the countries above mentioned, lying southward of the Gila, which, connected with local traditions remaining among the inhabitants, are supposed to mark the different stations of the Aztecas, in their journey towards Anahuac: and these vestiges are said to coincide with and confirm the accounts transmitted by the Mexican historians.* Near Nayarit are seen earthen mounds and trenches, which tradition assigns to the Cora. These people are said to have raised them as a

* The Mexican historians place the first station of the Aztecas on the banks of two lakes, perhaps fabulous, of Teguago and Timpanogos. The second station is supposed to coincide with the Casas Grandes. See Von Humboldt's Travels in New Continent, vol. vi. p. 320.

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defence against the Aztecas, when in their way from Huei'colhuacan to Chicomoztoc, where the Seven tribes separated. Stations of the Aztecas are supposed to have been recognized by more extensive remains. The most celebrated of these is near the river Gila, where there are ruins of edifices built like those of Mexico, and manifestly the work of a people advanced in arts.* They are termed the Casas Grandes. They were visited by Fathers Garces and Font in 1773.†

2. Vestiges of a different kind, but leading to the same result, have been traced in the idioms of the nations inhabiting the same region. A variety of nations speaking different languages are found in the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, and in the missions of New Biscay, which lie between Mexico and the river Gila. They are enumerated by Vater, according to the most accurate accounts transmitted by missionaries.‡ According to Ribas, all the languages of Sinaloa contain numerous words resembling the Mexican. Of such, he says that he could furnish a long catalogue, which appears to prove that some ancient connexion

* Among these ruins, remains of porcelain and looking-glasses of obsidian have been found: the buildings contained stories, and beams of pine, well cut. Clavigero, book ii.

† See Vater, *ubi supra*. Von Humboldt, Polit. Essay, ii. vol. i. p. 254. Also Personal Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent, vol. vi. p. 320, Translation.

‡ The chief source of information on the people of these countries is the work of Ribas, entitled, Historia de los Triumphos de Nuestra Santa Fé. Madrid, 1645.

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subsisted between the people of these countries and the Mexicans: their languages are said, however, to differ from the Mexican in grammatical structure.

The mountains of Tarahumara and of Pimeria Alta, extending from New Biscay into Sonora, give name to the missions of those countries. The natives of Tarahumara have a peculiar language: the Eudeve and Opata in Pimeria are said by Clavigero to resemble the Tarahumara so closely, that they must all have sprung from the same root.*

But the language of the Cora, a nation inhabiting the missions of Nayarit, and that of Tarahumara, above mentioned, have long been known to bear a decided relation to the Mexican.† The

* Clavig. Diss. i.

† The Tarahumara is not so nearly allied to the Mexican, but bears so much affinity to it in a variety of words, as to have given occasion to a conjecture, that the people who speak it, as well as some nations further to the north, are descended from, or have been intermixed with Mexican refugees, who fled from the conquests of the Spaniards. But the analogies of the Cora and Mexican cannot be explained on this supposition; and a variety of considerations have persuaded the most intelligent persons, who have devoted their attention particularly to the Mexican history, to adopt a different conclusion. The traces of the Mexican language, found in these northern countries, are supposed by Von Humboldt and Vater to be the result of some more ancient affinity, or of an intimate connexion with the Aztec race in times which preceded the migration of that people into Anahuac. Von Humboldt, Polit. Essay, vol. i. p. 134. Vater, *ubi supra*, p. 143.

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Cora agrees with the Mexican, according to the result of Vater's researches, not only in its vocabulary, but very remarkably in its grammatical structure. This resemblance is of such a description as to prove that the Cora nation are descended, at least in great part, from the same stock as the ancient Aztecas.

The furthest vestige of what may be considered as Mexican civilization toward the north, is in the neighbourhood of the Yaquesila, which flows into the Rio Colorado. The Moqui, and other tribes, who inhabit this region, are said by the missionaries above mentioned, who visited these countries in their journey from the missions of Pimeria, to reside in towns or villages containing two or three thousand inhabitants; they are clothed, and their houses have several stories and terraces, and are constructed in the same manner as the Casas Grandes, and the houses of ancient Mexico. The languages of these people are said, however, to be essentially different from the Mexican.*

Section IV.

Nations of the Western Coast in New California, and further to the Northward.

The western coast of America, extending northward from California, has been termed by English voyagers New Albion, New Norfolk, and New Cornwall: the Spaniards have named a part of it New California. The whole of this coast, with

* Vater, *ubi supra*, p. 180.

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all its inlets and islands, has been explored by the indefatigable Vancouver. Captains Cook, Portlock, and Dixon, have visited several parts of it, and the French voyagers, La Pérouse and Marchand, have given us some information respecting the inhabitants of particular places. From all these notices we should still be able to form but a very imperfect idea of the races of people inhabiting this region of America, if it were not for the aid of some more ample documents collected by the Russians, in their late settlements on the western coast, and their voyages in the North Pacific Ocean. The more important of these is, doubtless, a work compiled by Hr. Von Resanoff, on the languages of the native races of Western America, containing brief, but valuable accounts of their history and diffusion. By the help of these resources, and particularly of the latter, Dr. Vater has been enabled to throw a new light on the population of this region, and to trace some general facts relating to different races who inhabit it, and their probable affinity to each other.

On carefully comparing all that can be collected from the sources of information just enumerated, it appears, as Vater has shewn, that the countries near the western coast of America, from about the 43° of north latitude to Prince William's Sound, in 60°, where the abodes of the Esquimaux may be said to begin, are peopled by tribes of men, who belong to two different races or departments, distinguished from each other by their languages

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and general characters.* One of these may be termed, for the sake of a general denomination, and in the want of any other, the *race* of *Yucuatl*, from the name of the port improperly termed Nootka, where they were first known and correctly described. The other is named by the Russians Koluschi. Tribes of these two races, or answering to the general descriptions of them, have been found by voyagers in different places along the shores of the Northern Pacific, where they appear to be interspersed between, but not mingled or blended with each other. People of the former race have been found at Nootka Sound; they inhabit Vancouver's island, and still further southward the neighbourhood of Port Discovery. The latter extend, according to Von Resanoff, southward from Jakutat to the Queen Charlotte's islands, where the whole archipelago is occupied by their settlements. It appears that tribes of this race have been met with by different voyagers; at Norfolk Bay, by Marchand; at Norfolk Sound, Portlock's Haven, Cape Edgecumbe, by Dixon and Portlock; at Port des Français, by La Pérouse;

* Dixon remarked, that at least three languages, among which that of the Esquimaux is included, are spoken by the nations of the north-western American coast. He has given the numerals of these: first, of Prince William's Sound and Cook's River; secondly, of Norfolk Sound; and thirdly, of Nootka, or King George's Sound. This is precisely the division adopted by Vater. The first belong to the Esquimaux, the second to the Koluschian, and the third to the Yucuatlian race. See Dixon's Voy. p. 241.

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and lastly, at Port Musgrave, at 59° 33′, by Dixon. The inhabitants of these places are tolerably well identified with each other, by observations displaying the affinity of their languages, and in many instances by the evidence of vocabularies.

To the northward of all the countries occupied by these nations the western coast is inhabited by different tribes, belonging to the widely spread race of Esquimaux, to which the natives of Oonalashka, Norton Sound, and Kadiak, are well known to belong. The utmost limits to which this nation extends towards the south, are not exactly known; but it is probable that they do not reach much further in that direction than Prince William's Sound. The natives of that place speak the language of Oonalashka, as we are informed by Vancouver; they are, therefore, not unconnected with the Esquimaux. But at Port des Français, in latitude 58° 37′, we are positively assured by La Pérouse, who has given a very accurate description of the people, that a race different from the Esquimaux exists. He says, "My voyages have enabled me to compare various nations, and I am certain that the Indians of Port des Français are not Esquimaux. They have evidently a common origin with the inhabitants of the interior of Canada and the northern parts of America."* He adds, that they differ essentially from the Esquimaux in their physical characters, as well as in their manners, and some specimens

* La Pérouse's Voy. Translation, vol. i. p. 161.

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of their language, which were collected by his companion, Lamanon, when compared with the vocabularies of Von Resanoff, and other Russian travellers, evince that they are a tribe of the race of Koluschi.*

Thus it appears, that the latter people are now the nearest neighbours of the Esquimaux, and that they separate that nation by a long intervening line of coast, from the race of Yucuatl. This was not always the case; for, in the language of Yucuatl, as it appears from the vocabularies collected by Cook and Anderson at Nootka, there is a considerable mixture of Esquimaux words. Cook asserted that the dialect of Nootka bears not the least resemblance to that of the Esquimaux tribes.† Still it must be concluded, from the fact just alluded to, which is proved by a comparison of vocabularies, that in some former time these two races were connected with each other by frequent intercourse, if not by intermixture of blood, and that they must have inhabited contiguous countries. Either, then, the Esquimaux reached further towards the south, or, what is perhaps more probable, the people of Yucuatl have emigrated from a more northern country into their present situation.

* Vater, *ubi supra*, p. 222.

† The dialects of these nations are indeed so far distinct, that they must be considered as belonging to separate languages, and the people themselves have little or no resemblance.

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To the westward of Port des Français the Esquimaux are chiefly spread along the sea-coasts, where they subsist by fishing, being every where an almost amphibious race. But many other tracts in this northern region are inhabited by two nations, termed Ugaliachmutzi and Kinaitzi. The former inhabit the country near Mount St. Elias, to the north of Behring's Bay. They are a people distinct from the Esquimaux, and all the other nations of this region, and speak a distinct language, which has some words in common with the Koluschian. The Kinaitzi inhabit the neighbourhood of the bay which is named after them. They are separated from the Ugaliachmutzi by the Tschugazzi, a tribe of Esquimaux.* We have thus in the north-western parts of America, besides the Esquimaux, four nations speaking distinct languages; viz. the race of Yucuatl, the Koluschi, Ugaliachmutzi, and Kinaitzi.

One of the most interesting facts relating to all these four races is, that their languages have some characteristics which are common to them all, and not only to them, but also to the Aztec or Mexican; which, if they do not prove a common origin, at least give us reason to infer a very early and intimate communication. It was observed long ago by Anderson, that the language of Nootka bears a striking resemblance to the Mexican in the termi-

* These statements are given by Von Resanoff, in a MS. work, from which Dr. Vater has extracted them.

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nations of words, and the frequent recurrence of the same consonants.* The same phænomena have fallen under the notice of the baron Von Humboldt, who remarks that, "on a careful comparison of the vocabularies collected at Nootka Sound and at Monterey, he was astonished at the resemblance of the sounds and the terminations of words to those of the Mexican: as, for example, in the language of Nootka, *apquixitl* is *to embrace; temextixitl*, to *kiss; hitltzitl*, to *sigh; tzitzimitl, earth; inicoatzimitl*, the name of a month. Yet these languages are on the whole to be considered as essentially distinct, as it appears from the comparison of their numerals." To these remarks of Von Humboldt I shall add the following original observations of Dr. Vater. Having taken notice of one circumstance distinguishing the Nootka language from the Mexican, viz. that *tl* in the latter occurs only as a termination of nouns, whereas in the former it is found in words of all sorts, and perhaps chiefly in verbs, he adds, "Yet, *agcoatl*, a young woman, in the Nootka dialect, may bear a nearer resemblance to çou-atl, a wife, or woman generally, in the Mexican. At any rate that frequent recurrence of the same sounds, which in other languages are comparatively rare, as par-

* Cook's last Voy. vol. ii. book iv. chap. iii. The name of Opulszthl, *the sun*, in the Nootka language, is compared by the editor of Cook's Voyage with Vitziputzli, the name of a Mexican divinity.

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ticularly of the *tl*, is certainly a circumstance of some weight." This phænomena, however, is not peculiar to the Nootka language, but common to it and the dialects of the Koluschi, and is even more extensively prevalent. "By means of the specimens of different languages brought to our knowledge by the Russians, in the colonies planted of late on the American coast, it appears that this remarkable termination of words is not only common to the languages of the Koluschi, but even in the idiom of the Ugaliachmutzi it is so strikingly frequent, that among the words, amounting to about twelve hundred, collected by Hr. Von Resanoff, nearly the twelfth part of the whole, but these words of all descriptions, and not merely substantives, have tl, or sometimes tli, or tle, for their termination."*

The author of these remarks has been induced by the circumstances above mentioned, and the probability of detecting further analogy, to collate the vocabularies of the Mexican and the two languages referred to in the preceding paragraph, as far as he possesses means for this comparison. In less than two hundred words, designating the same objects, he has found twenty-six of the singularly formed polysyllables, belonging to the Mexican language, which have a considerable resemblance to corresponding terms in the idioms either of the Ugaliachmutzi or the Koluschi, and

* Vater, *ubi supra*, p. 212.

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appear with great probability to be derived from the same roots.*

* The following are the words which Vater has found to resemble in these languages.

	Mexican.	Ugaliachmutzi.	Koluschi.
Mother	Nantli		Attli.
Brother	Teachcauh	Kachaoch	Achaik, Achonoik.
Wife	Ciuatl		Sueot.
Maid	Ocuel		Këel.
Face	Xayacatl		Kaya.
Forehead	Yxquatl	Kaintschit	Kakak.
Mouth	Camatl		Kasattl.
Throat	Cocotl		Katkakl.
Shoulder	Acoli		Kakalyachatag.
Name	Tetocayotiloni		Kedetude-ë.
Powerful	Velitilizcotl		Itlzin.
Cold	Cecuitzli	Kateitle.	
Length	Quauhticayotl	Kuaua.	
Depth	Vecatliyotl		Kattlyan.
Stone	Tetl		Te.
Earth	Tlalli		Tlyaknak, Tlatka.
Duck	Canauhtli	Kach	Kauchu.
Hen			Kanuyak.
Red	Quacocoztic	Takakuete.	
Axe	Quauhtlateconi	Lyakatakatl.	
Star	Citlati		Tlaachztl.
Night	Youalli	Suelchatl.	
Life	Yali	Salyaal.	
To see	Chia	Utschtschuelia.	
To sleep	Uetztoc	Atzut.	
To bear	Itqui	Itta.	
To cook	Coxitia	Coatk.	

The resemblance is here often disguised by the difference of Spanish and German orthographies, which, as Vater has retained, I have not chosen to reduce to one standard, except in substi-

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Independently of the evidence afforded by these particular coincidences, I think it must be allowed that the Mexican idiom, together with the three northern ones which have been mentioned, namely, those of the Yucuatlians, Koluschi, and Ugaliachmutzi, forms one class or family of languages, and that a very peculiar one. It is impossible to overlook the analogies which exist between them, singular as the objects of comparison are in themselves, or to assign them to mere accident.

Some other circumstances have been observed in the history of these nations which tend to confirm the opinion of their affinity to the Mexicans. It has been remarked by several writers, that hieroglyphic, or picture-writing, is practised by the natives of the coast to the northward of Nootka.* Many curious facts relating to the mythology and arts prevalent among the people of Nootka have been noticed by Von Humboldt, who derived his

tuting *y* for the German *j*, and *tz* for *z*. It may be observed that the roots, in many instances, resemble more than the complex words, differences arising from the addition or want of the characteristic termination of nouns, viz. the consonants *tl*. In yxquatl it appears that *qua* is the root, and in the words for *to see*, the root *chuelia* agrees with *chia*, and *uch* is merely a sign of the infinite mood.

* A fondness for carving and sculpture was observed by Cook in these countries. Dixon says, "Whether they make use of hieroglyphics to perpetuate the memory of events I cannot determine, though their numerous drawings and carvings may warrant the supposition." Dixon, p. 243. Voy. de Marchand, tom. i. Von Humboldt, Polit. Essay, i. p. 134.

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information on this subject from a manuscript work of Don F. Moziño: these notices are too brief to satisfy the curiosity they are calculated to excite; but we learn from them that the Nootkians, like the Mexicans, measured time by months of twenty days, and though in the number of months they fell short of the Aztec calendar, the coincidence can scarcely be a matter of accident.*

On a review of all the phænomena above mentioned, I think it must be concluded that a class of nations, which were probably at a remote period intimately connected, perhaps we may say that one race of men is spread over a great extent on the eastern side of America. To the northward the Ugaliachmutzi, the Koluschi, and Kinaitzi, the latter being apparently of the same class with the two others, must be reckoned among this family, and on the south the Mexicans and the other kindred tribes in Anahuac. It might be doubted in what quarter was the original centre of this race, and in which direction their migration took place, but the very definite traditions of the Aztecs, which deduce them from the north, afford sufficient ground for acquiescing in this opinion. The Mexicans are indeed a very different people from the more northern nations with respect to their advancement

* Vues des Cordillères. Researches, vol. i. 407. Essay Polit. p. 335, vol. i.

The two genii, or deities of the Nootkians, are Quautz and Matlox, the good and evil principle. The latter is probably the Mexitli of the Mexicans.

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in civilization. It is probable that they have undergone a considerable improvement subsequently to their arrival in Anahuac.

But where was Aztlan, the origin of their traditional migrations? Was it in the barren and barbarous wilderness of North-western America, or in Asia? Torquemada observed, that in all the ancient tablets representing the migratory march of the Aztecs, an arm of the sea was laid down, which Clavigero conjectures to have alluded to the Rio Colorado. It may have been the record of a more remote event in their progress. At all events it must be allowed that the researches of the baron Von Humboldt have proved satisfactorily the Asiatic origin of the Mexican system of astronomical computation. The sciences and arts of the Aztecs were in some measure common to themselves and several of the ancient nations of Eastern Asia.* Hence it is easy to determine what is the

* See Von Humboldt's work on the Aztec calendar, vol. i. p. 276. English translation of the "Vues des Cordill." &c. In this work, after a laborious investigation of the system of astronomical cycles in use among the Aztecas, he draws the following conclusion: "The Mexicans, the Japanese, the people of Tibet, and several other nations of central Asia, have followed the same system in the division of the great cycles, and in the *denomination of the years that compose them.*" (p. 328.) Although "instead of the cycles of sixty years, of years divided into twelve months, and weeks of seven days, used among the nations of Asia, the Mexicans employed cycles of fifty-two years, years of eighteen months, months of twenty days, and for the lesser divisions, half decades and half lunations of thirteen days, yet the system of periodical series (the correspon-

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most probable supposition respecting the origin of the people.*

SECTION V.

Nations of California.

BEFORE we can complete the account of the nations inhabiting the north-western coast of America, it is necessary to mention the races found in the peninsula, or projecting land of California.

Voyagers, who have visited California, have given various accounts respecting the nations that inhabit it, and the number and variety of their languages. A late writer informs us, that there are frequently, in the Spanish mission, not less than ten different races of native people, each speaking

dent terms of which serve to denote the dates of the days and the years,) being the same in both countries, and a great part of the hieroglyphic names by which the Mexicans denote the twenty days of their month, being the same which have been affixed to the signs of the zodiac, from the remotest antiquity, among the nations of Eastern Asia," afford unequivocal proofs of a common design, or of the interchange of ideas. (p. 358.) The symbols are not only the same, when individually considered, but what is most remarkable, they recur in the same order. No person can, on inspecting the comparative table given by Von Humboldt of the signs of the days used among the Aztecs, with the signs of the Tibetan zodiac and the Hindoo Nacshatras, doubt that from one of these systems the others are derived.

* It might be observed in this place, that several of the nations of Anahuac had traditions, distinct, as it would appear, from each other, of an universal deluge. The Mexicans termed the patriarch who escaped, and preserved the human race *Coxcox*, and *Teocipactli*, and the Mechuacanese, *Tezpi*.

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a peculiar language.* But the most correct accounts we have of this country, drawn from the information of missionaries who have resided among the natives, reduce their languages to four, and ultimately to three, which are the mother tongues of all the remainder.† These are the Cochimi, Pericu, and Loretto languages; the former is the same as the Laymon; for the Laymones are the northern Cochimies: the Loretto has two dialects, that of the Guaycuru, and the Uchiti. These three nations and languages are nearly equal in extent in California. A long list of barbarous names, the designations of particular tribes, may be found in the histories of this country, which it would be useless to extract.

Section VI.

Of the Physical Characters of the Nations already enumerated.

Before we proceed to the other races of people in North America, we must take a brief survey of the nations already described, namely, those who inhabit the western coast, from the country of the Esquimaux, without including, however, any of the tribes of that kindred, as far to the southward as the isthmus of Darien. Many of

* Kotzebue's Voyage to California. Remarks by the naturalist of the expedition, vol. iii. p. 51.

† A Natural and Civil History of California, by Father Miguel Venegas. Translation. London, 1759. Vol. i. p. 55. Also Vater, *ubi supra*, p. 183.

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these nations, as we have seen, bear such marks of mutual affinity, that they may be reckoned as branches of one family.

If we consider the physical characters of these tribes in reference to the varieties of climate inhabited by them, the facts which display themselves are by no means in favour of the conclusion which many writers have drawn respecting the people of America. It has often been said that the complexions of the native races of America bear no relation whatever to the degrees of temperature and of latitude. There is however, perhaps, no part of the Old Continent where the varieties of colour are more coincident with this relation than in the districts already described. For we shall find that the northernmost nations, those who inhabit the cold country behind Nootka,* and the tracts further northward, about Mount St. Elias, are white; while the natives of the low maritime countries of California, which perhaps, more than any other parts of the New World, resemble the climate of Africa, are black, or nearly so, and the inhabitants of the high table-land of Mexico, where the heat of the equatorial sun is moderated by the elevation of the land, are of an intermediate hue.

I shall cite the accounts given by some of the voyagers who have visited these nations.

* Even in King George's Sound, says Dixon, the hills of moderate height are perpetually covered with snow.

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¶ 1. *Race of Yucuatl, or Nootka.*

The following is the description of the race of Yucuatl by Captain Cook and Mr. Anderson.

"The persons of the natives are, in general, under the common stature, but not slender in proportion, being commonly pretty full, or plump, though not muscular. Neither are they corpulent, but many of the older people are rather spare or lean. The visage of most of them is rather round and full, and sometimes also broad, with high prominent cheeks, and above these the face is often much depressed, or seems fallen in quite across between the temples; the nose also flattening at its base, with pretty wide nostrils and a rounded point. The forehead is rather low; the eyes small, black, and rather languishing than sparkling; the mouth round, with large, round, thickish lips, the teeth tolerably equal and well set, but not remarkably white. They have either no beards at all, which was most commonly the case, or a small thin one upon the point of the chin; which does not arise from any want of hair upon that part, but from plucking it out more or less; for some of them, and particularly the old men, have not only considerable beards all over the chin, but whiskers, or mustachios. Their eyebrows are also scanty, and always narrow, but the hair of the head is in great abundance, very coarse and strong, and, without a single exception, black, straight, and lank, or hanging down over the shoulders. The neck is

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short; the arms and body rather clumsy; the limbs in all very small in proportion to other parts, with large feet, badly shaped, and projecting ankles."

"Their colour was difficult to determine, their skins being incrusted with dirt or paint; in particular cases, when these were rubbed off, the whiteness of the skin appeared almost equal to that of Europeans; though rather of the pale, effete cast, which distinguishes those of our southern nations. Their children, whose skins had never been stained, also equalled ours in whiteness. A very remarkable sameness seems to characterize the whole nation; a dull, phlegmatic want of expression being common to all of them. The women strongly resemble the men, and have no pretension to beauty."

In moral character, dispositions, and manners, this race of people appears not to be distinguished from the other nations of North America. They have the same indolence and apathy of character. In one respect they differ from many other American nations. They are very fond of music, and display, as Captain Cook informs us, much skill in the composition of their songs. He says, "Their music is not of that confined sort found among many rude nations; for the variations are very numerous and expressive, and the cadence or melody powerfully soothing."*

* The same fondness for music was observed by Dixon at Norfolk Sound. See Dixon, p. 243.

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It seems from Vancouver's account, that a tribe of the same people, or a nation allied to them, inhabits the country further to the southward than Nootka, near Port Discovery, in 48° 7′. They understood some words of the Nootka language, and in every particular so closely resembled the natives of that Sound, that Vancouver refers us for a description of them to the account already cited from Cook and Anderson.*

¶ 2. *Race of Koluschi.*

I have already observed that the nations of Port des Français are proved by the vocabularies of their language to belong to the race of Koluschians, who are extended over many parts of the Western American coast. I now proceed to extract some accounts of this people from the writings of voyagers.

La Pérouse says, "My voyages have enabled me to compare various nations, and I am certain that the Indians of Port des Français are not Esquimaux. They have evidently a common origin with the inhabitants of the interior of Canada, and the northern parts of America." He adds, "Customs entirely peculiar to themselves, and a very singular countenance, distinguish the Esquimaux from all other Americans."—"They are a people who delight more in fishing than the chase, and preferring oil to blood, nay perhaps to every thing else, commonly eat their fish raw. The fra-

* Vancouver, vol. i. p. 230.

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ming of their canoes is always covered with the skin of the sea-wolf, very tightly stretched. Nimble and active in all their movements, they differ little from sea-calves, and wanton in the water with as much agility as if they were amphibious. Their face is almost square, their eyes and breasts large, their figure short. Of all these characteristics not one agrees with the natives of Port des Français, who are much larger, meagre, far from robust, and very unskilful in the construction of their boats, which are formed of an excavated tree, raised on each side with a single plank.

"In size and figure these Indians differ little from us; their features are greatly varied, and afford no peculiar characteristic, except in the stern expression of their eyes. The colour of their skin is very brown, being constantly exposed to the sun; but their children are born as white as any among us. They have less beards than Europeans, but enough to remove all doubt upon the subject; and the supposition that the Americans are without beards, is an error that has been too readily adopted. I have seen," he adds, "the aborigines of New England, Canada, Nova Scotia, and Hudson's Bay, and have found many individuals among these nations with a beard; whence I conclude, that those who are destitute of it have got rid of it by artificial means."

The people of Norfolk Sound are described by Dixon, and from the general outlines of his account, as well as from a vocabulary containing

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the numerals of their language, it seems that they belong to the same nation as the people of Port des Français.* They speak, according to Dixon, a different language from that of Prince William's Sound, the natives of which are, as we have observed, Esquimaux. They have also the same habit of cutting through the under-lip in females, and making a second aperture to the mouth, which prevails at Port des Français. This and the other customs of the inhabitants of Norfolk Sound, connect them also with the natives of Port Mulgrave:† they resemble the latter people *in their make, shape, and features*, and in language.‡ The natives of Port Mulgrave are thus described by Captain Dixon.§

"They are in general about the middle size, their limbs straight and well shaped, but, like the rest of the inhabitants we have seen on the coast, are particularly fond of painting their faces with a variety of colours, so that it is no easy matter to discover their real complexion; however, we prevailed on one woman, by persuasion and a trifling present, to wash her face and hands, and the alteration it made in her appearance absolutely surprised us; her countenance had all the cheerful glow of an English milk-maid, and the healthy red which flushed her cheek was even beautifully contrasted with the whiteness of her neck; her eyes were black and sparkling; her eyebrows of the same colour, and most beautifully arched;

* Dixon, p. 241. † Ibid. p. 186.
‡ Ibid. pp. 191, 186, 172. § Ibid. p. 171.

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her forehead so remarkably clear, that the translucent veins were seen meandering even in their minutest branches; in short she was what would be reckoned handsome even in England." He adds, that their beauty is entirely destroyed by the artificial mouth, which all the females have.

A comparison of the vocabularies obtained by Dixon and La Pérouse, and of various particulars in their descriptions of the nations above mentioned, with the accounts given by Von Langsdorff, Davidoff, and by Von Resanoff, and other Russian voyagers, of the Koluschian tribes, and with the specimens collected of their language, enable us to conclude, without any degree of hesitation, that these nations all belong to one race. "The Koluschi," according to Von Langsdorff, "are for the most part of middle stature and strong make: they have black hair and large fiery eyes, and without displaying the characteristics of the Mongolian race, they have a broad, flattened nose, wide cheek-bones, and strongly marked, stern features. The colour of their skin is defiled with earth and ochre, with which they smear themselves: but in women and girls, who have been cleaned from all this stain, the skin has been found as white as that of any European. The women wear a piece of wood through a hole in their lower lips.*

I shall conclude my account of this race with extracts from a physiological and pathological memoir by M. Rollin, who accompanied the unfor-

* Vater, *ubi supra*, p. 219.

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tunate La Pérouse. This memoir is evidently drawn up with accuracy and minute observation. It contains remarks on the natives of Chili, of California, and on those of the country near the Baie des Français, who are of the Koluschian race. It is said that "these people have very little resemblance to the Californians. They are larger, more robust, of a more agreeable figure, susceptible of the greatest vivacity of expression, and very superior in courage and intellect. They have rather a low forehead, but a more open one than the Americans of the south; black and lively eyes, much thicker eyebrows; a nose of a regular shape and size, rather wide at the extremity; lips not fleshy, a mouth of middle size, fine and well set teeth, and the chin and ears very regular." The author observes that the colour of the skin varies in shades, some being fairer than others, and those parts of the body which are exposed being darkest. The complexion has a tinge of the olive colour.

"The hair is not so strong and black as in the Southern Americans, and I observed a *great many individuals* in whom its colour was that of a *chesnut*. They have a fuller beard, and more hair on other parts of the body than some other Americans."

This brown hue of the hair indicates a remarkable approximation to the complexion of the northern Europeans.

It appears from these accounts that the people

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of the western coast of America, consisting of several distinct races, are as white as the inhabitants of Europe. This remark applies to the nations between the country of the Esquimaux, towards the north, and the neighbourhood of Port Discovery in the south, in the 48th degree of north latitude. It is important to notice, in relation to this subject, that the climate of America, in the western regions of that continent, has been observed to assimilate much more to that of Europe, than in the more eastern and central parts.* About six degrees further southward than the last mentioned place, near Cape Orford, the natives of the coast visited by Vancouver, appear to be a very different race. They are described as a people of pleasing and courteous deportment and gentle expression of countenance. Their features, according to Vancouver, resembled those of Europeans; their complexion was of a light olive, and their skins were tattooed like those of the South Sea islanders.†

¶ 3. *Of the Californian Nations.*

Having described the races of white Americans, in the north-western parts of the continent, we now proceed to the natives of California. The climate of California, properly so called, is in general dry and hot to an excessive degree; the earth is barren, abounding in rocky and sandy

*. Mackenzie's Second Journey, p. 406. † Vol. i. p. 204.

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districts, and deficient in water.* The circumstances of the climate are, in short, in every respect, opposite to those of the north-western tracts, which abound in hills, often covered with snow, and with verdant forests.

It was long ago well known that the Californians are of much deeper hue than the natives of America in general.† La Pérouse compares them to the Negroes in the West Indies. He says, "The colour of these Indians, which is the same as that of Negroes, a variety of circumstances, and indeed every thing that we observed, presented the appearance of a plantation in the island of St. Domingo."‡ In another passage the same writer expresses himself more positively and minutely. He says, "The complexion of the Californians very nearly resembles that of those Negroes whose hair is not woolly; the hair of this nation is long and very strong, and they cut it four or five inches from the root."§

M. Rollin, in the memoir before cited, says, that "the Californians have little resemblance to the natives of Chili. They are taller, and their muscles more strongly marked, but they are not so courageous or intelligent. They have low foreheads, black and thick eyebrows, black and hollow eyes, a short nose, depressed at the root, and

* Natural and Civil History of California, by Don Miguel Venegas, vol. i. p. 26.

† Ibid. ‡ Tom. i. p. 208. § La Pérouse, tom. i. p. 197.

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projecting cheek-bones. They have rather large mouths, thick lips, strong and fine teeth, and a chin and ears of the common form. They are very indolent, incurious, and almost stupid. In walking they turn in their toes, and their step is tottering and infirm."* The Californians have their chins more covered with hair than the Chilians.

It seems from this description, that colour is not the only circumstance in which the Californians make an approximation to the character of person prevalent in some other tropical countries, as among the Negroes of Guinea, New Guinea, and the New Hebrides. The shape of their heads and features may be compared with those of the nations last mentioned.

¶ 4. *Natives of Mexico.*

Clavigero informs us, that the nations of Anahuac, although differing in languages, and somewhat in manners, were yet nearly of the same physical character. "The moral and physical qualities of the Mexicans, their tempers and dispositions, were the same as those of the Acolhuacans, the Tepanecans, the Tlascalans, and other nations, with no other difference than what arose from their different mode of education."

"The Mexicans are of a good stature, generally rather exceeding than falling short of the middle

* A very similar account of the natives of California is given by Kotzebue, in the narrative of his late voyage. Vol. i. p. 282.

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size, and well proportioned in all their limbs: they have good complexions, narrow foreheads, black eyes, clean, firm, regular, white teeth; thick, black, coarse, glossy hair, thin beards, and generally no hair upon their legs, thighs and arms. Their skin is of an olive colour."

"There is scarcely a nation upon earth, in which there are fewer persons deformed, and it would be more difficult to find a single hump-backed, lame, or squint-eyed man among a thousand Mexicans, than among a hundred of any other nation.

"Among the young women of Mexico there are many very beautiful and fair; whose beauty is rendered more attractive by the sweetness and natural modesty of their behaviour."

"Their senses are very acute, especially that of sight, which they enjoy unimpaired to the greatest age."—"Their minds are, at bottom, in every respect like those of the other children of Adam, and endued with the same powers; nor did the Europeans ever do less credit to their own reason than when they doubted of the rationality of the Americans."—"Many persons allow the Mexicans to possess a great talent of imitation, but deny them the praise of invention; a vulgar error, which is contradicted by the ancient history of that people."*

* Clavig. Hist. Mex. book i.

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Section VII.

Of the Karalit, or Esquimaux.

The race of people termed Esquimaux obtained that name, according to Charlevoix, from their neighbours, the Abenaki of Canada, in whose language *esquimantic* means, to eat raw fish. The appellation by which they distinguish themselves from other nations is Karalit.

It was long ago ascertained by the missionaries who visited the Esquimaux in Labrador, that they are of the same race as the inhabitants of Greenland. They have similar physical characters and habits, and their language only differs from that of the Greenlanders by a slight modification of dialect.* According to Crantz, and the writers who have described the early discoveries of the Norwegians, Greenland was without inhabitants when the first Europeans settled upon the coast, about the year 982. Some years afterwards, Lief, the son of Eric the Red-headed, sailed in a ship, with thirty-five men, from Old Greenland towards the south-west, and discovered a fertile country abounding with grapes, which must have been either Newfoundland or Labrador, and most probably the latter. Here the Northmen first met with a race of savages, whom they termed Skrœllings, that is, Sprouts, or dwarfs, from their diminutive stature. They described these people as pigmies, two cubits high, who had little boats covered with skins,

* Crantz's History of Greenland.

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and bows and arrows, with which they assaulted the strangers. It is said, that the same people soon afterwards made their appearance on the western coast of Greenland, of which country, after it was abandoned or lost sight of by the Norwegians, they remained, for a long time, the only inhabitants.*

It is probable that the Esquimaux reach in a continued line across the whole northern tract of America, along the shores of the Polar Sea, or the gulfs or inlets which there exist. Indeed, the fact that people of this race, who never quit the shore, are found at the western coast of this continent, is one strong argument for the existence of a northerly communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The Esquimaux were found by Hearne, and heard of by Sir A. Mackenzie, near the Copper Mine river, and at the river which bears the name of the latter traveller. Much further towards the west, at Norton Sound, and at the island of Unalashka, undoubted traces of their language were found by Cook and Anderson, and thus it was discovered that they reach to the neighbourhood of Behring's Straits.

But the history of the western branches of the Esquimaux is chiefly to be known through the medium of the Russian discoveries, of which the most important documents are works only extant in manuscript, and in the Russian language. It is

* See Crantz's Hist. of Greenland, and Dr. J. Reinhold Forster's Account of Northern Discoveries.

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to Professor Vater that we are indebted for a connected account of these discoveries. The following brief notices contain the principal results which he has obtained from the examination of various documents, and from a comparison of all the existing sources of information respecting the languages of the Western American coast.*

¶ 1. *Different Nations of Esquimaux.*

The race of the Esquimaux, on the western coast of America, extends as far to the southward as Prince William's Sound, and perhaps as Behring's Bay, but they are here only in detached hordes, scattered on different parts of the coast, between tribes of people distinct from them in language and character. The vocabulary collected by Portlock at Prince William's Sound, proves that the natives of that place speak the Esquimaux language, and from a specimen said to exemplify the language of Jakutat, which was obtained by Von Baranoff, the Russian director, it seems that the same idiom is spoken there also.

Jakutat, according to Chwostoff and Davidoff, the Russian travellers, is in the vicinity of Behring's Bay. The neighbouring country is chiefly inhabited by the Ugaliachmutzi, a different nation.

2. The Tschugazzi are further to the westward, and probably the people of Cook's Inlet belong to this tribe. The Tschugazzi live between the

* Mithridates, iii. theil. iii. abtheil. p. 425—468.

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Ugaliachmutzi and the Kinaitzi, and it was observed long ago by Pallas, that their language corresponds with that of the isle of Kadjak.

3. The people of Kadjak term themselves Konægi. They are very well known to the Russians, and are the people described by Chwostoff and Davidoff as the natives of the Russian settlements. Before the arrival of the Russians, these people, to the north-west of Kadjak, lived in continual hostilities with the natives of the peninsula of Aliaksa and the Kinaitzi. The dialect of the natives of Kadjak, as well as that of the people next to be mentioned, bears a wonderfully close affinity to the language of the Esquimaux in the eastern countries of America.

4. The Stationary Tschuktschi, distinguished by this term from the Nomade or Rein-deer Tschuktschi, are said by Billings "to differ from that people as well in their exterior as in their manners, and yet more in respect to their habitations, their mode of life, and their language." The same voyager adds, that "their language is nearly allied to that spoken by the natives of Kadjak, with whom they probably lived in immediate connexion as one people, and from whom the Tschuktschi separated when they occupied their present settlements." It appears from the remarks of Merk and Koscheleff, that the abodes of these people are on the coast of the sea, near the mouth of the Anadyr, and near Tschukotskoi Nos, the extreme point of Eastern Asia. The above assertion of

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Billings is confirmed by an examination of the vocabularies collected and published in the third volume of his travels. It seems from these, that the language of the Nomade Tschuktschi corresponds, in a very great proportion of words, with that of the Nomade Koriaks; on the other hand, but few words are common to the Nomade and Stationary Tschuktschi.

5. It is probable that the people of Norton Sound, almost opposite to the coast of the Tschuktschi, are a branch of the same stock. This appears from the vocabulary collected there by Cook and Anderson, and from their account of the people, the description of whom answers in almost every particular to that of the other Esquimaux tribes.

6. In Unalashka, and the chain of islands, or rather clusters of islands, which connect the continents of Asia and America, it seems probable that the Esquimaux are intermixed with some other race. The language spoken in these islands bears traces, though but to a limited extent, of the idiom of Kadjak, and other Esquimaux settlements.*

* The language of the Aleutian Isles, and the promontory of Aliaksa, is said by Pallas in his Neue Nordische Beyträge, to be different from that of Kadjak. It is asserted in the preface to Resanoff's manuscript dictionary, that "the language of Unalashka is the radical language of the Aleutian Isles. It prevails also in the Fox Islands to the end of the promontory of Aliaksa; but a difference of dialect already appears at the Andreanoff Isles, and at the isle of Atschu it is hard for the people to understand the idiom of Unalashka. Professor Vater adds, that a certain intermixture with the Esquimaux idiom, but not

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¶ 2. *Physical Characters of the Esquimaux.*

Crantz informs us that the Greenlanders are for the most part under five feet in stature. He adds, that "they have well-shaped and proportioned limbs. Their face is commonly broad and flat, with high cheek-bones, but round and plump cheeks. Their eyes are little and black, but devoid of sparkling fire. Their nose is not flat, but small, and projecting but little. Their mouth is little and round, and the under-lip somewhat thicker than the other.

"Their body is of a dark grey colour all over, but the face brown or olive, and yet in many the red shines through. This brown colour seems not altogether from nature, because their children are born as white as others, but may proceed in part from their dirtiness, for they are continually handling grease or train, sit in the smother of their lamps, and seldom wash themselves. The sudden alternation of cold and raw air, and burning heat in summer, makes the Europeans somewhat brown-

this language itself, prevails through the islands connecting Asia and America; for among the 1,100 words of the dialect of Unalashka, which Resanoff's vocabulary contains, only 19 are found to belong to the language of Kadjak and the Tschugazzi; and the connexion is still less between the last mentioned idiom and the speech of the Andreanoff Islands which lie between the Aleutian and Fox Islands. The same writer has confirmed this opinion by examining the grammatical structure of the idiom of Unalashka, and by shewing that it differs in its forms from the language of the Konægi, or Western Esquimaux.

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er, and may contribute to darken the complexion of the Greenlanders. Some have a moderately white skin and red cheeks, and might pass unnoticed among Europeans, especially among some of the Swiss mountaineers.

"They have universally coal-black, straight, strong, and long hair on their heads, but no beard, because they root it out. Their hands and feet are little and soft, but their head, and the rest of their limbs, are large. They have high breasts and broad shoulders. Their whole body is fat."

Though the Esquimaux are like most other Americans, in general, a black haired race, it seems that this is not an universal character. M. Charlevoix assures us repeatedly that many of them are of the xanthous complexion, or what the French call "Blonds." As this writer has given a very brief and well drawn picture of the physical characters of the Esquimaux in New France, I shall extract the whole passage, in which he speaks of them.

"L'origine de leur nom n'est pas certain. Toutefois il y a bien de l'apparence qu'il vient du mot Abenaqui *esquimantsie*, qui vient dire mangeur de viande cruë. Les Eskimaux sont en effet les seuls sauvages que nous connoissions, qui mangent la chaîr cruë, quoiqu'ils ayent aussi l'usage de la faire cuire, ou sêcher au soleil. Il est encore certain que de tous les peuples connus de l'Amerique, il n'en est point, qui remplisse mieux, que celui-ci, la première idée, que l'on a eue en Europe des sau-

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vages. Il est presque le seul où les hommes ayent de la barbe, et ils l'ont si épaisse jusqu'aux yeux, qu'on a peine à découvrir quelques traits de leur visage. Ils ont d'ailleurs je ne sçai quoi d'affreux dans l'air, de petits yeux effarés, des dents larges et fort sales, des cheveux *ordinairement noirs, quelquefois blonds*, fort en désordre, et tout l'extérieur fort brute. Leurs mœurs et leur caractère ne dementent point cette mauvaise physionomie. Ils sont féroces, farouches, défiants, inquiets, toujours portés à faire du mal aux étrangers.

"Leurs cheveux blonds, leurs barbes, la blancheur de leur peau, le peu de ressemblance et de commerce, qu'ils ont avec leurs plus proches voisins, ne laissent aucun lieu de douter, qu'ils n'ayent une origine différente de celle des autres Ameriquains."

The Esquimaux appear indeed to differ considerably both in their manners and physical characters from the other American nations in the eastern parts of the continent, but they are not the only people in the New World whose complexion may be termed white. We have cited in the last chapter accounts of several other nations of equally fair colour, some of whom, as we have shewn, are said, by well informed persons, to be races of the same class with the Indians of Canada and New England. Light hair, though it is to be found, as Charlevoix assures us, among the Esquimaux, is certainly rare in that race; neither is it altogether peculiar to them; for we shall find that

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there are instances of its appearance in the other American nations. And as for the distinction founded on the beards of the Esquimaux, it must be observed that the other Americans are not destitute of this growth by nature, but in consequence of the universal practice of extirpating it.

The Esquimaux of Labrador are of remarkably short stature. On comparing them with the other races inhabiting polar regions, who though distinct from each other in descent, generally resemble in this particular, such as Kamtschadales, the Samoiedes, the Laplanders, and others, we are led to suspect that this peculiarity is attributable to severity of climate and scanty subsistence, which appear to stunt the growth. Several of these races have been observed to be allied in kindred to other nations, who, inhabiting more genial climes, are also of greater stature and more developed forms. The comparison of the Pesherais of Tierra del Fuego, a diminutive branch of the tall Patagonian stock, will afford in the sequel a parallel observation.

The shape of the skull in the Esquimaux, is somewhat peculiar, and Blumenbach seems to have hesitated whether to class it with the form which he terms Mongolian, or with the American. He says, that the cranium of the Esquimaux holds, in its whole description, an exactly intermediate place between those of the Mongole and of the other American nations known to him, and may be said to constitute the transition from the form

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belonging to one of these classes of mankind to that which is peculiar to the other: "ita ut transitum ab istis ad hæc facere dicendum sit."

It is difficult to determine what are the principal distinguishing characters between the form of the skull which may be termed American, and that prevalent among the Eastern Asiatic nations. On this subject I have collected all that appears to be as yet known, in a former part of this work, and I must refer my readers to the place in which these observations have been made. It seems on the whole, that the analogy between the Asiatic and American nations in respect to the shape of their skulls, is much more remarkable than any difference that has been traced between them. It is observed by Professor Keating, who in this point agrees with Blumenbach, that a round or arched form of the zygoma, which in the Asiatic is angular, but in both classes of men remarkably high and prominent, is one of the principal distinctions. In this feature the Esquimaux must be classed with the American nations. The noses of the Esquimaux have not the aquiline form frequent among the Algonquins and Iroquois, but there are many other nations in the same continent, who agree with the former people in this particular. It is not known as yet that there is any general difference between the two departments of men, in the capacity of the facial angle, in the position or direction of the eyes, or the proportion of the features. The orbits are said to be very

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large and deep in the American head, and if this is a characteristic, it belongs also to the Esquimaux.*

It appears on the whole that the physical characters alone would not enable us to determine to which of these departments of the human species the Esquimaux are more nearly associated. It is chiefly by the character of their dialects that they are proved to belong to the American family. The language of the Esquimaux, as it has been shewn fully by M. Duponceau and others, belongs entirely to the polysynthetic class, and this fact

* I have now before me the skull of an Esquimaux, strikingly characterized. The following are the most remarkable circumstances in its description:

The summit of the forehead is high and narrow, with a marked ridge running backwards from the anterior part of the frontal bone. The zygomas remarkably prominent laterally, with a smoothly rounded surface, and running backwards in a large arch, or segment of a circle; the projection so considerable, that if the plane of the zygomas is taken for a base, this will form, with the apex of the forehead, almost a triangular figure; the face very plane and flat; orbits large, deep, and near together; the alveolar process of the upper maxillary bone turned up outwards; the fossa maxillaris deeply marked; the sinciput falling off, and the occiput rather protuberant. The nasal bones remarkably long and narrow.

The form of this skull agrees very nearly with that of two living Esquimaux whom I have seen.

Blumenbach, in his "Decades Craniorum," has given figures of four skulls of the same race, which in their general character resemble that above described, but their traits do not appear to have been quite so strongly marked. See Tab. 24, 25, 36, 37; and the descriptions thereto belonging.

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leaves no room to doubt that the Esquimaux are an American people, or that they have been more nearly associated, in the remote periods of their history, with the other nations of the New than with the present inhabitants of the Old Continent.

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CHAPTER III.

Of the Races of People in the Eastern parts of North America.

SECTION I.

General Survey.

THE race of the Esquimaux has been traced along the shores of the polar ocean, from the western coast of America to Greenland. After excluding the tribes of this people which are every where confined to the neighbourhood of the sea, and the coldest tracts which are habitable by man, it appears that in all the eastern region of North America, that is, in the countries to the northward and southward of the river St. Lawrence, and eastward of the Mississippi, the native inhabitants may be referred to three races or families of nations. The most numerous and extensively spread among these, is the race termed by the French writers, Algonquins, from a nation belonging to it, which was formerly powerful in Canada. The tribes of this race term themselves collectively Wapanachki, or Men of the East, a name which has been softened into Abenaki.* The nation which is looked

* Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian nations, who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighbouring states, by the Rev. J. Heckewelder, of Bethlehem, p. 109.

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upon by the tribes of this stock as their head, or as they express it, as the grandfather of all their race, are the Lenni Lenápe, or Original People; who are termed by the English, Delaware Indians. From this nation Mr. Heckewelder and other writers denominate the whole race. At the arrival of Europeans in America, the tribes of this people possessed all the coast from the northernmost point of Nova Scotia to the Roanoke. With the exception of those countries which belonged to the Iroquois, who will next be mentioned, they had nearly all Canada, and all the country to the eastward of the Mississippi, from its source, as far southward as the Ohio. The second race is termed by the French Iroquois, and by the English the Five Nations, or the Six Nations. Their speech is sometimes designated as the Huron language, from the tribe of Hurons, or Wyandots, who speak a dialect of it. They call themselves Aquanoshioni, or the United People. To this race are allied, as it seems, not only the Six Nations, so called, long confederated in one league, but also several nations in the interior of America, as the Nadowessies, or Sioux, and other tribes on the Missouri. The third family, or department of nations, are those termed Floridian, including the Cherokees, Chikkasahs, Choktahs, and the Muskohge, or Creek Indians.* I shall now mention some of the

* We are informed by Mr. Heckewelder, that "the most intelligent and credible Indians of the Lenápe, including the Mohicans, have ever asserted, that in the whole country bounded on

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principal circumstances in the history of these several races, beginning with the tribes of the Algonquin stock.

the north by the river St. Lawrence, on the west by the Mississippi, on the east by the great salt-water lake, or the Ocean, and on the south by the country of the Creeks, Cherokees, and other Florida Indians, there were but two nations, the Mengwe, or Iroquois, and themselves."

The intelligent Captain Carver observed, " that the languages of the North American nations are to be divided into four classes, those spoken by the Iroquois towards the eastern parts; by the Chippeways, or Algonquins, to the north-west; the Naudowessies to the west;"—these, as we have observed, belong to the Iroquois stock,—" and the Cherokees, and Chickasaws, to the south. One or other of these languages," as he says, " is used by all the Indians who inhabit the parts between the coast of Labrador north, the Floridas south, the Atlantic ocean east, and, as far as we can judge from the discoveries made, the Pacific Ocean west." See Travels through the interior parts of North America, in the years 1766—67—68, by T. Carver, Esq. Capt. &c. London, 1778, p. 414.

Nearly the same statements had been given previously by Charlevoix. He says, " in all this country there are but three mother tongues, from which all the others are derived. These are the languages of the Sioux, of the Algonquins, and the Hurons. The first of these," he adds, " are the most numerous people in New France. They are properly termed Nadouessioux or Nadouessies." He describes them as a nomadic people, like the Tartars, dwelling under tents well wrought. " This nation belongs to the north-west of the Mississippi; but the Algonquin and Huron languages have between them almost all the savage nations of Canada. Whoever should well understand both, might travel without an interpreter, above 1,500 leagues, and make himself understood by one hundred different nations. They have each their peculiar tongue, or dialect. The Algonquin especially, has a vast extent. It begins at Acadia and the gulf of St. Lawrence, and takes a compass of 1,200 leagues, turning

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Section II.

Of the Algonquin race. History of the Lenni Lenápe.

The principal nation of this race appears to have been the Lenni Lenápe, who were long the most powerful and numerous people in the eastern parts of North America. They have been termed by the English and Anglo-Americans, Delaware Indians. "The vast spread of the language of the Delawares in North America," says Dr. Barton, "is evinced by the names of many of the waters, the mountains, and the wastes of the country. It is a fact, that from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, a large proportion of the rivers and creeks are still best known by the names derived from the language of the Delawares and their brethren." Examples of this remark, are Massachussets, Connecticut, Monengahella, Alleghany, Muskingum, Savannah, and Mississippi, which are all Delaware words.

The History of the Lenápe is very curious, and their traditions appear to the best informed persons, to be consistent and worthy of credit.* "The Lenni Lenápe, according to the tradition handed down to them from their ancestors, resided many centuries ago, in a very distant country, in the

from the south by the north to the south-west. They say also, that the Wolf nation, or the Mohingans, or Mohegans, and the greatest part of the Indians of New England and Virginia, speak Algonquin dialects.

* Heckewelder, *ubi suprâ*, p. 30.

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western part of the American continent. For some reason now forgotten, they determined on migrating to the eastward, and accordingly set out together in a body. After a long journey, and many nights encampment, by which they mean the halt of a year in one place, by the way, they at length arrived on the Namæsi Sipu, River of Fish, or Mississippi, where they fell in with the Mengwe or Iroquois, who had likewise emigrated from a distant country, and had struck upon this river somewhat higher up. Their object was the same as that of the Lenápe; they were proceeding to the eastward, until they should find a country that pleased them. With this nation, destined to be their future enemies and destroyers, the Lenápe formed a confederacy, and united their forces against a common foe. This was a powerful nation, whom their spies had discovered in the country eastward of the Mississippi, termed Talligewi, or, more properly, as it seems, Alligewi, who had built many large towns on the rivers flowing through their land. These people were a remarkably tall and stout race; higher in stature than the tallest of the Lenápe; they were finally overcome by the latter, and being expelled from their territory, fled down the Mississippi, whence they never returned. The Alleghany river, or Ohio, is still called after them by the Delawares, *Alligewi Sipu*, or River of the Alligewi, and the chain of mountains also preserves their name. The conquering nations divided the country eastward of

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of the Namæsi Sipu among themselves. The Lenápe took possession, and gradually migrated into the country to the south, and settled on the four great rivers, Delaware, Hudson, Susquehannah, and Potomac, and the Mengwe, or Iroquois, occupied the lands further northward, in the vicinity of the great lakes, and on their tributary streams.

This migration, according to the tradition of the Lenápe, was the cause of the division of their race into several bodies. Some remained beyond the Mississippi, and another body near that river on the eastern side, but the larger number settled on the Atlantic. This last body of the Lenápe on the Atlantic became divided into three tribes, termed the Unamis and Unalachtigo, or Turtle and Turkey, who settled near the sea, from the Hudson river to beyond the Potomac, and the Minsi, or Wolf tribe, further westward; these people were commonly called Monseys.

From these three tribes, comprising the nation termed Delawares by the Anglo-Americans, were gradually descended many other divisions of the same race, who continued to acknowledge the Lenápe as their parent stock, or as their *grandfather*.

Such is the historical outline of the settlement of the Lenápe. I shall now enumerate some of the principal nations connected with their stock, the branches of which are spread over much more extensive countries than those of the Delawares themselves. For the sake of distinct arrangement

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I shall divide them into three classes. The first comprises the eastern nations, or those who live to the southward of the river St. Lawrence, beginning from Acadia, and who are probably more nearly connected with the Lenápe, properly so termed; the second, the northern tribes, to the northward of the same river, spread through the northern tracts of Canada; and the third, the western nations of the same class, to the southward of the great lakes, and in the interior of the American continent.

¶ 2. *Of the Eastern Branches of the Algonquin Race.*

Dr. Barton assures us, that all the American nations to the eastward of the Mississippi, except the Iroquois, and the Floridian nations, term the Lenni Lenápe their grandfather.*

La Hontan has given us a list of the Indian nations of ancient Acadia, all speaking dialects of the Abenaki, or Algonquin. They were the Abenakis, Micmacs, Canibas, Mahingans, or Mohegans, Openangos, Soccopis, and Etchemins, from whom all Nova Scotia, excepting the peninsula, was called the country of the Etchemins.† The Canibas, according to Charlevoix, are the Algonquins, and the Micmacs are the people termed by De Laët, Souriquois,‡ who also, as we are assured, inhabited Acadia, and spoke a dialect of the Lenápe language.§

* Barton, *ubi supra.* † Heckewelder, p. 107.

‡ Charlevoix. Journal d'un Voyage, &c.

§ Heckewelder, *ubi supra.*

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The Sankikani, on the western side of the Hudson river, and the natives of New Jersey, spoke dialects of the same language,* as did also the Narragansets and Natics, who were the principal Indian nations of New England.

The Mahicanni, or Mohegans, to the eastward of the Hudson river, who considered themselves as a branch of the Lenápe, and spoke a dialect of their tongue, are supposed to have been the people termed Pequots, so celebrated in the history of New England. The other tribes of New England are said to have sprung from these.†

The Nanticokes of Maryland and Virginia, whose real name was Nentego, or sea-shore settlers, sprang from the body of the Lenápe, and were admitted to the council house of their grandfather.‡

The Shawanos, or Sawwanno, who dwelt upon the river Savannah, in Georgia, and in the Floridas, also termed the Lenápe their grandfather, and the Mahicanni their elder brother. They were expelled from their country and driven northward to the Ohio. The empire of the Sawwanno was once very considerable; it extended from Kentucky towards the south-west, as far as the Mississippi. They were subdued by the Five Nations.§

The Pampticoughs are described by Lawson; they inhabited North Carolina, near the Tusca-

* Barton, p. 37. † Ibid. p. 35.

‡ Heckewelder, p. 35—76. § Ibid. p. 35—76.

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roras and the Woccons; all these three nations had languages quite different from each other. The Pampticoughs spoke a dialect of the Delaware language.*

¶ 3.—*Western Branches of the Algonquin Race.*

Among the more westerly branches of this stock, which I shall not attempt exactly to enumerate, are the following nations:

1. The Miami, who inhabit the banks of the Miami river, and the country between lake Michigan and the Wabash; they were the same people as the Illinois. They were mentioned by Charlevoix, and described by Volney. It seems from Volney's account, that their language has a great affinity with that of the Chippeways. The Wiahtanah are a branch of this nation.†

The Piankishas dwell upon the banks of the Wabash. The Kikkapoos, on lake Michigan, and between it and the Mississippi, are thought to be a branch of the Sawwanno.‡

To the westward of the Miamis, in the country near the lake Michigan, dwell the people termed Potowatomi,§ of whom we have a sufficient account in the narrative of the late expedition to the source of St. Peter's river. It seems that the Miami term the Potowatomi their elder brethren, as the tribes who live towards the east always term those who,

* Heckewelder, p. 70. † Barton.

‡ Barton, *ubi supra*, p. 33. Heckewelder, p. 107.

§ Ibid. *ubi supra*, p. 33.

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being of the same stock, live further to the westward. The Potowatomi remember the time when they first became aware of the existence of the Miami, though the latter are their neighbours. Yet these tribes are of kindred origin. "The Potowatomi," says the intelligent narrator of the expedition, "appear to be connected, not only by language, but also by their manners, customs, and opinions, with the numerous nations of Algonquin origin. The languages of all these nations bear evident marks of a common origin, and in some cases appear to be only dialects of the same tongue; and although diversities of dress and of dialect distinguish them, their customs and usages were evidently for the most part the same." The same writer afterwards hints, that cannibalism is one of the characteristic habits of the Algonquin nations; it appears, however, to have been long ago discarded by the eastern tribes.*

Several other nations in the countries further to the westward, are branches of the same stock; they include themselves under one general national appellation, and speak dialects of the same language. The common name of these tribes is Neeneawesik, which comprizes the Algonquins, the Nypsins, living near Montreal, the Ottowak, or Ottoways, the Mesgigouk, the Menomones, who are termed by the French Fols Avoins, and even the

* "Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River and Lake Winnipeek, by W. H. Keating, A. M. Professor of Mineralogy, &c. in the University of Pennsylvania."

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Sauks.* This information we owe to Professor Keating; the vocabulary of the Sauk language, given in his work, proves it clearly to be an Algonquin dialect.

The Chippeways, or Chippewa, are another people of the same stock, who live further to the westward, between Lake Superior and the Mississippi. It seems, from Keating's account, that some of them reach as far westward as Lake Winnipeek, and to the river Assiniboin, and even to some parts of the Saskatchawan river. They are divided into ten bands, or tribes, which have their appropriate abodes.

Of the Chippeways a very interesting account was given long ago by Carver, who resided some time among them. The more philosophical and circumstantial description given in the account of the late expedition already cited, leaves little to be desired. It seems that they are of Algonquin race, and in manners and customs like all the other branches of that stock. Their language is well known to be an Algonquin dialect, and to resemble the Lenápe, and other dialects derived from the same origin.†

¶ 4. *Northern Branches of the Algonquin Race.*

The northern branch of this family, comprising the nations to the northward of the river St. Law-

* Ibid. pp. 223, 221, 225, vol. i., and p. 147, vol. ii.

† See Keating, vol. ii. p. 147. Barton, *ubi supra.* Heckewelder, *ubi supra.*

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rence, consists chiefly of the proper Algonquins and the Knistineaux.

The Algonquins appear to have been formerly a very considerable nation. Charlevoix informs us, that the Algonquins possessed all the country from Quebec, and perhaps from Tadousac, to the lake Nippising, following the northern shore of the river St. Lawrence, and up the river Uttawa." But he says that the Algonquin language has a vast extent, beginning at Acadia and the river St. Lawrence, and taking a compass of 1200 leagues. "The Wolf nation," he adds, "or the Mahingans," properly Mohegans, "and the greatest part of the Indians of New England and Virginia, speak Algonquin dialects." The proper Algonquins have long ago been reduced by wars, and have become an insignificant people, and their name is comparatively little known.* The Knistineaux are now the principal nation to the northward of the river St. Lawrence.

These people are sometimes termed Killistenos, Christinaux, and Crees. Their language is almost identical with the Algonquin. It is merely another dialect of the same mother tongue. This appears instantly from inspecting the copious vocabulary given by Sir Alexander Mackenzie of the Algonquin and Knistineaux. Of the Knisti-

* The Algonquins were very much reduced in their wars with the Iroquois, or Five Nations, of which Charlevoix has given an account. Journal d'un Voyage, Lett. xi.

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neaux, their moral and personal character, history, and religion, we have an ample account from that intelligent traveller. The following is the outline which he has given of their boundaries, and the situation of their country.

"The Knisteneaux Indians are spread over a vast extent of country. Their language is the same as that of the people who inhabit the coast of British America on the Atlantic, with the exception of the Esquimaux, and continues along the coast of Labrador, and the gulf and banks of St. Lawrence, to Montreal. The line then follows the Utawas river to its source, and continues thence, nearly west, along the high lands which divide the waters that fall into Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay. It then proceeds till it strikes the middle part of the river Winnipic, following that water through the Lake Winnipic, to the discharge of the Saskatchiwine river into it; from thence it accompanies the latter to Fort George, when the line, striking by the head of the Beaver River to the Elk River, runs along its banks to its discharge in the Lake of the Hills; from which it may be carried back east, to the Isle à la Crosse, and so on to Churchill, by the Mississippi. The whole of the tract between this line and Hudson's Bay and Straits (except that of the Esquimaux on the latter), may be said to be exclusively the country of the Knistineaux. Some of them indeed have penetrated further west and south, to the Red River, to the south of

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Lake Winnipic, and to the south branch of the river Saskatchiwine."

We shall add, in a subsequent chapter, some remarks on the physical characters of the Algonquin race.

Section III.

Of the Iroquois, and other Nations akin to them.

This name was given by the French to the people, who at the time when Canada was first colonized from Europe, occupied the country lying to the southward of the river St. Lawrence, from the site of Montreal to lake Champlain. These were the people termed afterwards by the English, the Five Nations and the Six Nations; for several of those now called Six Nations, are specified by La Hontan as belonging to the Iroquois, and the language of the Iroquois was that of the Six Nations.*

These nations derive their appellation from a military confederacy established between Five, and afterwards Six bodies of people, who were certainly not distinct nations, but tribes of one race.† They term themselves, collectively, Aquanoshioni, or the United People; by the Lenápe they are always considered as one nation, the name of which, in the language of the Delaware Indians, is Mengwe. The alliance comprised at first those tribes termed Senecas, Mohawks, and Onondagos, who have been united from time immemorial; the second

* Vater, iii. † Heckewelder, p. 79.

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league added the Oneidas and Cayugas, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Tuscaroras, a people of the same stock, who emigrated from Carolina, were adopted into the confederacy.*

The language of all these tribes is the same, differing only in dialect. The idioms of the Mohawks, Oneidas, and Onondagos, have the nearest affinity. Those of the Cayugas and Senecas are somewhat more remote.

A few tribes between the Mississippi and the ocean are allied to the race of the Iroquois, which, in the east of America, is almost confined to the vicinity of the great lakes. The principal of these are the Hurons or Wyandots, who are in alliance with the Delawares. They live about Fort St. Joseph and Détroit. The Hurons long, probably many centuries, ago, separated from the Iroquois and withdrew to remote places, where they became known to the French Missionaries.† Charlevoix terms the Iroquois the People of Huron language,‡ and in describing the Iroquois tribes and the extent of their race, the French writers generally speak as if the name of Huron belonged to the whole stock. The Cochnewagos near Montreal, are also of this family, being a branch of the Mohawks. They are termed "Praying Indians," being converts to Christianity. The

* Barton, *ubi supra*, pp. 37, 38, 40, 42, 64, 65.

† Heckewelder, p. 105.

‡ Charlevoix, Journal d'un Voy. Lett. xi.

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Hochelagenses on the St. Lawrence, and the Erigas on the Ohio, are of the same race.*

¶ 2. *Of the Nadowessies, Sioux, or Dacota.*

In the brief outline given in the preceding section of the history of the Lenápe, as preserved in their own oral traditions, we have noticed their migration from the west, and their arrival on the Mississippi, in company with the Mengwe, or Iroquois. This tradition seems to be confirmed by the traces which are discoverable of the abode of the Iroquois in the interior of America; I mean, by the nations still existing beyond the Mississippi, who speak cognate languages, and are of the same stock with the Mengwe.

This observation applies to some other nations, as well as to the Sioux, or Dacota, who by Carver, as well as by some other writers in this respect better informed, were supposed to speak a language peculiar to themselves, and to be a distinct people from all the eastern nations of America. Heckewelder assures us, that the Iroquois and Nadowessie languages are cognate dialects; this, he says, is quite evident on the comparison of the vocabularies which respectively belong to them.

The Sioux have been described by many travellers in the interior of America. Carver gave an interesting and living picture of their manners, with which he had an opportunity of becoming

* Barton, pp. 37, 38, 40, 41, 64, 65.

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acquainted during an abode of some months among them and their perpetual enemies, the Chippeways. Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, and afterwards Pike, visited them, and in the account of the last expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, we have more accurate and satisfactory details.

The Sioux inhabit a country of great extent on the upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers, the boundaries of which are accurately described by Mr. Keating. From Prairie du Chien on the former, at the confluence of the Wisconsan, they occupy the rivers on both shores, and reach northwestward as far as Penbina, over all the country included between the tract of the Mississippi and the Missouri. They border on the southern frontier of the Chippeways, with whom they are always at war. The Assiniboins, who are a northern branch of the Sioux, live separately in the country near lake Winnipic and the Assiniboin river. They are divided into the Sioux of the plains, and the Sioux of the lakes and rivers, whose habits are different. They have properly nine bands, having different names, among which the Titoan and the Yanktoan are often mentioned.

These people were termed by the French, Sioux and Nadowesioux; by the English Nadowesies; from the appellation given to them by their neighbours the Chippeways, their proper name is Dacota. "The Dacotas," says Professor Keating, "are a large and powerful nation of Indians, distinct in their manners, language, habits, and opi-

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nions, from the Chippeways, Sauks, Foxes, and Nahiawah or Kilisteno, as well as from all nations of the Algonquin stock. They are likewise unlike the Pawnees and the Minitarees or Gros Ventres." Major Pike says, "their guttural pronunciation, high cheek-bones, thin visages, and distinct manners, together with their own traditions, supported by the testimony of neighbouring nations, put it in my mind beyond the shadow of a doubt, that they have emigrated from the north-west point of America, to which they had come across the narrow straits which, in that quarter, divide the two continents, and are absolutely descendants of a Tartar tribe."*

Pike, however, must have been mistaken in one respect, for we are assured by Professor Keating, that "the Dacotas have no tradition of ever having emigrated from any other place: they believe that they were created by the Supreme Being on the lands which they at present occupy." For further particulars, respecting this remarkable people, I must refer the reader to the works above cited, and particularly to the author last mentioned. I shall have occasion to make some remarks on the physical characters of the Sioux in the following pages.

¶ 3. *Of the Osages, Missouris, and other Tribes of the same Nation.*

An examination of the American languages has

* Exploratory Travels by Major Zabulon Montgomery Pike, &c. p. 130.

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already led to many important inferences, as to the origin and connexion of the native races. Among the most unexpected of these results, is the affinity which appears to exist between the Iroquois in the north-eastern parts, and the Osages in the interior of the continent, a nation whose kindred tribes are spread over the countries watered by the branches of the Missouri. As far as the evidence of vocabularies extends, unconfirmed as yet by analysis of grammatical structure, we have reason to believe, that the idiom of the Osages, and that of the Iroquois, are dialects of one language. On this subject we have the following observations by Mr. Duponceau. "The language of the Washash Indians, commonly called Osages, from its affinity with the Naudowessie and Huron, may be considered as derived from the Iroquois stock, and presumed to be like it, polysynthetic in its forms. By means of this vocabulary,* we have acquired a knowledge of the wide-spread extent of the family of Indian nations, of Iroquois origin, which, not long ago, were thought to exist only in the vicinity of the great lakes, while we are now enabled to trace them even to the banks of the Missouri."†

The connexion of the Osages with the Iroquois is a late discovery; but it has long been known

* The author alludes to a vocabulary of the Osage language by Dr. Murray of Louisville.

† Treatise on the general character and forms of the languages of the American Indians; by the Corresponding Secretary of the Committee of the American Philosophical Society, p. 37.

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that they form one nation with several tribes in the interior of America, who have different names, and form distinct communities. Of these tribes we have a brief account in the travels of Major Pike. "The Osage Indians," says this writer, "appear to have emigrated from the north and west, and as they speak the same language with the Kanses, Ottoes, Missouris, and Mahaws, and display great similarity of manners, morals, and customs, there is left no room to doubt that they were originally the same nation, the branches of which have been separated, by various causes, from each other. The Mahaws, Missouris, and Ottoes, remained on the banks of the Missouri river, near the country of the warlike Sioux, who have reduced the former to a cypher, and obliged the two latter to form one nation. The Kanses and Osages came further to the east, and fell into the hands of the Iowas, Sacs, and others."*

The Winnebagos, who have been mentioned above, though separated at a remote distance, speak the language of the Ottoes.

In Mr. James's history of the late expedition under Major Long, we have a very complete and satisfactory account of the different branches of this nation.† The Ottoes, Missouris, and Ioways, speak dialects, very nearly allied, of the common language. "Originally the same, and still very similar to the above dialects, are those of the Osages, Konzas, Omawhaws, and Puncaws." I

* Pike, p. 172. † Vol. ii. p. 65.

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shall cite hereafter some of the remarks of Mr. James, on the physical characters of these tribes, and for further details respecting them must refer to his work. This nation, and the outspread tribes of the Sioux, who are every where predominant, appear to divide between them most of the country bordering on the Missouri.

Section IV.

Of the Floridian Nations.

This name, indefinite as it is, is the only one that has been given, or can easily be found to describe a class of nations, who are very distinct from all those hitherto mentioned, and have several characteristics in common, though hardly such as may entitle us to assert them positively to be of one race. They may be described as three nations, or principal branches. 1. The Cherokees. 2. The Chikkasahs and Choktahs. 3. The Creek Indians, or Muskohge, and Seminoles.

None of these nations appear to be aborigines in the country eastward of the Mississippi. They all have traditions, rather definite and circumstantial, of their arrival from countries to the south-westward of that river.

¶ 1. *Of the Cherokees.*

The country of the Cherokees lies in 34° north latitude, at the distance of three hundred and forty computed miles to the north-westward of Charlestown, one hundred and forty miles south-west of the

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Katabba nation, and almost two hundred miles to the northward of the Muskohge or Creek country. They were once a very populous and powerful nation. Sixty years ago, says Dr. Barton, they had sixty-four towns and villages. They are divided into Upper and Lower Cherokees. Their country is full of earthen mounds and fortifications, the remains of some more ancient inhabitants. These, say the Cherokees, were in the same condition in which they now appear, when their ancestors first arrived from the west, and expelled the nations of red men, who previously occupied their country; the latter, according to the Cherokee tradition, delivered to their forefathers the same story concerning the state of these mounds, at the period of their own arrival. Dr. Barton says, that according to the Cherokee tradition, they found the country at their arrival, possessed by moon-eyed people, who could not see in the day-time. These he supposes to have been Albinos, and perhaps the ancestors of the people of Darien.

¶ *2. The Chikkasahs and Choktahs.*

The Chikkasahs inhabit the western parts of Georgia. The Choktahs inhabit the country on the eastward of the Mississippi, to the southward of the Chikkasahs and Cherokees, and westward of the Muskohge. "The Chikasahs say, that when they first came from the west, they had ten thousand warriors;" and Adair considered this as very probable, since they and the Choktah, and Chok-

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chooma, came together from the west as one family." Dr. Barton says, "The Chickasah assure me, that they are only a small part of the original nation, and that the greater part still dwell beyond the Mississippi, near the Pacific Ocean." They crossed the Mississippi subsequently to the arrival of the Spaniards in Mexico, for they brought with them a particular breed of horses. The Choktah are known by the name of Flat-heads, from a custom which prevailed among them of compressing the heads of children.

¶ 3. *The Creeks, or the Muskohge and Seminoles.*

The Creeks are divided into Upper and Lower Creeks, or Muskohge and Seminoles, which are branches of one nation. They are said to have crossed the Mississippi since the Cherokees, and by them are called their younger brethren.* Their present country is situated between the Cherokees, Georgia, Florida, and the Chikkasah and Choktah country. Barton, who has described them, says, that in the fields of the Oakmulge river, are extensive mounds and terraces, the remains of their first town. "Here," he adds, "they declare that they first settled, after having crossed the Mississippi. On their long march from their native country, they suffered innumerable hardships and conquered many nations. Since their arrival they have extirpated, or completely subdued the Savannas, Ogeeches, Wapoos, Santees,

* Barton, *ubi supra*, pp. 45, 46.

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Yamasees, Utinas, Icosans, Paticas, and others."* The present Muskohge confederacy is made up of remnants of the conquered nations, and the Muskohge language was spoken, some years ago, in more than thirty of the sixty towns subject to them.†

Although these three nations, the Cherokees, the Chikkasah, and the Muskohge, with their respective kindred tribes, arrived separately in the territory eastward of the Mississippi, they probably came from one original country, or from countries not very distant from each other: for there is such a degree of affinity in their languages as to prove some ancient connexion between them. Dr. Barton has remarked, that there is an evident affinity between the language of the Muskohge and the Chikkasah and Choktah, and that some words are common to these two last and the Cherokee, and even to the Muskohge and Cherokee. The fact, that all the three languages are to a considerable degree connected, appears from the general tenour of all the information obtained concerning them, and may be inferred as extremely probable, from a comparative table given by Professor Vater.‡

¶ 4. *Traces of other Nations in the Countries southward of the Ohio.*

Besides the three principal nations already men-

* Barton. † Barton, p. 47.

‡ Vater, *ubi supra*, p. 292. Barton, p. 68. Appendix 21.

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tioned, we find traces of several other tribes in the countries lying between the Ohio and the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic. It is impossible, at present, to determine whether some of these are distinct from the nations already mentioned; others appear to be allied to them.

In Carolina, the Woccons and the Katabha were two distinct nations living not far from the ancient seat of the Tuscaroras. The languages of the two former appear, contrary to the opinion of Lawson, to be allied: at least so it would appear from Dr. Barton's collections.* This writer also observed a resemblance in the dialects of the Woccons and the Katabha to the language of the Tuscaroras, and also to that of the Cherokees. Whether these affinities are essential, or only the effect of communication between neighbouring nations, is uncertain.

On the southern coast, and in the countries lying eastward of the mouth of the Mississippi, the prevalent language is the Mobile or Mowill, which is said to be a corrupt dialect of the Chikkasah idiom; but from the earliest accounts given by the Spaniards, it appears that a great variety of languages, or perhaps dialects, were spoken in this part of the American Continent. Many nations have been completely subdued by the more warlike tribes above mentioned, or have disappeared before the European colonists; others have retired wholly, or in part, into the countries west-

* See Vater's Remarks, p. 308.

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ward of the Mississippi. The names of these tribes have been collected by Vater from the various writers who have mentioned them. The most remarkable are the Apalachians and the Natchez. The former give name to the chain of mountains which was their original seat. According to Du Pratz, they were very extensively spread over the mountainous countries in the western country of the United States. Vater conjectures that they were the same people as the Katabha, or at least allied to that race. The Natchez were a very remarkable nation, who preserved a tradition similar to that of the Peruvians, respecting the origin of civilization among them, which they enjoyed to a greater degree than any other people of the neighbouring countries. They were once formidable to the French colonists of Louisiana, but were completely subdued. According to Du Pratz, and to the information collected by Dr. Barton, the Natchez spoke a dialect nearly allied to the Chikkasah and Choktah.

It seems on the whole probable, from these observations, and from the great extent of the Mobile language, that several of the nations spread over the countries conquered by the Creeks, and the Chikkasahs, or reduced under the confederacy of the former, are in fact only different branches of the same people.

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CHAPTER IV.

Of some Nations in the Interior of North America.

SECTION I.

General Remarks—Account of the Chepewyan.

It still remains for us to mention some nations in the interior of North America, with whose relations and history we have, as yet, but a very imperfect acquaintance. Some of these nations border upon the inhabitants of the western coast, of whom we have given an account in the second chapter of this book; others are of limited extent, and are perhaps confined to the interior of the continent.

We shall begin from the north, and first mention a people but lately discovered, who are spread over an extensive region, to the westward of the country occupied by the Algonquin tribes. This nation is the Chepewyan, of whom we have an account in Sir Alexander Mackenzie's travels. Though their name resembles that of the Chippewa, who are an Algonquin people, it appears that they are entirely distinct from all the nations of the Algonquin family.* I shall cite Sir A. Mackenzie's description of them.

* It appears from a vocabulary given by Mackenzie, that their language is entirely different from that of the Chippewa and other Algonquin nations.

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"The Chepewyan," says this writer, "are a numerous people, who consider the country between the parallels of latitudes 60° and 65° north, and of longitude 100° to 110° west, as their lands or home. They speak a copious language, which is very difficult to be attained, and furnishes dialects to the various emigrant tribes inhabiting the immense tract of country whose boundary I shall here describe. It begins at Churchill, and runs along the line of separation between them and the Knisteneaux, up the Mississippi to the Isle à la Crosse, passing on through the Buffalo Lake, River Lake, and Portage la Loche; from thence it proceeds by the Elk River to the Lake of the Hills, and goes directly west to the Peace River, and up that river to its source and tributary waters; from whence it proceeds to the waters of the river Columbia, and follows that river to latitude 52° 24′ north, and longitude 122° 54′ west, where the Chepewyans have the Atnah, or Chin nation, for their neighbours. It then takes a line, due west, to the sea-coast, within which the country is possessed by a people who speak their language, and are consequently descended from them; there can be no doubt, therefore, of their progress being to the eastward. A tribe of them is even known at the upper establishments on the Saskatchiwine, and I do not pretend to ascertain how far they may follow the Rocky Mountains to the eastward.

It is evident from this description, that Mackenzie includes among the Chepewyan, the Na-

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gailer and the Beaver Indians, as well as the other tribes found by him on his journey to the Pacific Ocean, between the shore of that sea and the chain of rocky mountains, who speak the Chepewyan language.* It thus appears, that all the vast region of America, to the north-west of the Algonquin country, towards the Pacific Ocean and Behring's Straits, is occupied by this race, who border upon the Esquimaux along the northern tract approaching to the Polar Sea, and on the side of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific reach as far as the limits of those nations, who were mentioned in a former chapter, namely, the Koluschians and other tribes of the same department.

I shall conclude these remarks on the boundaries of the northern races, by citing the following observations on the extension, and the probable course of the migration of this people and their neighbours. "The progress of the inhabitants of the country immediately under our observation, which is comprised within the line of 45° north latitude, is as follows. That of the Esquimaux, who possess the sea-coast from the Atlantic, through Hudson's Straits and Bay, round to Mackenzie's river (and, I believe, further), is known to be west-

* He is more explicit in other passages of his journey, in informing us that the Beaver Indians; the Rocky Mountain Indians, also, as it would seem; the Nascud Denee; the Slouacuss-Dinais, and the Nagailer, or Carrier Indians, most of whom are situated beyond the Rocky Mountain chain, speak the Chepewyan language, and are derived from the Chepewyan stock. See pp. 145, 148, 258, 284, 299, 382.

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ward; they never quit the coast, and agree in manners, appearance, language, and habits, with the inhabitants of Greenland. The different tribes described under the names of Algonquins and Knisteneaux, but originally the same people, were the inhabitants of the Atlantic coast, and the banks of the river St. Lawrence and adjacent countries; their progress is westerly, and they are even found west and north as far as Athabasca. On the contrary, the Chepewyans, and the numerous tribes who speak their language, occupy the whole space between the Knisteneaux country and that of the Esquimaux, stretching behind the nations of the coast of the Pacific to latitude 52° north, on the river Columbia. Their progress is easterly, and according to their own traditions, they came from Siberia, agreeing in dress and manners with the people now found on the coast of Asia."*

The author of this account of the Chepewyan was acquainted with the traditions of the Lenni Lenápé, which were mentioned in the foregoing chapter. He would not otherwise have asserted that the progress of the Algonquin race is, from the east towards the west. The observation, however, may be correct as far as the Knisteneaux, in particular, are concerned. This tribe may, perhaps, have descended from some of the Abenaqui, to the southward of the river St. Lawrence, who passed over that stream, after the branches of the Lenni Lenápe had occupied the countries now belonging to the

* Mackenzie's Travels, p. 407.

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Anglo-Americans, and finding room to extend themselves, gradually spread towards the westward.

Section II.

Of several other Nations bordering on the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains.

1. The Paegan Indians, the Black-foot Indians, and the Blood Indians, are three tribes of one race, who inhabit the country round the sources of the southern branch of the Saskatchawan river. They are described by Umfreville, who says that they live upon the produce of the chase, are a numerous and warlike nation, and speak a soft and harmonious language.*

2. The Snake Indians are repeatedly mentioned by Mess. Lewis and Clarke, and are described by those travellers as a people remarkable for their lean and squat bodies, and high cheek-bones. They inhabit countries on both sides of the Rocky Mountain chain, and the districts near the sources of the Missouri.

3. The Crow Indians are to the eastward of the former, according to the same traveller. The Mandans of the Upper Missouri appear to be related to this nation.†

4. The Fall Indians, or Gros Ventres, are adjoining to the Crow Indians; they are a numerous people, and speak a harsh and guttural language.‡

* Edw. Umfreville; Present State of Hudson's Bay, cited by Vater, p. 252.

† Vater, *ubi supra.* ‡ Idem ab eodem; also Pike.

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Vater conjectures the Minetarees, of the Yellow Stone river, to be a branch of them.*

5. The Pawnees are a numerous nation, residing on the rivers Platte and Konsas. "Their language," says Pike, "is guttural and approaches nearer to that of the Sioux than the Osages; their figure," he adds, "is slim, and their high cheek-bones clearly indicate their Asiatic origin."—"Their government is the same as that of the Osage, an hereditary aristocracy," or rather, an hereditary limited monarchy. "They are not so cleanly as the Osage."

Many particulars respecting the history of the Pawnees, are given by Mr. James, in the work before cited. They are divided into three tribes. One of these, the Pawnee Loups, exhibited, heretofore, the singular anomaly, amongst the American nations, of a people addicted to the superstitious rite, of making propitiatory offerings of human victims to Venus, the *Great Star*. This solemn ceremony was performed annually, and immediately preceded the operations of planting maize, beans, and pumpkins, the crops of which were supposed to fail if it was neglected.

It appears from Mr. James's account, that the

* This conjecture, and the preceding statement respecting these tribes, have been confirmed by the information collected in Capt. Franklin's late expedition. See page 169, vol. i. of the 8vo. edition. It is said that these tribes are distinguished by the general term of Slave Indians by the Crees, or Knisteneaux, who have driven them further towards the west than their former abodes.

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Pawnees have the art of preserving the memory of events by means of hieroglyphic paintings, or picture-writing.

Section III.

Of some Nations in Southern Louisiana, and of the Paducas and Apaches.

A number of different nations are mentioned by Du Pratz, and other writers, in the further parts of Louisiana, to the westward of the Lower Mississippi. Among these the Caddos are one of the most extensively dispersed races, their language being divided into a number of different dialects.*

The Tankards are a nation on the banks of the Red River. Pike says, "they are a tall, handsome people; in conversation they have a peculiar chucking, and express more by signs than any savages I ever visited; language in fact appears to have made less progress among them than among any other people."†

Two more considerable nations are the Paducas and Apaches.

The Paducas have spread themselves over many tracts of country in the southern parts of Louisiana. They consist of several nations, viz., the Ietans, termed by the Spaniards, Cumanches; and the Kyaways and Utahs, who, as we are assured by Pike, speak the same language as the Paducas, and are doubtless of the same race. These three nations thus form one great people,

* Vater, p. 277. † Pike, p. 369.

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the tribes of which are spread over a great extent of country. The name of Paduca belongs to the whole race collectively. It is the term given them by their neighbours the Pawnees.

Their chief positions are indicated by Pike. The Kyaways wander about the sources of the river Platte; they possess immense herds of horses, and are at war with the Pawnees and Ietans, as well as with the Sioux. The Utahs wander on the sources of the Rio del Norte. The Ietans are a powerful nation, entirely erratic, without any attempt at cultivation, subsisting solely by the chase. Their wanderings are confined to the frontiers of New Mexico on the west, the nations of the Lower Red River on the south, the Pawnees and Osage on the east, and the Utahs, Kyaways, and various unknown nations towards the north.* Pike says, the Utahs and Kyaways reside in the mountains of North Mexico, and the Ietans on the borders of the Upper Red River, Arkansaw, and Rio del Norte.†

The Apaches "are a nation of Indians, who extend from the Black Mountains, in New Mexico, to the borders of Cogquilla, keeping the frontiers of three provinces in a continual state of alarm." They formerly extended from the entrance of the Rio Grande to the Gulf of California. The Nanahaws are situated to the north-west of Santa Fé; they are supposed to be two thousand warriors strong.—"This nation," adds Pike, "as well

* P. 214. † P. 194.

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as all the others to the west of them, bordering on California, speak the language of the Apaches and Lee Panis, who are in a line with them, to the Atlantic."*

From the name of this last nation, Lee Panis, Vater conjectures them to be related to the Pawnees; but this does not appear to have been Pike's opinion.

* P. 337. In mentioning the Atlantic, Pike means the Gulf of Mexico, near the mouth of the Rio Grande. The Apaches appear to be properly a nation of the Cordillera of New Mexico, some tribes of which terming themselves, Leé Panis, have extended their progress down the Rio Grande del Norte, towards its mouth. See Pike, p. 363.

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CHAPTER V.

Observations on the Races of People mentioned in the two preceding Chapters, and descriptions of their Physical Characters.

Section I.

General Remarks on the History of these Nations.

It is a very remarkable fact, that the nations in general, who inhabit the eastern parts of America, are to be traced by their traditions, as well as by other indications, from some remote country in the west. In the case of the Lenni Lenápe these oral accounts are so definite and circumstantial, and they appear to have been so carefully and faithfully collected, by persons who, in a long residence among the people, have become thoroughly acquainted with their language and opinions, that they deserve to be considered in the light of historical testimonies. The tradition of the Lenápe embraces also the origin and settlement of the Mengwe, or Iroquois. The Floridian nations probably crossed the Mississippi at a later period, and the history of their arrival appears to be worthy of credit. The truth of these oral accounts, in respect to the Lenápe and the Iroquois, has been still further confirmed by the discovery of their languages, or of indubitable vestiges of them,

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in the interior parts of the American Continent. There is only one remaining race of people, in the eastern parts of America, and these are the Esquimaux, who, as we have already seen, are to be traced by other indications from the west.

It does not appear, that at the period when these nations arrived in the east, they found the countries on that side of the Great River, an entire desert. These countries were in the possession of people, who would appear to have been more civilized than the subsequent inhabitants. The history of these people, the Alligewi, and of the more problematical nation in the southern districts, whose vestiges are still pointed out, may be a matter of future research among the antiquarians of America, who have already given to the world promising specimens of their talents and zeal for such inquiries. It is probable that the Alligewi may be recognized hereafter among some of the nations in the interior, whose history is, as yet, almost unknown. The Pawnees, the Paducas, the Apaches, may have relations with each other, or with the nations of the west, which are yet to be discovered.

It seems that even the north-western people of America agree with those further to the east in declaring, traditionally, their origin from the west. This is remarkably the case, according to Mackenzie, with the Chepewyan.

The result of all these facts is a probability, increased by every new discovery in the antiquities

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of America, that the population of that continent proceeded originally from Asia. All the traces of ancient movements among the tribes converge in one quarter, and it is impossible that all the existing nations could, together, have found room in the north-western corner of America.

Section II.

Accounts of the Physical Characters of the People in the Eastern Parts of North America.

Two of the nations in North America, belonging to the two most remarkable races, have been described in a very intelligent and satisfactory manner, by Carver, who resided among them some time, and became well acquainted with their character and manners. These nations are the Nadowessies and the Chippeways. Carver has given the following account of their persons. "These Indians," by which expression we must understand the tribes above mentioned, with whom Carver was acquainted, " do not appear to me to differ so widely in their make, colour, or constitution from each other, as represented by some writers. They are in general slightly made, rather tall and straight, and you seldom see among them any deformed; their skin is of a reddish or copper colour; their eyes are large and black, and their hair of the same hue; but very rarely it is curled; they have good teeth, and their breath is as sweet as the air they draw in; their cheek-bones are rather raised, but more so in the women than in

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the men; the former are not quite so tall as the European women; however, you frequently meet with good faces and agreeable persons among them, although they are more inclined to be fat than the other sex." The same writer assures us, that "these people are covered with hair in the same manner as Europeans, but they carefully get rid of their beards, and every crinous efflorescence on the other parts of their body."*

Sir A. Mackenzie has given a very similar description of the Knisteneaux. He says, "They are of a moderate stature, well proportioned, and of great activity. Their complexion is of a copper-colour, and their hair black, which is common to all the natives of North America." To this observation some exceptions are mentioned afterwards by this writer himself. "It is cut in various forms, according to the fancy of the several tribes, and by some is left in the long, lank, flow of nature. They very generally extract their beards, and both sexes manifest a disposition to pluck the hair from every part of the body and limbs. Their eyes are black, keen, and penetrating, their countenance open and agreeable, and it is a principal object of their vanity to give every possible decoration to their persons. A material article in their toilets is vermilion, which they contrast with their native ochre, white and brown earths, to which charcoal is frequently added."—"Of all the nations I have seen on this

* Carver's Travels in the Interior of America, p. 223, *et seq.*

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continent, the Knisteneaux women are the most comely. Their figure is generally well proportioned, and the regularity of their features would be acknowledged by the most civilized people of Europe. Their complexion has less of that dark tinge which is common to those savages who have less cleanly habits."*

We have the following account of the Potowatomi, an Algonquin nation living to the southward of Lake Michigan, in the narrative of the expedition to the source of St. Peter's River, by Professor Keating.

"The Potowatomi are, for the most part, well proportioned, about five feet, eight inches in height, possessed of much muscular strength in the arm, but rather weak in the back, with a strong neck, and endowed with considerable agility. Their voice is feeble and low, but when excited, very shrill; their teeth are sound and clean, but not remarkable for regularity. In persons of feeble habit, or of a scrofulous tendency, the teeth are found to decay much faster than in others. Dentition is said to be a painful process among Indian children, a circumstance which we had not expected."—"Their complexion is very much darkened by exposure to the sun and wind, while those parts which are kept covered, are observed to retain their native brightness. Children are red, when new-born; after a few years they assume the yellow colour." Some other observations are added, tending to prove that all the organs of sense

* Mackenzie's Travels, Introduction, p. 95-96.

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are very perfect in these tribes, as well as the physical powers in general.*

Kalm has described the Hurons, and some other tribes of the Iroquois nation, and, from his account, it appears that they do not differ remarkably in person from the Algonquin race. He says, "the Hurons are tall, robust people, well-shaped, and of a copper colour. They have short, black hair, which is shaved on the forehead from one ear to the other." The Anies, another Iroquois tribe, speaking the Huron language, are equally tall. "The Hurons seem to have a longer, and the Anies a rounder face." "The Anies have something cruel in their looks. Both the Hurons and Anies are taller than the Mickmacks. The latter speak a different language." "They have already been mentioned as an Abenaqui tribe, and therefore of the Algonquin race." Kalm says, "I have not seen any Indians whose hair was so long and straight as theirs. Almost all the Indians have black, straight hair; however, I have met a few, whose hair was pretty much curled; but the Indians of Canada have been somewhat intermixed with the French."†

It does not appear that there are any strongly marked differences, in physical character, between the nations of Algonquin and Iroquois origin.

In reply to the inquiry which here naturally

* Expedition to the source of St. Peter's River, vol. i. p. 135. Lond. Ed.

† Kalm's Travels, vol. ii. p. 320, *et seq.* Translation.

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offers itself, whether there are differences of complexion in the people of the eastern parts of America, bearing a relation to the climates they inhabit, it must be confessed that the facts which bear upon this point, do not lead to so decided a result as we might expect. The Knisteneaux, and other Algonquin races, in very cold countries, are as dark in complexion as the tribes akin to them in warmer latitudes. However, it must be observed, in reference to this question, that the most northern race of all, namely, the Esquimaux, are nearly white; and we shall see presently, that the southern, or Floridian nations, are of darker colour than any who live to the northward of them. But a greater difference appears to be connected with local situation, the distance from, or proximity to the sea-coast, and the elevation of the land. Thus we understand that the Mohegans, in the eastern lands of New England, were of darker colour than their brethren, the Delawares; and we shall see presently, that the Cherokees, who are mountaineers, though inhabitants of the southern districts of Eastern America, and probably related in blood to the Seminoles and Creeks, are yet of lighter complexion than many other nations of the same continent, insomuch, that the young women of that tribe are said to be almost as fair as Europeans. It is to be considered that the Muskohge, or Creeks, are inhabitants of a low flat country, intersected with rivers and channels, and either sandy, or abounding in swamps and mo-

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rasses; in either case, the hottest and most unwholesome part of North America. The Cherokees, on the other hand, inhabit a dry and elevated country, of a beautiful and picturesque surface, filled with mountains and prairies. These general remarks result from the accounts which the most accurate observers have given us of the physical characters of the Floridian nations.

"The males of the Cherokees, Muscogulges, Seminoles, Chicasaws, Choctaws, and confederate tribes of the Creeks," says Bartram, "are tall, erect, and moderately robust; their limbs well-shaped, so as generally to form a perfect human figure; their features regular, and countenance open, dignified, and placid, yet the forehead and brow so formed, as to strike you instantly with heroism and bravery; the eye, though rather small, yet active and full of fire, the iris always black, and the nose commonly inclining to the aquiline. Their countenance and actions exhibit an air of magnanimity, superiority, and independence. Their complexion is of a reddish brown, or copper colour; their hair long, lank, coarse, and black as a raven, and reflecting the like lustre at different exposures to the light. The women of the Cherokees are tall, slender, erect, and of a delicate frame; their features formed with perfect symmetry; the countenance cheerful and friendly; and they move with a becoming grace and dignity.

"The Muscogulge women, though remarkably short of stature, are well-formed; the visage round,

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features regular and beautiful; the brow high and arched; the eye large, black, and languishing, expressive of modesty, diffidence, and bashfulness; they are, perhaps, the smallest race of women yet known, seldom above five feet high, and I believe that the greater number never arrive to that stature; their hands and feet not larger than those of Europeans of nine and ten years of age; yet the men are of gigantic stature, a full size larger than Europeans; many of them above, and few under, six feet, or five feet eight or ten inches. Their complexion is much darker than any of the tribes to the north of them, that I have seen. This description will, I believe, comprehend the Muscogulges, their confederates the Chactaws, and the Chicasaws (though I have never seen their women), excepting, however, some bands of the Seminoles, Uches, and Savannaws, who are rather taller and slenderer, and their complexion brighter.

"The Cherokees are yet taller and more robust than the Muscogulges, and by far the largest race of men I have seen; their complexion brighter, and somewhat of an olive cast, especially the adults; and some of their young women are nearly as fair and blooming as European women."*

* We have an accurate description of the manners and social character, as well as of the personal traits of these nations, in the travels of William Bartram, who made several journeys through their country. See Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, &c., by W. Bartram.

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Section III.

Physical Characters of the People in the Interior of North America.

Among the nations of the interior some varieties take place both in form and colour. "The tribes of the Missouri," says a late traveller, "have a complexion of a clear and brighter red than many of the eastern tribes."*—"Their form is symmetrical and active, and their stature is equal, if not superior, to the ordinary European standard; tall men are numerous among them. The forehead retires remarkably backward, and the posterior part of the head, or occiput, has a flatness of appearance, attributable, perhaps, to the circumstance of its having rested so constantly, during infancy, on the surface of a board or pad. Yet the seat of the cerebellum is still marked and distinct. The hair is coarse, black, and glossy; dense upon the head, spare and slender upon the chin, independently of the custom of extirpating it."†

Among the nations of the mountainous regions, further in the interior, still greater deviations occur, and a lighter and different hue makes its appearance in the skin, the hair, and the eyes.

The Menomones, who inhabit the high lands,

* James, vol. ii. p. 299.

† See an excellent account of the physical history of the nations of the Missouri, with observations on the peculiar structure of the American tribes in general, chiefly from the notes of M. Say, in the second volume of James's History of the Expedition, under Major Long, to the Rocky Mountains, p. iii. *et seq.*

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near the sources of the Chippeway River, appear to be of lighter colour than most other tribes,* and some of the females among the Dacota, or Sioux, on the river of St. Peter, are said by Professor Keating to be remarkably fair.†

In the high countries, round the sources of the Platte, Arkansa, and Red rivers, tribes of the Kiawa and Kaskaia nation wander in pursuit of the herds of bisons, without any fixed dwelling. "These Indians," as Mr. James informs us, "differ in many particulars from those of the Missouri. Their average stature appears to be less considerable, and though the general appearance of the countenance is similar, yet their faces have, perhaps, somewhat more latitude, and the Roman nose is obviously less predominant; but still the direction of the eye, the prominence of the cheek-bones, the form of the lips, teeth, chin, and retreating forehead, are precisely similar."—"The hair," he adds, "in its structure and colour, is not distinguished from that of the Missouri Indians, though in early youth it is often of a much lighter colour, and a young man, of perhaps fifteen years of age, who visited us to-day, had hair decidedly of a flaxen hue, with a tint of dusky yellow."‡

* See Keating, vol. i. p. 271.

† These were as handsome and as good looking as Indian females can probably be; their complexion was so light, that we could scarcely credit the assertion of our guide that they were full-blooded Indians. Keating, vol. i. p. 341.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 47.

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These tribes, or at least the Kiawa, belong to the race of the Paducas, who have been mentioned in the preceding pages. In the old maps of these countries we find a nation mentioned under the name of White Paducas, by which is probably indicated some deviation in the complexion of the race.

It appears that a deviation of a similar kind, from the more common complexion of the American nations, exists in the race of the Apaches, who have been mentioned in the last chapter as occupying the mountainous regions of Northern or New Mexico. To this kindred belong the Lee Panis, who, according to Pike, rove from the Rio Grande to some distance into the province of Texas. "Their former residence," he says, "was on the Rio Grande, near the sea-shore." The mountainous region approaches near to the coast. "The Lee Panis," adds the same traveller, "are divided into three bands. They have *fair hair*, and are generally handsome. They are armed with bows, arrows, and lances."*

In the northern districts of the great chain of Rocky Mountains, which were visited by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, there are several nations of unknown language and origin. The Atnah nation is one of them; their dialect appears, from the short vocabulary given by that traveller, to be one of those languages, which in the frequent recurrence of peculiar consonants, bears a certain

* P. 363.

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resemblance to the Mexican. Some of the tribes which were found on the heights, and on the western borders of the great mountain chain, recede considerably, in their physical character, from the general traits of the North American aborigines. A people whom Mackenzie terms Rocky-mountain Indians, are said to have a complexion of a swarthy yellow. The natives of Friendly Village, to the westward, have round faces with high cheek-bones, and a complexion between the olive and copper colour. They have small *grey* eyes, *with a tinge of red*, and *hair* of a *dark brown colour*, inclining to black; they are a distinct people.* Another tribe nearer to the mountains is described in similar terms. "The colour of their eye is *grey*, with a tinge of red; they have all high cheek-bones, more remarkably the women."† These are considerable deviations from the supposed uniformity in the physical characters of the American aborigines. The varieties of colour, tending towards a lighter tint in the hair, eyes, and skin, in the elevated region, are phænomena similar to those which appear in other divisions of mankind. The hair is brown in these nations.

The Chepewyans further to the north-west, differ also considerably from the general character of the North Americans.

Mackenzie is scarcely willing to include the great western people termed Chepewyans, among the aborigines of America.‡ He says, their pro-

* P. 204. † P. 370. ‡ P. 322.

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gress is easterly, and according to their own traditions they came from Siberia; agreeing in dress and manners with the eastern Asiatics. "They have a tradition among them that they came, originally, from another country, inhabited by very wicked people, and had traversed a great lake, which was narrow, shallow, and full of islands, where they had suffered great misery, it being always winter, with ice and deep snow. At the Copper Mine River, where they made the first land, the ground was covered with copper, over which a body of earth has since been collected to the depth of a man's height. They believe also, that in ancient times, their ancestors lived till their feet were worn out with walking, and their throats with eating. They describe a deluge, when the waters spread over the whole earth, except the highest mountains, on the tops of which they preserved themselves."

If this account had come to us through the medium of some of the older missionaries, who were credulous, and perhaps, in some instances, not very scrupulous in ascribing to newly discovered tribes, opinions and traditions such as they were desirous of finding among them; or if the people, among whom these accounts are handed down, had been under circumstances which rendered it likely that they might have obtained them in the first place from Europeans, we might be disposed to attribute the existence of these stories, among

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the Chepewyans, to such a source. But among a people, hitherto unknown, and now visited by a writer, so intelligent and accurate as Sir A. Mackenzie, the prevalence of such traditions is certainly a remarkable circumstance.

With respect to the moral and physical character of these people, it is said that, "they are sober, timorous, and vagrant, with a selfish disposition, which has sometimes created suspicions of their integrity. Their stature has nothing remarkable in it; but though they are seldom corpulent, they are sometimes robust. Their complexion is swarthy, their features coarse, and their hair lank, but not always of a dingy black; nor have they universally the piercing eye, which generally animates the Indian countenance. The women have a more agreeable aspect than the men, but their gait is awkward, owing to the habit of wearing snow shoes and dragging sledges during nine months in the year."—"The men generally extract their beards." There are no people more attentive to the comforts of their dress, or less anxious respecting its exterior appearance. "In the winter it is composed of skins, dressed as fine as any chamois leather in the hair, and is worn double, with the hair within and without."*

Some further observations will be added, on

* Captain Franklin says, "the Chepewyans have broad faces, projecting cheek-bones, and wide nostrils." They seem then to resemble the people of the Aleutian Isles.

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the physical characters of the American nations in general, towards the end of this book. We now proceed to the history of the nations of South America, and shall begin from the southern extremity of that continent.

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CHAPTER VI.

Of the South American Nations—Races of People inhabiting Chili, Patagonia, and Tierra del Fuego.

Section I.

General Account of these Nations.

If a line is drawn across the continent of South America, in the latitude of the Rio de la Plata, and reaching to Coquimbo, on the coast of Chili, it will cut off to the southward a region of great extent, which contains on the eastern side wide and level plains, and on the western is intersected by the outspread branches of the Cordillera. Over this region wander many tribes of aboriginal Americans, who resemble each other in some particulars, and differ considerably from the nations who dwell further towards the north. By some writers it has been supposed that all these southern tribes form in reality but one great people.

The most accurate description of all these nations, of their divisions, and of the relations of the different tribes to each other, is to be found in a work written by Thomas Falkner, an Englishman, who resided as a missionary among them nearly forty years, and became personally acquainted with the people, and with the caciques of the different tribes. I have extracted the following particulars from his account of Patagonia.

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Falkner divides all the nations above mentioned into two classes. He says, "The nations of Indians, which inhabit these parts, bear among themselves the general denomination of Moluches and Puelches."* The former are the people of Chili, and of the countries on the western side of America to the southward of Chili; the latter name includes all the nations in the eastern parts of America to the southward of the Rio de la Plata. The tribes of people belonging to each of these classes are more particularly described.

¶ 1. *The Moluches, or Araucanos.*

The Moluches are the people known among the Spaniards by the names of Aucaes, or Araucanos. The former of these names is a term of reproach, meaning rebels, or banditti; the latter is improperly applied to the whole nation of the Moluches, being the local name of a particular tribe. "They call themselves Moluches, which in their language signifies *warriors*, from *molun*, to wage war.

"They are dispersed on both sides of the Cordillera of Chili, from the confines of Peru to the Straits of Magellan, and may be divided into the different nations of the Picunches, Pehuenches, and Huilliches.

* A description of Patagonia, &c., by Thomas Falkner, who resided nearly forty years in those parts. 4to. Hereford, 1774. As this work is difficult to be obtained, I have made a fuller abstract of those parts of it in which the tribes of native people are described, than I should otherwise have done.

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1. "The Picunches are the most northern of these people, and are so called from *picun*, which in their language signifies *north*, and *che*, men, or *people*. They inhabit the mountains from Coquimbo to somewhat lower than St. Jago of Chili. These are the most valiant, and the biggest-bodied men of all the Moluches; especially those to the west of the Cordillera; among which are those of Peneo, Tucapel, and Arauco, from which last, the Spaniards, by mistake, gave the name of Araucanos to all the rest of the Indians of Chili. Those who live on the east of the Cordillera reach something lower than Mendoza."

2. The Pehuenches live to the southward of the Picunches, and reach from the thirty-fifth degree of south latitude, to the country over against Valdivia. "They derive their name from *pehuen*, which signifies *pine-tree*, because their country abounds with those trees."

These two nations were formerly very numerous, and were engaged in long and bloody wars with the Spaniards, whom they almost drove out of Chili. They destroyed the cities of the Imperial, Osorno, and Villarica, and killed two of their presidents, Valdivia and Don Martin de Loyola, but they are now so much diminished as not to be able to muster four thousand men among them all. This has been in some measure owing to their frequent wars with the Spaniards, with their neighbours the Puelches, and with one another. But what has made the greatest havoc among them is

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the brandy, for the sake of obtaining which they often pawn and sell their wives and children to the Spaniards, and their *pulcu*, or *chicha*, which they make themselves." "The small-pox also, which was introduced into this country by Europeans, causes a more terrible destruction among them than the plague, desolating whole towns by its malignant effects. The nearest relations of those who fall sick, fly from them to avoid the distemper, and leave them to perish, perhaps in the middle of a desert. About forty-five years ago, the numerous nation of the Chechehets, having caught this disorder in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres, endeavoured to fly from it by retiring into their own country, which was about 200 leagues distant, through vast deserts. During their journey they daily left behind them their sick friends and relations, forsaken and alone, with no other assistance than a hide reared up against the wind, and a pitcher of water. Thus they have been brought so low that they have not more than 300 men capable of bearing arms.

3. "The Huilliches, or southern Moluches, reach from Valdivia to the straits of Magellan. They are divided into four distinct tribes or nations. The first of these reach to the sea of Chiloe, and beyond the lake of Nahuelhuaupi, and speak the Chilenian tongue. The second nation are the Chouds, who live on and near the islands of Chiloe. The third nation is called the Poy-yus, or Peyes, and inhabits the sea-coast from 48 to a lit-

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tle more than 51° of S. L. From thence to the straits live the fourth nation, called the Key-yus, or Keyes. These last three nations are known by the name of Vuta Huilliches, or Great Huilliches, because they are bigger bodied men than the first, who are termed Pichi-Huilliches, or Little Huilliches. They seem likewise to be a different people, as the language they speak is a mixture of the Moluche and Tehuel languages. The other Huilliches and the Pehuenches speak the same language, and only differ from the Picunches in a slight variation of dialect. These nations are numerous, especially the Vuta Huilliches." The author mentions the names of the caciques of each tribe, with whom he has been acquainted.

¶ 2.—*The Puelches.*

The Puelches, or Eastern People, as the name signifies, are bounded on the west by the Moluches, down to the straits of Magellan; to the northward and eastward they are bounded by those straits and by the Atlantic Ocean, and to the northward by the Spanish settlements of Mendoza and on the Rio de la Plata. "They bear different denominations," says Falkner, "according to the situation of their respective countries, or because they were originally of different nations." Those towards the north are called Taluhets; to the west and south of them are the Divihets; to the south-east, the Chechehets; and to the south of these last, is the country of the Te-

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huelhets, or in their proper language, Tehuel-Kunny, i. e. Southern Men.

1. The Taluhets border to the west on the Picunches, and dwell on the east side of the First Desaguadero, as far as the lakes of Guanacache, in small troops, seldom fixed to one place. Some few are found further towards the north, and formerly there were some in the district of Buenos Ayres, but they are now no more. So few of this nation remain at present, that they are scarcely able to raise 200 fighting men.

2. The Divihets border westwardly on the country of the Pehuenches, from 35° to 38° S. L. and extend along the rivers Sanquel, Colorado, and Hueyque, near to Casuhati. They are a wandering people, now greatly reduced by losses in their feudatory warfare against the Spaniards.

These two nations, the Taluhets and Divihets, are the people known to the Spaniards by the name of Pampas. They subsist chiefly on the flesh of mares, which they hunt in small companies, in the vast plains between Mendoza and Buenos Ayres.

3. The country of the Chechehets lies properly between the river Hueqque and the First Desaguadero, or Rio Colorado, and from thence to the Black River; but they are perpetually roving about and changing their abode. Their country abounds only in the lesser kinds of game, as hares, armadilloes, ostriches. They are a poor, harmless, and sincere people, but very superstitious, and

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addicted to divinations and witchcraft. They are in general a tall, stout race of people, like their neighbours, the Tehuelhets; but they speak a different language. Although mild in peace, they are bold and active in war.

4. The Tehuelhets, who in Europe are known by the name of Patagonians, have been through ignorance termed Tehuelchus; for *chu* signifies country, and not people, which is expressed by *het*, and more to the south, by the word *kunny*. The Tehuelhets and the Chechehets are known to the Spaniards by the name of Serranos, or mountaineers. They are split into a great many subdivisions, as the Leuvuches, or People of the River, and Catilli-het, or People of the Mountains, among whom are the Chulilau-cunnees, the Sehuau-cunnees, and Yacana-cunnees.

"The last of the Tehuel nations are the Yacana-cunnees, or Foot people; for they always travel on foot, having no horses in their country."—These Indians live near the sea, on both sides the Straits of Magellan, and oftentimes make war with one another. They pass the straits in light floats, like those of Chiloe. They live chiefly by fishing, are very nimble of foot, and catch guanacoes and ostriches by running. Their stature is much the same as that of the other Tehuelhets, rarely exceeding *seven feet*, and oftentimes not *six feet*.

Falkner observes, that "all the Tehuelhets speak a different language from the other Puelches and the Moluches; and this difference does not in-

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clude words, but also grammatical forms."* However, he adds, that they have some words in common. From this mark of connexion, and from the names of chiefs belonging to the different tribes, mentioned by Falkner, it seems not improbable that all the Puelche and Moluche nations speak languages which were originally dialects of one mother tongue, and that they are branches of a single widely spread race, which descending from the north along the sides of the Cordillera, occupied all the parts of South America situated to the westward of the river Paraguay, and to the southward of its great estuary; these waters entirely cutting them off from a very different class of nations on the opposite shores.

After this enumeration of the tribes and subdivisions of the southern race, I shall add some remarks on their physical characters, and on some of their distinguishing traits, chiefly on the authority of Molina and Azzara.

* Hervas has given an account of the people on the western coast, by Don Giuseppe Garcia Marti, who sailed along it in open barks with some native Chilese as his companions, without being able to get so far as the straits. He found that the Araucan language reached not further southward than the island of Chiloe: beyond were two nations, the Lecheyel and Yekinahue, who were understood by each other, but not by the Chilese. These last appear, as Professor Vater has observed, to be the same people who are termed by Falkner the Yakana-Cunny, and are mentioned by him as a tribe of Tehuelhet.

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Section II.

Of the Physical and Moral Characters of the Puelche and the Moluche or Araucanos.

¶ 1. *Of the Puelche.*

The eastern parts of the region above described, between the Rio de la Plata and the Straits of Magalhaens, are inhabited, as we have seen, by various tribes belonging to the race of Puelche, or Eastern People. These, according to Guevara, a missionary cited by Hervas, who agrees with the Spanish traveller, Don Felix de Azzara, are the race termed by the European conquerors of South America, Querandi. At present the northern tribes of the Puelche are known by the name of Pampas. "The Pampas," says Azzara, "at the arrival of the Spaniards, wandered on the shores of the great river, opposite to the Charruas, a nation of Paraguay, but without any intercourse, neither people possessing barks or canoes, by which they might pass the stream. They made a vigorous resistance to the colonists who first settled at Buenos Ayres, but were obliged gradually to retire towards the south."

The Pampas lived formerly by hunting sloths, hares, stags, and ostriches, which were very abundant in their country; but since horses and horned cattle have run wild, and spread in immense herds over the plains, they have fed on the flesh of these animals. Their language, according to Azzara, is different from all others. They are not so taciturn

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as other nations in this part of America, and their voice is not so low and almost inaudible. "Leur taille," says the author above cited, "ne me paroit pas inférieure à l'Espagnole; mais, en général, ils ont les membres plus forts, la tête plus ronde et plus grosse, les bras plus courts, la figure plus large, et plus sevère que nous et que les autres Indiens, *et la couleur moins foncée.*" The men go nearly naked: "Ils ne font point usage du barbote:" By this last circumstance they are distinguished from all the tribes of Paraguay. The women wear a *poncho*, or shirt, which covers their whole body. They wander about, and dwell under tents formed of hides, which they easily remove. They are of milder disposition, and less depraved than most of the nations of savages in this part of America.*

A late traveller informs us that he had an opportunity of seeing Pampa Indians at Buenos Ayres, where they are set to work in the streets. He says, that those individuals whom he saw were tall, well-made, with long black hair and yellow complexions.†

Falkner, who asserts repeatedly that he has seen Caciques of all the different tribes in the southern parts of America, assures us, that the Puelche are a large race of people, and that several are seven

* Don Felix de Azzara. Voyages dans l'Amerique Méridionale, tom. ii. p. 35—48.

† Travels in South America, by Alex. Caldcleugh, Esq., vol. i. p. 209.

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feet six inches high. He adds, that these are not a distinct race, for he has seen others in the same families not more than six feet high. The tallest of the Puelche are the southern tribes, termed Tehuelhet, who are said to have a distinct language. Azzara terms them Tehuelchús, and says he believes them to be the Patagonians. He describes them as resembling the Pampas, whom they even exceed in strength and courage. Among the latter are men of great stature. Two, whose measurement was taken at Buenos Ayres, were six feet, seven inches, and six feet, five inches high.

¶ 2. *Of the Moluche.*

The description of the Moluche Araucanos, or native Chilians, presents to our view some remarkable facts. We have an ample account of this people from the pen of the correct and intelligent Molina.

The climate of Chili is very fine and temperate, especially in the maritime country, which is intersected by chains of mountains, and watered by beautiful rivers.* Among the maritime districts, and in the southern part of Chili, in latitude 39°, is the province of Boroa.†

Molina informs us, that Chili was originally peopled by one nation, since all its native or aboriginal inhabitants, however independent of each other, and dwelling in different provinces, speak

* Molina's Natural History of Chili, chap. i. sect. 3.

† Ibid, sect. 4.

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the same language, and have a similar appearance." Those of the plains are of good stature, but the inhabitants of the valleys of the Andes surpass the usual height of man. "The features of both are regular.* They are stout and vigorous. Generally, like the Tartars, the Chilians have little beard, and pluck it out as fast as it appears; but there are some of them who have as thick a beard as the Spaniards."† "They have round faces, small, animated eyes, full of expression, a nose rather flat, a handsome mouth, white and even teeth, muscular and well-shaped legs, and small, flat feet."

"Their complexion," says Molina, "like that of other American nations, is of a reddish brown, but it is of a clearer, i. e. a lighter hue than that of other nations, and readily changes to white." "A tribe," he adds, "who dwell in the province of Boroa, are of a clear white and red, without any intermixture of the copper colour."‡ He says in another place, that "the colour of the natives of Chili is a reddish, or coppery brown, excepting the Boroanes, who live in the midst of the Araucanian provinces, in the 39° of south latitude. These are white, and as well featured as the northern Europeans."§

In describing the Araucanos more particularly, Molina says, "Their complexion, with the exception of the Boroanes, who, as I have already ob-

* Civil Hist. of Chili, chap. i.

† Nat. Hist. of Chili, chap. iv. ‡ Civil Hist. chap. i.

§ Nat. Hist. ibid.

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served, are fair and ruddy, is of a reddish brown, but clearer than that of the other Americans." "The Boroanes differ, however, in no other respect from the other Chilians."

The white complexion of the Boroanes is attributed by many persons to intermixture of blood with the Spaniards, many of whom were taken prisoners by the Araucanos, in the unfortunate war in the sixteenth century. This Molina has shewn to be a groundless supposition, because the Spanish prisoners were not stationed particularly in the province of Boroa, but spread over all the country, and by a still more convincing argument. The Spanish conquerors of Chili were chiefly from the southern provinces of Spain. A fair and ruddy complexion cannot be ascribed to a descent from the swarthy natives of Andalusia, even if the fact were proved that the Boroanes are the posterity of the Spaniards. Molina supposes that this variety of complexion is to be ascribed to some peculiar influence of the climate, or to the greater degree of civilization.*

Some writers have been disposed to doubt the existence of these fair Boroanes, in the temperate region of South America. But it seems not incredible that there should be a white race in the southern parts, where we have seen already that there are several American nations in corresponding regions to the northward of the equator, who are of fair, and some who are of ruddy com-

* Civil Hist. of Chili, chap. i.

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plexion, and even with yellow hair. We have indeed another instance of a similar kind in the Guayanas of the Parana, who will be mentioned in a future chapter; and these two examples stand upon the distinct testimony of two of the most accurate and credible writers who have contributed to our knowledge of these countries, from the results of long personal acquaintance with the native inhabitants.

It must also be noticed, that the colour of the southern races in general, within the temperate region above described, is of a lighter shade than that of their neighbours to the northward.*

On the whole it appears probable, that Molina's observation is correct, and that the race of Moluches contains some tribes of fair complexion, affording one instance, in addition to many others, of the xanthous variety of our species originating in a stock which is generally of darker hue.

There are some particulars in the manners of the southern tribes, of both divisions, which distinguish them from the adjoining nations of Paraguay, and may serve to throw some light on their origin.

Their way of treating the dead is remarkable, and different from the habits of the neighbouring

* A late English traveller in South America informs us, that he has seen in Chili people considered to be of the Araucanian race, who were of a white complexion, and whose features were different from those of the Spaniards. This is a strong confirmation of the statement of Molina. See Travels in South America, by Alex. Caldcleugh, Esq. vol. ii. p. 336.

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races, though it is said that customs somewhat similar have been observed among the tribes on the Orinoco. The bodies are reduced to the state of skeletons, by dissection and cutting off the flesh, and by burying them for a time in the earth. The skeletons are afterwards placed in rows, dressed and ornamented, in vaults, under the care of old women appointed to the office, who annually clean them, and renew their clothing. These customs are observed by the Puelche as well as the Moluche, and even by the Tehuelhet.*

The practice of wearing the barbote, a piece of wood, which is thrust into a hole perforated through the under-lip, is observed by nearly all the nations of Paraguay, and, as we have already observed, by the tribes on the north-western coast of America. This usage is unknown to the Puelche and Moluche: and this is a circumstance which marks a separation in manners between the nations on the opposite sides of the Rio de la Plata.

Section III.

Natives of Tierra del Fuego.

Before we proceed to the next division of South American nations, viz. to those who inhabit the countries further to the northward than the tribes already described, we must add some brief remarks on the people of Tierra del Fuego, who are supposed to be of the same stock with those of the continent.

We know very little respecting the inhabitants

* Falkner's Account of Patagonia.

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of Tierra del Fuego, and the other islands which lie to the southward of the Straits of Magellan. As far as we can judge from the accounts of Bougainville and Cook, it appears probable, that they contain but one race of people, viz. the Pesherais, so termed from a word which the natives have been frequently heard to repeat on many points of their coast as yet visited. "From this circumstance it is probable," says Hervas, "that the Island of Fire contains but one language, of which we only know that it is a very guttural one; and it is, perhaps, a dialect of another guttural language, which, as I shall presently shew, was found by Don Giuseppe Garcia Marti, on the western coast of Patagonia, near the Strait of Magalhanes."*

Captain Cook visited the Tierra del Fuego in his first voyage. He described the people as being of stout make, rather short stature, with long black hair, and says, that their complexion was like the colour of iron-rust mixed with oil.† But the best account that we have yet had of this race is from Dr. J. R. Forster, who says that they are probably a tribe, "very much degenerated from those nations who live on the adjoining continent." Their broad shoulders and chests, large heads, and the general cast of their features, would prove them to be descended from the men living next to them, though that faithful and

* Hervas. Catalog. della Lingue, p. 15.

† Cook's Voyages, in Hawkesworth's Collection, vol. ii.

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intelligent writer, Mr. Falkner, had not informed us that they belonged to the Yacana-cunnees. Nevertheless it may be very possible that the inhabitants of the western parts of Tierra del Fuego may be descended from some branches of the Key-yus, a tribe of the southern *Moluches, who are rather of low stature, but broad and thick set.* And really somewhat similar to them were the few people we met with at Christmas Bay; we found them to be a short, squat race, with large heads; their colour yellowish brown; the features harsh, the face broad, the cheek-bones high and prominent, the nose flat, the nostrils and mouth large. The hair is black and straight, hanging about the head in a shocking manner; their beards thin, and cut short. All the upper part of the body is stout; the shoulders and chest broad; the thighs and legs thin and lean; the knees large, the legs bent, and the toes turned inward. The women are much of the same features, colour, and form as the men. All have a countenance announcing nothing but their wretchedness. They seem to be good-natured, friendly, and harmless, but remarkably stupid. We could observe no other word distinctly but that of Pesserai, which they frequently repeated in a manner to make us believe that they intended to signify that they were friends.*

* Forster's Observations on a Voyage round the World, p. 249.

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CHAPTER VII.

Of the Guarani, and of the Nations related to them in different parts of South America.

Section I.

History of the Guarani.

Before we proceed to describe the nations who inhabit the vast regions of South America, lying to the northward of the great estuary of Paraguay, it will be proper to make some observations on the history of a remarkable race of people who are spread through various parts of this continent, and cannot, on that account, be wholly included among the inhabitants of any particular province. I mean the race termed in Paraguay, Guarani, or Guaranies, who are allied by language and kindred to many tribes known under different names, in other parts of South America.

The people who inhabit the northern shores of the Rio de la Plata, are tribes of Charruas, and other hordes, who will be mentioned in connexion with them in the next chapter. They occupy the extremities of the countries intercepted between the Paraguay and Uruguay rivers, and again between the latter stream and the ocean, and cut off to the southward by the common estuary. Beyond the districts belonging to these tribes, begin at no

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great distance the dwellings of the Guarani, the most widely spread and numerous people of South America. The following remarks of Don Felix de Azzara, who was intimately acquainted with the different inhabitants of Paraguay, will give the best idea of the countries occupied by this race.

"At the epoch of the discovery of America," says this writer, "the Guarani nation occupied, to the best of my belief, all that the Portugueze afterwards possessed in Brazil and Guiana, but (to confine myself to the limits of my own treatise), it extended to the northward of the Charruas, the Bohanes, and the Minuanes, to the parallel of sixteen degrees; without passing to the westward of the rivers Paraguay and Parana, except at the two extremities of this line; that is, it occupied also the territory of San-Ysidro, and Las Conchas, near Buenos Ayres, and the southern side of the river towards the 30th degree, with all its islands; towards the northern extremity it passed to the westward of the river Paraguay, and penetrated into the province of Los Chiquitos, as far as the great Cordillera of the Andes; where there was a great number of this nation under the name of Chiriguanos. But we must observe, that between the Chiriguanos, or the Guaranis of Los Chiquitos, and the great body of the same people, there was a vast space of intermediate country, occupied by a variety of different nations. We must also observe, that in the great space assigned to the Guarani nation, there were other tribes in-

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cluded within it, and surrounded by it on all sides. These were all very different from each other, as well as from the Guarani. The Guarani nation occupied this prodigious extent of country, in separate hordes, without any political connexion, and without acknowledging the authority of any common chief."

"The destiny of this nation has been very different in different regions; all the hordes which inhabited the immense country possessed by the Portugueze, were reduced to a state of slavery and sold; and as they were mixed with negroes imported from Africa, it has come to pass that the Guarani nation has been in those countries almost annihilated. Very different has been the conduct of the Spaniards, they have either left the Guarani undisturbed in the enjoyment of liberty, or they have reduced them in their missions, which were principally established by the Jesuits, on the Parana and Uruguay, between the 27th and 30th degrees of south latitude. At the suppression of the order in 1767, these laborious missionaries had converted 87,000 savages to the Christian faith, and had settled them as the peaceable inhabitants of thirty great villages, in the dioceses of Buenos Ayres and Paraguay; to which two modern villages have been added.* Hervas, from

* I have given the number according to Hervas, but Dobrizhoffer, who had more immediate information, says, "that the thirty colonies of the Guarani people contained, in 1732, not less than 141,252 inhabitants." He adds, "that about 30,000

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whom this account is extracted, says, "that the Guarani language is spoken in the vast diocese of Paraguay, not only by the natives but by the Spaniards ;* and if we may believe Azzara, it is in many places the only language understood by the Spaniards themselves. What is very remarkable, according to the same writer, although there is no communication between the savage hordes of Guarani, the same language is spoken among them all, with scarcely any difference of dialect. This remark applies to the Guarani of Paraguay and Los Chiquitos, and does not include those of the Brazils, and the tribes allied to this race, in the countries further to the north.

Professor Vater has divided the Guarani into three departments, in order to afford facility in comparing their dialects. I shall mention the principal branches of this race in the same order, and add a fourth division, including some northern nations, more remotely allied to the Guarani, whom Hervas and the Spanish authors regard as a part of the same great family.

¶ 1.—*Southern Guarani of Paraguay.*

1. The southern Guarani are those of Paraguay, either reduced now under the missions above mentioned, or still wandering in a state of liberty

were cut off by the small-pox, which broke out amongst them; but that when the Jesuits left America, there were about 100,000 in these towns.

* Hervas, Catalogo delle Ling. p. 22.

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in the forests of that great province. Besides the Guarani, commonly so termed, who are converted to the Catholic religion, and inhabit thirty-two large towns on the shores of the Parana, Paraguay, and Uruguay, there are other tribes of the same race still hidden in the forests, who have assumed different names from the neighbouring rivers or mountains, but still speak the Guarani language. Among these are the Tapes, Tobatinguas, and Cuaygua.*

¶ 2.—*Western Guarani.*

2. The western Guarani are the people described by Hervas under the names of Guarayi, Chiriguani, and Cirionos.† The Guarayi were civilized by the Jesuits, and reduced under their celebrated missions of the Chiquitos. In the woods between the Chiquitos and the Moxos, there are still some tribes of savage Guarayi. Under the same missions were also reduced some of the Chiriguanos, who inhabit the country between the Pilcomayo and Santa Cruz. Some of these people are within the limits of Chaco, but the major part in the territories of Peru and Tarija. Dobrizhoffer says, "that their language is a dialect of the Guarani, very little corrupted, though, according to some traditions, they inhabited this country in the time of the Inca Yupangui. The pagan Chiriguanos are formidable to all their neighbours.‡

* Dobrizhoffer, English translation, vol. i. p. 126.

† Catalogo, pp. 23, 57. ‡ Dobrizhoffer, ibid.

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According to Abbot Gilii, the Guarani language is spoken with purity by the natives of 160 villages, between the great river of Chaco and that of Mapayo, of Santa Cruz, in the valleys of the Andes. To the northward of Santa Cruz are the barbarous Cirionos, who speak a dialect of the Chiriguano, and consequently of the Guarani language.

¶ 3.—*Eastern Guarani of Brazil.*

The eastern Guarani are the Tupi, or native inhabitants of the Brazils. "The general language of Brazil," says Hervas, "called Tupi, from the name of the first Indians who were converted to the Holy Faith, is not more different from the Guarani, viz. of Paraguay, than the Portugueze from the Spanish." The same writer enumerates, from information derived from ecclesiastics, the following tribes who speak the Tupi, with little variety of dialect, viz. the Cariyi, southward of the Tupi proper, reaching as far towards the south as the Rio Grande del Sud, or S. Pietro; the Tamoyi, Tupinaqui, Timmiminos, Tobayari, Tupinambi, Apanti, Tapigoas, and several other tribes, occupying all the maritime countries as far northward as the river Maragnon. The Tocantini, in the interior, a savage nation on the river of the same name, speak a language supposed to differ from the Tupi, and approximating remarkably to the Omagua. These tribes constitute nearly the native population of Brazil.

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¶ 4.—*Tribes related to this Race on the Maragnon.*

4. According to Hervas, the Omagua, and other dialects allied to it, spoken in the kingdom of Quito, are also branches of the great Guarani language.* This implies a still further extension of the same race. Azzara, as we have seen, supposed it to reach even as far northward as Guiana.

The Omagua, with the tribes nearly connected with them, form one of the most extensive nations in the northern parts of South America. They possessed the banks and islands of the Maragnon, or river of Amazons, 200 leagues from the mouth of the Nabo river, and probably formed a great part of those numerous tribes found by Orellana in this region.† Their name is said to be derived from the custom of lengthening and flattening the heads of new-born children.‡ The various tribes of this people are spread over plains border-

* Hervas, p. 23.

† M. de la Condamine, Voy. à la Rivière des Amazones, p. 68. Hervas, p. 65. Vater, ibid. p. 598.

‡ M. de la Condamine has given some account of this people. He says, "Le nom d'Omaguas dans la langue du Pérou, ainsi que celui de Cambevas que leur donne les Portugais du Para dans la langue du Brésil, signifie tête plate: en effet, ces peuples ont la bizarre coûtume de presser entre deux planches le front des enfans qui viennent de naître. La langue des Omaguas est aussi douce et aussi aisée à prononcer, et même à apprendre que celle des Yameos est rude et difficile. Elle n'a aucun rapport à celle du Pérou ni à celle du Brésil." Voy. à la Riv. des Amazones, p. 70.

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ing on the Orinoco, in New Granada, and in the province of Venezuela; they extend along the Maragnon, towards the Tocantin, in Brazil.

It seems from an examination of the Omagua language by Dr. Vater, in the materials furnished by Hervas and Gilii, that there is a remarkable affinity between the Omagua and Guarani vocabularies, and this is of such a kind as can scarcely have arisen from any other cause than a sameness of origin between the two races. These languages differ, however, in grammatical structure; their relation, though essential, is not so near as to constitute the Omagua, in strict terms, a dialect of the Guarani. On the whole we may, perhaps, safely set down the Omagua nation as one division of the great people of Paraguay and Brazil. Thus we find the different branches of one race spread over more than half of South America, from the Rio de la Plata to the Orinoco.

It is, as Azzara has remarked, very difficult to imagine how the race of Guarani has been so spread through a great part of South America, surrounding on all sides a variety of insulated nations, much more brave and powerful than themselves: for the Guarani are a weak and inert race, of inferior strength and stature; and they have not overcome other nations by dint of numbers, because they have no bond of union among themselves. It seems probable, however, that the other nations were the aborigines, or the previous inhabi-

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tants of these countries, and that the Guarani have spread themselves into it by creeping gradually from the north.* The identity of their language, or the close resemblance of their dialects, is a sufficient proof that their dispersion from a common point is not of very ancient date. Their progress is the more remarkable, as they are not a wandering but an agricultural people. Their abode was almost entirely in woods, or in the small open spaces which are found sometimes in the interior of the forests. They fed on honey and wild fruits; they ate also the flesh of monkeys, of the chibiguazu, the mborebi, and the capibera, when they could obtain it. But their principal resource was in the culture of maize, of beans, of gourds, of the mani, or manduby (axachides) of yams, and mandiocas, (manioc and camanioc). They formed magazines of their produce. This sort of husbandry was their main occupation; hence they were fixed, and not wandering like the other nations.†

Section II.

Physical Characters of the Guarani.

The Guarani differ materially in their physical character from the other inhabitants of the same, or adjoining countries. This difference, as Azzara remarks, cannot be attributed altogether to their never coming out of their woods, because there are

* Azzara, vol. i. pp. 174, 182. † Idem. p. 56.

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other tribes who likewise dwell in the forests. Most of the tribes in Paraguay are tall and vigorous races, in stature and strength considerably exceeding the Spaniards. The Guarani are on the contrary shorter, as to their average height, by two inches, than the Spaniards. "Ils ont aussi l'air d'être à proportion plus carrés, plus charnus, et plus laids. Les femmes ont beaucoup de gorge, les mains et le sein petits, et très peu de menstrues. Les hommes ont quelquefois un peu de barbe, et même du poil sur les corps, ce qui les distingue de tous les autres Indiens; mais ils n'approchent pas en cela des Européens."—"Ils ressemblent aux autres Indiens pour les yeux, pour la vue, pour l'ouïe, pour les dents, et pour la chevelure."—"Leur figure est sombre, triste, et abattue; ils parlent peu et toujours bas, sans crier ni se plaindre; jamais ils ne rient aux êclats; l'on ne voit jamais sur leur figure l'expression d'aucune passion."*

The complexion of the Guarani is different from the other races near the river Plata; their hue is red, or of a copper colour. The other nations are, as we shall see, swarthy, or approaching to black. Azzara says of the Guarani, "Leur couleur est moins foncée, et tire un peu sur le rouge."† The disposition of this people is still more different from that of the other nations than their physical characters. They are easily civilized, and the reduced or civilized Indians, the Christian popula-

* Azzara, p. 58—61. † Ibid.

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tion of the missions of Paraguay, consist principally of Guarani. Their language has consequently become the predominant one, even among the people of the Spanish settlements, who being of mixed race are commonly termed Spaniards.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Of the different Nations of Paraguay, exclusive of the Guarani.

SECTION I.

Divisions.

In proceeding to describe the remaining nations of South America, we must divide the whole continent into a few geographical provinces, in order to afford a convenient method of distributing the different races of people who inhabit them. The names and limits of particular countries are very indefinite, and liable to frequent change, but the natural boundaries are as well marked as they are permanent.

Paraguay, in a wide sense of the term, as it is used by some writers, comprehends a great part of South America. It might comprize all those countries which discharge their waters through the vast estuary afforded by the mouth of the river Paraguay, or rather by the confluence, or general exit, of all the great rivers which flow towards the south, from the eighteenth or twentieth degree of south latitude. A high region extends about those latitudes, nearly across the whole continent, just before it widens into its greatest breadth. Hence on one side a number of rivers descend towards the

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south, and on the other still more numerous and larger streams flow towards the north, and contribute to fill the great channel of the Maragnon, or river of Amazons. The country bordering on the latter river, and its gigantic arms, will come under our view in a following chapter; for the present we are confined to the southern division. The river Paraguay takes its rise nearly in the centre of South America, about the fifteenth degree of south latitude, and flows in a southerly direction, receiving on the right hand the great rivers which descend from the Cordillera, as the Pilcomayo and Vermejo, which traverse the region of Chaco, and the Salado, flowing through Tucuman; on the left or eastern side it receives the great and rapid Parana, which descends from the high regions of southern Brazil; after making its great circuit towards the east, above Buenos Ayres, it is again increased by the waters of the Uruguay, before it empties itself into the Atlantic Ocean.

The Paraguay river may thus be considered to divide the continent in these latitudes into two parts; on the right, or western shore, it leaves the countries of Chaco and Tucuman, and on the left, or eastern side, by turning towards the Atlantic Ocean, it separates an extensive and partly insulated region, which has received no appropriate name, but which I shall denominate, for the present purpose, Eastern Paraguay. This country, if we follow out the boundary of the Parana, may, of itself, be termed with propriety, a penin-

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sula; it is intersected and almost bisected by the Uruguay.

I shall describe in the following section the principal nations of Eastern Paraguay, and in the next make some brief remarks on the races of Chaco, and the countries to the westward of the dividing river.

Section II.

Nations of Eastern Paraguay.

This country contains a variety of nations, who may be supposed, with probability, to have entered it from the north, and to have proceeded towards its southern extremity. The wide channel of the estuary of Paraguay has imposed a barrier to the further progress of these nations, which they have not been able to pass; accordingly, the people on the right bank of the Rio de la Plata are of different races from those on the left, and it appears, that at the arrival of the Spaniards, no sort of communication subsisted between them.

¶ 1. *Of the Charrua, and other tribes allied to them.*

Immediately to the northward of the Rio de la Plata, between the rivers Paraguay and Uruguay, and the western ocean, there are several tribes of savages who have a strong mutual resemblance, and differ in many respects from the other nations of South America. The Charrua are the principal of these.

This nation, at the era of the Spanish conquest

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wandered on the coast of the Plata and Uruguay, and reached about thirty leagues to the northward. On the northern side the Charrua were separated by deserts from the nearest hamlets of the Guarani.

The Charrua were a very warlike race, and firmly resisted the first colonists who settled at Monte Video. Azzara says, that though they have never been in great number, they have cost the Spaniards more blood than all the armies of Montezuma and the Incas. They are, in many respects, a very peculiar people, both in moral and physical characters.

This race has not the complexion which has by many been supposed universal among the native tribes of America. They cannot be deemed a copper-coloured people, but are rather to be reckoned among the black varieties of mankind, or among the races whose colour approaches to black,* with scarcely any mixture of the red tinge. In many other respects they have the characters which are common to the nations of America, in a greater degree than usual; being apparently among the most ancient and least improved inhabitants of that continent. "Their middle stature is higher than that of the Spaniards by about an inch. They are active, upright, and well-proportioned. They have a straight head, an open forehead and countenance, expressive of pride, and

* "Leur couleur se rapproche plus du noir que du blanc, sans presqu'aucune mélange de rouge." Azzara, vol. i. p. 9.

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even ferocity. Their features are regular, though their noses appear rather narrow and sunk between the eyes. Their eyes are bright, always black, and never quite open, but their sight is doubly more distant and perfect than ours. Their sense of hearing is also superior. Their teeth are regular, very white, and never fail, even in advanced age. Their eyebrows are very scanty; they have no beard, and very little hair on other parts of their bodies. The hair of their heads is thick, very long, large, shining, black, and never light. They never lose their hair, which becomes only partially grey when they have attained the age of eighty years. Their hands and feet are smaller and better made than those of Europeans, and the necks of females not so full as among other Indian nations."

Azzara has drawn a striking portrait of the moral character of this people, displaying in a high degree that stern fortitude and constitutional apathy for which the nations of the New World are remarkable. He says, "Ils ne connaissent ni jeux, ni danses, ni chansons, ni instrumens de musique, ni société, ou conversations oiseuses. Leur air est si grave, qu'on ne peut y distinguer les passions. Leur rire se réduit à entr'ouvrir legèrement les coins de la bouche, sans jamais éclater. Ils n'ont jamais une voix grosse et sonore, et ils parlent toujours très bas sans crier, pas même pour se plaindre lorsqu'on les tue." "Ils n'adorent aucune divinité, et n'ont aucune religion." They go almost entirely naked, and never make any attempt

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to cultivate the ground. With all this they display great activity and address, as well as valour in their warlike enterprises.

The other tribes in the vicinity of the Charruas are the Yaros, on the eastern shore of the Uruguay; the Bohanes, to the northward of the Yaros; both of which nations have been exterminated by the Charruas; the Chonos inhabiting the isles of the Uruguay; the Minuanes on the plains northward of the Parana, near its junction with the Uruguay; the Guenoa, a wandering people, also on the eastward of the Uruguay.* Azzara represents the languages of these tribes as entirely different; from which it may be presumed that they are at least unintelligible to each other. But Hervas says that the Minuanes, Bohanes, and Charrua, were originally of the same race with the Guenoa and Yaro, though there is a difference of dialect between these nations. Azzara describes the persons of the Minuanes as very nearly resembling those of the Charrua, particularly in complexion and features.† It appears that they are all in the very lowest degree of social existence, and that they all wear the "barbot," a piece of wood in the lower lip, perforated for the purpose; a custom in which

* Hervas, Catalogo della Lingue, p. 46.

† Dobrizhoffer terms all these nations Guenoa. "The Guenoa," he says, "are a very numerous people, wandering about between the Uruguay, the Rio de la Plata, and the Ocean, without any fixed stations. They comprehend the Charruas, Bohanes, Yaros, Minuanes, and Costivos, all equestrian people of the most barbarous manners."

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most of the nations of Paraguay, as well as some of those in North America, participate.

¶ 2. *Of the Guayanas and other Eastern Nations.*

After describing the tribes above-mentioned, who are probably the darkest race in South America, a people residing on the low grounds near the shores of the great rivers, and who probably made their way along these shores, or along the sea-coast from the north, I shall proceed to a race of men at no vast distance from them, inhabiting an elevated region, covered with forests, among whom the characters which mark the sanguine, or xanthous complexion among Europeans, are said to appear.

The Guayanas, or Gualacha, are a people who speak a language entirely peculiar to themselves. They are naked savages, but subsist, like the Guarani, chiefly on the fruits which they cultivate. They live, according to Azzara, in the midst of the forests situated to the eastward of the Uruguay, from the river Guairay, towards the north, and likewise in the woods which are to the eastward of the Parana, very considerably above the village Del Corpus. According to Hervas, their former abodes were to the northward of the river Iguazu, which falls through a mountainous region into the Parana.*

The stature of the Guayanas is equal to that of the Spaniards, and they are well-proportioned,

* Hervas, Catalog. p. 45.

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though somewhat meagre. "This nation," says Azzara, "differs from all others, within my knowledge, in its colour, which is decidedly of a clearer, that is, a lighter hue; besides this, some of these savages have blue eyes, and a gay and haughty appearance. They preserve their eyebrows, eyelashes, and the hair of their bodies, which is scanty, and they have no beard. They are peaceable, and even kind to strangers.*

Several other tribes are described by Azzara in the country to the eastward of the river Paraguay, which, as they have peculiar languages, though of very inconsiderable numbers, are regarded justly by him as distinct nations. In physical characters these races differ not very remarkably from the Guarani, except that most of them are of greater stature. Among them are the Guasaropo, or Guachie, the Nuara, some others in Xerez, and the Payaguas, a remarkable people who give name to the river Paraguay, of which they formerly possessed both banks, and appropriated to themselves the navigation. Dobrizhoffer mentions two re-

* Azzara, vol. i. p. 76. The phænomenon of a nation in South America with blue eyes, has drawn from Von Humboldt the following query. "Must we believe the existence of those blue eyes of the Boroas of Chili and Guayanas of Uruguay, represented to us as nations of the race of Odin?" A fair complexion makes its appearance in other races besides that of Odin, as we have already seen, in divers instances, even among the aborigines of America. And Molina and Azzara are unsuspected witnesses, relating, without any concert, two examples of the same fact.

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markable nations in the eastern country; "the Guayaguis, a populous tribe entirely different from the Guarani in language, customs, and fairness of complexion, who wander in the remote forests on the banks of the Mondaÿguazu;" and the Guaycuruti, so called "from the fairness of their faces; men tall of stature, armed with a club and arrows, who dwell on the craggy rocks overhanging the Tibiguari Miri, near Villa Rica."

Section III.

Of the Inhabitants of Chaco, and other Countries Westward of the Paraguay.

The celebrated region of Chaco is minutely described by Dobrizhoffer, who reckons among its rivers the Pilcomayo, the Vermejo, and Salado, rising in the Cordillera of Peru, and flowing into the Paraguay on its western side. Chaco is a remarkably fertile country, of great extent, abounding in rocky hills and forests, and situated in a fine and salubrious climate.

Dobrizhoffer and Azzara have described the numerous tribes of savages who inhabit Chaco, a country which, according to the former of these writers, the Spaniards look upon as a theatre of misery, and the native people as their Palestine, or Elysium. "Several tribes," he says, "formerly dwelt in Chaco, of whom the names alone, or very slender relics, now exist. Of this number were the Calchaquis, formerly very numerous, famous for military ferocity; at present a few sur-

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vive in a corner of the territory of Santa Fe, the rest having long since fallen victims to war, or to the small-pox. Nearly the same fate has swept away the equestrian tribes of the Malbalaes, Mataras, Palomos, Mogosnas, Orejones, Aquilotes, Churumates, Ojotades, Tanos, Quamalcas, &c. The equestrian nations still subsisting in Chaco are the Abipones, Natekebits, Tobas, Amokebits, Mocobios, Yapetalacas, and Oekakakalots, Guaycurus or Lenguas. The Mbayas, dwelling on the eastern shore of the Paraguay, call themselves Epiguayegis, those on the western, Quetiadegodis. The pedestrian tribes are the Lules, and the Ysistines, who speak the same language, viz., the Tonocote, and have been for the most part converted by us, and settled in towns: the Homoampas, Vilelas, Chunipies, Yooles, Ocoles, and Pazaines, who are in great part Christians; the Mataguagos, whom we have so often attempted to civilize, and who have always proved indocile; the Payaguas, the Guanas, and the Chiquitos." "Other tribes, speaking various languages, in the woods, have been added by our order to the colonies of the Chiquitos, as the Zamucos, Caypotades, Ygaronos."*

It is impossible to determine how many of these nations form entirely distinct races, and how many are allied to each other. Most of them are supposed to have languages entirely peculiar, but

* Dobrizhoffer, vol. i. pp. 124—118. English Translation.

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Dobrizhoffer informs us, that the idioms of the Abipones, Mocobios, and Tobas, certainly have one origin, and are as much alike as the Spanish and Portuguese. This observation is confirmed by Hervas, who adds, that the dialect of the celebrated Mbayas, resembles the Toba in its vocabulary, though not in grammatical forms. Professor Vater, who has collected and condensed the accounts given by Hervas, enumerates twenty-one different nations in this region of South America.

Azzara has described the physical character and manners of most of these nations of Chaco, and the country westward of the Paraguay. His account of the Mbayas does not differ in any striking particulars from that of the other nations. He says, that in beauty and elegance of form, and in strength, they are very superior to Europeans. "Ils ressemblent aux Guanas, et aux autres Indiens, dans toutes les choses, dont j'ai parlé ci-dessus."—"Ils parlent d'avantage entre eux, et ont le regard plus ouvert. Les hommes portent le même barbote: et tous arrachent constamment les sourcils, les cils, et le poil; ils disent qu'ils ne sont pas des chevaux, pour avoir du poil. Leurs habillements, leurs fêtes, leur ivrognerie, leur parure, leurs peintures, &c., ressemblent entièrement à celles des Guanas et des Payaguas." "Ils se rasent entièrement la tête." He had before described the Guanas and other tribes as similar in complexion to the Guarani, and as resembling the

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other Indians in their features, their hair, in acuteness of sense, defect of hair and beard, smallness of extremities, and other particulars.*

A writer, whom we have already cited, has given, in his discursive manner, an account of the Abipones, with some remarks on the physical characters of the people of Chaco in general. He says, "The Abipones are well-formed and have handsome faces, much like those of Europeans, except in colour."—"I observed, that almost all of them had black, but rather small eyes, yet they see more acutely with them than we do with our larger ones." "The common shape of their noses is aquiline; they are a very handsome people; have seldom or never any bodily defects. Almost all the Abipones are so tall that they might be enlisted among the Austrian musketeers." "They are destitute of beard, and have perfectly smooth chins, like all the other Indians. If you see an Indian with a little beard, you may conclude without hesitation that one of his parents, or more remote ancestors, was an European." The same writer afterwards adds, that they have a few straggling hairs or down on their chins, which are plucked out by the women, who act as barbers. "All the Abipones have thick, raven-black locks." As to colour, he says, "that none of the native Americans, whom he has seen, are as fair as the Germans or English, but many of them are fairer

* Azzara, tom. i. pp. 78, 79, 90, 105, 107.

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than many Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians. They have whitish faces, but this whiteness, in some nations, approaches more to a pasty colour; in some it is darker, a difference occasioned by diversity of climate, manner of living, or food." "The women are fairer than the men, because they go out of doors less frequently." He informs us, in the sequel to these observations, "that the Abipones, Macobios, and Tobas, and other tribes, who live in Chaco, about ten degrees further north, and consequently in a hotter climate, are yet of fairer colour than the Puelche and Aucas, of the Magellanic region." Probably the different degree of elevation above the level of the sea ought here to be taken into the account. The author of this remark contrasts the fact with the *more than moderate whiteness of the people of Tierra del Fuego.**

* Dobrizhoffer, vol. ii. p. 10.

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CHAPTER IX.

Nations in the Middle Region of South America, from the twentieth degree of South Latitude to the parallel of the Maragnon.

SECTION I.

Division.

HAVING surveyed the tribes of South America, across the whole continent, as far towards the north as the sources of the Paraguay and its tributary streams, we now come to another geographical province, comprising those countries which are watered by the great southern arms of the Maragnon, or Orellana. These rivers flow towards the north, from about the twentieth degree of south latitude, almost to the equator; they carry their waters nearly at right angles to the Maragnon. The vast regions intersected by these tributary streams form therefore the southern side of the great valley of that river. The greatest part of it is in Brazil, but it also includes the Spanish provinces of Los Chiquitos and Los Moxos, and the region further northward, termed the territory of the Missions. To the westward of it, beyond the Cordillera, is Peru.

In the countries now described, the Guarani, as we before observed, form a part of the population.

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We have shown from Hervas that the Tupi, and many other nations of Brazil, were of this race; that another division of them is spread through the province of Los Chiquitos and Los Moxos; and, likewise, that the tribes of Omagua, whose language has some affinity to the Guarani, are among the aborigines of the countries on the Maragnon. We now proceed briefly to notice some of the other nations who inhabit the department of South America above described.

Section II.

Nations to the eastward of the Andes.

In the Brazils, besides the various tribes who speak dialects of the Tupi, before enumerated, and the Tocantin, allied, as we have remarked, to the Omagua, there are fifty-one nations who speak a variety of languages, supposed to be entirely distinct from those of the Guarani, and the tribes connected with them. Hervas has collected accounts of these nations partly from manuscript works of the Abbots Cumaño and Antonio Fonseca, and other ecclesiastics, and partly from the published works of Acuña. He thinks it probable that many of their languages have affinities among themselves, and conjectures, from coincidences in a few words, that some of the tribes enumerated are branches of nations existing in other parts of South America,* but there are not sufficient data

* Hervas says, "E credibile che parecchie di esse sieno affini tra se, e ad alcune del Paraguai, e di Terra-Ferma." See Catalog. delle Ling. p. 29.

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for any satisfactory conclusion on either of these points.

As very little is known respecting these nations, it would be to no purpose to recapitulate their names. Professor Vater has extracted the whole account of them from Hervas, and has added some remarks of his own.*

In the provinces of the Spanish territory, westward of Brazil, and towards the Cordillera, near the widely spread branches of the Ucayale and the Mamore,† there are several nations divided into numerous tribes. Among these are enumerated the Zamuca, who were before mentioned, the Chiquitos, the Moxos, the Mobimos,‡ and the Panos, near the river Ucayale, who practise hieroglyphic painting, and preserve records of their history.§

Section III.

Nations of Peru.

The narrow tract, comprehended between the long chain of the Cordillera and the Pacific Ocean, had been the seat of a powerful and civilized empire, before the arrival of the Spaniards in America. The Incas were originally masters of a comparatively small territory, but the nation over which they ruled, having the advantages of civili-

* Mithridates, th. iii. p. 461, *et seq.*

† Mithridates, p. 551. ‡ Mithridates, *ubi supra*, p. 582.

§ Professor Vater cites the baron Von Humboldt's remarkable account of the hieroglyphical paintings of the *Panos*, on the Ucayale, of which we are reminded by those lately found among the *Panis*, or Pawnees, of North America.

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zation, they gradually extended their power on all sides, and reduced the tribes towards the north and south, as well as beyond the Andes, under their sway. It is difficult to imagine what particular circumstances were connected with the fortunes of this race, by which they were raised to such an eminence in social advancement, unless we receive their tradition, that the arts of life were communicated to them by strangers, who landed at some remote era on their coast. Different traits of resemblance between the Peruvians and some of the Asiatic nations, as the Chinese, Coreans, Tibetans, and Japanese, have been noticed, and seem to give a degree of probability to their tradition. But it is possible to account for these phænomena by another hypothesis. I mean the supposition that the Incas were a tribe who happened to preserve the ancient manners once common to the whole American family, and derived from their common ancestors in Asia. The vestiges, indeed, of connexions with the East, are not peculiar to the Peruvians, but are shared by the Aztecs, and even by other nations of America.

The language of the Peruvians, termed the Quichua, was spread as far as their conquests, the policy of the Incas resembling, in this respect, that of the Romans. The residence of the Incas was in Cusco, and the Cuscucano was the pure Quichua; in other countries particular dialects were spoken, which Vater conjectures to have originated from a mixture of Quichua with the native

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languages; these dialects were the Quiteña of Quito, the Lamano, in Truxillo, the Chinchaisuyo, near Lima, and the Calchaqui, in Tucuman.* The pure Quichua is said to have been a highly cultivated, soft, and harmonious language. Comedies, tragedies, and redondillas, are known to have been composed in it long before the conquest.†

The Aymares, an extensive nation, consisting of many tribes, who spoke a language different from the Quichua, were also among the subjects of the Incas. They are spread over Charcas, the ancient diocese de la Paz, to the southward of Cusco, and westward of the Andes. Their language, the Aymara, in which several works have been composed by missionaries, bears some analogies to the Quichua, which Hervas and Vater suppose it to have derived from their long intercourse with the race of Cusco. In other parts of Peru the Puquina and the Mochica languages prevail, which Hervas pronounces to be entirely different from all others, and which, therefore, ought to be considered as the idioms of distinct races of men.‡

¶ 2. *Physical Characters of the Peruvians.*

"The native people of the coast of Peru," as we are informed by a late English traveller,§ "are of a copper-colour, with a small forehead, the hair

* Hervas, Catalog. p. 54. Vater. Mithridat. iii. p. 521.

† Vater, ibid. ‡ Hervas, pp. 55, 56.

§ Narrative of a Twenty Years Residence in South America, by W. B. Stevenson. Vol. i. p. 376.

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growing on each side, from the extremities of the eyebrows; they have small, black eyes; small noses, the nostrils not protruding like those of the Africans; a moderately sized mouth, with beautiful teeth; beardless chin, except in old age, and a round face. Their hair is black, coarse, and sleek, without any inclination; the body is well-proportioned, and the limbs well-turned, and they have small feet. Their stature is rather diminutive, but they are inclined to corpulency, when they become inactive, and it is a common saying that a jolly person is *tan gordo como un cacique*." The same writer adds, that in colder climates, although in the same latitude, the complexion of these Indians is lighter.

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CHAPTER X.

Nations in the Northern Region of South America, viz. in the Countries Northward of the Maragnon.†

SECTION I.

Of the Countries in the Interior, and of their Inhabitants.

I SHALL begin the survey of this region from the country behind Quito, and proceed towards the east, and the sea-coast of the Caraccas, and the Lower Orinoco.

Hervas has given the names of one hundred and seventeen languages, said to have been spoken formerly in Quito and the six adjacent governments. Among these is the language of the Quitus, who gave their name to the country. According to their tradition they were conquered at first by the Sciri, a maritime people who spoke a corrupt dialect of the Quichua, and afterwards by the Incas, who introduced that language into the whole of Quito.* Whether these one hundred and seventeen languages were entirely distinct from each other, or differed as dialects, it is impossible to determine.†

Hervas has also a catalogue of the languages formerly, and at present spoken, in the govern-

* Mithridat. iii. p. 583. Hervas, 58.

† Hervas, *ubi supra*, pp. 67, 68.

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ment of the Mainas, and of the Maragnon, eastward of Quito, by nations situated between the sixth and ninth degrees of south latitude.* In this enumeration are sixteen languages, termed "Lingue Matrici," which are divided into not less than sixty-three idioms, regarded as merely dialects.†

In the countries still further to the eastward, and lying to the northward of the river of Amazons, near the upper Orinoco and the Rio Negro, there are several nations of kindred origin, who form a numerous and extensive family. Of these the Maypures are, perhaps, the most considerable. Some tribes of this family reach almost to the mouth of the Orinoco, and are said formerly to have occupied the country since conquered by the Caraibs. These nations are reported to be cannibals. Vater has given an account of them from Gilii, and he has shown a degree of affinity between their language and that of the Moxos, before mentioned, to the southward of the Maragnon: it has, likewise, coincidences with the Tamanac, and thus seems to connect some of the in-

* Hervas says, "Il regno di Quito presenta un vero caos di lingue e di nazioni differenti." He gives an account of them, derived from the information of Abbot Don John de Velasco, and other missionaries. Catalog. p. 60.

† To this list he has added sixteen languages styled distinct, because the missionaries have not yet discovered any affinities among them; twenty-two extinct languages, and ten, of which the names only are given; these are termed unknown. Catalog. p. 62.

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terior nations with the northern ones. Further northward are the Salivi, an agricultural nation, of whom the Quaqua are supposed to be a tribe. Lower down the Orinoco, are the Yarura, Ottomacs, and several other nations, of whom the names are to be found in the works of Gumilla and Gilii, and in the compilations of Hervas and Vater.

Section II.

Of the Caribbees, Tamanacs, Chaymas, and other Nations of Terra Firma.

¶ 1. *Enumeration of the Tribes.*

The maritime countries in the northern part of South America, to a great distance both northward and southward of the spot where the Orinoco falls into the ocean, are occupied by several nations, whose languages are allied, and which are supposed to belong to one family. The most remarkable and celebrated of these nations are the Caribbees, or Caraibs, who, in the sixteenth century, were found spread over all the shores and islands of America, from the mouth of the river of Amazons, or from the borders of Brazil, to the Orinoco, and the neighbourhood of Porto Rico. The Lesser Antilles received from this nation the name of Caribbean Islands.* The Tamanacs, who belong to the same family, live on the right bank of the Orinoco: they were formerly powerful,

* Mithridates, p. 674.

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but are now reduced to a small number.* The Arawacs live near Surinam and Berbice; on the upper part of the river of the last name they border on the Caribbees.† The Guäraünas inhabit the low islands in the delta of the Orinoco, where they build their houses upon trees.‡ The Guaiquerias inhabit the island of Margarette, and the peninsula of Araya.§ The Cumanagotos live to the west of Cumana, in the mission of Piritoo.‖ The Pariagotos are the inhabitants of the peninsula of Paria. Lastly, the Chayma, a race, whose relations have been discovered by the baron Von Humboldt, live to the westward of the Guäraünas, along the high mountains of the Cocollar, and the Guacharo in the missions of the Arragonese Capuchins of Cumana.¶

The dialects of these nations are said by missionaries who have resided among them to be nearly allied. By the medium of the Tamanac language Gilii found himself able to converse with almost all the tribes of people on the Lower Orinoco. This idiom differs in many respects from the Caribbee, yet Gilii, who was well-informed, terms the Tamanac, plainly, a dialect of the Caribbean language.**

* Von Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. iii. p. 254.

† Quandt's Nachricht von Suriname und seinen einwohnern, u. s. w. cited by Vater. Ibid. p. 666.

‡ Von Humboldt, ibid. p. 277.

§ Ibid. p. 281. ‖ Ibid. p. 283. ¶ Ibid. p. 221.

** Vater has carefully examined the relations of the Tama-

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The Chaymas are inhabitants of a country distant more than one hundred leagues from that of the Tamanacs, and, I believe, that nobody was aware, until the fact was discovered by Von Humboldt, that there is a near connexion between these nations. It has been clearly proved by that celebrated traveller, that the idiom of the Chaymas is a dialect of the Tamanac with very little deviation.*

nac and Caribbean languages. He says, the differences in their grammatical structure are too great to allow of their being set down as strictly cognate dialects, yet he allows the coincidences in the pronouns, and in the vocabularies in general, to be very considerable. The testimony of abbot Gilii, who judged from personal acquaintance and conversation with the natives, is too strong to allow of any doubt that these languages are very nearly allied.

* By the baron Von Humboldt, the Caribbean and Tamanac languages are considered as branches of one family, related to each other, as the German, Persian, and Pelasgic. (Von Humboldt, *ubi supra*, p. 263, &c.) Professor Vater speaks on this point with great caution, and even with indecision. He cannot determine, after considering facts on both sides, whether the Tamanac and Caribee, "Sich bestimmt vereinigen," and whether, "es sich schon jetzt entscheiden liesse, ob jenes zusammentreffen der wörter folge des haüfigen verkehrs, oder folge eines solchen verhältnisses, sey, wie zwischen dem Persischen, Griechischen, und Deutschen statt findet." Surely a casual intercourse between two nations cannot so approximate their languages as to render them intelligible to each other. This would only happen if one nation had lost its own idiom and acquired that of the other. We need to have no hesitation in adopting the opinion of Von Humboldt and Father Gilii, that these languages are all branches of one root.

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The dialects of the other nations mentioned above are associated either with the Tamanac or with the Caribbee, and more generally with the former. The idiom of the insular Caribbees, in the Antilles, differs somewhat from that spoken on the continent, but these tribes are evidently branches of one stock.

¶ 2. *History of this Race.*

A variety of opinions have been maintained respecting the origin of this great family of nations, but that which has been adopted by Vater seems entitled to the greatest attention. The Caribbees of South America have a general persuasion that their ancestors came to the shores of Terra Firma from the Antilles. It seems, indeed, that the insular Caraibs do not consider themselves as aborigines of the islands, but believe that their race came formerly from the continent. Vater supposes this tradition to be well-founded, but that Florida, and not South America, was the country pointed out by it. He says, "the ancestors of all these nations appear, according to an account derived partly from the oral tradition of the Caribbees themselves, and partly from the Apalachians in Florida, to have dwelt originally in the country behind that province. The people of that region, who were formerly termed Cofachi, lived for a long time near the Apalachians, with whom they were sometimes at war, sometimes in alliance. Finally, the greater part of them adopted the cus-

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toms of, and became united to the Apalachians, though still distinguished by the term Caraib, meaning a foreign or valiant people. The remainder of the race passed to the eastern coast, thence to the Bahama Isles, and ultimately to the island of Santa Cruz, then uninhabited, where they fixed their dwelling. This island was the centre of their subsequent conquests and migrations."*

Section III.

Of the Physical Characters of the Nations described in the last Section.

It seems that considerable diversities exist between the nations belonging to this class, though they appear to be of one family. This difference has been traced indeed between the Caribbees of the continent and those of the Antilles, who, by the French, are termed Galibis, though there is the strongest reason to believe these to be tribes of one race. Von Humboldt has remarked, that "the Caribbees, properly so termed, viz. those who inhabit the missions of the Cari, in the Llanos of Cumana, the banks of the Caura, and the plains to the north-east of the sources of the Oroonoko, are distinguished by their almost gigantic size from all the other nations he has seen in the new continent." "Must it," he asks, "on this account be admitted, that the Caribbees are an entirely dis-

* Rochefort's Hist. des Antilles, tom. i. Vater in Mithridates, iii. p. 679.

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tinct race, and that the Guaraons and the Tamanacks, whose languages have an affinity with the Caribbee, have no bond of relationship with them?" He maintains a contrary opinion. "Among the nations of the same family one branch may acquire an extraordinary developement in organization. The mountaineers of the Tyrol, and the Saltzburgh, are taller than the other Germanic races; the Samoyedes of the Altai are not so little and squat as those of the sea-coast. In the same manner, it would be difficult to deny that the Galibis are real Caribbees; and yet, notwithstanding the identity of languages, what a striking difference in their stature and physical constitution!"

The same writer has given us a more particular account of the Chaymas, who are a people less known than the Caribbees. He describes their countenances and features as follows. "The countenance of the Chaymas, without being hard and stern, has something sedate and gloomy; the forehead is small and but little prominent. Thus, in several languages of these countries, to express the beauty of a woman they say, "that she is fat and has a narrow forehead." The eyes of the Chaymas are black, sunk, and very long; but they are neither so obliquely placed, nor so small as in the people of the Mongul race. The corner of the eye is, however, sensibly raised up towards the temples, the eyebrows are black, or dark brown, slender, and little arched; the eyelids are furnished with very long eyelashes, and the habi

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of casting them down, as if they were lowered by lassitude, softens the look of the women, and makes the eye, thus veiled, appear less than it really is. If the Chaymas, and in general, all the nations of South America and New Spain, resemble the Mongul race by the form of the eye, their high cheek-bones, their straight and flat hair, and the almost entire want of beard; they essentially differ from them in the form of the nose, which is pretty long, prominent throughout its whole length, and thick towards the nostrils, the openings of which are directed downwards, as with all the nations of Caucasian race. Their wide mouth, with lips but little protuberant, though broad, has often an expression of good nature. The passage from the nose to the mouth is marked, in both sexes, by two furrows, which run diverging from the nostrils towards the corners of the mouth. The chin is extremely short and round, and the jaws are remarkable for their strength and width."

"Though the Chaymas have fine white teeth, like all people who lead a very simple life, they are however not so strong as those of the Negroes."

Their figure and stature differ from those of the Caribbees. "The Chaymas," says the same writer, "are in general short, and they appear so particularly, when compared, I shall not say with their neighbours the Caribbees, or with the Payaguas, but with the ordinary natives of America. The common stature of a Chayma is nearly five feet, two inches, their body is thick-set, shoulders

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extremely broad, and breast flat. All their limbs are round and fleshy."*

"The Chaymas, like almost all the native tribes I have seen, have small, slender hands. Their feet are large, and their toes retain an extraordinary mobility. All the Chaymas have a family look; and this analogy of form, so often observed by travellers, is so much the more striking, as between the years of twenty and fifty difference of age is no way denoted by wrinkles of the skin, the colour of the hair, or decrepitude of the body. On entering a hut, it is often difficult, among adult persons, to distinguish the father from the son, and not to confound one generation with another."

We are informed by the same author, that the complexion of the Chaymas is the same as that of the other American tribes who are nearly in the same latitude. This colour prevails, according to Von Humboldt, "from the cold table-lands of Quito and New Grenada, to the burning plains of the Amazons." It is not a copper-colour. "The denomination of *rouge-couvrés*, or copper-coloured, could never have originated in equinoctial America, in the description of the native inhabitants." The colour of the Chaymas, and other tribes of this region, is, "*a dark brown inclining towards tawny.*" "The eyes are black; the eyebrows black, or of a dark brown."†

Such is the general hue, but we learn from the same writer, that it is not universal. Some de-

* P. 222. † P. 223.

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viations occur, and a lighter colour displays itself. He says that at Esmeralda, near the sources of the river Orinoco, consequently in a very elevated region, Mr. Bonpland and himself saw Indians of a less tawny colour, but still with black hair.* He remarks also, that the old accounts of the earliest voyagers to these regions, represent some of the inhabitants, as those of Paria, to be of a much fairer colour than that now prevalent among the generality of the inhabitants. The climate of Paria, as we learn from him, is remarkable for the great coolness of the mornings. The inhabitants of Paria, according to Ferdinand Columbus, "were better made, more civilized, and whiter than the people whom the discoverer of America had till then seen." But many other writers are more particular in their account. Von Humboldt has collected the passages from these authors, although he doubts of their accuracy. They have, however, in favour of their truth, the advantage of numbers, with the common marks of correctness, an uniform testimony, and a minute and circumstantial statement. If we may believe these writers, the old inhabitants of Paria were clothed, though the races now existing on the coast are naked; they were nearly white, when not exposed to the sun's rays, and had long flowing hair, of a yellow, or auburn colour."†

* P. 287.

† Pariæ incolæ albi, capillis, oblongis, protensis, flavis." "Utriusque sexûs indigenæ albi velut nostrates, præter eos qui sub sole versantur." Peter Martyr. Gomara and Garcia are

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These assertions would be, indeed, hardly credible, if we had not other facts very analogous both in North and in South America.

cited nearly to the same effect by Von Humboldt. Personal Travels, vol. iii. p. 288. English Trans.

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CHAPTER XI.

Concluding Remarks on the Physical Characters of the American Nations.

We have now surveyed the principal families of nations in the New World, in a summary manner, and in some instances too briefly to allow of a full statement of all the facts which are important in respect to their history; but most of our readers will perhaps think that enough has been said on this subject.

Those who have followed the outline we have traced, will have perceived many facts in confirmation of the remark offered at the outset, respecting the striking resemblance of character which the nations of this continent display. For a further illustration of this remark, I must refer to those writers who have been best acquainted with the American nations, and who have described the habits and moral characters of particular tribes. A striking analogy will be found in the descriptions of the nations of Paraguay by Azzara, of those of Chili by Molina, of the tribes on the Orellana by La Condamine, the Indians of New Spain by Von Humboldt, and in the accounts which many writers already named have given of the different races of North America.

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This general analogy does not, however, preclude the existence of particular varieties of character.

It is, however, with the physical history of these nations that we are chiefly concerned, and on this subject it must be remarked, that notwithstanding a general resemblance, which the different races of native Americans certainly bear to each other, there are yet striking varieties of complexion and figure in particular tribes. There are, among the original inhabitants of the New Continent, races of a white colour, of which we have noticed many examples: some of these, both in North and in South America, appear to be of fair and florid complexion, like the people of Northern Europe. There are even many instances of the sanguine constitution, or of the phænomena peculiar to the xanthous variety of our species, which therefore springs up in America as in other regions. There are also in America tribes of a very dark colour, nearly approaching to the blackness of the African Negroes, and who in their general aspect are said, by the travellers whom we have cited, to resemble that stock of people. But the red, or coppery complexion, which also frequently displays itself in Africa, is more prevalent in America than in any other part of the world.

If we inquire into the relation which these varieties of complexion bear to latitude, and to the temperature of countries, it will appear that this relation is similar to that which we have traced

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in other parts of the world. It is not a constant or uniform relation, but still it is considerable, and not to be overlooked. The nations of lightest colour are generally towards the north and south. Among the white nations towards the north, are the Esquimaux, the Koluschian race, and others in the same region. Again, to the southward of the Rio de la Plata and the meridian of Buenos Ayres, the native races are of lighter colour than towards the tropic of Capricorn. The black races are in low maritime countries; as in California, and near the rivers Paraguay and Uruguay in the extremity of that part of South America cut off by these rivers, whither the native people may be supposed to have been driven by the tribes who are behind them from the Brazilian coast. Lastly, as in other parts of the world, the xanthous variety shows itself either in high mountainous tracts, as in the instances mentioned both in Paraguay and in Chili, and in those which were remarked in North America, among the inhabitants of the Rocky Mountains; or this variety makes its appearance in a high latitude, as among the Esquimaux.

It must however be allowed, that there are many instances of people of darker colour inhabiting cold climates; and if we were to conjecture on the effects which climate and local situation are capable of producing on the colour of the human species from the facts discovered in America alone, we should be inclined to the opinion that certain

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temperatures and localities occasionally give origin to particular varieties, but that the phænomena of colour and organization, which have once taken root in a particular tribe of men, often continue to be transmitted by the race, though existing under different circumstances from those which first gave occasion to their appearance.

In respect to figure there is more uniformity among the American races than in other departments of our species, yet even here great varieties exist. Many instances of this fact have been mentioned, and when we consider that very few of the American races have been correctly described, as to their form and the configuration of their skulls, it seems probable that greater and more numerous examples will hereafter be discovered.

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BOOK IX.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE CAUSES WHICH HAVE PRODUCED VARIETIES IN THE HUMAN SPECIES, WITH REMARKS ON THE ORIGIN OF NATIONS AND ON THE DIVERSITY OF LANGUAGES.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Causes which have given rise to Varieties in the Human Species.

SECTION I.

General View of the Subject—Opinion of Strabo—Pliny—Of Buffon, and other Modern Writers.

IN the foregoing pages we have surveyed, as fully as it seems necessary, the phænomena of variation which display themselves in the different races of men, and it now remains for us to inquire into the causes from which these varieties have taken their rise. It would be fruitless, in the present state of physiology, to seek for a complete explanation of these phænomena. The origin of the varieties in the breed is enveloped in the same obscurity which still hangs over every question relating to the theory of propagation. Some general notions of the circumstances connected with these appear-

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ances, as far as they lie within the reach of our observation, are all that we can hope to obtain.

A very general opinion respecting the varieties of mankind is, that they depend, especially the diversities of colour, almost entirely on climate and the influence of the sun's rays in darkening the complexion. This notion originated with the Greeks, who entertained a very exaggerated idea of the degree of heat in the torrid zone, and fancied it sufficient to burn up and destroy all animal and vegetable productions. Hence it was natural for them, looking upon themselves as the original type of the human race, to attribute the dark complexion of the Ethiopian and the Indian, and the crisp texture of the hair in some African nations, to the intense heat of the sun in those countries that are situated near the equator. We findthis opinion expressed thus by Theodectes:

"ἧς ἀγχιτέρμων ἥλιος διφρηλατῶν,
σκοτεινὸν ἄνθος ἐξέχρωσε λιγνύος
εἰς σώματ' ἀνδρῶν, καὶ συνέστρεψεν κόμας,
μορφαῖς ἀναυξητῆσι συντήξας πυρός."

The ancient historians and geographers held the same notion in general, with little variation; among whom were Herodotus, Posidonius, and Strabo. Pliny has delivered it in very precise terms. "Æthiopes vicini sideris vapore torreri, adustisque similes gigni, barbâ et capillo vibrato, non est dubium." Tibullus has mentioned the Indians with a similar expression:

"Illi sint comites fusci quos India torret,
Solis et admotis inficit ignis equis."

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Modern writers have adopted the sentiments of the ancients on this matter. The count de Buffon has brought together, in his natural history of man, a large collection of facts, from the descriptions furnished by travellers of the physical characters of different nations, and from these he has drawn the following inferences, which I shall copy in his own words.

"La chaleur du climat est la principale cause de la couleur noire; lorsque cette chaleur est excessive, comme au Sénégal et en Guinée, les hommes sont tout-à-fait noirs; lorsqu'elle est un peu moins forte, comme sur les côtes orientales de l'Afrique, les hommes sont moins noirs; lorsqu'elle commence à devenir un peu plus temperée, comme en Barbarie, au Mogol, en Arabie, &c., les hommes ne sont que bruns; et enfin, lorsqu'elle est tout à fait tempérée, comme en Europe et en Asie, les hommes sont blancs: on y remarque seulement quelques variétés, qui ne viennent que de la manière de vivre; par exemple tous les Tartares sont basanés, tandis que les peuples d'Europe qui sont sous la même latitude sont blancs; on doit, ce me semble, attribuer cette difference à ce que les Tartares sont toujours exposés à l'air, qu'ils n'ont ni villes ni demeures fixes, qu'ils couchent sur la terre, qu'ils vivent d'une manière dure et sauvage: cela seul suffit pour qu'ils soient moins blancs que les peuples de l'Europe, auxquels il ne manque rien de tout ce qui peut rendre la vie douce: pourquoi les Chinois sont ils plus blancs que les Tartares,

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auxquels ils ressemblent d'ailleurs par tous les traits du visage? c'est parcequ'ils habitent dans les villes, parcequ'ils sont policés, parcequ'ils ont tous les moyens de se garantir des injures de l'air, et de la terre, et que les Tartares y sont perpetuellement exposés."

A late writer of great ingenuity and good sense, Dr. Smith, of New Jersey, has come to a similar conclusion.

"In tracing the globe," he says, "from the pole to the equator, we observe a gradation in the complexion, nearly in proportion to the latitude of the country. Immediately below the arctic circle a high and sanguine colour prevails; from this you descend to the mixture of red and white: afterwards succeed the brown, the olive, the tawny, and at length the black as you proceed to the line. The same distance from the sun, however, does not, in every region, indicate the same temperature of climate. Some secondary causes must be taken into consideration, as correcting and limiting its influence. The elevation of the land, its vicinity to the sea, the nature of the soil, the state of cultivation, the course of winds, and many other circumstances enter into this view. Elevated and mountainous countries are cool, in proportion to their altitude above the level of the sea." "Our experience verifies the power of climate on the complexion. The heat of summer darkens the skin." "Even in our climate the skin, when first exposed to the solar rays, is inflamed into blis-

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ters." "The face, or the hand, exposed uncovered during an entire summer, contracts a colour of the darkest brown. In a torrid climate, where the inhabitants are naked, the colour will be as much deeper as the ardour of the sun is both more constant and more intense."*

It must be allowed that the principal observations on which these writers have founded the opinion they maintain, is correct. It is certain that the majority of black races of men are inhabitants of the intertropical regions, and that most of the light-coloured nations, perhaps all the fairest tribes of mankind, are to be found in cold or temperate climates. But this fact, which will again come under our notice, admits of a different explanation from that which modern writers have in general adopted. Of this subject we shall attempt some further elucidation, after estimating the merits of the theory maintained by the authors above mentioned.

Exposure to the rays of the sun is known to deepen the complexion; yet this cause appears, to some writers, hardly sufficient to impart so dark a hue as that of the Negro. Another agent has been brought in to help it out, and this is, the influence which the heat of a tropical, or often of an autumnal climate, exercises upon the secretion of bile. Dr. Smith is of opinion that, "the principle of colour is not to be derived solely from

* Rev. Dr. S. S. Smith of New Jersey, on the Complexion and Figure of the Human Species.

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the action of the sun upon the skin." "Heat produces relaxation"—"the bile in consequence is augmented, and shed through the whole mass of the body. This liquor tinges the complexion of a yellow colour, which assumes by time a darker hue."—"Bile, exposed to the sun and air, is known to change its colour to black—black is, therefore, the tropical hue."

Professor Blumenbach, by whom the natural history of mankind has been so long studied, and to whom the world is indebted more than to any other individual, living or dead, for information on this subject, has speculated in a similar manner on the cause of a black complexion, and its connexion with the secretion of bile. He considers the dark hue of the skin, in the Negro, to depend on an abundance of carbon, secreted by the skin with hydrogen, and precipitated and fixed in the rete mucosum, by contact with the atmospheric oxygen. Carbonaceous matter, according to him, abounds in the atrabilious temperament; a sympathy in action exists between the liver and the vessels of the skin: the secretion of the hepatic vessels being augmented by heat, the secretion of carbon in the skin is also increased. This unnatural state of the biliary secretion is transmitted to successive generations. Such, according to Blumenbach, is the peculiarity of the Negro.

It is difficult to believe that all black people labour under an inveterate hereditary jaundice,

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which has subsisted so long that they have lost all consciousness of their distempered state. Negroes, as it is well known, have bile of the same colour, and nearly in the same quantity as other men; and it is an undoubted fact, that they are more exempt than other races from the morbific influence of hot climates, which, in Europeans, often give rise to disease of the liver or of its functions.

This hypothesis, which refers the dark colour of the skin to a state of the liver, or the biliary secretion, appears to be without foundation, but the idea adopted by Buffon requires some further scrutiny. It is a matter of common observation, that the skin, even of the fairest European, is very much darkened by exposure to the heat of the sun. Light is the principle which imparts colour, and, in torrid climates, many animals, as well as plants, have vivid hues. Our rustics, and especially seafaring people, acquire a colour very different from the complexion of females, who are constantly protected from the influence of the weather, and this effect is much greater in hotter countries. It seems, at first, not very improbable, that individuals, darkened by exposure to heat in southern climates, may have an offspring of deeper colour in consequence, and if this effect increases in every generation, it may be thought sufficient, in a long course of ages, to produce a black colour of the deepest tint.

That this notion, however, is altogether incor-

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rect I venture to conclude from the following considerations.

1. The progeny of individuals, embrowned by exposure to the sun, is born with the original complexion, and not with the acquired hue of the parents; and it seems to be a fact that white races of men, when removed from a cold climate to a hot one, do not become uniformly of darker hue, but have often retained, during a long course of years, even for ages, their original colour: black families, on the other hand, have remained for many generations equally black, when removed into more temperate countries, with their African progenitors.

2. The supposition is contrary to a general law of the animal economy, according to which, acquired varieties are not transmitted from parents to their offspring, but terminate in the generation in which they have taken their rise.

To the further elucidation of each of these remarks, I shall allot a particular section.

SECTION II.

Instances shewing the Permanency of Complexion in different Races.

MANY instances have been cited, in which it has been said, that the offspring of persons who have removed from a hot to a cold climate, or in a contrary direction, have undergone, in the course of ages, a complete change of complexion, from white to black, or from black to white; but many of

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these facts admit of a different explanation, and the change has depended on a mixture of breed. On the other hand it is easy to find examples of an opposite tendency, and to shew that the original hue has been preserved under the supposed circumstances.

The descendants of European colonists who settled in the West Indies, in South America, and in India, many ages ago, are still born white.

Mr. Long, in his history of Jamaica, affirms, that children, born in England, have not in general fairer or more transparent skins, than the offspring of white parents in Jamaica.*

"At the time of the grand rebellion, 140 years ago, many families went from England to Jamaica, whose descendants are said to be still as white as Europeans."†

The author I have last quoted affirms, on good authority, that families of Spanish origin in South America, who have avoided intermarriages with people of Indian, or of mixed race, remain as fair as their European ancestors. That this assertion is correct, I am convinced by the result of repeated inquiries.

* Mr. Long says, the number of mulatto, and other children of mixed breed, sent over for education to England, has given rise to the opinion that the children born in Jamaica of white parents are swarthy. "But the genuine English breed, untainted with these heterogeneous mixtures, is observed to be equally pure and delicate in Jamaica as in the mother country." Hist. of Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 274.

† White on the Gradation of the Human Species.

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In the East we find some instances of much more early colonization by people of white races, from the history of which similar results may be collected.

The Nevayets, or Moslem settlers in Concan, furnish an example of this kind. These people migrated from Irak to the western coast of the Indian peninsula, in the first century of the Hejira. They systematically avoided intermarriages with the natives, even with Mohamedan families, for many centuries after their establishment in the Deccan. "Consequently they have preserved their complexion, and there are even now some Nevayets, whose countenances approach the European freshness."*

We are informed by Dr. Claudius Buchanan, that there are among the Jews at Cochin, on the coast of Malabar, two descriptions of people, who are termed the white or Jerusalem Jews, and the black Jews. The former have kept their race distinct. It appears by their records, which were considered by Dr. Buchanan to be authentic, that they migrated to India soon after the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem by Titus, and that they afterwards obtained grants of territory and privileges, of which they have documents bearing date in the year A. M. 4250, or A. D. 490. These people are said to resemble the European Jews in features and in complexion. The black Jews are a mixed race, descended in great part from the

* Major Wilks's History of the Mysore, vol. i.

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natives of the country whom they resemble in physical characters.*

Dr. Francis Buchanan has mentioned a tribe of Nazarenes, or Syrian Christians, whom he visited on the Malabar coast. "Their Papa," he says, "though his family had been settled in the country for many generations, was very fair, with high Jewish features. The greater part of his flock resembled the aborigines of the country from whom indeed they were descended."†

These are some of the least ambiguous instances in which it appears that a white race has resided for ages in a tropical, or very hot climate, without acquiring a dark complexion. We cannot furnish any examples in which it may be said that the experiment of transplanting black races into northern climates has been tried during so long a period. But it is certain that several generations have produced little or no alteration in the complexion of Negroes in the United States and in other temperate climates, where black slaves or free Negroes are to be found, although the features and hair of such persons are said to differ considerably from those of native Africans. I have indeed been assured repeatedly by West Indians and Americans, with whom I have conversed on this subject, that the domestic Negroes who are protected from the heat of the sun by more clothing, and who pass their time in sheltered houses,

* Christian Researches in Asia.

† Dr. F. Buchanan's Journey through the Deccan.

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are of a darker complexion than the slaves who labour half naked in the fields. The better a Negro is fed and clothed, and the more healthy he is, the darker is the colour of his skin.

Section III.

Laws of the Animal Economy in regard to the Hereditary Transmission of peculiarities of Structure.

It has often been a question among physiological writers, what peculiarities of structure are liable to be transmitted by parents to their offspring, and what terminate with the individual without affecting the race. Perhaps the following remark may afford the solution of this inquiry.

It appears to be a general fact, that all connate varieties of structure, or peculiarities which are congenital, or which form a part of the natural constitution impressed on an individual from his birth, or rather from the commencement of his organization, whether they happen to descend to him from a long inheritance, or to spring up for the first time in his own person—for this is perhaps altogether indifferent—are apt to re-appear in his offspring. It may be said in other words, that the organization of the offspring is always modelled according to the type of the original structure of the parent.

On the other hand, changes produced by external causes in the appearance or constitution of the individual are temporary, and, in general, acquired characters are transient; they terminate with the

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individual, and have no influence on the progeny.*

I shall endeavour to illustrate each of these positions by reference to facts.

The first proposition is, that all original or connate peculiarities of body are hereditary. I have already mentioned incidentally, in a former part of this work, several singular facts which might be cited as proofs of this opinion, particularly the instance of the porcupine family, in which a remarkable peculiarity of the skin was transmitted through three successive generations, and may probably yet be propagated for ages; as well as a variety of other facts referring to the hereditary nature of complexion, which itself depends on minute peculiarities of structure. I shall here add a few other examples.

The growth of supernumerary fingers or toes, and corresponding deficiencies, are of this description. Maupertuis has mentioned this phænomenon; he assures us that there were two families in Germany, who have been distinguished for several generations by six fingers on each hand, and the same number of toes on each foot. Jacob Ruhe, a surgeon of Berlin, was of one of these families, and marked by their peculiarities, which he inherited from his mother, and grandmother. His mother had been married to a man of the ordinary

* This distinction, which has not been pointed out by any former writer on physiological subjects, was first suggested to me in conversation many years ago by Mr. Benjamin Grainger, of Derby.

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make. She bore eight children, of whom four resembled the father, and the other four partook of the mother's peculiarity. Jacob Ruhe transmitted his supernumerary members to his posterity.

Reaumur mentions a family which had a similar peculiarity. The grandfather had a supernumerary finger on each hand, and an additional toe on each foot. His eldest son had three children with the same peculiarity. The second, who had the usual number of fingers, but in whom the thumb was very thick, and appeared as if composed of two united together, had three daughters with the supernumerary members; the third had the natural structure; a daughter with a very thick thumb brought forth a son with the additional finger.*

Mr. Carlisle has given an account of a family, in which the supernumerary toes and fingers were transmitted through four generations. The first instance was a female, who had six fingers on each

* This variety has frequently occurred. Instances are recorded among the ancients. Pliny says, "Digiti quibusdam in manibus seni. C. Horatii ex patriciâ gente filias duas ob id sedigitas appellatas accepimus, et Volcatium sedigitum illustrem in Poetica."

The six fingered variety springs up sometimes among the Negroes in the West India islands and the American states. Dr. Gibson, author of an inaugural dissertation, in which are many curious and original observations, says, that he has met with such instances. In all the examples which occurred to his notice, except one, the little finger and toe were redundant. In one case a thumb and great toe were supernumerary.

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hand, and six toes on each foot. She had ten children like herself, and an eleventh, who only differed from her in having one hand naturally formed.*

The following phænomenon is perhaps more curious than any of the foregoing. In a family at Iver, the individuals for nine generations had perfect thumbs, but instead of fingers, had only the first phalanx of each, and the first and second of the ring finger of the left hand, these rudiments of fingers having no nails. This is said to be the description of the whole family, as it had been with slight variations that of nine numerous generations. It is added that it was the women only who had the misfortune of entailing this defect upon their offspring, which they did almost uniformly.†

Perhaps the most permanent peculiarity recorded, is a singular thickness of the upper lip, in the Imperial house of Austria. This peculiarity is believed to have been introduced into the Hapsburg family, many centuries ago, if I am not mistaken, by an intermarriage with the ancient house of Jagellon.‡

It is well known to medical practitioners, that the same observation equally applies to those minute varieties of organization, which give rise to peculiarities of habit or temperament, and predis-

* Philos. Transact. 1814.

† This account is taken from the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, vol. iv. p. 252.

‡ Coxe's Memoirs of the House of Austria.

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pose to a variety of morbid affections, as deafness, scrofulous complaints, and the whole catalogue of disorders in the nervous system. Even those singular peculiarities termed idiosyncrasies are often hereditary, as in the instance of a remarkable susceptibility of the action of particular medicines, such as mercury.

2. The second observation I have proposed to consider in this section, that acquired peculiarities, or characters impressed by adventitious circumstances, and not arising in the spontaneous developement of the bodily structure, are never transmitted to the progeny, is more difficult to establish than the foregoing fact, since the proofs must needs be of a negative kind. But there is no want of evidence of this description. It seems to be the law of the animal economy, that the organization of the offspring, which as we have seen follows the type given by the natural and original structure of the parent, is unaffected by any change the latter may have undergone, and uninfluenced by any new state it may have acquired.

A contrary opinion indeed has been maintained by some writers, and a variety of singular facts have been related in support of it. We have been told, for example, that dogs and cats, the tails of which had been cut off, sometimes produce young ones which have a natural defect of the same part. It is taken for granted that these appearances are connected together in the relation of cause and effect, and therefore afford a proof that acquired peculiarities are hereditary.

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It appears to me more reasonable to attribute defects of this nature to accidental occurrence, than to allow that they form an exception to a law, which certainly prevails in general, under the very same circumstances in which it is here supposed to be transgressed. Individuals are occasionally produced in every species, sometimes with a natural mutilation or defect of some member, at others with an excessive growth. We witness such examples almost daily in the human race, and similar instances occur as often in the lower tribes. On the other hand, experience is directly against the supposition that an amputation, or any accidental loss of a limb, can produce an effect on the offspring. An infinite number of experiments are performed every day which establish this result. Our horses and other domestic animals are continually mutilated in their ears and tails, from our caprice. What a surprising alteration would have taken place, long ago, in the appearance of all the domesticated races, if all these changes were hereditary! Mankind themselves would exhibit phænomena still more remarkable. In every country where surgery has arrived at any degree of perfection, we should meet with whole families of maimed people.

Those writers who have contended against the universality of this law, seem to have derived their opinion rather from some conjectural theory of generation, than from any facts which have appeared well established. But our knowledge of

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the processes adopted by nature in the re-production of species, is so slender, that we are not authorized to reason from any hypothesis on this subject. We know not by what means any of the facts we remark are effected, and the utmost we can hope to attain is, by tracing the connexion of circumstances, to learn from what combinations of them we may expect to witness particular results. In the present instance we form our conclusions with so abundant a range of experiments before us, that we are entitled to place a considerable degree of confidence in the inferences.

It has been said, that after any mutilation or other artificial change has been repeated through many generations, a sort of habit may be acquired, by which the new state becomes as it were natural, and may thus modify the race. But habit can have no place where the violence committed, and the injury suffered in every successive generation, is not less than it was in the first instance. If, however, an experiment be wanting to prove that repetition effects no difference in the results; we have one in the Jews, and perhaps in other nations, who have practised circumcision invariably during some thousands of years, and in whom nevertheless, the artificial state has not been adopted by nature.

The utility of this provision in the animal economy, is very obvious, and hence, as we learn from observation, that all the laws of nature, or the ge-

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neral plans which we trace through the organized world, tend uniformly to produce beneficial effects, though *particular* evils are sometimes *contingent* upon their operation, we may derive from analogy an argument which strengthens the experimental proof. If no such law as this prevailed, the evils of all past ages would have been perpetuated, and the human race would, in every succeeding generation, exhibit more abundant appearances of accumulated misery. Every species would have become at this day mutilated and defective, and we should see on all sides men and animals destitute of eyes, noses, legs, and every separable portion of their bodies. The whole creation, which now, on a comprehensive view, displays a spectacle of beauty and physical happiness, would present to our eyes a picture of universal decrepitude and hideous deformity.

We cannot discern any essential circumstance, in which changes produced by art, or by casual injury, differ from those which are effected by other external causes. We should therefore suppose from analogy that the latter are not more communicable to posterity than the former, and this presumption is confirmed when we inquire into facts.

Thus we know that those changes which are produced in the constitution by the application of certain morbid poisons, as the contagion of small-pox, measles, scarlatina, hooping-cough, and which render those who have undergone such disorders,

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incapable of being affected by the same maladies, are never hereditary. I shall not attempt to conjecture in what this altered condition of the body consists; but it is evidently a permanent state of the constitution, which lasts as long as the individual. Yet these acquired peculiarities are not communicated to the offspring, for we find that the children are born with the original constitutions and predispositions of their parents. These cases appear to be analogous to the phænomena attending changes of structure produced by external injuries. Those imperceptible modifications in the bodily structure which render the constitution incapable of being acted upon by certain morbid poisons are governed by the same law, as far as regards hereditary descent, as the observable changes of form which are induced by art or accident.

We may remark in general that each individual being, through the animal and vegetable worlds, has certain laws of organization impressed upon its original germ; according to which the future developement of its structure is destined to take place. These inbred or spontaneous tendencies, governing the future evolution of the bodily fabric, cause it to assume certain qualities of form and texture at different periods of growth. From these predispositions are derived the characteristic differences, and the peculiarities of individual beings. Now it appears that such spontaneous tendencies are alone hereditary, and that whatever

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changes of organization are superinduced by external circumstances, and are foreign to the character of structure impressed upon the original stamina, cease with the individual, and have no influence on the race.

Yet this law of hereditary conformation exists with a certain latitude or sphere of variety, but whatever varieties are produced in the race, have their beginning in the original structure of some particular ovum or germ, and not in any qualities superinduced by external causes in the progress of its developement.

The phænomena of predisposition to diseases may be supposed to be adverse to the universal prevalence of this law. But on closer investigation they will appear rather to confirm it.

It has been supposed by medical writers, and the notion has been generally received, that any morbid predisposition may be formed in almost any constitution, if it be subjected to a certain train of predisponent causes; that what is called the gouty diathesis, for example, may be acquired by long habits of intemperance, and transmitted to posterity; that the remote causes of other diseases render the offspring of persons subjected to their influence obnoxious to various distempers, and thus it is said that the children of dissolute parents suffer punishment for the vices of their progenitors. If this opinion be correct, we have a clear proof of the hereditary nature of acquired states of the constitution.

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On this subject we may remark in the first place, that the remote as well as the exciting causes of diseases require, in order that any particular train of distempers may ensue, a preparation, laid in the first place by nature, in the original stamina and habit of the body.

That this statement is the true one we may be convinced from the following consideration. The series of hurtful causes, which are said to produce the predisposition to one disease, are often the very same that are imagined to lay the foundation for another set of morbid phænomena, altogether distinct. The same course of intemperate living and of excesses of various kinds, is commonly said to bring on, in one person, a predisposition to gout, in another to diseases of the liver, or of the stomach, or of the brain. Now, since the difference is not in the external causes, it must be in the natural peculiarities of the constitutions on which they act. These, therefore, are previously fitted by original organization to take on them one form of morbid affection rather than another. It is then clear that the predisposition is laid by natural or congenital structure, in the first instance. Every individual is probably weaker in some particular organ, or in some part of his constitution, than in others; and this naturally and previously to the action of any hurtful powers. If he avoids the exciting causes of disease, he may escape, but if these are applied, his natural weakness shows itself. The same defect being a part of the original

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bodily structure, is common to a family. The first individual who exposes himself to the morbid causes, first betrays the peculiar defect of the race, and is thus erroneously supposed to lay the foundation for it.

Syphilis appears, indeed, to furnish a sort of exception to this observation, for in that instance, the disease itself affects the offspring. But hereditary syphilis is, I believe, only known to occur when the mother has been labouring under this malady during the interval between the conception and birth of the child. It must be supposed that the fœtus in utero becomes contaminated with the poison. The child in this case may be considered as having taken the disease by a peculiar mode of infection, rather than as deriving it from hereditary resemblance of constitution. This is evidently a phænomenon of a very different kind from the similarity of structure which the laws of nature have ordained between parents and their offspring.

If the foregoing arguments are stated in a manner sufficiently clear and explicit to convey their full force, they will, I believe, authorize the inference, that the phænomena of predisposition to diseases, rather confirms than invalidates the general observations before laid down, and we may be allowed to conclude, that no acquired varieties of constitution become hereditary, or in any manner affect the race.

The preservation of the natural complexion of white races of men, who reside in hot climates,

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and are continually acquiring a darker hue, is a fact analogous to those which we have lately mentioned, and conformable to the general law. The adventitious colour has no influence on the offspring.

If there be any truth in the preceding remarks, we must not, when inquiring into the nature of the varieties in the human complexion and figure, direct our attention to the class of external powers which produce changes on individuals in their own persons, but to those more important causes, which acting on the parents, so influence them that they produce an offspring endowed with certain peculiar characters, which characters, according to the law of nature, become hereditary, and thus modify the race.

SECTION IV.

Theory of the Origin of Varieties.

VARIETIES of form or colour, as they spring up in any race, are commonly called accidental, a term only expressive of our ignorance as to the causes which give rise to them. It cannot be doubted that every phænomenon has its determinate cause, and that each peculiar circumstance in the result is determined by a corresponding modification in the antecedents.

How, by what influence, and *in what manner*, the antecedent circumstances affect in any instance the parents, so as to give rise to the production of some new appearance in their offspring, we

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shall perhaps never be able to ascertain; but an extensive and correct observation of the antecedent and consequent phænomena, may inform us what particular circumstances are in fact connected with these appearances in the relation of cause and effect.

That varieties do in fact originate, or spring up entirely anew, no doubt can be entertained. These appearances cannot all have descended in each tribe from the first ancestors. It is indeed very easy to find actual examples of the first rise of such peculiarities. The porcupine and six fingered families before-mentioned, are instances of this kind. The appearance of Albinos, and of varieties of colour, belongs to the same class of phænomena. A singular variety of sheep has appeared within a few years in New England, which furnishes an example of the origination of a variety in form. The first ancestor of this breed was a male lamb, produced by an ewe of the common description. This lamb was of singular structure, and his offspring in many instances had the same characters with himself. These were shortness of the limbs, and greater length of the body, in proportion; whence this race of animals has been termed the otter breed. The joints also were longer, and their fore legs crooked. It has been found advantageous to propagate this variety, because the animal is unable to jump over fences. The following facts seem conclusive as to the permanency of the breed, and are very remarkable.

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"When both parents are of the otter, or ancon breed, their descendants inherit the peculiar appearance and proportions of form. I have heard but of one questionable case of a contrary nature."

"When an ancon ewe is impregnated by a common ram, the increase resembles, wholly, either the ewe or the ram. The increase of a common ewe, impregnated by an ancon ram, follows entirely the one or the other, without blending any of the distinguishing and essential peculiarities of both.

"Frequent instances have happened where common ewes have had twins by ancon rams, when one exhibited the complete marks and features of the ewe, the other of the ram. The contrast has been rendered singularly striking when one short-legged, and one long-legged lamb, produced at a birth, have been seen sucking the dam at the same time."*

Before I proceed to state my observations, or rather conjectures, on the previous circumstances which gave rise to the appearance of peculiarities in the progeny, I may remark, that in what respects hereditary conformation, it is generally supposed, and apparently with some ground, that the offspring is chiefly determined by the father; that is, when the offspring exhibits no new variety, it follows principally the male parent, though it is

* Thomson's Annals of Philosophy, No. 2. Col. Humphries, on a New Breed of Sheep. Philos. Transact. 1813. Part i.

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liable to partake of the peculiarities of the mother.* Children resemble in feature and constitution both parents, but I think more generally the father. In the breeding of horses and oxen great importance is attached, by experienced propagators, to the male. In sheep it is commonly observed that black rams beget black lambs. In the human species also, the complexion chiefly follows that of the father, and I believe it to be a general fact, that the offspring of a black father and white mother is much darker than the progeny of a white father and a black mother. This may be ascertained by comparing the mulattoes born in this country with those of the West Indies. In the West Indies, the mixed offspring is descended from white men, who cohabit with black women. In England it often happens that black men, who are brought from the West Indies as servants, marry white

* Don Felix de Azzara has made the following observations, confirming the above remark, which furnishes at the same time an example of the origin of a new variety.

" En 1770, il naquit un taureau mocho, ou sans cornes, dont la race s'est très multipliée. Il est bon d'observer que les individus qui proviennent d'un taureau sans cornes sont dans le même cas, quoique la mère en ait, et que si le père a des cornes, les animaux qu'il produit en auront également, quoique la mère n'en ait point. Ce fait preuve non seulement que le male influe plus que la fémelle dans la génération, mais encore que les cornes ne sont pas plus un caractère essentiel pour les vaches que pour les chèvres et les brebis." He adds, " On a vu aussi, dans la même pays (the interior of South America) des chevaux qui avoient des cornes." Voyages dans l'Amérique Méridionale, par Don Felix de Azzara, tom. i. p. 379.

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women, while it is uncommon for black women to find white husbands, so that the mulattoes born in this country are generally descended from black fathers and white mothers; while those in the West Indies are from white fathers and black mothers. I have been assured by a very intelligent planter, who has spent many years in both countries, that the mulatto children born in the West Indies, under the circumstances above described, are of very different complexion from the mulatto children of black fathers in England. The former are of much lighter colour.

It seems, that in some instances, the junction of a female in certain species, with a male of peculiar character, has had a further influence than any body would have suspected on the progeny of the former. It has even determined the character of the offspring at subsequent births, by different progenitors; I allude to the experiments on breeding between the mare and the male quagga.*

But if the character of the offspring, as far as it is connected with traits already established in the race, is derived chiefly from the father, the new varieties which occasionally spring up, are commonly ascribed to the mother. How far this notion may be true it is difficult to determine, but like most opinions so firmly rooted, it has probably some ground in facts.

As far as the size or stature of the offspring is

* See a brief account of these experiments in the Quarterly Journal of the Royal Institution.

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concerned, it seems to be pretty well ascertained, by facts known to the breeders of cattle and horses, that this chiefly depends on the mother.

Perhaps the sex of the offspring is determined chiefly by circumstances connected with the mother. Some women appear to be prone to produce a great proportion of male, others of female children, and I think these peculiarities seem to be common to the females of particular families. Some women repeatedly bear twins.

Some females, as it is known to practitioners in midwifery, are disposed to have preternatural presentations, which occur sometimes, not singly, as if by mere accident, but repeatedly, as if owing to some more permanent circumstances. All these phænomena probably depend on some peculiarity in the mother.

We may, I think, conclude, that other peculiarities in the structure of the offspring depend on the circumstances under which its rudiments obtain their first organization, and are therefore likely to be determined by the causes, external and internal, which exert an influence on the mother during the early period of pregnancy.

It has long been a question among physiological writers, whether impressions on the imagination, or the senses of the parent, have any influence in giving rise to the peculiarities which display themselves in the offspring. Popular opinion attributes all *nævi materni*, and most monstrous appearances, to some ungratified desire, or to impressions which

have been made on the senses or the mind of the mother during pregnancy. The credulous writers of former ages received these stories without the least hesitation, but of late they have been generally disbelieved, and looked upon entirely as vulgar errors. The facts which are brought forward in support of the notion in question, are often of such a description, that they are calculated only to excite derision.* Those, however, who have been disposed to consider this subject with care and discrimination, have been surprised at the multitude of testimonies which have been adduced, and at the long and extensive prevalence of the opinion which is supposed to have been founded upon them.

It must be observed that a great proportion of the stories which are current on this subject, relate to a period in the time of pregnancy at which it is absurd to suppose that any material change

* See several wonderful stories related by Boerhaave in his Institutes, §. 694. Among these is the following. "There was a wonderful accident of this kind at Brussels, when the Dutch noblemen, counts Egmont and Horne, were beheaded by order of the duke of Alva. Among the spectators was a woman with child, who, not without terror, saw the famous warrior, count Egmont, perish; but this woman was afterwards delivered of an infant without a head, the neck being as yet bloody; the wonderful history of which came to Helmont (who lived at Brussels) confirmed by the public magistrate!" On this Boerhaave remarks, "In these cases there is something which does not at all agree with the laws of nature, as they are, at present, known to us, and yet the facts cannot be denied, unless the laws of Nature were perfectly known to us."

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can take place in the structure of the progeny. After the fœtus has attained to a certain period, it does not appear that it is destined to undergo any further modification in the form and texture of parts, except simply a greater developement. The peculiar character of its organization is then already acquired and complete. The stories every day heard of mothers longing for various objects, or frightened by unexpected sights during pregnancy, and producing children marked with strawberries, currants, or having visages that resemble pigs' faces, are therefore as false as they are improbable.

But the opinion which formerly prevailed, and which has been entertained by some modern writers, among whom was Dr. Darwin, that at the period when organization commences in the ovum, that is, at, or soon after the time of conception, the structure of the fœtus is capable of undergoing modification from impressions on the mind or senses of the parent, does not appear altogether so improbable. It is contradicted at least by no known fact in physiology. It is an opinion of very ancient prevalence, and may be traced to so remote a period, that its rise cannot be attributed to the speculations of philosophers,* and it is dif-

* That the colour of the breed is liable to be modified through the influence of impressions made on the senses of the mother, at the time of conception, was a received notion in the East in the time of the patriarch Jacob. This appears from the account, so often cited, in the book of Genesis, of the grizzled, or speckled cattle, springing from the brown flock of Laban, when the fe-

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ficult to account for the origin of such a persuasion, unless we ascribe it to facts which happened to be observed.

It is probable, however, that the circumstances which give occasion to the appearance of varieties in general, are of a more permanent nature, for peculiarities in the birth are often not single, or such as occur only once in the offspring of the same mother. An instance was reported to me not long ago, of a woman who had three children successively, each of which was born in an unusual presentation of the same kind. There are, generally, several albinos in a family; at least I have repeatedly found, on inquiry respecting the families of albinos who have come in my way, that these individuals had brothers or sisters similar to themselves.

Often, when such phænomena occur, it is impossible to discover any peculiar circumstance in the condition of the mother, during gestation, which appears likely to give rise to a deviation in her offspring.

They appear often in breeds of animals, without any obvious way of accounting for them. A single yellow, or white rabbit, is sometimes seen in a

males had been brought to conceive with variegated objects presented to their eyes. It is not asserted in the narrative that this was really the physical cause of the phænomenon; perhaps it may rather be collected that it was by the special favour of God, that Jacob's flock multiplied. But the stratagem was employed by Jacob, and this proves the prevalence of the opinion.

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warren, just as a single plant of the red primrose is found on a bank covered with yellow ones.

It is generally supposed that cultivation is the most productive cause of varieties in the kind, both in the animal and vegetable kingdom. But it may be questioned, does cultivation actually give rise to entirely new varieties, or does it only foster and propagate those which have sprung up naturally, or as it is termed accidentally?

In this latter way the influence of art is very important in constituting breeds, as of cattle, dogs, horses. The artificial process consists in a careful selection of those individual animals which happen to be possessed, in a greater degree than the generality, of any particular characters which it is desirable to perpetuate. These are kept for the propagation of the stock, and a repeated attention is paid to the same circumstances, till, the effect continually increasing, a particular figure, colour, proportion of limbs, or any other attainable quality, is established in the race, and the uniformity of the breed is afterwards maintained by removing from it any new variety which may casually spring up in it.

But whether animals in a domesticated state, independently of this sort of control, are more disposed to exhibit new varieties in their offspring, or to bring forth a progeny of different form or colour from the breed, is a question which I know not how to determine. Animals however, in the state of domestication, are placed under circum-

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stances so widely different from those of their natural and ordinary state, that this altered condition seems very likely to occasion deviations in their progeny.

But there is no other cause which, in so important a manner, alters the circumstances under which the fœtus is bred, as a change of climate, and accordingly it seems undoubted, that changes of climate have given rise to deviations in the breed of animals. It is impossible, otherwise, to account for certain peculiarities in various races, which exist only in particular places, where they appear to have originated, and to which they are in a great measure confined. As this consideration is a very important one with respect to the theory of natural varieties, I shall mention, before I proceed further, several instances, in which it appears that a deviation from the general character of a race, either of men or inferior animals, has taken place in connexion with external circumstances, chiefly local.

Section V.

Instances of variety in the Breed, arising from the operation of external, chiefly of local causes.

In a former part of this work, many examples of variety, both in form and colour, occurring in the breeds of domestic or wild animals, were described. It was remarked that some of these varieties appear casually or sporadically, while others are generally prevalent in a particular breed, or

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often in all the stock of a particular country. The cattle, sheep, swine, horses, dogs, asses, fowls of certain districts, were said to be of form or colour peculiar and uniform. In many instances this may be the effect of art, as far as domestic animals are concerned, a particular colour or form being propagated, and kept up in the breed by choice. But in wild races, where similar phænomena occur, I cannot conceive any other way of accounting for the general appearance of any particular character in the whole race found in a certain situation, but the supposition, that the local circumstances have a tendency to call it forth in the breed, or predispose the parents of the stock, to produce offspring marked by the character in question.

The remarkable varieties which the hog tribe has exhibited in different countries, have been mentioned in the places above referred to. The swine of the island of Cuba are said to have acquired more than twice the size and stature of the European breed from which they are descended. We can hardly avoid admitting, that there must be some peculiar circumstances connected with the place, which have given rise to this enormous growth, common to a whole breed in one particular island, and hardly to be found elsewhere in the same species and the same stock. In Cubagua, the hog-tribe has degenerated into a monstrous race, with toes which are half a span in length. In other countries they have also assumed remarkable pe-

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culiarities, of which several instances have been mentioned above.

The cattle and horses which have so prodigiously multiplied in Paraguay, and in other parts of South America, are well known to have been conveyed originally from Europe. The domestic breeds are still of various colours, as in Europe, but the races which have run wild, and are entirely subjected to the influences of the climate, and the natural circumstances of the soil and situation, have assumed a peculiar colour. Don Felix de Azzara informs us, that the colour of the tame oxen is various. He adds, "Celle des troupeaux sauvages est invariable et constante; c'est d'un brun rougeâtre sur les dessus du corps, et noir sur le reste." In speaking of the troops of wild horses in the same countries, he says "Tous ont le poil châtain ou bai-brun, tandis que les chevaux domestiques l'ont de toute espèce de couleurs." As both the wild cattle and horses are descended from the variegated domestic breeds, we have here an instance of a deviation from the characters of the stock, resulting from the peculiar circumstances to which these animals have been subjected. As the wild races of horses and cattle in other countries are of different colours, while in this particular country the colour assumed is uniform, it seems that the change is the result of local influences. These causes act fully on the wild race, while in the case of the domestic

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breeds, they are prevented from displaying their efficacy, through the influence of the artificial state.

In the common European species of bear, there are several races differing from each other in respect of colour, in different countries. The bears of the Pyrenees are of a golden yellow colour. In Poland there is a race to which belong the silver bears, and probably also the white variety described by Pallas.*

When in any particular country there are breeds similar to each other, in several distinct species, the operation of some causes of local influence may be still more strongly inferred.

Blumenbach has remarked, that there are several breeds of animals in Asia Minor, which display corresponding peculiarities, though in different species. The breeds of rabbits, goats, and cats, which take their name from Angora, are remarkable for a fine long fur, of silky softness, and an almost snowy whiteness. These characters, common as they are to several species, cannot be the result of contingency; they indicate a common cause, which must be some peculiarity in the circumstances under which these animals exist in the climate and situation occupied by them.

In Malabar and in Guinea, in both of which countries the human species is black, it is worthy of observation that there are also several races

* M. Cuvier on the living species of bears. Annal. du Muséum, tom. viii.

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of animals remarkably black. In Guinea, the breeds of dogs and of gallinaceous fowls are black.* On the coast of Malabar, it has been remarked, not only that the human species is black, but that the monkeys of that country are of the same colour; and that the gallinaceous fowls are termed "blackamore pullens," having not only their plumage, but also their skin, and even bones, as black as jet.†

It has been said that white varieties in the animal kingdom frequently occur in polar or other cold countries. On this fact, as well as on some others analogous to it, we shall have occasion for making further remarks.

In the human species many instances may be adduced, in which peculiarities of structure or growth are common in a particular country, and appear to point out the operation of some local influence. In South America, as we have observed, there are many nations of very considerable stature. The Patagonians are the most remarkable example, but nearly all the nations of this great country, though distinct from each other in language, manners, and descent, are taller and stouter than the average standard of the human species.‡ In Ireland men of uncommon stature are often seen, and even a gigantic form and stature occur there

* Blumenbach. † Brown's Travels.

‡ From this remark, however, the Guarani must be excepted, who live constantly in the forests, and never inhabit the plain or open countries, and who probably spread themselves into the south, at a much later period than the other races.

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much more frequently than in this island. Yet all the British isles derived their stock of inhabitants from the same sources, viz. from a mixture of the Celtic and German races, and perhaps nearly in the same proportion. We can hardly avoid the conclusion, that there must be some peculiarity in Ireland which gives rise to these phænomena. In other respects there are marked differences of person between the English, Scottish, and Irish people in their features, and in some degree in the growth of their bodies, and there are diversities even in different parts of each of the three kingdoms. But the difference is much greater if we extend the comparison to the United States of America, inhabited by the same race. The tall, lank, gaunt, and otherwise remarkable figures of the Virginians, and men of Carolina, are strikingly different from those of the short, plump, round-faced farmers of the midland counties in England. The race is originally the same, and the deviation in it must be attributed to the influence of the circumstances, whatever they may be, which are connected with local situation.

We are informed by writers whose opportunity of personal observation renders their testimony unquestionable, that the Creoles, or natives of the West India islands, descended from the European race, have some peculiarities in their stature and in the configuration of their skulls, which distinguish them from their brethren in Europe.

"The native white men, or the Creoles of Ja-

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maica," says Mr. Long, "are in general tall and well shaped. Their cheeks are remarkably high boned, and the sockets of their eyes deeper than is commonly observed among the natives of Europe.* By this conformation they are guarded from those ill effects which an almost continual strong glare of sunshine might otherwise produce. Their sight is keen and penetrating, which renders them excellent marksmen; a light grey, and black, or deep hazel, are the most common colours of the pupil. The effect of climate is not only remarkable in the structure of their eyes, but likewise in the extraordinary freedom and suppleness of their joints." "Although descended from British ancestors, they are stamped with these characteristic deviations."†

Mr. Bryan Edwards has confirmed this statement. He says, "I am of opinion that the climate of the West Indies displays itself more strongly on the persons of the natives than on the faculties of their minds. They are obviously a taller race on the whole than Europeans. I have known several who were full six feet four inches in height." He adds, "it has been truly observed, that the effect is likewise obvious in the structure of the eye, the socket being considerably deeper than among the natives of Europe." "It is a cu-

* Long's Hist. of Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 262.

† If these statements are correct, the Creole's skull approximates to the form peculiar to the aboriginal race of the American continent and islands.

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rious circumstance, that their skin feels considerably colder than that of an European; a proof, I think, that nature has contrived some peculiar means of protecting them from the heat, which she has denied to the natives of temperate regions as unnecessary."*

The African race also deviates still more than the European, in America and the West India islands. It has been observed by Dr. Smith, that the Negro slaves in the United States, especially the domestic servants, who live in houses, and are protected from the hardships of labour, and of a hot climate, differ very remarkably from the native Africans. They have in the third generation but little remains of the depressed nose; their mouths and lips are of moderate size, their eyes lively and sparkling, and often the whole composition of their features extremely agreeable. Their hair grows sensibly longer in each succeeding generation; it extends to three, four, and sometimes to six or eight inches. The field slaves, who labour in the plantations, retain much more of the original aspect of the race, though their features are not so strongly marked as those of imported slaves.†

I have received a full confirmation of this statement from well-informed and intelligent persons,

* Edwards's Hist. of the West Indies, vol. ii. p. 10.

† Mr. Long says, "The Creole blacks have undeniably more acuteness and better understandings than the natives of Guinea. Hist. of Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 477.

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both from the United States and the West India islands. I have been assured, that the Negroes born in the United States, are decidedly different in their features from the natives of Guinea. A similar change is very perceptible in the West India islands, among the Negro slaves of the third and fourth generations. Even from the first generation the features of Creole negroes differ considerably from those of Africans.

From the foregoing instances I think it must be allowed to result, that there are circumstances connected with particular localities, which give rise to varieties in the breed.*

Perhaps in some of these examples, the constitution of the animals which thus form a variety, apparently of local origin, is also particularly adapted by its nature, for the circumstances of the countries in which the deviation has taken rise. It may indeed be inquired, whether the deviations in general, which appear to follow a change of climate, are not founded on a law of the animal economy, which gives rise to an alteration in the breed calculated to fit the race for its new abode. This brings us to a consideration on which we shall enter in the following section.

* It was the opinion of the ancients that the soil of certain countries predisposed to fecundity. Twins, or even three at a birth, are said to have been common in Egypt. "Trigeminos nasci certum est, Horatiorum Curiatiorumque exemplo; supra, inter ostenta ducitur, præterquam in Ægypto." Plin. lib. 7, cap. 3.

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SECTION VI.

Adaptation of certain Breeds to particular local circumstances.

PALLAS and many other naturalists have supposed all the breeds of domestic dogs to be merely varieties of one and the same species, which owing to its early subjection to man, and the attention paid to its propagation, has branched out into all the remarkably different races which now exist. Blumenbach has expressed his doubts on this point in the following remarks. "The dog," he says, "deviates into a multitude of new varieties, even under our eyes; but yet it is not clearly determined, and it is now-a-days very difficult fully to settle the question, whether all the breeds of dogs are only varieties of one and the same species, or not. Many great naturalists have, as it is well known, looked upon the shepherd's dog as the common stock from which all the breeds are descended. Some have even reckoned the wolf and the jackal among the varieties of dogs; others on the contrary think it not improbable that there existed at first several distinct breeds of dogs. It appears to me that there is at least much to be said in favour of the last opinion. The difference of form in the breeds of dogs considered in itself, would not be of so much weight; for we cannot say to what degree the form of these breeds may have varied in an animal, which mankind for several thousand years have kept more than any other do-

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mestic creature, in their most familiar society, and have carried with them into a variety of climates, foreign probably to the original country of the kind, which perhaps exists no longer at the present day in its wild and natural state; but what appears to me to be a reason for supposing that there has been more than one original tribe of dogs, is the circumstance that many individual breeds (as the terrier for example) have a fabric of body so peculiar, and so evidently constructed and adapted for certain ends, or particular habits, that I can scarcely persuade myself to look upon this as a mere accidental consequence of degeneration, and not rather as an intentional contrivance of the wise Creator."*

The foregoing remark suggests the inquiry whether the degeneration or variation of animals is in fact a mere accidental phænomenon, and so limited in its consequences, as the ingenious and justly celebrated writer, whose observations I have cited, seems to have regarded it.

There is something very remarkable in the double relation which the different species of organized beings, belonging to particular families, bear to the tribes which they most nearly resemble in structure, and to the localities to which they are respectively distributed. A number of species, especially in the vegetable kingdom, nearly akin to each other, and comprised in the same family, or natural order, or even belonging to the same

* Blumenbach. Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte, 1 theil.

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genus, are in some instances grouped round a particular spot, which seems to be the principal focus or favourite seat of the tribe, and from which its different branches are spread out in various directions, often over surrounding islands. When particular species are compared with each other, the various forms refer themselves in a remarkable manner to one type of organization. The slighter differences which mark the species individually, seem to lose themselves in the sameness of form belonging to the genus, and even suggest a suspicion that they all proceeded from one original. The phænomena of resemblance must have had their sufficient reason as well as those of diversity. Shall we suppose that at the first production of a genus, when it grew into existence, some slight modification in the productive causes stamped it originally with all these specific diversities? Or is it most probable that the modification was subsequent to its origin, and that the genus at its first creation was one and uniform, and afterwards became diversified by the influence of external agents? We know nothing of the origin of beings, but the former of these suppositions is the conclusion to which we are led by all that can be ascertained respecting the limits of species, and the extent of variation under the influence of causes at present existing and operating.

Whichever of these suppositions may be true in point of fact, the separation of families and genera into particular species, and the distribution of

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these species to particular habitations, according to their physical properties, is evidently a part of the provision of nature for replenishing the earth with organized inhabitants, placed every where according to the congruity of soils and temperatures, with their structure and habitudes.

But why is it to be supposed that the influence of this law of adaptation has stopped here? Is it not probable that the varieties which spring up within the limits of particular species, are further adaptations of structure to the circumstances under which the tribe is destined to exist. Varieties branch out from the common form of a species, just as the forms of species deviate from the common type of a genus. Why should the one class of phænomena be without end or utility, a mere effect of contingency or chance, more than the other?

There are indeed many instances in which we can perceive an advantage in the varieties of form, and an adaptation of particular breeds to external circumstances. The small and agile races of oxen and horses are particularly suited to mountainous districts, where activity is required, and there is not sufficient sustenance for a large and fleshy body. The large and more finely developed forms, which would be ill placed on barren and craggy mountains, are fitted to flourish in rich and luxuriant plains.* In the hog kind there is, I think, little

* The little Welsh and Scottish cattle, and the Shetland ponies, when compared with the large Devonshire breed of oxen,

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doubt that the various breeds, so much altered in shape, into which this kind has deviated, hold in fact a particular relation to the localities in which they are placed. In sheep we observe a change, similar in its principle, to take place, when the fine fleeced breeds with a warm woolly covering are transported into hot tropical climates, where they lose their fleeces and acquire a thin coat of hair. On considering these and analogous phænomena, we can scarcely avoid concluding that the variation of animals proceeds according to certain laws, by which the structure is adapted to the necessity of local circumstances.

It would not be difficult to point out some instances in which the varieties of mankind likewise are in a degree suited to certain climates.

The texture of the skin in the African is such as to accommodate him to the torrid climates inhabited by the various nations of black and woolly haired Negroes. In the West Indies, (and probably this is the case in a still greater degree in hotter countries), it is well known that white men suffer greatly from the effect of heat. If a white man happens to be exposed, with any part of his body unprotected, for some time to the immediate rays of the sun, the skin becomes inflamed and blis-

and the huge cavalry of Flanders, have a relation to localities very similar to that which the horse and the ass doubtless have to the countries for which they were by nature fitted. This last relation belongs to the series of facts above adverted to, and is beyond all doubt.

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tered. But the Negroes suffer nothing of this kind, even if they lie down and sleep uncovered in the hottest sunshine. This depends in some manner, as yet not fully understood, on the texture of the rete mucosum; for Albinos in the West Indies, who are often to be met with among the Negroes, are even affected more than Europeans by the rays of the sun, their skin being even more disposed to inflame and blister. Of this fact I have been assured by a well-informed native of the West Indies. In Guinea the skins of the Negroes are always cool, says Dr. Winterbottom, at least more so than those of Europeans in the same climate, and they are also remarkable for their sleekness and velvet-like softness. Their soft skin is termed by Linnæus, *cutis nolosericea*. These observations are confirmed by Bruce, Adanson, and various other writers.*

But there are more important differences in the constitution of the European and the Negro, by

* Mr. Long says, "It is certain that the Negroes, so far from suffering any inconvenience, are found to labour with most alacrity and ease to themselves in the very hottest part of the day. The chillness of the morning air in this island seems to cast a damp upon their spirits, and renders them for a time feeble and torpid; one sees them creeping slowly out of their huts, bundled up with thick clothing, shivering, and uneasy; but as the day advances they grow more and more active and alert. The openness of their pores gives a free transpiration to bad humours, and they would enjoy robust health under the hardest toils, if they were less prone to debauch. They love warmth in the night, and never sleep without a fire in their hut." Hist. Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 412.

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which these varieties of our species seem to be adapted respectively to the countries which they inhabit.

It seems that people descended from the European nations bear with difficulty an abode in Africa between the tropics. The insalubrity of the intertropical African climate to the constitutions of Europeans is extreme, and has hitherto been sufficient, notwithstanding innumerable attempts at colonization, to prevent the growth of any white population on the African coasts. By Phœnician and Arabian traders, the eastern coast, or Zanguebar, had been visited almost before the era of history; many colonies were doubtless settled there in early times, and very many, as we know, in the middle ages; many after the Portugueze discovery, both on the old coast of Zanguebar and on the shores of Guinea and of Congo. Yet no white population exists in tropical Africa. At Mozambique indeed the mortality is so great, that a banishment to that colony is held at Goa equivalent to an execution, and only malefactors are sent thither, where they die in a few years. The mortality in the late English expedition to the river Zaire was surprising and mysterious. These are apparently the reasons why white colonies have never thrived in Africa, where we should otherwise have now a white population as great as that descended from the English or the Spaniards in America.

With respect to the West Indies, it is well known

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that the incapability of Europeans to support labour in that tropical country was the first occasion of introducing into the islands an African population.

On the other hand, Negroes seem under a physical disability to establish themselves in Europe and other northern countries, otherwise we should find them here in numbers. They are here, more than any other class of people, subject to phthisical and scrofulous complaints, and are seldom, under the most favourable circumstances, healthy. The diseases to which both kinds of people are subject in the climate appropriated to the other, is the impediment which has prevented large colonies of whites from forming themselves and multiplying in tropical Africa, and of Negroes in the North. We are told indeed by Herodotus, that there was once founded at Colchis a colony of African blacks, but they have long since dwindled away and disappeared.

It appears to result from the foregoing facts, to which a great many others might probably be added, that in mankind, as in some other races, particular varieties are adapted by constitution and physical peculiarities to particular local situations.

These remarks, if they are well founded, serve to illustrate the doctrine of variation, or deviation, in the races of animals in general, and they seem to lead us to the conclusion, that this is not merely an accidental phænomenon, but a part of the provision of nature for furnishing to each region an

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appropriate stock of inhabitants, or for modifying the structure and constitution of species, in such a way as to produce races fitted for each mode and condition of existence. A great part of this plan of local adaptation appears to have been accomplished by the original modification of a genus into a variety of species. It has been further continued, and the same end promoted, by the ramification of a species into several varieties.

Section VII.

Of the Relation of particular Varieties of the Human Species to Climates.

Whatever may become of the hypothesis advanced in the last section; whether the varieties in the species of animals proceed from a principle in nature, modifying the structure and constitution of races, and adapting them to the physical circumstances under which these races may be destined to exist, or are only the casual effect of degeneration, I think it must be allowed that there is some truth in the observation which led to this inquiry, and that instances are to be found in the human species, in which certain varieties in the breed are, apparently, the result of local circumstances, or of influences connected with certain situations. It may even be asserted, that there is, in the distribution of the different races of men, when we look at the phænomena in a comprehensive scale, a certain relation to climates. The proofs of this position can only be

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found in a survey of the population of different countries, and I have endeavoured to point out the most important facts which have reference to it, in the foregoing chapters, and especially in the summary remarks with which each division has been concluded. At present I shall attempt to do little more than to recapitulate the most material inferences, and direct the attention of my readers to the facts which bear in the most decisive manner upon this question.

First. It must be allowed that the intertropical region of the earth is the principal seat of the black races of men, and the region remote from the tropics, of the white races; and that the climates approaching to the tropics, are generally inhabited by nations which are neither of the darkest nor of the fairest complexion, but of an intermediate one. To this observation it may be added, that high mountains, and countries of great elevation, are generally inhabited by people of lighter colour than those where the level is low, such as sandy or swampy plains on the sea-coast. Thus, if we begin with Africa, we shall find a great number of distinct races, as far as a total diversity of languages can be thought to distinguish men into separate races, spread over that great continent; and it may be observed, that those whose abode is between the tropics, though differing from each other in many peculiarities, agree in the darkness of their complexion. In fact, if we divide Africa into three portions, we may define by the tropics,

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the extent of the black complexion in its inhabitants. The country of black nations begins immediately below the tropic of cancer, which passes nearly through Syene, and crosses the continent somewhat to the northward of the supposed course of the Niger, and nearly at the northern boundary of Soudan. The southern tropic cuts off the country of the Hottentots. Between these lines the native races are generally black, or of a very deep colour; beyond them the complexion is much lighter; it is either brown or red. The Hottentots, though a woolly-haired race, are of a light brown colour; and on the northern side, a light brown already appears among the Tuaric of the Zahara. Even within the tropic, in some very elevated regions, as in the forests of Harraza, and in the mountains where the Senegal and Gambia rise, the races of people are of red, or copper colour. The only place considerably removed from the tropical region, where a population exists that can be termed black, is Fezzan. But here it may be said to be maintained by a constant stream from the Negro population of the torrid zone, which passes through Fezzan. The free people intermix with the Negroes, constantly imported from Soudan, and the intertropical African character is maintained.

If we follow the equator round the globe, we shall find the majority of the races under it nearly black. In India we have black tribes in Malabar, and the Hindoos of the Deccan are generally very dark, as

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well as the inhabitants of Ceylon. In the islands of the Indian Ocean there are indeed some nations, chiefly among the more civilized inhabitants, of comparatively lighter colour; but the aborigines of most of these islands are a sort of Negroes, resembling the Africans, with woolly hair, or they are black people with lank hair; and on the main land we find the Samang, or tribes of black savages, in the interior of Malaya. Beyond the Indian archipelago, we have the Papuas of New Guinea, and the black inhabitants of Solomon's Island and the New Hebrides.

In the New World, the chain of the Cordilleras is so elevated, in the intertropical zone, as to produce a climate quite different from that of equatorial countries in general. In Mexico we find no Negroes among the native inhabitants, but in the low, flat countries of California, which is near the northern tropic, the people are nearly as black as Negroes, and La Pérouse was so forcibly struck with the resemblance of their general appearance, that he almost fancied himself in a plantation of St. Domingo. He says, "The colour of these Indians, which is the same as that of Negroes, a variety of objects—in short, every thing we observed—presented the appearance of a plantation in St. Domingo."

There are very few instances in which black nations can be found far beyond the limits of the torrid zone. That of the inhabitants of Terra Australis is the only one that is worthy of notice. On

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this subject it may be observed, that in New Holland, the character of organized beings in general, I mean such as are natives of it, is very remote from that of temperate climates. In the vegetable creation it has been observed, that the tribes of plants recede but little, even in the southern parts of Terra Australis, from the intertropical character. By these phænomena, the physical qualities of the climate, as influencing growth and organization, may be estimated much more correctly than by degrees of latitude.

Even here it may be noticed also, that the black races are far from thriving, or displaying either vigour of body or a numerous population. Scantiness of food is, perhaps, not the only cause of the dwindling growth and numbers of the Australians. And in that country a variation of colour takes place; the black, or dark-coloured individuals, in New Holland, are intermixed with many who have the light, tawny complexion of the Malays.

On the other hand, all the northern countries of Europe and Asia are inhabited by white races of men.

Even in America, which has been supposed to present a decided exception to the inference, that the colour of the human species has any relation to climate, we have observed many facts of a contrary tendency. In the north-western parts of America there are several white nations, and these, as it appears, are to be considered as belonging to the indigenous population: and to the southward,

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beyond the southern tropic, the inhabitants of Chili and Patagonia are said to be of much lighter colour than the people of the hotter countries of Terra Firma and Paraguay, and, in some instances, even to display, as well as the northern tribes, the phænomena of the xanthous variety.

Secondly. I think it must be allowed, that the same race, in many instances, exhibits considerable variations, and that the changes of colour generally bear a certain relation to climates. We have traced examples of such variation in several races. As,

In the Indo-European race; even among the Hindoos it has been observed, that some nations are of a dark olive colour, approaching to black, while others, viz., those of the north, are much more fair, and some have a white complexion with blue eyes. If we survey this whole department of nations collectively, we discover in it all the diversities of colour which the whole human species displays.

The Semitic nations exhibit a similar instance. In this we must compare the Arabs of Hadramout and the Habesh of Tigre, and the Arabs of the African deserts, with the Jews spread through Europe. Other examples of diversity in this race were mentioned under the head to which they particularly belonged.

The natives of the South Sea islands display as great diversities of complexion, but these are not evidently referrible to climates.

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In the appearance of the xanthous variety of our species, or that which is characterized by red, yellow, or light hair, and blue or grey eyes, we may perceive a manifest relation to climates. It springs up in almost every race which is spread over cold and temperate climates. We have observed it among all the Indo-European races in the north; in various tribes of the Tschudes, or Finns; and in other races in north-eastern Asia; in Africa, and in Arabia, among the Kabyles of Mount Auress, and the mountaineers of Yemen;* in America among the Esquimaux, and other nations in the North, and even in South America, among nations inhabiting elevated and mountainous tracts.

A question now presents itself; how these varieties are developed and preserved in connexion with particular climates and differences of local situation?

One cause which tends to maintain this relation is obvious. Individuals and families, and even whole colonies, perish and disappear in climates for which they are, by peculiarity of constitution, not adapted. Of this fact proofs have been already mentioned.

Besides, it appears probable that those local circumstances, which are most congenial to parti-

* The hypothesis, that the fair Kabyles of Mount Auress are descended from the ancient Vandals, is refuted by the fact that they differ not in language from the other Kabyles. See Shaw's Travels.

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cular races, do in fact promote the appearance of those varieties which are best suited to them, or tend to give rise to their production in the breed.

It must be allowed that there is some difficulty in reconciling with these conclusions the facts alluded to in the second section of this chapter, indicating the permanent transmission of a white or black complexion, in certain races, which have changed their abode from one climate to another, the fact, for example, that the descendants of white settlers, in the West Indies, are still white, and that the progeny of Negroes, in Europe or America, have continued for some generations black.

I do not pretend entirely to remove this difficulty, but I shall offer some remarks on the subject. I have already observed, in the instance of horses and cattle transported to Paraguay, that a change takes place in the colour of the breeds, apparently the result of external circumstances, and chiefly of local influences. But this change, as Azzara assures us, has taken place only in the wild breeds of both species; these acquire a particular colour; the domestic breeds undergo no alteration. Perhaps there is some analogy between this fact, and that of races of men who remove from one climate to another. Being domesticated in houses, especially the women, and retaining in general the habits and diet of the country whence they proceeded, they are defended, in a great measure, from local influences, such as

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may be supposed to give a tendency to deviations in the physical character of their progeny. If a race of white people removed into a tropical country led a wandering life, such as that of the Bedouins of the African deserts, or adopted the habits of the Shangalla, or of the Negroes of Soudan, the result might be different in their posterity.

Perhaps the facts relating to the white and black Jews of Cochin, are not known with sufficient accuracy to allow of any positive inference. It is possible, that those termed white Jews, are the descendants of more recent colonists, and that the black Jews are not so separate from them as it has been supposed.

It may however be true, that particular varieties, once established in the stock, and transmitted for many generations, though originally resulting in a certain degree from the influence of local causes, will nevertheless continue permanent, even long after the race has been removed from the climate in which they originated. Some varieties appear to be more constant than others. It may be noticed, in general, that fewer variations occur in races of white than in those of darker colour; and that next to the former in permanency are, perhaps, the copper-coloured tribes, though here also, as we have observed, among the red races of America and of Africa, some deviations happen, and even the xanthous variety occasionally appears.

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CHAPTER II.

Recapitulation of the Inferences obtained in the preceding Books, with some General Remarks on the Origin of particular Races.

I SHALL now take a summary review of the inferences successively deduced in the foregoing parts of this work, and consider their bearing upon the inquiry proposed in the introductory chapter.

In the first book I endeavoured to find a solution of the problem, whether in each particular species, both in the animal and vegetable creations, it is probable that there exists only one stock or family; or whether, in general, it may be supposed to have been the method of Nature, if such an expression may be allowed, to spread the same species at once over distant countries from many different centres. This question was investigated by observing the distribution of genera and species over different parts of the earth. From the fact, that plants and animals of each kind have their existence chiefly in tracts, whither they may have wandered, or may have been conveyed by accident from certain points, the common and original centres, as it would appear, of particular tribes, and are, elsewhere, scarcely to be found, it was inferred that the whole number, in each species respectively, has probably descended from

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a single primitive stock. This inference was strengthened by a consideration of the wonderful means provided by Nature for the extension and dispersion of species; means which appear to be requisite only on such an hypothesis. It seemed, on the whole, to result as the most probable conclusion, that Providence thought fit, in the first place, to call into existence only one family, or race, in each particular kind, and did not at once diffuse it over the world from a variety of different origins.

This fact being established with respect to organized beings in general, with what success the reader must judge, it remained to inquire, whether there are among mankind any specific diversities, or any physical differences of such a description, that they must be looked upon as original characters, and therefore as constituting distinct species. If this question be determined in the affirmative, it obviously results, that men are of more than one original family, but if in the negative, it must be concluded that all mankind are, according to the law already shown to exist through the organized world, descended from a single stock.

This inquiry was commenced in the second book, and in the first place the different methods of determining the limits of species, and of discovering what races are of the same, and what of distinct species, were pointed out. It was observed that there are four methods of examining this question, each

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of which is capable of elucidating it more or less. The first, or what may be termed the physiological method, is founded on a comparison of the principal facts relating to the animal economy, or physiological character of the tribes to be considered, such as the term or duration of life proper to each kind, the circumstances connected with their breeding, the periods of uterogestation, the number of progeny, the laws of the natural functions, the diseases to which each tribe is obnoxious, and the character of its faculties, instincts, and habits. If in all these circumstances, in respect to which strongly marked differences occur between species very nearly resembling each other in outward form, no material difference can be found to exist between any two races which are the subjects of comparison, a probable argument results for concluding them to be of one species. A second criterion for determining on the unity or diversity of species has been sought by many naturalists, in the capability of propagating, or sterility of the animal which is the mixed progeny of two races. The validity of this criterion has been called in question, and it seems that in some instances hybrid animals, properly so termed, are capable of procreating. Yet there is evidently in nature a principle, by which the casual intermixture of species is guarded against. It is unnecessary to repeat the remarks that were made on this subject in the place referred to, to which the reader may revert. It may suffice to observe, that on apply-

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ing both of these two first methods of inquiry, to the particular instance under consideration, the result seemed clearly to be that, as far as the evidence derived from these sources extends, we have no reason to believe that there is more than one species of human beings in existence.

A third method of inquiry is the analogical or comparative. It is resolved into the question, whether the particular diversities we have to account for, are analogous to those deviations from a common type, which are known to make their appearance as varieties, in the progeny of a single race. When this appears, after due investigation, it is fair to conclude that such diversities are analogous in their nature, or resolvable into the same class of natural phænomena. This inquiry, in respect to the most remarkable varieties in the form, structure, complexion, and the other peculiarities which occur in mankind, was pursued through the remainder of the second book in as full and particular a manner as seemed requisite, and the conclusion which resulted was, that the diversities which are known in mankind are, in the most important particulars, similar in kind to the natural varieties discovered in other species of animals, and therefore, as far as we can rely upon an inference drawn from analogy, they afford no reason for supposing that there is more than one species of men.

It was observed, that the probable inference deduced from the comparison of parallel, or analo-

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gous phænomena, would be very much confirmed, if it should appear on investigation that varieties, such as those which are the subject of discussion, do in reality take place in particular races of men, and originate in the progeny of the same stock. And this brings us to the fourth part of our inquiry, which has been followed through the remainder of the work. In the third, and the succeeding books, we have examined the history of the different races of men, and have taken notice of the instances of variety in form and complexion which appear to have arisen from the same stock, and of the most remarkable differences in physical character which exist among tribes nearly allied to each other in kindred. In the course of this inquiry we have seen that certain deviations display themselves at once in strongly marked examples, some striking phænomena of complexion or figure appearing in the immediate offspring of races, or families, in which they had been before unknown. In other instances such variations take place by slow and imperceptible degrees. It appeared from the whole of this examination, that there is no clearly traced and definite line which the tendency to variety or deviation cannot pass, and therefore, no specific distinction. The character of one race passes into that of another, and this, not merely in the sense often attached to such an expression, implying the want of any exact limit between them, but by actual deviation and transition. Even within the limits of one particular race it is

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sometimes possible to point out a wide range of varieties, and in some instances it may be shown that the most different complexions, and the greatest diversities of figure, known to exist, are to be found among tribes which appear to belong to the same nation, or family of nations.

These conclusions have resulted from a survey of the physical history of the most extensively spread nations, and indeed, of all the principal departments of mankind. The various races, constituting the population of Africa, were first surveyed; then the different nations scattered through the Austral countries and the islands of the Indian Ocean; afterwards the several branches of the Indo-European stock, including the nations of India, and some other parts of Upper Asia, and most of the countries of Europe. Next to these followed the Semitic or Palæ-Syrian nations. A survey of the races of people near the chain of Caucasus prepared us for passing over this limit and proceeding to the northern and eastern nations of Asia: this part of the work was closed with the eighth book, which comprised an account of the native, or aboriginal inhabitants of America. In all these several divisions of the human family important physical diversities were shown to have arisen, and in each of them remarkable approximations to the characters prevalent in other tribes.

On the whole, it appears, that the information deduced from this fourth method of inquiry is as satisfactory as we could expect, and is sufficient

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to confirm, and indeed by itself to establish the inference, that the human kind contains but one species, and therefore, by a second inference, but one race.

It will, I apprehend, be allowed, by those who have attentively followed this investigation of particulars, that the diversities in physical character belonging to different races, present no material obstacle to the opinion, that all nations sprang from one original, a result which plainly follows from the foregoing considerations. The formation of whole nations, or of separate tribes, distinguished by some particular traits from others who are supposed to be of the same kindred, is a subject which appears to present some difficulty, but this is, perhaps, not insuperable. We have examples of such peculiarities becoming common to a whole nation, and may account for the fact in either of two ways. A whole tribe appears in some instances to have deviated from its original character, or to have become distinguished from another branch of the same race, as the Gothic nations are distinguished from the Persians, and these again from the Hindoos; or as one tribe of the Tschude, or Finnish race, is distinguished from others. These differences must, as it would appear, have taken place subsequently to the separation of great hordes, or tribes, from each other. In other instances it may have happened, that a new stock has sprung from a few individuals who happened themselves to be characterized by some

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peculiarities; such peculiarities may have been transmitted by the parents to their offspring, and by the subsequent increase and multiplication of a family, may have become the prevalent character of a whole tribe or nation.

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CHAPTER III.

Remarks on the Diversity of Languages.

SECTION I.

General Observations on the Diversity of Languages—Hypothesis that Languages were originally different—Arguments in opposition to it.

AGAINST the conclusion that all the races of men are the offspring of a single family, another objection has been offered, which has been scarcely noticed in the preceding pages, though it is perhaps not of less moment than those which have been already considered. This objection is founded on the variety of existing languages. It must be allowed that there is a far greater diversity in the idioms of different nations, than any body would expect to find, on the supposition that all these nations descended originally from one family.

As this subject might involve a discussion of great extent, which is not the particular aim of the present work, I might perhaps be excused from entering upon it; but as it seems to present an obstacle directly in the way of the general conclusion which I have drawn, it appears necessary to take some notice of it.

On entering on the subject of the diversity of

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languages, we are liable to be stopped at once by the observation, that an account of the whole matter is to be found in the book of Genesis; that this "dignus vindice nodus" has been provided for. The same extraordinary person who led the Israelites through the Red Sea and the desert to the promised land; who compiled that system of ordinances, the import of which has been so influential on the history of mankind, composed also a record of events during the first ages of the world. In this we are expressly assured that all nations were originally of one speech, until their languages were confounded by an interposition of Heaven, and they were scattered abroad over the face of all the earth. Commentators, however, have differed in their way of understanding this narrative. Some have taken it in a literal sense, as if the diversity of speech were brought about suddenly and by a supernatural agency. Others, among whom was Shuckford, have supposed this result to have taken place in a slow and natural manner, though ascribed in the language of the ancient writers to the agency of the First Cause, without any notice of the means or of the circumstances under which it came to pass. I do not presume to decide which of these opinions deserves the preference. I shall merely remark, that I find for my own part no great difficulty in adopting the common and obvious construction of the narrative. There is, indeed, something which the mind is scarcely capable of admitting, when first presented to it, in

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the very idea of a miraculous deviation from the usual course of natural events. But reflection will not fail to convince us that the succession of phænomena, which we term the *order of nature*, though it was in existence before our experience began, had its commencement, and that there was a period when events took place in a very different manner from that of which we are now witnesses. For example, there must have been a time, as the most sceptical person will admit, at which the existence of mankind commenced.* We have only to go back in imagination to that age; to represent to ourselves that at a certain time there existed nothing in this globe but unformed elements; and that in the next period, there had begun to breathe, and move, in a particular spot, a human creature; and we shall already have admitted, perhaps, the most astonishing miracle recorded in the whole compass of the sacred writings. After contemplating this phænomenon, we shall find no difficulty in allowing that events which would now be so extraordinary that they

* The alternative of this proposition, viz. that the human race has existed from all eternity, has never been, as far as I know, seriously maintained. We have now a clear proof that it is false in point of fact, in the discoveries made respecting the surface of the earth. It is well known that all the strata, of which our continents are composed, were once a part of the ocean's bed. There is no land in existence that was not formed beneath the surface of the sea, or that has not risen from beneath the water. Mankind had a beginning, since we can now look back to the period, when the surface on which they live began to exist.

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might be termed almost incredible, our confidence in the continuance of the present order of things having been established by the uniform experience of so many ages, would at one time have given no just cause for wonder or scepticism. In the first ages of the world events were conducted by operative causes of a different kind from those which are now in action; and there is nothing contrary to common sense, or to probability, in the supposition, that this sort of agency continued to operate from time to time, as long as it was required, that is, until the physical and moral constitution of things now existing was completed, and the design of Providence attained. When considered in connexion with this train of reflections, there is nothing incredible in the history of the confusion of languages, according to the most obvious and literal way of understanding the narrative.

But it is not universally agreed that the brief and general account given of this event was designed to convey precisely such an impression. Some writers have thought that we are to understand in it nothing more than an assurance that all mankind were, while they lived in a single community, of one speech, and that their languages became different in connexion with their dispersing themselves over different countries. As I have before expressed my design of making in this work no appeal to the authority of the Scriptures, although this is a different question from that

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which relates to the physical diversities of mankind, I shall at present fall in with this last supposition, which leaves the matter open to a discussion founded on the ordinary methods of inquiry. I shall therefore proceed to consider what may be said on the diversity of languages, without adverting further to the scriptural history.

If it is argued that the diversity of languages presents an insuperable objection to the opinion that all mankind sprang from one original, and had at first one common speech, this argument plainly implies that there must have been as many distinct races of men as there are distinct languages in the world. We have not data for estimating, with any degree of accuracy, the number of existing languages, but we know that it must be very considerable. Among savage nations in many parts of the world, as among the people of New Holland, and the Papua tribes, it is said that an infinite variety of jargons are to be found, every petty horde differing entirely in speech from its nearest neighbours; in South America the languages of the native tribes are very numerous, and in many parts of Africa, although there are some nations of greater physical and moral energy than the rest, who have spread themselves and their dialects through a great extent of country, there is also a multitude of small and insulated tribes, whose languages are said to be altogether peculiar to themselves. But whatever the number of distinct languages now extant may be, it is pro-

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bable that this number would at least be doubled, if the idioms of all the nations who have been exterminated in the continual and sanguinary wars of savage races, could be taken into the estimate. It seems likely, that if we could go back to some distant age, we should find almost every little district on the earth's surface to be the seat of a peculiar language, distinct from all others. If now we persist in the opinion, that each distinct idiom marks the limits of a particular race, with what a multitude of separate families must we suppose the earth to have been covered at the beginning? Multitudes of distinct races must have been created, all belonging to the same species: and such must be the case, whether we should allow that the whole human family contains but one natural species, or should maintain, with some naturalists, that there exist four or five distinct species of men. All this might agree very well with the supposition that organized beings of each tribe have been, from the beginning, generally diffused over the world, and were nearly as numerous at the hour of their creation as they are at present, but it is quite irreconcilable with the conclusions which we have seen to result from the facts brought together in the first book of the present work, and unless these conclusions are altogether erroneous, and even the very reverse of truth, we may venture to say that such a representation is contrary to nature and the reality of things.

An inquiry into the relations which the differ-

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ent classes, or families of languages, bear to each other is, perhaps, capable of throwing some light on this subject. I shall subjoin some brief remarks on these relations, after taking notice of the conjectures of a writer who has recently collected vocabularies of the Asiatic languages, which he has published, together with many new and important observations on their history.*

Section II.

Observations of Julius Klaproth—General and particular affinity of Languages—Hypothesis of this Writer.

"A comparison of languages," says this writer, "furnishes, in the default of history, the only method of distinguishing correctly, from each other, the different races of people who are spread over the earth. It is much to be regretted," he continues, "that the attempts which have been made by many persons to avail themselves of this resource have not been directed by the wisest principles, or productive of any solid advantage. A study of different languages and dialects, pursued during more than twenty years, as well as my travels, the objects of which were the history of nations and of their modes of speech, have enabled me to adopt different views, in respect to the comparison of languages, from those which are commonly entertained. According to the opinion which I have formed, there are two different sorts of affinity among human languages, one of which

* Asia Polyglotta, Von Julius Klaproth. Paris, 1823.

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may be termed the general relation, and the other the particular relation, meaning the resemblance subsisting between those languages which are of the same stock or family.

M. Klaproth illustrates the general relation or affinity of languages by observing that there are numerous words to be found which are similar in meaning and sound, in the idioms of nations the most unconnected with each other; many of those nations in whose vocabularies corresponding terms have been observed, not only inhabiting countries far separated, but being likewise distinguished from each other by striking features in the configuration of their skulls. A considerable collection of words has been given by Klaproth as illustrative of this point, of which the following are a part:—

Sun	Mantchu	Shun.
	German	Sonne.
Moon	Syriac	Sara.
	Mongole	Sara.
Wind	Arab	Kaaru.
	Kurile	Keeru.
Water	Ossete	Don.
	New Guinea	Dan.
Sea	Assyrian	Yami.
	Japan	Umi.
Day	Macassar	Alo.
	Koriak	Alo.
Mountain	Greek	Oros.
	Tunguse	Uro.

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Stone	Kamtschadale	Kual.
	Lapland	Kalle.
	Armenian	Kuar.
Ship	Kurile	Tschip.
	German	Schiff.
	Sanscrit	Kewa.
	Tartar	Kebe.
	Vogule	Kap.
Head	Finnish	Pæ.
	Kurile	Pa.
Forehead	Afghan	Ochole.
	Slavish	Chelo.
Nose	Persian	Bini.
	Chinese	Bi.
Mouth	Livonian	Mutte.
	Tonga I.	Motu.
Tongue	Samoied	She.
	Chinese	Shi.
Ear	German	Ohr.
	Chinese	Uhr.
Hand	Sanscrit	Kara.
	Mongol	Gar.
	Lesgic	Kwer.
	Greek	Kheir.
Blood	Latin	Sanguis.
	Mantchu	Sengi.
Bone	Kurile	Poné.
Horse	Breton	Mar.
	German	Mähre.
	Mongol	Morin.
	Chinese	Ma.
Swine	Vogule	Boros.
	Cocos I.	Bruas.

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Swine	Lesgic	Buchon.
	Tanna	Buga.
	English	Hog.
	Chinese	Hao.
Dog	Welsh	Ku.
	Chinese	Keu.
	Caucasean	Choi.
	Greek	Kuon.
	Chinese	Kiuan.
Egg	Yenisean	Eg.
All	Chinese	Fan.
	Greek	Pan.
Feather	Hungarian	Toll.
	Tschuktschi	Tegel.
	Ostiak	Tugol.
White	Breton	Kaen.
	Caucasean	Kaïn.
	Latin	Canus.
Black	Turk	Kara.
	Japan	Kuroi.
	Persian	Siah.
	Tonga	Sia.
Blue	Chinese	Chiuan.
	Greek	Kuanos.
I	Breton	Me.
	Georgian	Me.
	Tonga I.	Mi.
Thief	Russian	Vor.
	Finn	Vora.
	Latin	Fur.

These instances of correspondence in particular words, to which innumerable examples of the same description might be added, occur in the compari-

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son of languages the most unconnected, spoken in countries at a remote distance from each other, and by races distinguished by their physical characters and oldest historical traditions.

The second, or the particular relation of languages, is exemplified by the affinity discovered between the Indian, Persian, German, and other Indo-European idioms. "This family-relation of languages," says M. Klaproth, "subsists in the idioms of nations allied by physical structure and historical traditions, when in those idioms a multitude of similar words can be traced, together with a striking and manifest analogy in grammatical forms."

These observations are by no means so peculiar to the writer as he seems to have imagined, but though not altogether new or original, they are not the less deserving of attention. I shall offer a few remarks, with the view of extending and generalising them, after taking some notice, in the first place, of an hypothesis relating to the history of the Asiatic idioms, and of languages in general, which M. Klaproth has founded upon them.

"The first, or the general relation between languages," says M. Klaproth, "is from antediluvian times, and hitherto unexplained, though it deserves investigation. The second is postdiluvian, and its causes are less hidden from our view, so that we have no need of availing ourselves of the story of Babel, which like many others in the history of Western Asia, seems to have been in-

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vented to suit the meaning of a local name?" He goes on to conjecture that, "of the many floods which preceded that of Noah there were no human witnesses, or that if there were any, they all perished before the creation of the present race of men. It was otherwise in the instance of Noah's flood, for *we know*, that at that era men were saved from the catastrophe in various countries, as in India, in Armenia, and America. The same thing may also have happened in other places, although the tradition of such escapes has either been entirely lost, or is as yet unknown to us. But when we find, that in that part of the ancient world with which we are historically acquainted, the races of people, and with them the families of languages, came down after the flood from the highest mountains, we may be assured that these high mountains, in Noah's time, were not covered by the waters; that a comparatively small number of the neighbouring people escaped on their summits from the threatening catastrophe, and thus preserved at the same time relics of their languages in the vicinity of their former abodes. The greater number of nations and tribes were destroyed by the inundation in the lower countries, but a germ was preserved on the mountains which, after the flood, spread itself anew." In the remainder of his work this ingenious writer gives himself a great deal of trouble to point out the particular groupe of mountains where each of the Asiatic languages was preserved.

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On this singular hypothesis of M. Klaproth's we may observe, that it supposes the deluge to have been an event hardly conceivable in its nature, and very different from what it is described in all histories, sacred and profane. It is represented by him as a general catastrophe, but every where covering only plains, and leaving above its surface mountains, so numerous, as to preserve all the nations and languages of the world. The surface of the earth must have resembled that of Egypt, during the inundation of the Nile, when all its population is crowded upon mounds and causeways. It is easy to perceive that the author has found great difficulty in making his hypothesis agree, tolerably, with the local circumstances of Asia, and that it would be wholly inapplicable to other parts of the world, as to Africa, America, and the Austral countries, where the number of distinct languages is much more considerable, and where it would be still more difficult to find an insulated mountain to serve, as an imaginary refuge, for every little family of people. This scheme appears, when we consider it in detail, and in its application to circumstances, altogether visionary and fanciful.

The traditions which have been preserved among different nations, of an universal deluge, are irreconcilable with the hypothesis above described. If we compare the stories of the flood of Deucalion, and of the deluge of Satyavrata, celebrated in the legends of the Hindoos, both of which be-

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long to the Indo-European family, with the traditions of the Semitic nations, the fable of the Babylonian Xisuthrus, and the history of Noah in the book of Genesis; if we collate these with the Mexican, or rather Chiapan legends, which the abbot Clavigero and the baron Von Humboldt regard as genuine American traditions, and which M. Klaproth has mentioned in connexion with the historical narratives of the Hebrews and the Hindoos, we shall be fully convinced that all these accounts relate, not merely to the same era, but to the same facts, and to the escape of the same individual persons. Here is no story of a flood covering only low countries, and driving the inhabitants into the mountains, but of a deluge submerging the whole habitable world, and of the escape of one man with his family in a ship, or ark, which he had prepared for his own deliverance, having been forewarned of the approaching catastrophe by a divine intimation. Even the fabulous embellishments which this story has received among several nations, and which are wanting to the simple narrative in Genesis, are common to several different accounts; as any body may perceive by comparing the legend of the Purana with the tale of Oannes. If, therefore, historical testimony is of any force, the deluge was universal, and at any rate there was but one escape from the catastrophe, since the circumstances, under which an escape was effected, are nearly the same in all the different accounts.

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We may remark, that the hypothesis which this writer has adopted, has not enabled him to account for the facts which would appear to have suggested it. In his previous observations on the general, or *antediluvian* affinity of languages, it seems to have been assumed that the speech of all nations was originally one, or at least that their idioms were once nearly connected. Now, if this supposition be maintained, the difficulty of explaining the diversity which now exists, is not materially lessened by referring its origin to a remote period before the flood. On the other hand, if it is assumed, that there existed a variety of languages from the beginning, no explanation is afforded of the coincidences which are so extensively spread, and which are regarded as proofs of a general or universal connexion.

Section III.

Survey of the different relations of Languages to each other.—Concluding Remarks on the Origin of different Languages.

Without attempting any explanation of the phænomena which indicate a remote connexion between idioms otherwise entirely distinct from each other, we may remark that the comparison of languages displays four different relations between them.

1. There are certain classes of languages which have no connexion in their vocabularies, that is, few or no words in common, and which yet display,

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when carefully examined, a remarkable and extensive analogy in the laws of their grammatical construction. This sort of *resemblance may be so close,* as to prove, notwithstanding the difference of vocabularies, that the languages in which it appears are connected in origin.

As examples of this relation I shall only mention, at present, two instances. One of them is that very peculiar class of languages, which a learned philologer has distinguished by the term of polysynthetic,* and which appears to comprehend all the idioms of the aboriginal nations of America. On this subject I must refer the reader to what has been said above in the introduction to the eighth book. It will be seen that there is sufficient ground for concluding the idioms of all the native American races, as far as these idioms are hitherto known, to belong to one family of languages: a conclusion founded on the remarkable and intimate relation in their peculiarities of grammatical structure and style of expression, and on the general analogy of formation which has been discovered in them, though the different languages which constitute this class have no resemblance in their vocabularies. Another instance, which admits of similar observations, is to be found in the monosyllabic class of languages, spoken by the Chinese and Indo-Chinese nations.

2. A second relation between languages is found in those instances where there is little or no re-

* By Mr. Duponceau of Philadelphia.

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semblance in grammatical structure, but an extensive correspondence in the vocabularies. Coincidences in particular words may be accidental, or the result of communication among neighbouring nations connected by social intercourse. But this can hardly go beyond a limited number of words, and can never extend to any great proportion of such terms as are expressive of simple ideas and universal objects: of which a primary stock belongs to every family of mankind.

The most remarkable instance of this species of relation is discovered when we compare the vocabularies of the Semitic and Indo-European idioms. These classes of languages have scarcely anything common in their grammatical formation, but the number of particular words, and those of the kind above described, which are common to, or similar in both, is very considerable. A large proportion of Hebrew words are to be recognized in some or in others of the Indo-European dialects. I am not alluding to the roots, which are often the creation of lexicographers, but to the terms actually used as expressive of objects and actions.*

* M. Klaproth himself has remarked that the number of vocables, common to the Semitic and Indo-European languages, is much greater than is commonly supposed. No philologer has yet taken the pains to ascertain the extent of this analogy, which is certainly very considerable. Among the words common to these languages are two of the first ten numerals in the cardinal series.

That the relation between these two classes of languages proceeds from affinity between the respective nations, is the more

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3. A nearer relation than either of those already mentioned, is to be found in both of them combined, that is, it subsists between languages connected both in grammatical structure, and by a great number of corresponding vocables. Of this description is the affinity between the different Indo-European languages, which has been already dwelt upon sufficiently.

4. A fourth result from the comparison of languages is, where none of the marks of resemblance above described can be found; where there is neither any analogy in grammatical forms, nor any correspondence in words, sufficient to indicate a particular affinity. Languages, distinguished in both these respects, are not of the same class, or family, and they generally belong to nations in other circumstances remote from each other. Few idioms, however, are entirely insulated from all others. Most are connected by those widely spread

probable, because both races have preserved common histories or traditions. The Hebrews and Chaldeans derived their descent from a patriarchal stem which had survived the Noachic deluge. So did the Indo-European nations, in the traditions which were peculiar to themselves; for we may venture to assert, that the deluge of Noah, or of Oannes, was the same as that of Deucalion and of Menu, from which the Japetic nations record their escape. Even the same patriarchal names are preserved in the mythological stories of the Indo-Europeans, and in the historical genealogies of the Semitic race; for who can doubt that Iapetus and Ion are the Iaphet and Iawan, reckoned, in the Hebrew genealogy of the posterity of Noah, in the branch from which the European nations are there deduced.

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coincidences which M. Klaproth hypothetically regards as antediluvian.

It would be a very difficult task to frame an hypothesis that might explain all these phænomena, blended as they are of diversity and resemblance. The theory of languages, the laws and manner of their deflections, are indeed so imperfectly known, and facts of late discovered have turned out so contrary to previously entertained opinions, as to prevent our placing any reliance upon probable conjectures. Who, for example, would have expected to find the languages of the aboriginal American nations so artificially constructed, as if their grammatical system had been the result of long study and philosophical refinement? Nothing but an irresistible evidence would convince us of the truth of such a fact. But while our knowledge of these subjects is so limited, and our insight into the principles which govern the formation of languages so imperfect, we are not authorized to draw any positive conclusion as to their origin, and this remark must be applied to the assertions of those who persuade themselves that the number and diversities of human idioms must have existed from the beginning. How, indeed, such diversities have arisen in the languages of nations descended from one race, it is difficult to determine, but that they cannot have arisen, we are by no means authorized to decide. But in order to cut short a discussion, in which no certainty can be obtained, I shall take leave of

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this subject with two observations, which I submit to the judgment of my readers.

1. Since it appears, that under certain circumstances, languages, which are built on the same principles of structure, and from their striking and extensive analogy, would appear to have had one origin, yet have lost all resemblance in their vocabularies; and that under different circumstances, languages, still nearly connected by a great stock of common words, have now very different laws of grammar, and in their general principles of formation are entirely distinct from each other; is it not possible, nay probable, that in other instances both of these indications of ancient affinity may have been lost? It would appear that in some cases both have been preserved; in others, either of the two has perished, while the other has continued to subsist; in a third class of examples, both may have become evanescent, without after all giving us a right to conclude that nations, who now speak languages, resembling neither in grammatical laws nor in vocabularies, had not at some ancient period a common dialect.

2. It may be remarked that, in general, the number and diversity of languages is nearly in proportion to the barbarism of nations. Where we find the human race most degraded, morally and physically, we discover the greatest difference of languages. Savage people, roaming about the banks of rivers, or the sea-shores, or wandering through forests in quest of a scanty subsistence,

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are necessarily divided into very small companies; in their almost solitary existence they have little use of speech, and their scanty vocabularies soon deviate from each other and lose all traces of resemblance.*

There are indeed instances, in which we find the languages of barbarous nations widely spread, and even common to tribes scattered over great regions in the continent, or over distant islands. But these phænomena are found among nations in a higher degree of civilization, or at least in whom the mental faculties are in a state of greater developement and activity than among the absolutely savage races before described. Such instances occur in the nations of Polynesia and in many of those in America. In these states of society, although letters are unknown, the memory is exercised and the language preserved by means of oral recitations in public assemblies; by festive and traditional songs, and by a variety of circumstances in the customs and habits of such people. When a particular order of men comes to be instituted for the purposes of religion, a great degree of permanency, as well as of cultivation in language, is generally the result.

Among nations whose civilization has been from very remote antiquity, the features of resemblance

* The taciturn habit of some savage nations is so peculiar a feature of their character, as to excite the attention and surprise of observant travellers. It is particularly noticed by Don Felix de Azzara, in his account of some of the nations of Paraguay.

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in languages have been permanent in a corresponding degree. We need only mention as an instance the Indo-European nations. On the other hand, the marks of such affinity become evanescent in proportion to the degree of barbarism to which various nations are known to have been reduced in early times. These considerations are not unfavourable to the hypothesis, that the diversity of human languages has arisen from the minute division and the dispersion of families, and from their reduction at an early period to a savage and destitute condition.

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NOTE ON THE FIFTH BOOK.

Remarks on the Relation between the Indo-European Languages.

As the proof of affinity between the nations treated of in the fifth book, rests in a great measure on the connexion said to have been discovered between their languages, it may be expected that some evidence of so important a fact should be adduced. I have above referred to several authors who have treated expressly on the history of these languages, and in whose works much information may be found on the subject by those who are desirous of looking for it; but as these works have been written with particular views, and as they may not be in the hands of all my readers, it will be advisable for me to subjoin here some examples that may serve to illustrate the affinity discoverable between the principal Indo-European idioms.

I shall begin by shortly comparing the declensions of nouns substantive in the Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek languages.

The Sanskrit nouns are inflected by terminations in a manner similar to that of the Latin and Greek languages, but they have two additional cases which are peculiar to them; these are the instrumental and locative, answering to the signs *by* and *in*, which in Latin are confounded with the ablative, and in Greek with the dative. The first declension in Sanskrit comprehends nouns of three genders: the masculine have the nominative in ŭs, the feminine in ā, and the neuter in ŭm, corresponding nearly to the first and second declensions. The feminine noun tarā, a star, will serve as an example, of which the cases are here

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set down, opposite to those of a Greek and Latin noun of the first declension, for the sake of displaying to the eye the correspondence between them.

	Greek.	Sanskrit.	Latin.
Nom.	ἀρὰ,	tārā,	dea.
Gen.	ἀρᾶς,	tarāyās,	deae or deaï.
Dat.	ἀρᾶι,	tarāyoi,	deae, viz. deaï
Ac.	ἀρὰν,	tarām,	deam.
Abl.	ἀρᾶς,	tarāyās, or tarāyāh,	deâ, (i. e. deaa).
Instrum.	ἀρᾶι,	tarāyā,	deâ.
Loc.	ἀρᾶι,	tarāyām,	deâ.

Dual.

N.	ἀρὰ,	tarē.	
G.	ἀραῖν,	tarăyoas.	
D.	ἀραῖν,	tarābhyām.	
Ac.	ἀρὰ,	tarē.	
Ab.	ἀραῖν,	tarābhyām.	
Inst.	ἀραῖν,	tarābhyām.	
Loc.	ἀραῖν,	tarăyoas.	

Plural.

N.	ἀραὶ,	tārāh, or tarās,	deæ.
G.	ἀρῶν,	tarānām,	dearum.
D.	ἀραῖς,	tarābhyŭs,	deabus.
Ac.	ἀρὰς,	tārās,	deas.
Ab.	ἀρῶν,	tarābhyŭs,	deabus.
Inst.	ἀραῖς,	tarabhĭs,	deabus.
Loc.	ἀραῖσι,	tarasŭ,	deabus.

An example of the second Sanskrit declension will be afforded by the word mati, in the nominative *matis, i. e.* mind, mens, μῆτις, which I shall compare with a Latin and Greek noun of similar meaning and termination.

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		Singular.	
N.	μῆτις,	matis,	mens.
G.	μήτιος,	matias,	mentis.
D.	μήτι,	matyoi, or matye,	menti.
Ac.	μῆτιν,	matim,	mentem.
Ab.	μήτιος,	matyas, or mateh,	mente.
Inst.	μήτι,	matyā,	mente.
Loc.	μήτι,	matyām, or matou,	mente.

Dual.

N.	μήτιε,	măti.
G.	μητίοιν	mătyoas.
D.	μητίοιν	matibhyām.

&c.

Plural.

N.	μήτιες,	matăyŭs,	mentes.
G.	μητίων,	matīnām,	mentum.
D.	μήτισι,	matĭbhyŭs,	mentibus.
Ac.	μήτιας,	matīs,	mentes.
Abl.	μητίων,	matĭbhyŭs,	mentibus.
Inst.	μήτισι,	matibhĭs,	mentibus.
Loc.	μήτισι,	matishu,	mentibus.*

The fourth Sanskrit declension is exemplified by the words pĭtrĕ, and mātrĕ, father and mother. The latter is thus declined:

* I have in general followed the orthography adopted by the learned and excellent Dr. Carey in his Sanskrit grammar, from which many of the examples I have given were selected. In representing the Sanskrit akâra, or first vowel, Dr. Carey has adopted ŭ, Sir W. Jones and the writers in the Asiatic Researches ă, and Frederick Schlegel, ă. Our shortest vowel sound in English, which, I suppose, corresponds with that of the *akâra*, is perhaps best expressed by ŭ, except at the end of a syllable, in which situation we are accustomed to give always a long, and even a diphthongal sound to the u. It is perhaps, on this account, most consistent with the habit of English pronunciation to represent the first Sanskrit vowel by ŭ or ă, in all instances, except when it terminates a syllable, and in that situation to substitute ă.

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		Singular.	
N.	μήτηρ,	mātā,	mater.
G.	μητρὸς,	matūs,	matris.
D.	μητρὶ,	matre,	matri.
Ac.	μητρὰ,	matărŭm,	matrem.
Abl.	μητρὸς,	mātus,	matre.
Inst.	μητρὶ,	mātrā,	matre.
Loc.	μητρὶ,	matări,	matre.
		Dual.	
N. and Ac.	μητρέ,	matărou.	
Gen.	μητροῖν,	matroas.	
D.	μητροῖν,	matribhyām.	
		&c.	
		Plural.	
N.	μητέρες,	mātărŭs,	matres.
G.	μητρῶν,	matrenam,	matrum.
D.	μητρασὶ,	*matrĕbhyŭs,*	*matribus.*
Ac.	μητρὰς,	*matras,*	*matres.*
Ab.	μητρῶν,	*matrĕbhyŭs,*	*matribus.*
Inst.	μητρασὶ,	*matrebhis,*	*matribus.*
Loc.	μητρασὶ,	matrishŭ,	matribus.

There are in all six declensions in Sanskrit, the remainder of which differ but little from those already exemplified.

The declensions of Sanskrit adjectives are very similar in termination to those of the nouns. Adjectives of three terminations, in the nominative ending in ŭs, ā, ŭm, form the accusative in ŭm, ām, ŭm, as shubus, shuba, shubum, καλὸς, καλῆ, καλὸν; accus. shubum, shubam, shubum, καλὸν, καλὴν, καλὸν. These adjectives are declined like nouns of the first declension in Sanskrit, corresponding with the two first declensions in Latin. It must be noticed that the Sanskrit, like the Latin, always substitutes *m* for the Greek

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ν, and the former ā for the Greek ω̃ and οῖ; and with this observation the analogy between the three languages becomes more striking.

The comparison of adjectives is formed in Sanskrit by changing the termination into tără in the comparative degree, and into tămă in the superlative; as, yuva, juvenis, young; yuvatără, younger; yuvatămă, youngest. Shuba, pulchra, λευκῆ; shubatăra, λευκότερη; shubatămă, pulcherrima. There is another termination common to both comparative and superlative degrees, corresponding to the Greek ἴστος, viz. istha, or iyus.

The conjugations of the Sanskrit verbs are very similar to those of the Greek verbs in μι, particularly in the Doric dialect, as the following examples will shew. Bhavami is the present tense, from the root *bhu*, to be.*

Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1. Bhavami,	Bhavāvas,	Bhavamus.
2. Bhavasi,	Bhavăt'has,	Bhavat'ha.
3. Bhavati,	Bhavătăs,	Bhavanti.

The imperfect is formed, as in Greek, by prefixing an augment, which might be represented by ε as well as by ă, and by shortening the termination:† as,

1. ăbhăvam,	ăbhavava,	ăbhavām.
2. ăbhavas,	abhavătăm,	ăbhavata.
3. ăbhavat,	ăbhavatām,	ăbhavan.

There is another preterit, which has been observed to correspond with the Greek second aorist.‡

1. ăbhūvam,	ăbhūva,	ăbhūma.
2. ăbhūs,	abhūtăm,	ăbhūta.
3. abhūt,	abhūtām,	ăbhūvan.

* Compare with this the inflection of ἵστημι, particularly with the Doric terminations of the third person in ατι, plural αντι.

† Compare with this the inflection of ἐτίθην.

‡ Compare with this the inflection of ἔθην.

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The preterperfect is formed by a reduplication, as in Greek and in some Latin verbs. The root Bhu is not quite regular in this tense, but the following is the preterperfect of the verb Yāchāmi, posco, *αἰτέω*.

	Singular.	
Yăyācha,	*ᾐτήκα,*	poposci,
Yăyāchit'ha,	*ᾐτήκας,*	poposcisti.
Yăyāchă,	*ᾐτήκε,*	poposcit.
	Plural.	
Yăyāchima,	*ᾐτήκαμεν,*	poposcimus.
Yăyāchă,	*ᾐτήκατε,*	poposcistis.
Yăyāchùs,	*ᾐτήκασι,*	poposcere.

The Sanskrit verbs have two future tenses: they are conjugated through the active, passive, and middle voices; in all which analogies have been pointed out scarcely less striking than the preceding.

Enough has been said to demonstrate the grammatical affinity of the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin languages. I shall add some further remarks, for the sake of extending the same conclusion to some others of the European languages.

The affinity of the Germanic idioms to the Greek has been fully proved by Dr. Jamieson, but some writers have hesitated whether they ought to include the Celtic dialects in the same family of languages. A careful examination of the forms of the Celtic idioms would fully prove that these dialects, as well as the Slavonic, are nearly related to the same stock. I have no opportunity of entering into a full investigation of this subject at present, but shall set before my readers merely a few specimens.

The Welsh dialect of the Celtic either never had, or has lost the inflection of nouns by cases; the Irish has declensions; the dative plural terminates generally in *aibh*, or *ibh*, corresponding with the Sanskrit *ābhyŭs*, and the Latin

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*ābus.** But it is in the manner of conjugating verbs that we perceive the most convincing marks of affinity between these languages.

The use of the verb substantive as an auxiliary verb, is a character of all the Indo-European languages; it distinguishes them from the Hebrew, which never makes such an use of the verb *to be*. Mr. Bopp has shewn that this verb has a very extensive use in the formation and inflection of attributive verbs. He has rendered it very probable that the tenses of Greek verbs, in μὶ particularly, are compounds of the inflections derived from εἰμὶ with some noun, or word of quality or relation; thus ἵστημι is nothing more than ἵστα, i. e. ἵστας-εἰμὶ, stans sum. This construction is much more decidedly found in Welsh, in which the present tense of attributive verbs is *obviously* formed by means of the verb substantive, as wyv yn canu, εἶμι ἐν τῷ ᾄδειν.

But not only the mode of using the verb substantive is common to all these languages, but this verb is formed in all of the same, or nearly the same elements. In Greek, in Latin, Sanskrit, and Gothic, Mr. Bopp has shewn that the various tenses of the verb *to be* are derived from two roots, which are in Sanskrit ĀS, and BHŪ, viz. IS and BE. Some tenses of the latter verb have been given above; the former is in all languages, as in Sanskrit, very defective. I shall cite some tenses of both, comparing them with corresponding parts of the same verbs in other languages, and first the present tense of the verb AS.

Singular.

Sanskrit,	1. ăsmi,	2. ăsĭ,	3. ăstĭ.
Greek,	ἐμμὶ,	ἐσσὶ.	ἐστὶ.
Latin,	esum,	es,	est.

Dual.

Sanskrit,	svas,	st'has,	stas.
Greek,		ἐστὸν,	ἐστὸν.

* Irish Grammar, printed by Barlow, 1808, Dublin.

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Plural.

Sanskrit,	smus,	st'ha,	sunti.
Greek,	ἐσμεν,	ἐστε,	ἐντὶ.
Latin,	sumus,	estis,	sunt.

The following is the present tense of the verb substantive in Russian.

S.	1. esmĭ,	2. esi,	3. estĭ.
P.	esmўĭ,	este,	sutĕ.

In the Welsh, as in Latin and in Russian, the preter-perfect tense is formed from the verb corresponding with *bu* or *be*.

Latin,	1. Fui,	2. fuisti,	3. fuit.
Welsh,	bûm, or vûm,	buost,	bu.
Sanskrit Aorist,	ăbhūvam,	ăbhūs,	ăbhūt.

Plural.

Latin,	fuimus,	fuistis,	fuerunt.
Welsh,	buom,	buoch,	buant, or buont.
Sanskrit,	ăbhūma,	ăbhūta,	ăbhuvan.

The following is the future tense of the same verb.

Singular.

Welsh,	byddwyv,	byddych,	byddo.
Russian,	budu,	budetĭ,	budetĕ.
Sanskrit,*	bhuyasam,	bhūyas,	bhūyat.

Plural.

Welsh,	byddom,	byddoch,	byddont.
Russian,	budemĭ,	budete,	budutĕ.
Sanskrit,	bhuyasma,	bhuyasta,	bhuyasus.

I shall terminate these remarks by adding the numerals

* This is the future precative.

in the principal Indo-European languages, as a specimen of the affinity in their vocabularies.

	Russian.	Persian.	Sanskrit.	Greek.	Welsh.	Irish.	Latin.	Franco-Theutish.
1,	Odin,	ec,	ēkă,	ἓν, μία,	ün,	aen,	unus,	ein.
2,	dua,	du,	dui,	δύω,	dau,	da, do,	duo,	tue.
3,	tri,	se,	tri,	τρεῖς,	tri,	tri,	tres,	thri.
4.	chetuire,	chehar,	chatūr,	τέτταρες,	pedwar,	ketair,	quatuor,	fiuuar, (fidwor Goth)
5,	pat,	penj,	pancha,	πέντε, πέμπε,	pümp,	kuig,	quinque,	finfe.
6,	shest,	shesh,	shash,	ἕξ,	chwech,	se,	sex,	sehs.
7,	sem,	heft,	sapta,	ἑπτὰ,	saith,	secht,	septem,	sibun.
8,	vosem,	hesht.	ashta,	ὀκτὼ,	wyth,	ocht,	octo,	ohto.
9,	debyat,	na,	navam,	ἐννέα,	naw,	noi,	novem,	niguni.
10,	desyat,	deh,	dashan,	δέκα,	dêg,	deich,	decem,	tehan.
20,	dvatstat,	bist,	ving'shati,	ἴκοντι,	ugain,	fiche,	viginti,	tuentig.
100,	sto,	sad,	shata,	ἑκατον,	cant,	kett,	centum,	hunt.

I have only room to remark, that the most of the differ-

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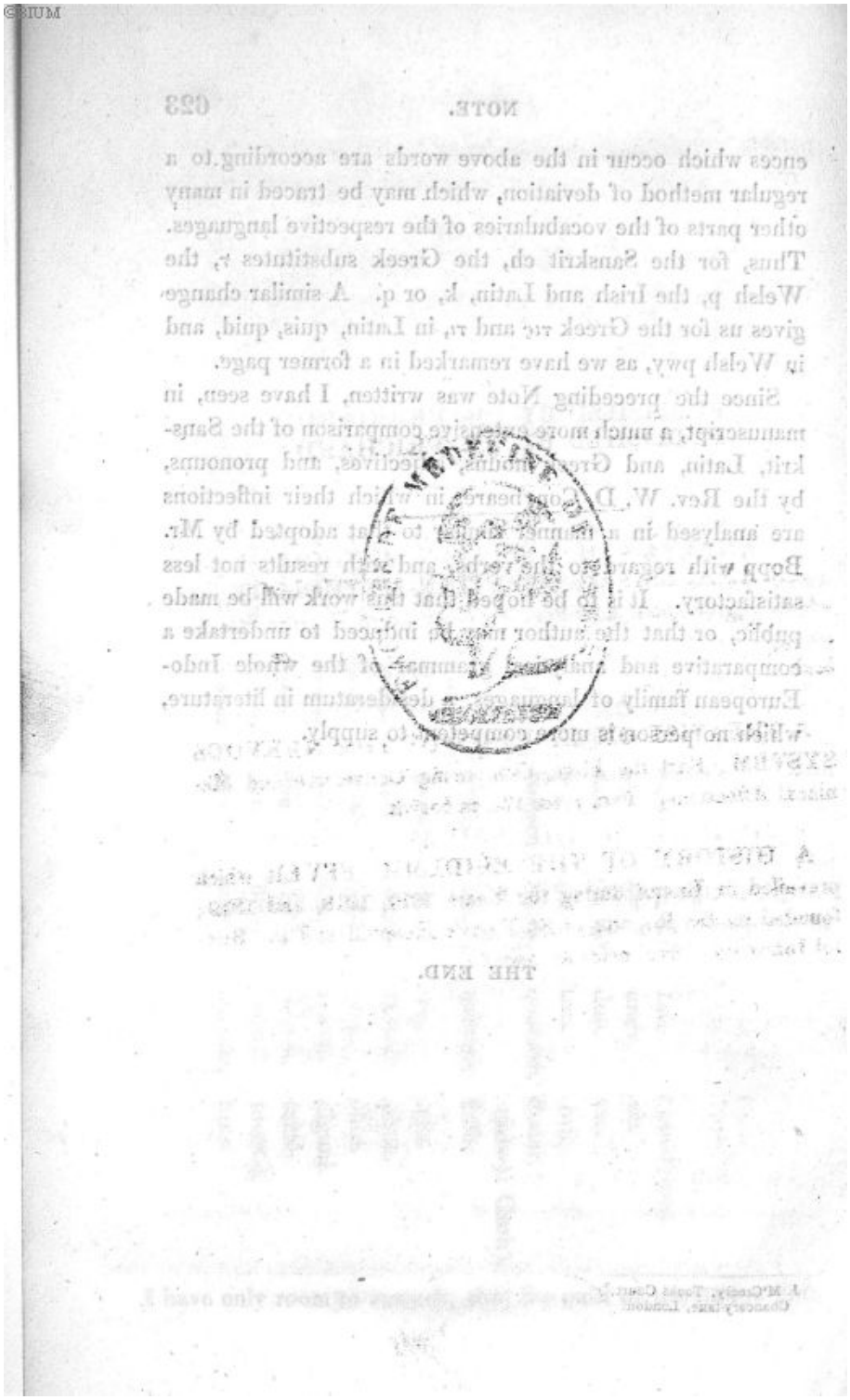
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ences which occur in the above words are according to a regular method of deviation, which may be traced in many other parts of the vocabularies of the respective languages. Thus, for the Sanskrit ch, the Greek substitutes τ, the Welsh p, the Irish and Latin, k, or q. A similar change gives us for the Greek τις and τι, in Latin, quis, quid, and in Welsh pwy, as we have remarked in a former page.

Since the preceding Note was written, I have seen, in manuscript, a much more extensive comparison of the Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, by the Rev. W. D. Conybeare, in which their inflections are analysed in a manner similar to that adopted by Mr. Bopp with regard to the verbs, and with results not less satisfactory. It is to be hoped that this work will be made public, or that the author may be induced to undertake a comparative and analytical grammar of the whole Indo-European family of languages, a desideratum in literature, which no person is more competent to supply.

THE END.

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