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ural, Geographical, Philological and Biblical History (Philadelphia, 1825), pp. xliii–xliv: "The celebrated book of Peyrelius on the pre-Adamites was written to solve certain difficulties in biblical exegesis...for the writer was a mere scholastic theologian. He met the fate of all who ventured to defy the hierarchy;...at a day when they had the civil power at their back...they had their fagots in the Place de Grève, and as they could not catch Peyrelius, the Sorbonne ordered his book publicly burned by the common hangman.

Albert White, A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom (New York, 1960) (the first edition was in 1896), I, 255: "In some parts of Europe a man holding new views on chronology was by no means safe from bodily harm. As an example of the extreme pressure exerted by the old theological system at times on honest scholars, we may take the case of La Peyrère...He was taken in hand at once: great theologians rushed forward to attack him from all parts of Europe...the Parliament of Paris burned the book, and the Grand Vicar of the Archdiocese of Meclien threw him into prison, and kept him there until he was forced, not only to retract his statements, but to adjure his Protestantism."

Most histories of anthropology give La Peyrère an honorific and heroic place in the early development of the subject.


35. It must be recognized that many of those developing the theory of different grades of mankind opposed slavery. Their theories were used by the proslavery advocates nonetheless. For example, Buffon, in his "Of the Varieties of the Human Species," strongly attacked the dreadful treatment of slaves (see pp. 152–53). However, Buffon's views on why many people were non-white were taken, in whole or part, by the racists to justify slavery.


37. Alexander von Humboldt, Cosmos, I, 368: "Whilst we maintain the unity of the human species, we at the same time repel the depressing assumption and inferior races of men. There are nations more susceptible of cultivation, more highly civilized—but none in themselves nobler than others."

Patterson's "Memoir of Samuel George Morton" pointed out that when von Humboldt was writing Cosmos he sent Dr. Morton a letter praising the latter's researches on crania, (pp. xxxiv–xxxv). When the racist implications of Morton's polygenetic views became apparent, von Humboldt rejected them. Morton and his disciples insisted they were just being scientific, and that moral evaluation should not enter into scientific research (pp. li–lill). The dispute between von Humboldt and Morton much resembles the present argument over the claim by Stokely, Herrenstein, and others that there is a genetic basis for black intellectual inferiority.

Feijoo and the Problem of Ethiopian Color

A. Owen Aldridge

SOMETIMES IN THE HISTORY of ideas, certain authors are associated with major concepts even though these concepts may not be original with them or even particularly significant to the totality of their literary work. A good example is the theory of the influence of climate upon human character, which has been universally associated with Montesquieu; yet it was not originated by the author of L'Esprit des lois, he did not develop it in any significant manner, and he actually referred to it only briefly and casually in his great treatise on government. The concept played a much greater role in the work of the learned Spanish ecclesiastic Benito Gerónimo Feijoo (1676–1746). Indeed he was in his Mapa intelectual y cotejo de naciones the very first of all the many authors who discussed this question to distinguish between theory and fact in regard to climate. As a result Feijoo rejected the theory that climate has the power of influencing human character. Most of the psychological, biological, and metaphysical concepts treated by the French philosophes in the first half of the eighteenth century are also discussed or touched upon in Feijoo's Teatro crítico, which could just as appropriately have been entitled, like one of the works of Voltaire, a Dictionnaire philosophique.

I have chosen Feijoo as the focus of my discussion not because of his preeminence as a writer or thinker, but on the contrary because he is relatively obscure. Even though he may possibly be classed as the foremost author of eighteenth-century Spain, he was of minimum consequence in the European Enlightenment as a whole. He serves as a better medium for illustrating the history
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que por ningún accidente puede alterarse ni en ellos ni en sus sucesores,” or that it is a characteristic acquired through the operation of nature. From a twentieth-century perspective, it would seem that of the two, the congenital theory would be closer to orthodoxy since it could be interpreted as supporting the doctrine of special creation. Feijoo saw in this theory, however, a resemblance to a theological error he had already confuted, the so-called pre-Adamite heresy, that God had created other generations before Adam and Eve. In order to expose this heresy as implicit in the doctrine of separate biological races, Feijoo cited a French, deistically motivated, imaginary voyage, the title of which he gave as La Relación sus nuevos viajes por la América Septentrional, by the Baron de Lahontan, apparently without realizing that it was fictitious although suspecting that it was tainted with impiety. In this imaginary voyage, a Portuguese physician maintains that the black color is absolutely inherent in Ethiopians; that it is not lost when they change their diet or move to other geographical areas, and that it is passed on invariably from generation to generation. From this evidence, the physician concludes that Adam was not the first parent of nonwhites, or if he was, he must have been black and therefore whites could not have descended from him. In similar fashion he argues that the natives of America could not be descended from the same stock as Europeans because of the impossibility of the movements of people across the ocean prior to the means of navigation discovered in modern times. Feijoo had already disposed of these arguments in his Solución del gran problema histórico sobre la población de la América, y revoluciones del orbe terráqueo in such a manner as to vindicate the doctrine of Adam as the first parent of all mankind. Since he had already thus declared himself as an opponent of the view that black color is an invariable physical characteristic, it is not surprising that he should find reasons to support the contrary opinion, that it is caused by natural forces.

Many Biblical scholars, following Josephus, St. Jerome, and Eusebius, had previously affirmed that the black race stemmed from Cush, son of Cain and grandson of Noah, according to the genealogy in the tenth chapter of Genesis. Feijoo pointed out that the Scriptures do not specifically affirm that Cush and his descen-
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dants were black; moreover, even if Cush were black, Feijoo rea-
soned, the problem remains to explain how Cush sprang from white
parents. A German scholar in 1677 had published a treatise in
which he maintained that blackness had settled on Cush and his
descendants through a miracle, the result of a malediction uttered
by Noah against the father of Cush for exposing Noah’s naked-
ness. This scholar maintained as well that such natural causes
combined to produce their blackness as excessive heat, climate, the
contexture of the complexion (cutis), and the force of imagina-
tion. Feijoo replied that the theory of a malediction is just as arbi-
trary as the simple attribution of blackness to the sons of Cush and,
therefore, not an authoritative interpretation of the Scriptures. Fei-
jo replied to a more tolerant view, however, as we shall see, of the
contributing natural causes suggested by this author, adopting some of
them for his own purpose as primary causes.

Feijoo consulted a third theological source, an article in the
French Jesuit periodical Mémoires de Trévoux, concerning the the-
nories of a member of the order, Père Auguste. The latter carried
the quest for the original Negro back to Cain, maintaining that
blackness was the curse which God placed upon the slayer of Abel
and his descendants; furthermore, the French Jesuit claimed that
the American Indians came from Lamech, and the rest of mankind
from the three sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet. Feijoo re-
jected this hypothesis as being both arbitrary and contradicted by
other parts of Scripture, particularly the declaration that the Flood
covered the entire universe and destroyed the entire human race
with the exception of the family of Noah. Some time after Feijoo
had written his Color etiópico, he received a subsequent issue of
the Mémoires de Trevoux, containing an independent refutation of
the theory of Père Auguste from the pen of Père Tournemine,
a learned Jesuit now famous as one of the mentors of Voltaire
during his early days in the Lycée. Tournemine and Feijoo agreed
in substance in their objections to the theory of blackness as a re-
sult of a malediction, but Feijoo learned for the first time that
the first author to express it had been William Whiston, an English
theologian and propounder of many paradoxes. As Feijoo ex-
pressed it, not only was he a protestant and therefore a heretic,
but he was considered a heretic by other heretics.10

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In turning to arguments based on natural reason rather than
Scripture, Feijoo cited the opinion characterized as recidivista
del vulgo that the black color is caused by the heat of the sun,
an opinion found in such ancients as Pliny and Ovid. It was more-
over accepted and propagated after Feijoo by Buffon in his highly
influential Histoire naturelle.11 Feijoo rejected this argument in
simple terms; Negroes live in temperate areas of northern Africa
as well as at the Cape of Good Hope, and the natives of some very
hot areas in Europe and South America are not Negroes. Vol-
taire somewhat later, in his Essai sur les moeurs, used similar argu-
ments to prove that skin color could in no way be caused by cli-
mate: "des Nègres et des Nègresses, transportés dans les pays les
plus froids, y produisent toujours des animaux de leur espèce, et
que le mulâtres ne sont qu’une race bâtarde d’un noir et d’une
blanche, ou d’un blanc et d’une noire."12 Although on this particu-
lar point, Feijoo and Voltaire thought alike, on the related ques-
tion of whether whites and blacks belong to the same or to distinct
species, they parted company. Feijoo maintained that they are of
the same species because to affirm the contrary would be to deny
that Adam was the parent of all of humanity. Voltaire main-
tained that they are of distinct species because basic anatomical dif-
fferences separate them.

A further natural cause which some authors assigned for black-
ness was the imagination of pregnant mothers, an explanation
which Feijoo had not seen presented with complete clarity in any
author, but which he nevertheless knew well enough to cite. As he
presented the argument, the imagination of the mother of the first
Ethiopian had been struck forcibly during pregnancy by some
black object and thus negritude had become fixed and extended to
succeeding generations. Feijoo admitted that many stories circu-
late concerning the effect of imagination during conception or
pregnancy, but he was personally inclined to doubt that the mind
could be strong enough to produce such a physical result. Also this
phenomenon could not very easily be reconciled with the theory of
procreation, which Feijoo had proclaimed in another article and
which he considered to be the most modern, the so-called Chinese
box theory, that in each egg of every human ovary are already fully
formed from the beginning of the world all the subsequent indi-
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viduals of all future generations. Feijoo admitted that St. Thomas discussed the theory of imagination in pregnancy, but added that he did so in such an ambiguous manner that he came closer to a denial than an affirmation of its possibility. Feijoo also cited one of the most famous tales from antiquity, "Theoganes and Chariclea" or the "Ethiopian History," by Heliodorus, which many eighteenth-century critics considered as a forerunner of the modern novel. In the story, Chariclea, the offspring of Negro parents, was born white because her mother had been impressed at the time of generation by a painting of Andromeda. Quintilian, moreover, in one of his orations described a white woman who from inspecting the portrait of an Ethiopian gave birth to a black infant. Feijoo in summarizing these and similar tales remarked that they were feigned or fictitious, designed to advance the literary aims of their authors.

Yet Feijoo would not take it upon himself to deny categorically the force of the imagination in this connection. He pointed out, however, that one could believe that the imagination could possibly change the color of an individual foetus without believing that this process had anything to do with the Ethiopian race. His chief objection to applying the theory to an entire race is that for it to be tenable all mothers in a particular area must have experienced the same impression upon their imagination. Also Feijoo suggested that some Negro men or women in slavery have experienced a vehement passion for a white individual; this passion has exercised a violent effect on their imaginations, but nevertheless white offspring have never been produced.

A variant of the imagination theory may be found in the works of Malebranche, one of Feijoo's favorite sources for philosophical concepts. Malebranche stated confidently that "women who during pregnancy see persons with marks on certain parts of their faces will imprint these marks on the corresponding parts of their children's bodies." Another of Feijoo's sources, Leibniz, in speaking of animals, affirmed that "it is possible for a female to produce an animal belonging to a species different from her own, a fact caused solely by the imagination of the mother." More important, one of Feijoo's contemporaries, a French Jesuit, Lafitau, had applied the imagination theory to the black and red races three years before the essay on Color etiópico. In his Moeurs des sauvages américains comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps, Lafitau expressed a theory concerning the populating of the western hemisphere very much like that of Feijoo's Solución del gran problema histórico sobre la población de la América, y revoluciones del globo terráqueo. According to Lafitau, the Americans had not been created by God as a separate race, but they had descended from the ancient Greeks. The black color of the black race had come from some women in the distant past seeing the bodies of their husbands painted in black and their imagination being so stricken that their successive progeny took on the color. The red of the Caribbean races similarly had come about through women seeing their husbands painted in red. As proof of this theory, Lafitau cited the stratagem of Jacob in Chapter 30 of Genesis in breeding lambs of whatever color he pleased. Somewhat later Voltaire scornfully rejected Lafitau's entire system, both the main theory of populating America and the subordinate one of imagination. "Le jésuite devait savoir," he taunted, "que tout ce qui arrivait du temps de Jacob n'arrive plus aujourd'hui." "Si l'on avait demandé au genre de Laban pourquoi ses brebis, voyant toujours de l'herbe, ne faisaient pas des agneaux verts, il aurait été bien embarrassé." Another opinion advanced to account for skin color was that of an English physician of the seventeenth century, Thomas Browne, whose prose work exposing vulgar errors, Pseudodoxia Epidemica, 1646, has many parallels to Feijoo's Teatro crítico. From the periodical Actorum Eruditorum, Feijoo reported Browne's theory that the blackness of the Ethiopians derives from "los efuvios fuliginosos y vitriólicos que despiden sus cuerpos hacia la superficie; y que estos efuvios proceden de las aguas y alimentos de que usan." This opinion is based on the testimony of Pliny concerning two fountains in Greece; one of which produces white characteristics and the other black in those who drink from it, "no sólo a los ga-

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nados, mas también a los hombres." Feijoo pointed out, however, that Pliny himself never actually saw such a fountain, nor has any traveler in modern times. Feijoo doubted the entire hypothesis because of "la grande inverosimilitud de que en muchas grandes pro-
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vincias, cuyos habitadores todos son negros, todas las fuentes tengn esta rara propiedad."

After dismissing all of the preceding theories, Feijoo unequivocally stated his own, "que la causa verdadera y única del color de los etiópes es el influjo del clima o país que habitan." Lest his readers be confused by the apparent inconsistency between this opinion and his previous rejection of the heat of the sun as well as food and water as causes, he hastened to explain that the climatic qualities which he believed to be instrumental are "los jugos, hábitos o efusivos de la tierra." The major cause, in other words, is the atmosphere. "Y los vapos, exhalaciones o corpusculos de la atmósfera, ¿qué son sino efusivos de la tierra? Luego éstos o los cuerpos de donde se exhalan se deben reconocer (regularmente hablando) por causa de las particulares cualidades buenas o malas del país."

Feijoo provided no clue to his source for this concept, but a parallel exists in one of the most important treatises on society and art of the century, Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et la peinture, by abbé Jean Baptiste Du Bos, published originally in 1719, fourteen years prior to Feijoo's essay. According to Du Bos,

"Les qualité des l'air dependent elles mêmes de la qualité des émanations de la terre que l'air enveloppe. Suivant que la terre est composée, l'air qui l'enserre, est différent. Or les émanations de la terre qui est un corps mixte dans lequel il se fait des fermentations continuées, ne sauraient être toujours précisément de la même nature dans une certaine contrée."

The theory of the particular effect of air goes all the way back to Hippocrates, De aere, aquis et locis; and an extensive and influential treatise on the subject, by Dr. John Arbuthnot. Essay concerning the Effects of Air on Human Bodies, was printed in England in the same year that Feijoo's discussion appeared.

Whether or not Feijoo was aware of Du Bos's treatise, his extensive consideration of the theory of air is an independent and highly original contribution. He presented evidence from various countries of Europe to illustrate the influence of soil and air. In Russia, the inhabitants of Georgia possess a rose color, and in the

Crimea the women are extremely beautiful. The English have a complexion whiter than that not only of Mediterranean peoples, but also of other peoples of the same northern latitude; therefore this quality cannot be attributed to the cold. Feijoo based another positive proof of his climatic theory upon the analogy with plants and vegetables, which vary drastically according to the soil. Turning to the argument that color comes from inheritance alone (the view of which Voltaire was to become a vocal defender later in the century), Feijoo replied that no unbroken racial lines exist among human beings, the mixture of races having taken place in all nations.

The strongest objection to the theory of climate was based on the circumstance that descendants of Negroes who move to other climates do not change their color. Feijoo again used the method of analogy. The metal gold is also produced by many years in the earth and is not changed when moved to another location. "Puede el clima etiópico producir la negrura, sin ser necesario para conservala." His principal answer, however, consisted in labelling as false the assumption that Negroes do not change color in different environments. He cited the Dictionnaire de Trévoux and various ecclesiastics as authority for the principle that "étipos trasplantados a Europa, a segunda o tercera generación van blaneando." According to Feijoo, these authorities are more credible than the Baron de Lahontan, who, in his opinion, may be suspected of impiety or charlatanism. Abbé Du Bos supports Feijoo on this principle, citing the descendants of original Portuguese settlers who had lived in African colonies over three centuries and as a result had acquired all the physical characteristics of Negroes. Voltaire, however, insisted firmly that in whatever regions white, red, yellow, or black races are transported, they do not change at all as long as they do not mix with the natives of the country.

One of the arguments of the Baron de Lahontan to support separate races was based on the allegation that descendants of natives of Brazil transported to Portugal continued to have no beards even after living more than a century in Europe. The lack of beards among the natives of North and South America was one of the main arguments used in an effort to prove that biological species in the New World degenerated from the Old, a beard being con-
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sidered a sign of virility. Feijoo, first of all, doubted the truth of the allegation that American Indians lack beards, citing the insufficiency of the available testimony on that subject. Even if the allegation were true, he objected, it may have taken centuries for the people of America to lose their beards and it might require many more to get them back. Also the process of losing and gaining beards may be very slow, but that of changing color may be relatively fast. Feijoo reported his own observation of two inhabitants of Oviedo, born in Mexico of Spanish parents, who both began life with a color between white and olive, that appropriate for Mexico. One of them, a bishop, left America as an adult and kept his dark color for the rest of his life; the other left at the age of seven and had become appreciably lighter by the age of nineteen, and, according to Feijoo, the lightening process continued noticeably every day. Returning to the subject of beards, Feijoo remarked that even if the Brazilians in Portugal never grow beards, one ought not to conclude that their ancestors never had them. It is not necessary that beards should return to a race which has lost them. Once again relying on analogy, he remarked that wine may turn to vinegar, but the reverse process never takes place. Finally Feijoo affirmed that the beardlessness of American Indians is no proof that the population of the New World did not come from Europe, another reference to the theory which he held in common with Lafitau that the Indians had descended from Europeans. According to Feijoo, it would not be possible for any Indians whatsoever to possess beards if the theory of two separate and unconnected races were true, but travelers had reported seeing Indians with beards in Darien.

Feijoo concluded his essay with some particulars concerning Negroes which he thought might interest his readers. To compare these particulars with similar statements in other eighteenth-century authors may be of equal interest. Relying on the Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, he reported that the Ethiopians are white at birth. A North American clergyman of the seventeenth century, Roger Williams, solemnly affirmed that the Indians acquired their red skin "by the Sunne and their annoyntings," but they were actually "borne white." Williams by the way was the only author I cite who had actually known the culture of either Indians or Negroes at first hand. Although he had lived and slept with Indians in order to learn their language, he still believed, like Feijoo, that they were born white.

Feijoo also reported, from the Académie Royale des Sciences, that the blackness of the Ethiopians resides only in the skin; that their sperm, as many believed, is not black; that both their blood and seminal fluids are the same as those of Europeans; that human skin is composed of three layers, the difference in skin color residing in the intermediate or second layer, the reticular membrane. Finally, Feijoo reported the experiments of Littre to prove that no glutinous black fluid is contained in this membrane, but the texture itself causes the blackness. Voltaire cited an experiment by the celebrated Ruych in Amsterdam, who was the first by dissection to isolate this mucous membrane, "which resembled a black gauze." But Voltaire used this evidence to prove a point contrary to Feijoo's, namely, that the Negro race is as different from the white as is a spaniel from a greyhound. The Encyclopédie of Diderot and d'Alembert in the article "Nègres" offered two different explanations for black skin color: (1) the presence of a black subcutaneous tissue, and (2) an excess of black bile. The article in the Encyclopédie on American Indians, "Canadiens," affirmed that they are born white like Europeans, but acquire their red tint from the paint and grease which they regularly apply to their bodies and which the sun burns into their skin.

The Swedish naturalist Linnaeus agreed with orthodox theologians that all men have sprung from a common parent, but he adopted the unusual opinion that this common parent was black. The English novelist, essayist, and poet Goldsmith agreed with Linnaeus and Feijoo on a common parent, but disagreed on his being black. By observing that black parents more often have white children than the reverse, he came to the conclusion that blackness is a recessive characteristic. Feijoo, as we have seen, believed that since all men have descended from Adam, the diversity of races was caused by the forces of climate. Voltaire, however, declared that providence dispersed the various races over the globe, using the term "providence" in an ambiguous manner to indicate natural
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causes, but particularly rejecting climate as a natural cause of skin color.\textsuperscript{25} Goldsmith repudiated the view that man was propagated from several sources in different parts of the globe, in other words, that man is "indigenous, or sprung from the soil," but instead of basing his opinion like Feijoo on the Book of Genesis, he brought his private logic to bear. Since in his opinion the inhabitants of the southern hemisphere are more barbarous than the people of the northern, but the natural beauty of the southern hemisphere is superior to that of the northern, he concluded that man first developed in the north but had not yet crossed the equator in sufficient numbers to balance the population of the two hemispheres.\textsuperscript{26}

On the question of whether Negroes are a separate race, most of the authors of the century outside Spain lined up with Voltaire against Feijoo, insisting on the separateness of the races. An English author, Edward Long, introduced the concept of the Great Chain of Being into the argument, affirming that Negroes are not even human beings but rise "progressively in the scale of intellect the further they mount above the orang-outan and brute creation."\textsuperscript{27} Montesquieu similarly maintained that Negroes are not subject to natural law because they are of a different species. "One could not imagine," he wrote, probably with a degree of irony, "that God, who is a very wise being, would have placed a soul, especially a good soul, in a body entirely black."\textsuperscript{28}

Maupertuis, President of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, proposed a few years after Feijoo's essay a biological explanation of procreation which would explain black skin color without relying on the theory of climate. Sketching a system of conception and generation very much like the modern one in which characteristics are inherited from both male and female, Maupertuis hazarded as a conjecture "que le blanc est la couleur des premiers hommes, & que ce n'est que par quelque accident que le noir est devenu une couleur héréditaire aux grandes familles qui peuplent la zone." Maupertuis felt such an explanation, bordering on the twentieth-century theory of mutations, would eliminate the difficulty of an apparent contradiction between a hereditary explanation of negritude and the account of Genesis, "qui nous apprend que toutes les peuples de la Terre sont sortis d'un seul père & d'une seule mère."\textsuperscript{29}

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There seems to be little doubt that the need to consider Adam as the single ancestor of all mankind had a great influence, perhaps the decisive one, on Feijoo's adopting the opinion that skin color is caused by climate.

In his Mapa intelectual y cotejo de naciones, as we have already seen, Feijoo came to the conclusion that climate does not play a decisive role in determining the intelligence or philosophical acuity of entire nations or peoples; he arrived at this opinion on the evidence of the achievements of actual individuals of particular countries.\textsuperscript{30} There may seem to be a paradox in his thought, therefore, that he would reject the influence of climate in regard to intellectual or psychological characteristics, but accept it in regard to physical. He does not in his Mapa intelectual actually deny, however, that climate may have a strong influence upon intellectual characteristics, but merely refutes some of the traditional opinions held concerning this influence upon particular nations. The main difference between the two essays is that he relies more on theory than on fact in his Color etiópico, but more on fact than theory in his Mapa intelectual.

Both essays, however, are remarkable examples of a modern scientific spirit in eighteenth-century Spain. Not only was Feijoo more cautious than Montesquieu in attributing human psychological characteristics to climate, but he followed the most informed medical opinion of his day in attributing physical changes to the particular influence of air.\textsuperscript{34} More important, the original evidence he adduced in support of this scientific theory shows him to be with one or two exceptions a respectable representative of his times.

NOTES

2. Teatro crítico, Vol. VII (1736), Discurso III.
3. No previous study has been devoted to Feijoo's essay, and relatively little attention has been given to the history of the discussion of Negro color, a very important subject in the history of ideas. It has been touched upon by David Brion Davis in The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture (Ithaca, 1966), pp. 450–54. Davis mentions Strabo among the Greeks and summarizes traditions based upon the Koran and
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the Talmud. From modern times, he treats English authors primarily, including Purchas' Pilgrimes, 1617, and Thomas Browne's Pseudo-Doxia Epidemica, the latter a work known to Feijoo.


5. Louis Armand de Lorn D'Arce, Baron de Lahontan, Nouveaux voyages de Mr. le Baron de Lahontan (La Hague, 1703).

6. Feijoo does not in this essay, however, undertake to solve another intriguing problem—where Noah obtained all the animals from the American continent and how these animals returned to America after the flood. This question was raised by Feijoo's French contemporary the Marquise de Châtelet, Voltaire's mistress and collaborator. See Ira O. Wade, Voltaire (Princeton, 1969), p. 524.

7. Curiosum scrutinium nigredinis postierum Cham id est Aethiopiam Aut. Io. Lud. Hanneman (Kiloni, 1677). Feijoo apparently did not see this treatise in the original, but relied on extracts in Journal des Sçavans. [24 juillet 1679, pp. 111–12.] He failed to mention in his own essay that the French periodical cited a "beau traité" by the learned Pecklinius, De habito & colore Aethiopiam, which rejects all natural explanations except the principle of generation. Pecklinius is probably the source of the title of Feijoo's essay.


9. The author of the article expresses a theory almost identical with that of Feijoo concerning the population of America, which refutes both the pre-Adamite theory and the theory that Noah's deluge was less than universal. According to this writer, America and Asia were perhaps joined in the past, and possibly even at the time of writing.

10. "Remarques du père Tourneme Jésuite, sur le mémoire touchant l'origine des Nègres...," avril 1734. According to Tournemine, all theories tracing Negroes to punishment by the alteration of inherited racial characteristics are refuted by Scripture concerning the beauty of the daughters of Cain and Lamech.

11. III (1749), 482–83. Another well-known treatment was that of the German Romanticist Herder, who in his Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit affirmed that the intense sun of the tropics brings out an oil from the body which produces the thick, soft velvet skin of the Negro, which everybody could have merely by living under the same conditions. The curly hair of the Negro, Herder explained by an abundance of oil in the head (Sämtliche Werke, hg. Bernhard Suphan [1877–1913], 13 Bd., 234). La Condamine, in his Relation abrégée, 1745, of his famous expedition to Peru, came to the conclusion that the skin color of Indians is due entirely to climate; Pierre Bou-

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guer, a member of the expedition, reached the same conclusion. Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, 1744, pp. 275–74.


13. "Consejo a la materia del discurso antecedente, contra los filósofos modernos."


16. Feijoo makes no reference whatsoever to Lafitau in Color etiópico, but he had discussed his work in some detail in his previous Mapa intelectual y cotejo de naciones, Sec. VI.


22. Key into the Language of America, Williams, Writings (Providence, R.I., 1866), I, 80.

23. Œuvres, Moland ed., XII, 357.


28. Esprit des lois, Livre XV, chap. V.

29. Vésus physique, Seconde partie, chapitre VI Œuvres (Lyon), II, 128.

30. Although Feijoo did not mention nothing concerning Negroes in this essay, his remarks have reference to a famous remark of Fontenelle, "On ne sait . . . si l'on peut espérer de voir jamais de grande auteurs lapons ou nègres" (Digression sur les ancients et les modernes). Voltaire later reacted in a manner of Feijoo to this remark by citing the American poetess Phillis Wheatley.

31. The separation between scientific and literary treatments of the theory of climate on human anatomy was almost total in the eighteenth century. In 1775 J. F. Blumenbach presented at Göttingen a medical thesis on the subject crammed with bibliographical citations. Of the sources which I have mentioned in this article, however, the only ones which Blumenbach cites are the Mémoires de Trévoux and Linnaeus. Joann. Frider. Blumenbach, De Generis Humani Varietate Natura (Göttingen, 1795), no date on title page). Pages 101–12 concern climate and color. An expanded treatment of the subject appears in a third edition (Göttingen, 1795), pp. 210–22.