REMINISCENCES

JOHN GASPAR SPURZHEIM, M.D

From Fisher's Painting, in the Possession of Hon. Moses Kimball, Boston. Photographed by Black.

REMINISCENCES

OF

DR. SPURZHEIM

AND

GEORGE COMBE:

AND

A REVIEW OF THE SCIENCE OF PHRENOLOGY, FROM THE PERIOD OF ITS DISCOVERY

BY DR. GALL,

TO THE TIME OF THE VISIT OF GEORGE COMBE TO THE UNITED STATES, 1838, 1840.

By NAHUM CAPEN, LL.D.,

AUTHOR OF "BIOGRAPHY OF SPURZHEIM," "REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES," "HISTORY OF DEMOCRACY," ETC.

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TO

GEORGE H. CALVERT

This Volume

IS INSCRIBED BY HIS FRIEND OF MANY YEARS,

The Author.

PREFACE.

THE origin of these few pages, designed to impart and perpetuate the teachings of three of the greatest philosophers of modern times, is sufficiently explained in the correspondence which closes this Preface.

Since their preparation, Mr. Calvert, to whom this volume has been dedicated, has added another volume to his many admirable productions. To his "First Years in Europe," his numerous "Essays," to his volumes on GOETHE, RUBENS, CHARLOTTE VON STEIN, WORDSWORTH, and SHAKESPEARE, he has just added one on COLERIDGE and SHELLEY, and closed with his address on GOETHE, delivered before the GOETHE CLUB of New York, Jan. 10, 1877.

As an author of high tone, poetic conception, clear analysis, deep philosophy, and pure thought, he is to be ranked among the ablest in the country. It was his high privilege to be one of the first in the United States to ask public attention to Phrenology. In 1832 he edited and published a volume entitled "*Illustrations of Phrenology; being a selection of articles from the Edinburgh Phrenological Journal, and the Transactions of the Edinburgh Phrenological Society. With twenty-six wood-cuts. With an Introduction.* By GEORGE H. CALVERT."

In his Preface, dated Baltimore, Md., September,

1832, he says: "The conviction the editor entertains of the vast importance of the Phrenological discoveries and of the beneficial results to be produced by a diffusion of a knowledge of them, has entered largely into his motive to undertake the task."

We speak of *this task* with peculiar interest, in this connection, as it was executed nearly fifty years ago, and as it enables us to make quotations from his interesting volume on Coleridge, just published.

He says: "That there is a close connection between brain and mind, especially intellectual mind, has always been vaguely acknowledged, or, rather, indistinctly felt. Toward the end of the last century Dr. Gall, a physician of Vienna, proved, by a thoroughly Baconian method, not only that there is a connection, close and indissoluble, between them, but that the brain is the indispensable organ of every kind of mental power; and further, that, instead of being one single organ, it is a congeries of organs, and that every intellectual aptitude, every animal propensity, every aspiration, every sentimental movement, has in the brain its individual instrument. What a helpful auxiliary was here offered to the metaphysician, to the psychologist, to the theologian, to the moralist! Kant's rare intuition would have caused new delight in Coleridge, who, by means of this new potent objective discovery of Gall, could have given precision, enlargement, definiteness, depth, to the subjective conclusions of Kant and of himself."

. . . . . .

"Through Spurzheim, a pupil of Gall, who was in London about the year 1826, Coleridge got a glimpse of the great discovery. But whether from being too

old (most people are, after forty, to accept a large, new revolutionary truth), or whether, though having an intellect apt for philosophic search, he yet lacked the warm hospitality to new truths, what may be called the philosophic temperament, which not many even capacious minds are blessed with, or whether he was not just then in the mood for such study,—whatever the cause, while he admitted to his nephew (see *Table Talk*) that 'all the coincidences which have been observed could scarcely be by accident,' the presentation of the new phenomena did not flash into his mind the light of a new prolific principle, as the fall of an apple did into that of Newton. Had he seized the import of these phenomena by following the high logic of their revelations, both his philosophy and his theology would have been expanded, clarified."

MOUNT IDA, BOSTON, *November*, 1880.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"NEW YORK, *May* 8, 1879.

"Hon. NAHUM CAPEN :

"MY DEAR SIR:—Remembering your very intimate, personal relations with Dr. Spurzheim, and believing it important that the public, and especially the readers of the PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL, should know more of him and his work than has yet been published, I am led to ask you to prepare for the JOURNAL your personal reminiscences of Spurzheim ; to include a description of his personal appearance, his habits of life, and of his traits of character. And I should be glad if you could add some account of the discovery of the Science of Phrenology; of the labors

of Gall alone, and of Gall and Spurzheim together; of the progress of the science abroad up to the time of Spurzheim's visit to the United States; of the object of his visit to this country; of his arrival and reception; his lectures and their influence, and of the circumstances of his sickness and death. Also, the state and progress of the science up to the period of Mr. Combe's visit to the United States; of his reception, labors, lectures, etc.: with a view that the teachings of Phrenology may be compared with previous systems of Mental Philosophy, and their importance and utility demonstrated by facts of history and experience.

"Feeling the importance of this, and knowing that there is now no person living besides yourself who has so much data from which to write, I beg leave to urge the matter on you, hoping that you may take the time necessary before it is too late.

"I remain, yours for the dissemination of Phrenological truth.

"Signed, CHARLOTTE FOWLER WELLS."

"MOUNT IDA, BOSTON, MASS., *Jan.* 28, 1880.

"Mrs. CHARLOTTE FOWLER WELLS, New York:

"DEAR MADAM:—When I received your favor of May last, I was surrounded with permanent cares and unfinished labors. From this condition I anticipated no exemption. My first impressions, instant and decided, were to decline the task enjoined by your letter. But when I reflected on your demands, and your reasons for them, I was influenced by convictions of duty, in some degree to meet your wishes.

"The labor of examining numerous letters and documents of nearly half a century ago; of recalling to mind the events and opinions of that period; of verifying, classifying, and condensing them, is much more than that of

writing. I have been embarrassed by the extent of my materials. I have written, and compiled from my own productions, and others, in such a manner as to give a connected view of the subjects enumerated in your letter. Of course, much of the matter will not be new to some of your readers, but what I have inserted, I trust, will prove to be of permanent value. I could have added much, but the reader will, I doubt not, pardon any omission, or imperfection, in view of my want of time, and of other duties which I could not evade.

"I am, with great respect, faithfully yours,

"NAHUM CAPEN."

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REMINISCENCES OF SPURZHEIM.

MOUNT IDA, BOSTON,
January, 1880.

THE appeal to me, as the only person living, who is able to furnish reminiscences of SPURZHEIM, of his last days in this country, and upon earth, affects me deeply. It is now nearly forty-seven years since the remains of this great philosopher were deposited at MOUNT AUBURN, and the first MONUMENT placed in that beautiful CEMETERY was that of SPURZHEIM. His name is deeply cut in marble, and there it will remain forever. It is one of the first monuments seen after the visitor enters the gateway. How eminently proper, and yet not by the wisdom of man, that the remains of one who dedicated his life and energies to the study of nature and of mind, should be placed at the entrance of that consecrated enclosure, where the bodies of all classes have their final home. Here, in all future time, visitors will first be reminded of him who gave so many lessons of useful knowledge for the permanent benefit of humanity, and made for himself a record of character that will stand as an example to be admired and followed by all sincere inquirers after truth.

It is a remarkable fact, that the first two interments at MT. AUBURN were male and female, and were alike celebrated as gifted thinkers and authors. Both were

dear friends of mine. The first, were the remains of Hannah Adams, the authoress of the "History of the Jews," and the second, those of Spurzheim, who, at the time, was ranked among the most distinguished authors of the world. Thus, while all that was placed beneath the slab and monument, was "dust to dust," the souls of the first tenants had acquired before death an immortal record in history. Let the fact illustrate the Christian truth at Mt. Auburn, in its beginning, that though the body may be buried, the soul is above the power of death.

Both of these distinguished persons died the same year, 1832—Hannah Adams at the age of 73, and Spurzheim at the age of 56. The remains of the latter were embalmed, in the expectation that his kindred in Germany would send for them. They were placed in the Receiving Tomb of Park Street Church, November, 1832, and removed to Mt. Auburn early in 1833.

What a splendid beginning in that sacred ground of the dead! What a solemn fact to contemplate—that in less than half a century, the remains of many thousands* have been there deposited, and millions of wealth have been expended to beautify the spot, that has been made holy by memories of greatness, goodness, and affection. Parents and children, brothers and sisters, men and women, respected for their virtues, charities, and patriotism, have here their final record upon earth to be read and remembered by succeeding generations, each adding its own examples of life upon the slab and monument. In the collective skill of the architect, sculptor, artist,

* Number of interments, to 1880, about 22,000.

and gardener, we have before us, in this silent PARK OF THE DEAD, the magnificent and undying bloom of love, in all its relations of beauty, tenderness, and sublimity.

I can not repress the deep emotions of my soul, when I speak of these impressive realities of the past. I am, indeed, overwhelmed with reflections upon persons and characters I have known, and upon the events of a period, which, though it seems short to me, when measured by days and years, long to others. In these grounds we find the familiar names of persons who have characterized the metropolis and commonwealth of Massachusetts during the present century. Among them, variously inscribed, are the names of Kirkland, Quincy, Eliot, Warren, Bigelow, Everett, Story, Choate, Appleton, Lawrence, Jackson, Bowditch, Ticknor, Gray, Sparks, Longfellow, Holmes, Prescott, Walker, Brooks, Otis, Savage, Ballou, Adams, Austin, Amory, Sears, Tuckerman, Parkman, Shaw, Lyman, Kuhn, Lowell, Perkins, Channing, Codman, Cabot, Parker, Ward, Parsons, Brereton, Peirce, Motley, Welles, Lewis, Worcester, Hedge, Bartlett, Lothrop, Hale, Sargent, Bell, Wigglesworth, Ware, Pickering, Emerson, Capen, Coolidge, Thacher, Ingalls, Lee, Curtis,—indeed, the enumeration would almost exhaust the necrologic register of New England. What varied reflections and associations crowd upon the memory in the review of so many departed persons, who, while they lived, accomplished so much for their age, their country, and the world. Active friends of education, interpreters of history, science, law, and government, and the promoters of art and industry, of commerce and refinement, though gone from earth, their names will be forever

identified with the great cause of progress and patriotism. In this hallowed retreat of the dead, rests the dust of men, women, and children, of families who, for many generations, have made Boston what it has been and what it is—the city where Spurzheim was advised, before he left home, first to make known his theories. This was a high compliment to the modern Athens of America, and it was amply justified by the events which we are about to recite connected with his reception.

SPURZHEIM'S LABORS IN GREAT BRITAIN—HIS HOME IN PARIS—HIS MARRIAGE—HIS MOTIVES IN VISITING THE UNITED STATES—EVENTS OF HIS VOYAGE.

In 1831–2, Spurzheim delivered courses of lectures on Phrenology, and on the Anatomy and Pathology of the Brain, in Dublin and in London. They were attended by distinguished professional men, and they excited deep interest and general admiration. There was an influential movement, though unsuccessful, to have him appointed Professor of Anthropology, in one of the universities of England. The eloquent Andrew Carmichael, of Dublin, says: "If this rational, just, and honorable step had been taken by any of our universities; if, as was confidently expected, the London College had appointed him to the chair of Anthropology, the world might still have been in the enjoyment of the useful, enlightened, and invaluable services of the wisest and best of men; and under his auspices, society might possibly have gained an advance of half

a century or a century, in the general progress of improvement."

This opportunity was lost to the college and to science. He now decided to make his home in Paris, with the relatives of his late wife. "They were affectionately attached to him," says Carmichael, "particularly M. Perier, his brother-in-law, and M. Perier's residence was in fact his home."

It may be here remarked that Spurzheim was married to Mademoiselle Perier in 1818, a most agreeable, accomplished, and talented lady. Those beautiful drawings which her husband exhibited at his lectures were the production of her pencil. Their married life was one of unclouded happiness, and it continued till 1829, when his beloved companion was removed by death. This severe affliction only deepened his conviction that his life belonged to the cause of truth. "It was often observed," says Prof. Follen, "how well their characters seemed to be fitted for each other. They were both adepts in that profoundest of all sciences, and the most pleasing of all the fine-arts—Christian benevolence shone forth in beautiful manners. It is characteristic of Spurzheim, that one of the reasons which influenced him in the choice of his wife, was the knowledge that she had undergone great suffering, which he thought essential to the perfection of human nature. A short time previous to his death, having occasion to allude to her, he remarked, 'that she possessed a mind of uncommon character, and that he had never found a superior.'"

Spurzheim had not been long settled in his new abode when he received pressing invitations from various scientific bodies in Boston, and other cities in the United

States, to cross the Atlantic, for their instruction in the true philosophy of mind. He could not resist so favorable an opportunity of doing good. He assented; and resolved to visit America during the summer of 1832.

"He was always a sufferer from sea-sickness," says Carmichael, "even in the shortest voyages; and to encounter a long one, with such a constitutional predisposition, required some magnanimity. In the spring of 1832, some friends of mine, who were greatly attached to Spurzheim, visited him in Paris. He had at that time come to the determination of crossing to the United States; and my friends were remonstrating with him on his imprudence, in braving the inconveniences and hazards of such a voyage, and asked him what could possibly compensate him for all that he must necessarily endure? His simple and emphatic reply was, "*Shall I not see Channing?*"

On the 20th of June, 1832, Dr. Spurzheim sailed from Havre for the United States, and arrived at New York on the 4th of August. This was a quick passage for a sailing ship. Steamships on the Atlantic, at that time, were generally deemed to be not only unsafe, but impracticable. On board the ship he proved himself a friend in need to a number of poor emigrants, many of whom, being taken sick on their passage, experienced his kind and successful medical assistance. The sailing packets from the United States did not provide a physician, and passengers on a voyage incurred great risks for the want of one, unless supplied by a chance traveler of the profession. That Spurzheim would be prompt to meet such an emergency, was a fact in harmony with his nature. When his usefulness on board ship was

reported to his friends in Paris, they did not omit the opportunity to remind him of their ardent desire to influence him to return to his profession, and permanently to settle in the great city of France. In a letter which he received from a lady in Paris, dated September 13, 1832, speaking of the poor emigrants, she says: "That you, my dear friend, have rendered yourself on board the vessel so useful by your talent as a physician, ought to reconcile you to the medical science. Many of these poor men would perhaps have perished without your aid; and the fact that all were saved, is for you no small blessing."

His friends joined in writing to him the most touching and affectionate letters. They greatly mourned his absence, and expressed deep solicitude as to his safety, health, and success. The same lady continues: "We have longed greatly for the first news that we should receive from you, and are quite anxious on account of the long delay. The frequent head-winds, and the thought that sea-sickness would impair your health, has caused us much anxiety. God be praised, it is now happily over. That the illness which threatened you, and which was remedied by your skill and carefulness, may not return, is our sincere prayer." . . . . "Madame Perier mourns greatly over your resolution to be away from us, and we all join in constant regrets that we did not more earnestly remonstrate against your departure. We can not but feel, if we had done this, we might have easily held you back." She thus closes her letter, giving other friends a portion of her sheet to express their joy on his safe arrival: "Now I seize your hand with heartfelt friendship and confident hope that the

next news from you may be so good that nothing can be added." We can add but another extract from this large sheet, filled with affection, and that is from his brother-in-law, Mons. J. Perier: "My wife joins me and our friends in expressing our joy on account of your happy arrival, and to offer our prayers for your well-being. May the cholera spare you, as it spared you in Paris. We trust it will be as gracious to you in America." . . . . "Fare right well, worthy, precious friend, and believe in the unchangeable friendship of J. P."

It is an interesting fact to be noted, that M. Perier, in speaking of national affairs, asks the following question: "Tell us if the Northern portion of the United States will separate from the Southern portion, as I fear will be the case." Let it be remembered this was in 1832.

The object of Spurzheim's visit to this country was of a twofold character: 1st, To study the genius and character of our nation; and 2d, to propagate the doctrines of Phrenology. He had a great desire to visit the various tribes of Indians, and to examine the mental and physical condition of the slaves at the South.

HIS ARRIVAL IN THE UNITED STATES—RECEPTION.

He arrived at New York on the 4th of August, in the heat of summer, while the cholera was raging there. He remained there till the 11th, when he left for New Haven, Conn., and arrived there on the evening of the

same day. It was Commencement week at Yale College. Here he first breathed the classic atmosphere of New England. He was received with great consideration by the Faculty of this Institution. "Indeed," the distinguished Prof. Silliman told me, "the Professors were in love with him." He said, "He was much interested in the public exercises, the whole of which he attended, and it was easy to read in his expressive features the impression made upon his mind by the different speakers; it was obvious he understood everything he heard. In the evening of the commencement day he attended the annual meeting of the Society of the Alumni, and listened attentively to their discussions. He dissected the brain of a child that had died of hydrocephalus, and gave great satisfaction to the medical gentlemen present by the unexampled skill and the perfectly novel manner in which he performed the dissection."

On the 16th of August he proceeded to Hartford. At this place he visited with deep interest the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, and the Retreat for the Insane. He also visited the State Prison at Weathersfield, near Hartford. The distinguished Dr. Amariah Brigham was then alive, and he accompanied Spurzheim, with other gentlemen of the Washington College, and others of his profession, in his visits to these Institutions. In a letter to me, dated May 22, 1833, Dr. Brigham says: "I have many interesting facts respecting Spurzheim's visit to the Prison, Insane Retreat, Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, etc. I presume he did not take so full notes as he would have done had he not expected soon to return here." . . . . "The

Warden of the Prison has repeatedly assured me that Dr. Spurzheim gave the characters of many of the criminals, especially of the noted ones, as correctly as he himself could have done who had long known them."

On the evening of the 20th of August he arrived at Boston, and took lodgings at the Exchange Coffee-House. The next morning he engaged rooms at Mrs. Le Kain's, Pearl Street, at which place he remained till his death. At that time some of the finest private dwellings were to be found in this street. Now, not one. It is entirely given to business, and on both sides only extensive and splendid warehouses and stores are to be seen. Here, too, was the "Boston Athenæum" and the "Perkins Institution for the Blind." In the hall of the former institution Spurzheim commenced his lectures, but it proved to be too small, and he engaged the spacious hall at the Masonic Temple, now the United States Court-House.

The arrival of Spurzheim was announced in the public journals, and curiosity was soon awake to see a man whose fame had so long preceded him, and who had attracted the attention of the whole civilized world. The rich and the learned, the student and the scholar, soon paid him their respects, as due to a distinguished stranger, and a course of polite engagements was at once commenced. All who called upon him soon became his admirers, and he was made the leading topic of the day, both in conversation and in the public prints.

HIS PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

It would be difficult to describe his person and presence. An interview with him was, indeed,

> "A feasting presence full of light."

His cordial greeting, his inimitable smile and dignified suavity were irresistibly captivating. In him there was

> "A combination, and a form, indeed,
> Where every god did seem to set his seal,
> To give the world assurance of a man."

He was tall—about six feet in height—and well-proportioned, the picture of vigor and good health, and had a countenance beaming with superior intelligence. He was slow and graceful in his walk, and, without the air of uneducated curiosity, he appeared to see everything that was peculiar or had a meaning. Mr. Buckingham, of the *Courier*, who was habitually reserved when others were extravagant, gave a graphic picture of his personal appearance on the street. He closed by saying that "no one would be likely to meet him without being inclined to turn to look after him, and to inquire his name." It was my privilege to meet him almost daily, to converse, to walk, or to ride with him; and, though always cheerful and sometimes playful, he seldom indulged in remarks even upon trifles without giving instruction. His language indicated a ready knowledge of men and things, and invariably disclosed high motives practically connected with the application of principles.

FIRST INTERVIEW WITH SPURZHEIM.

But in giving reminiscences of Spurzheim, the reader will very naturally expect that I should speak of the origin of my first acquaintance with him. In doing this I can not well avoid speaking of myself, but in a manner, I trust, that will be pardoned.

Soon after his arrival I called upon him. I was comparatively ignorant of his theories, but from what I had heard and read, I thought much of his learning and character. Some years before, I had marked out for myself a course of reading upon the history and nature of man. Metaphysics had been my early and favorite study. I had a desire to become acquainted with his philosophy. I sought him as a teacher. He was old enough to be my father, and I approached him as an humble student. I had friends of the medical profession who knew him, and who would have given me notes of introduction with pleasure. But I felt that I needed none. The truly great always welcome the honest student. When I called he received me politely, but he was engaged with President Quincy. As they were engaged in general conversation, he invited me to be seated. I waited nearly an hour before President Quincy, with assurances of high consideration, took his leave. I then made known the object of my call, and freely expressed my wishes. We became immediately engaged in conversation upon subjects of mutual interest, and our first interview lasted nearly two hours. I had formed distinct views on metaphysical theories of the old schools, and had adopted for myself a method of inquiry which at once seemed to

harmonize with his philosophy. He did not disguise his pleasure and satisfaction, and probably no two minds were ever more suddenly brought together in agreement and sympathy. He placed in my hand the second volume of his works, and remarked that "my first lesson must be to read his *philosophy*, though he advised beginners, generally, to commence with the first, which was on organology." From this time forth we were together more or less every day. He honored me with unlimited confidence in regard to his views on all subjects, his works, his plans, and his wishes. He gave me control of his business affairs, and placed in my hands from time to time all his money, and without counting. One day, when in his room, he remarked to me, "I believe I have some money in my trunk. Please take care of it." I found nearly five hundred dollars in gold on the bottom of the trunk, but I could not persuade him to count it. The receipts from his lectures were frequently handed to him tied up in a paper by his business agent, and he would pass them to me unopened with the simple remark, "Please take care of this money." When he died, all his property, papers, and money were in my hands. But I anticipate.

HIS INTEREST IN PUBLIC MEN, IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS, AND IN THE CLERGY.

He manifested a deep interest in the schools and public institutions. He was earnest to know about our public men, their opinions upon the great topics of the

age, their habits in life, and their methods of influence and action. He early became acquainted with Webster, Quincy, Bowditch, and other distinguished men of Massachusetts, and it was remarkable to see with what accuracy he could delineate their peculiarities and character. But his opinions of men were confidentially communicated, unless asked with special motives to some definite good. He took a lively interest in the teachings of the clergy. He desired to hear all denominations of Christians, and, on every Sabbath, we attended two or three services at the different churches. In this he was not moved by any idle curiosity, nor with motives to indulge in captious criticism. He had no uncharitable expression in regard to peculiar views or differences. He was quick to observe the natural language of the preacher, and to speak of any inconsistency between that and his teachings. When we attended Edward Beecher's church on Bowdoin Street, the sexton politely ushered us into a pew finely cushioned and carpeted. As we were early he had time to inspect the finish and the furniture of the church. The next pew he quickly observed was without a carpet and cushions. "What!" he whispered to me, "a pew for the rich and a pew for the poor! This was not the teaching of Jesus Christ." At another church, where the minister was distinguished for his personal appearance and oratory, and handled his prayer-book and Bible with grace and elegance, he whispered: "See what Self-esteem! When I met him the other day he thought his Self-esteem was small!"

REV. HOSEA BALLOU.

When we attended an afternoon service at Mr. Ballou's on School Street, we were accompanied by the Rev. Dr. Tuckerman, who was an ardent admirer of Spurzheim. Almost every day he inquired after his health at his lodgings, and, in speaking of him, he said: "I have traveled much, both at home and abroad, and have seen many great and good men, but he is the only one that reminds me of the character of Jesus Christ."

Whether anything had been said to Mr. Ballou as to our intention to attend his church I do not recollect. I think not, however. The subject of his discourse was on the Universality of God's Love. He was particularly earnest and eloquent and original in his illustrations. After service we walked for exercise toward Beacon Street, and had proceeded some distance before any conversation took place in respect to the subject of Mr. Ballou's discourse. Dr. Spurzheim was the first to speak, and he highly commended the sermon. He said, "That was good phrenology." Dr. Tuckerman coincided with this opinion, but he feared that the preacher did not say enough about the world *after death.* "Ah!" said Spurzheim, with one of those intelligent and charming smiles for which he was so remarkable, "man did nothing to entitle him to existence in this beautiful world. Teach him to do his best where he is, and leave the future to his Maker. In Him our confidence should know no limits. What the Creator prepares, man can not alter. By trying to understand what is beyond his comprehension, he is very apt to neglect the duties for which he was created.

Let him cultivate the faith in the immortality of the soul and practice the requisitions of Jesus Christ, but not impair the sublime results of such a belief and course by narrow speculations."

I can only give the substance of his remarks, and add the fact that the respect in which the philosopher was held by Dr. Tuckerman was so great, deep, and sincere, he was quite disinclined to continue a conversation where there was likely to be any difference of opinion. Another topic was soon introduced, and no further allusion was made to the discourse.

REV. FATHER TAYLOR.

The manner and matter of Rev. Father Taylor, the Sailor Preacher, greatly interested him. He was of the Methodist denomination, and, having been a sailor himself, he knew how to reach the sailor's heart. His church, though built for the sailor, was ever crowded by first-class people from other societies. Distinguished strangers from all parts of the country and from abroad, when visiting Boston, were sure to be seen at the Bethel to hear Father Taylor. Of this number may be mentioned J. S. Buckingham, M.P.; Charles Dickens, Miss Martineau, Jenny Lind, Fredrika Bremer, Miss Sedgwick, Rev. Dr. Bellows, and others; all of whom have noticed his eloquence in their writings. Sketches of his great power and interesting peculiarities by these authors and by Rev. Dr. Clarke, Dr. Bartol, and others may be found in the biography of Father Taylor by Rev. Gilbert Haven and Hon. Thomas Russell. The volume

is filled with anecdotes and incidents of the Sailor Preacher, furnishing ample evidence of his great popularity and usefulness. At a Conference in Buffalo, in a speech of Rev. Peter Cartwright referring to Father Taylor, who had just addressed them, he said: "When Father Taylor was speaking I was forcibly reminded of a remark made by a foreign lady who visited this country a few years ago. She said there were but two cataracts in the United States—Niagara and Father Taylor—and I verily believe it." Rev. Dr. Bartol, who was intimately acquainted with him, in a sermon preached from the text, "My father! my father!" has the following passage: "No American citizen—Webster, Clay, Everett, Lincoln, Choate—has a reputation more impressive and unique. In the hall of memory his spiritual statue will have forever its own niche."

To listen to one of his most impressive sermons was like taking a voyage with him at sea. His sailor language and sea phrases to illustrate the dangers of sin were made as startling as the terrific blasts of the tornado—the foundering or the burning of a ship on the ocean. All hands were called to duty with rapid utterances of command, with such graphic pictures of peril, impending death, and a hopeless future, that his excited audience would frequently rise from their seats and seem to be ready to spring to the fearful conflict with the tempest. When, on the other hand, he had occasion to describe the beauty and safety of holiness, he would sketch in the language of a mariner a beautiful ship under full sail—commanded by a model captain and worked by a faithful crew—grandly moving onward by steady and auspicious winds to its destined

port, and cheered by the unerring lights of the sun, moon, and stars. Or, if inspired to give his hearers a realization of heaven, he would liken life to a long and perilous voyage, made terrible by shipwrecks and starvation and by almost miraculous escapes, and then, with a look of joy, hear the welcome cry of "land," the haven of home, where joyous and kindred hearts were ready to greet and embrace them. This to the long-absent and hard-working sailor was a heaven he could see and feel and understand. But language is altogether inadequate to describe the eloquence of Father Taylor. Its style and character can only be very imperfectly indicated. His originality, his unstudied flights of language, bursts of enthusiasm, and evident sincerity were greatly admired by Spurzheim. He had found a natural orator and a preacher who had not been trained by the learning and logic of the schools. He was charmed with his sincerity and honest bluntness, and his freedom from all cant and bigotry. We make the following extracts from his biography:

"When an evangelical clergyman had visited his church from curiosity, and had declined a seat in the pulpit because it had been once occupied by Rev. Henry Ware (a distinguished Unitarian clergyman), he fell on his knees and made this brief prayer: 'O Lord, there are two things that we want to be delivered from in Boston—one is bad rum, the other is religious bigotry. Which is worse Thou knowest and I don't. Amen!' In the diary of Horace Mann, June 4th, 1873 (Sunday), is the following entry: 'Judging from external indications, what do ministers care on Monday at a dinner-party or a "jam," which way souls are

sleeping? Let me always except in this city, however, Dr. Channing and good old Father Taylor.'"

I have made these brief allusions to Father Taylor, as my pleasant recollections of him are associated with Spurzheim. I enjoyed his friendship and admired his character. He was a devoted admirer of Spurzheim and constantly attended his lectures and introduced him to his family at home. He could not repress his enthusiasm when speaking of him after his death, and frequently repeated the superlative remark, "He was the only preacher I have ever heard on earth."

SPURZHEIM'S INTEREST IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS—EDUCATION.

During the day-time, Dr. Spurzheim was mostly engaged in visiting the various institutions of Boston, and in the vicinity, and returning the calls of friends. In his visits to our prisons and institutions of beneficence, he uniformly discovered great interest for the welfare of man, by his observations and inquiries with respect to all the details of peculiarities, discipline, and results.

On invitation of President Quincy, he was present at the exercises of Harvard University, on Commencement day, and attended those of the Phi Beta Kappa Society on the day following.

His visits to our institutions were generally made in haste, as it was his intention, at a time of more leisure, to revisit them. We can not but regret that it so happened, as his deliberate and explicit judgment upon character, and the natural dispositions of our children,

would have afforded us a clearer view of the practical importance of his system. It was astonishing to see with what facility he could point out among the pupils of a school, those who were remarkable for any superiority or deficiency. His quick and penetrating eye seemed to read the very thoughts and feelings of those around him, and his remarks which immediately followed, showed his entire confidence in the truth of his science and the certainty of his decisions. He discovered no solicitude in making known his opinions, but generally expressed them without even asking whether they were right or wrong. He had been too strict an observer of human nature not to be acquainted with the extent and accuracy of his own discriminating powers, and his conclusions invariably proved that there was no cause for any apprehension of failure.

VISIT TO THE MONITORIAL SCHOOL.

The following account of his visit to the Monitorial School is extracted from a paper read before the Boston Phrenological Society, by Mr. Wm. B. Fowle, the accomplished teacher of that Seminary for girls:

"Soon after the commencement of Dr. Spurzheim's lectures in Boston, understanding that some peculiarities of my school had led him to express a wish to visit it, I requested a gentleman to invite him to visit the school whenever he pleased. He came October 3d, accompanied by the gentleman before mentioned. It had been previously hinted to the pupils that Dr. S. would visit the school, and they having imbibed the

notion that he could see farther than their teacher, were by no means at ease, when a very tall, stout man, with an exterior rather commanding to children, was introduced. The first impression upon the minds of the pupils was unfavorable to their ease, but the countenance of the Doctor, which expressed the delight he felt at the sight of so many interesting subjects for the exercise of his skill, soon removed all apprehension.

"The children were engaged at their desks in a variety of exercises, and I requested him to walk freely among them, remarking that he probably did not wish to see any exhibition of their acquirements. This I said, because I wished him, if he gave any opinions, to do it while unacquainted with the points of excellence which would naturally be developed by any exhibition.

"I had just corrected some pieces of composition, and I remarked to him that one short piece seemed to have such a phrenological bearing, that it might amuse him. He read it, and said he should like to see the child that wrote it. I told him where she sat, and we purposely walked in that direction. Before we reached her, 'Ah,' said he, '*Caution.*' 'Ask her,' said he, 'whether she ever heard any discussion upon the points touched in her theme?' I asked the question, and she, blushing deeply, replied, that she never had heard any one speak on the subject. 'Well, my dear, you have not given your own opinion; to which side of the question do you incline?' She hesitated, and he turned to me and said, '*Caution* will take time to consider.' She then gave her opinion with great modesty, and it happened to favor his view of the subject. 'A fine head,' said he to me, 'a fine head. What Conscientiousness!

and then what Firmness! A fine model of what a female head should be.' . . . . With a perfect knowledge of her character, having had her under my care for seven years, I could not have described her peculiar excellences as readily as he did.

"As we turned to proceed back to my desk, he laid his hand upon the head of a little girl about five years old. 'Fun, fun,' said he, and laughed, 'Courage too,' said he, 'look out for pranks.' The child had only been my pupil three or four days, but she had already exhibited symptoms of insubordination. A few months' more experience proved her playful to excess, and so courageous in the pursuit of fun, that she disregarded the restraints I usually impose upon insubordination and inattention." . . . .

Several pupils, having marked peculiarities, were pointed out by Mr. Fowle, and without communicating any information respecting them, but Spurzheim seemed to know them better than their teacher.

"I next called up a little girl, whom he pronounced quick at figures. She is the quickest I have ever seen in the elements of arithmetic. I then called up the head and foot of a class formed of three or four classes that I had been reviewing, and asked him which was the best arithmetician. He instantly pointed her out, but said, 'the other was not deficient.'

"By this time the curiosity of the pupils was so much excited, that regular work was interrupted. Children that had been called, remained standing around the Doctor, and in a short time others joined them, and he had an audience of twenty or thirty. He was a decided favorite. At this moment, a few of the larger pupils

brought forward a Miss about thirteen years old, who had, as they thought, a very small head, and respectfully requested Dr. S. to tell what her head was good for. He turned to me and said, 'Imitation, oh, how full!' I asked him how it would be likely to show itself. 'In mimicry,' said he, 'as likely as in any way. Is she not a great mimic?' I had never suspected her of any such disposition, and turning to her companions, I asked them if they had ever seen her attempt to mimic any one. 'Oh, sir,' said they, 'she is the greatest mimic you ever saw. She takes everybody off.' This was news to me. 'You may rely upon it,' said Dr. S., 'she will be taking me and my foreign accent off, before I leave the room.' This proved to be a true prediction. Before he left, she was seen to be manipulating the heads of her companions, in his peculiar way.

"His visit lasted only two hours, and he left the school much to the regret of the pupils, to whom his easy manners, benevolent advice, and knowledge of their thoughts, had strongly recommended him. Next day, they requested me to beg him to honor them with another visit. He promised to do so, but his engagements prevented him."

When at the Massachusetts State Prison, he selected one who probably would, as he said, soon return if he were liberated. The prisoner was there for life. He pointed out another who had, as he remarked, no particular development that should have led him to crime; and on inquiry, the prisoner acknowledged that he was there for acts committed while in a state of intoxication. He thought the heads of the prisoners, compared with others of similar institutions, were unusually good,

and he explained this upon the ground that a large proportion of them, previous to their commitment, were addicted to habits of intemperance, and were influenced by other than natural causes.

VISIT TO "HANCOCK SCHOOL," AND "THE SMITH SCHOOL" FOR COLORED CHILDREN.

He visited the Hancock School, Boston, and the following extract is taken from a note received from the Principal, Mr. Barnum Field:

"In anwer to inquiry respecting the visit of Dr. Spurzheim to my school, I would observe that his object seemed to be to understand the physical and intellectual condition of the pupils.

"The aptness of his questions to the subject, and the originality of thought produced by them, excited the most lively interest in the pupils. His examination of their intellectual progress, though perfectly simple, was more appropriate and interesting than anything of the kind I have ever witnessed."

The schools kept for the children of the colored population, received his especial attention. He remarked, "that Individuality and Eventuality were strong in the negro children; the reflective faculties less, and the whole forehead, *in general*, smaller than in the whites. They will receive their first education as quick, if not quicker than the white; they can read and speak as well, but they will be deficient in the English High School." This judgment was confirmed by the teachers.

FIRST APPEARANCE BEFORE A BOSTON AUDIENCE—HIS LECTURES IN BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE—HIS ENGAGEMENTS—HEALTH, AND THE EVENTS OF HIS SICKNESS—HIS DEATH.

The first time Dr. Spurzheim appeared before an audience in this country to speak, was at a meeting of the American Institute, in the Representatives' Hall of the State House, Boston. He delivered, at the request of that institution, a lecture on Education.

When it was known that he was to speak, there was a general interest excited, all had a desire to see and hear him, and the occasion brought together a large and most respectable audience of ladies and gentlemen. He delivered his lecture without notes (as he always did), and was listened to with profound attention. The audience seemed to be perfectly delighted. His views were original and practical, and all could understand them.

On the 17th of September he commenced a course of eighteen lectures on Phrenology, at the Athenæum Hall, Boston, and soon after another course at the University, Cambridge. These lectures occupied six evenings in the week. He delivered, besides, in the afternoon of every other day, a course of five lectures before the Medical Faculty and other professional gentlemen of Boston and vicinity, on the Anatomy of the Brain. His lectures, both in Boston and at the University, excited great and lively interest. They attracted alike the fashionable and the learned, the gay and the grave, the aged and the young, the skeptic and the Christian. Our most eminent men, as well as humble citizens,

were early at the Hall to secure eligible seats; and they were alike profoundly silent and attentive to the eloquence and philosophy of the lecturer. Whether conviction or doubt followed his words in the minds of his hearers, all uniformly yielded to thoughts and feelings of admiration. The simplicity of his views, his unaffected and amiable manners, his strict adherence to facts and candid discussion of doctrines, all bespoke the Christian and philosopher. Some of those who at first attended with a view to collect materials for amusement, or for ridicule, were among the earliest to become converts to his system; and among those of his most constant and devoted auditors were some of our most respectable and intelligent ladies.

Having excited a most favorable interest among our citizens, in relation to Phrenology, he labored with great earnestness to elucidate the principles of the science. His lectures in the city were generally an hour and a half in length, and at Cambridge two hours; and he often remained at the close of the lecture to answer such questions as his auditors might feel disposed to ask, and many at this time sought an introduction to him. While he remained in the Hall he was generally surrounded by a crowd of admirers who seemed to lose the faculty of counting time.

His time and presence were in constant demand. There was hardly an hour in the day, after 9 o'clock A.M., during which he was not engaged either in receiving company or making visits. This was not all. The little time which he had after the close of his lectures, of almost every evening of the week, was claimed, and he too often yielded to the pressing invitations of

friends. He was early to rise, and much of the time he had before breakfast was given to the preparation of new editions of his works for the press.

Although he had naturally a strong constitution, his exertions were more than he could endure. Of this he was fully sensible himself, and frequently observed that his health would require him to lessen his labors, and that he should not engage, after his first course, to give more than three lectures a week. When he complained of any illness, he generally attributed it to a change of diet, to eating of food to which he had not been accustomed; or, as he generally expressed himself, "The natural laws have been violated, and I must suffer the penalty; I must live simple, and nature will correct the evil." He presumed upon his powerful constitution before he became accustomed to our climate. I frequently found him writing in his room at an open window early in cool October mornings. Invariably when I entered he would close the sash. When asked the reason for so doing, he kindly remarked, "Oh, I can stand what you can not." No man had more confidence in the strength of his constitution and in the internal corrective power of nature than Spurzheim. He had become so familiar with the natural laws of man, that he almost fancied they were under his control. In answer to compliments regarding his health, we have heard him reply, with a confident smile, "I am well, I thank you; I am always well."

In his funeral oration, Prof. Follen says: "We have seen him sitting down to sumptuous meals provided in honor of him, and have seen him fasting for the want of food adapted to his simple tastes."

"At one of his lectures in Boston," continues the same author, "the beautiful lecture on charity and mutual forbearance, while he was diffusing light and warmth among his hearers, he was seen suddenly shivering."

When leaving the hall, after his lecture on natural language, he said: "I feel quite ill, and I am afraid my own natural language has been too strong for the pleasure of my hearers."

Regardless of the entreaties of his friends, he continued to fulfill his engagements. His lectures were nearly finished, and he had a most ardent desire to close them before he rested. "The arrangement has been made," said he, "the public will expect to hear me at the stated time, and when I have finished, it will be a relief to know that I can rest without disappointing others."

On the evening of the last lecture, it was very apparent that his illness had increased. When he arrived at the Temple, although he rode in a close carriage, we observed a free and cold perspiration on his face, and saw that he was unusually pale and occasionally affected by chills. In his lecture he appeared grave and feeble, and did not discover that lively animation which usually lighted up his countenance and characterized his performances. He greatly exerted himself to edify his hearers, but they seemed to be more concerned for his health than interested in his subject. They rather sympathized with the sick man than listened to the philosopher.

It was ascertained at the close of the lecture that the hall in the Temple could not be had for the next evening, and he, wishing to consult the convenience of

his audience, asked, with one of his benignant smiles, "In what place shall we meet next time?" A question, though answered by man, it pleased the Almighty Disposer of Events to answer in the counsel of His own will, leaving mortals to dwell upon the infirmities of human nature, and to stand in awe before the inexplicable decrees of Divine Providence!

He returned to his lodgings, never to leave them. It was difficult, even then, to persuade him that he was too sick to lecture. He consented to a postponement of only two or three days, and until the expiration of that time he could not be prevailed upon to acknowledge the importance and necessity of entire cessation from labor. He entertained the idea that exertion would have an influence in restoring his system.

A new obstacle now presented itself; he was averse to all medicine. While in England he suffered from a severe fit of sickness, owing, as he then supposed, to change of climate, and afterward another when he returned to France. In both cases he submitted to the advice and prescriptions of physicians, and from what he saw in his own experience, he inferred that it was not safe to place too much confidence in the skill of the Faculty or in the virtue of drugs. He said that "Cuvier had been bled, though he (Dr. Spurzheim) protested against it, believing that literary men did not bear that evacuation, that his own constitution was very sensitive, and that from his childhood he had never been able to bear medicine."

For several days after he had first complained, there were no symptoms that gave rise to any serious apprehension or alarm. He considered himself as slightly

indisposed, and confidently believed that his chosen physician, nature, would heal and restore him. Had these moments been enjoyed in rest and quietude, it is possible that the fatal grasp of disease might have been avoided. But this was not to be.

Receiving no relief from his own choice, he consented that I should call Dr. James Jackson, who at that time stood at the head of the Faculty, not only in Boston, but in New England. This distinguished physician attended him from the 30th of October till his death, which occurred at 11 o'clock on Saturday night, November 10th. He died without a groan or a struggle.

On the following Monday his death was announced in the daily papers as an irreparable loss to the world, in language that betokened a deep and common sorrow.

Dr. Ware and Dr. Stevenson were called in consultation several days before his death, but they suggested no change of treatment. The course pursued by Dr. Jackson was not only approved by Dr. Spurzheim himself, but by all of the most eminent in the profession, who were constant in their attendance to afford aid. I had a long list of physicians, from which I selected two to be with him at his bedside every night. Immediately after his death Dr. Jackson published in the daily papers a detailed statement of his case. It is too long to be copied, and only a brief extract is made in respect to Dr. Spurzheim's disease. He says: "I should describe it thus: It was continued fever, in which the symptoms of the access came on insidiously, and were alone for many days; the symptoms of the other stages never became very prominent; those of a crisis never

appeared. There was not evidence of inflammation in any organ of the body. If inflammation did exist, it must be called latent."

During the last week of his illness he frequently complained of the want of light. On the evening of the 5th he said, "The light is dirty, artificial; I want natural light." He made the same complaint on the succeeding night, and wanted the doors and windows opened to admit more air. The admission of light into the room when morning appeared gave him great pleasure.

He believed the air of the city to be bad and close, and was anxious that a carriage should be procured to take him out to Cambridge, where it was pure. His mind was so strongly impressed with this idea, that his friends could hardly persuade him that the step would be dangerous, and perhaps fatal. This was a trying scene for those who were present. To be obliged to deny a request made by one whom they loved and respected, and which was urged with every interesting expression of deep feeling, of reason, and of right, was indeed a painful duty to perform. It was more than painful; it was performed in anguish.

It was thought by some, at the time, that he was deranged; but he had spoken of the subject frequently, and had reasoned himself into the belief that his recovery depended upon the measure. On the assurance of his physician, however, that such a remove would be impossible without great danger, he acquiesced, and after that made no allusion to it.

About a week before his death two letters were received for him from Paris, to which we have already

alluded. When told of their arrival, he seemed to be reanimated, and at the same time profoundly affected. He grasped the letters with a mingled expression of fervent gladness and sorrow we shall never forget, and pressing them to his lips, he laid down and wept. The language of his soul shook his noble frame, and with the simplicity of a child he silently expressed, by his tears and deep-heaving bosom, that to a mighty mind God had united a loving heart.

Although these letters, so precious in his sight, arrived to gladden him in his illness, yet he had not strength sufficient to read them. He would not suffer them for some time to be taken from him, and frequently attempted to read their contents, but with little success.

One day he called for his watch, to which were attached several seals and rings. He viewed one of them for some moments with an expression of intense thought, and appeared to derive an exquisite pleasure from the act. Who will say that a gift from a friend we love can be kept too sacredly, when such a mind as that of Spurzheim acknowledged and enjoyed the presence and the touch of a simple ring? Tokens of true friendship become sources of delight by association.

In the afternoon of the 9th he called for the writer of these pages and lawyers. When told that he was present, he immediately signified a wish to be raised up, and could only recognize his friend by a pressure of his hand. His eyes were nearly closed, his mouth and tongue dry, and his strength was insufficient to sustain his body. He attempted to speak, but in vain. His friend, being satisfied that he (Dr. Spurzheim) was conscious of his approaching dissolution, assured him that

no duty would be omitted, and that everything would be properly done. But this assurance did not seem to aid him to speak his wishes. Attempts were made to solve them, but in vain. The wisdom of living mortals could not fathom the departing mind, nor give strength to the dying body.

His inability grieved him, and for a moment we saw an expression of despairing grief pass over his countenance, and an inward struggling to make known his death-bed request. That he had something particular to say, there can be no doubt, as he expressed a wish to make some communication to the writer soon after his confinement, but feeling too ill at the time, he said, "To-morrow, when I shall feel better." To-morrow came, and days succeeded, but not to witness the returning health of Spurzheim.

When his sickness began to grow more dangerous, he said to one of his best friends, "I must die." His friend replied, "I hope not;" and he added, "Oh, yes, I must die; I wish to live as long as I can for the good of the science, but I am not afraid of death." He never murmured at his sickness, but awaited its issue with entire submission.

The scenes at his lodgings during his sickness and just preceding his death were of painful interest. The man who had so lately appeared in public, apparently enjoying all the blessings of health; who had, by his learning and eloquence, excited the wonder and admiration of our citizens—lay prostrate and helpless, and seemingly unconscious of those who surrounded his bed. Nothing was heard but the laborious breathing of him who was the object of attention, and the low and mel-

ancholy whispers of his numerous inquiring friends. Sadness and despondency clouded every countenance, and the silent language of the feelings told that a spirit respected and beloved was about to depart from earth. Men advanced in age and accustomed to the hardening cares of life gazed upon the face that had so recently smiled upon them, and left the room weeping at the sight of so vast a change. But a few hours before his death, says Prof. Follen, "I saw him, with his hands folded upon his breast, while deep tranquillity was resting on his uplifted countenance, as if saying within himself the prayer which was ever in his heart and upon his tongue, 'Father, thy will be done.'"

It was not my privilege to be with him in his last moments. He had so frequently enjoined me not to remain in the sick-room after 9 o'clock P.M., I sacredly heeded his injunctions, although he was unconscious of all earthly surroundings. His kind and constant solicitude in regard to my health and happiness will forever be to me

"The Morning-star of memory."

PREPARATIONS FOR A PUBLIC FUNERAL — PROCEEDINGS OF COMMITTEES — HIS PROPERTY — PROCEEDINGS OF BOSTON MEDICAL SOCIETY — THE FUNERAL AT THE "OLD SOUTH CHURCH" — PROF. FOLLEN'S ORATION — PIERPONT'S ODE — NOTICES OF THE PRESS — HIS CHARACTER.

Early on the following morning, after his death, quite a number of the friends of the deceased, both in

Boston and Cambridge, were notified to meet for the purpose of adopting such measures as the solemn occasion required. The following is from the published account of their proceedings:

"On Sunday, the 11th day of November, 1832, the morning after the decease of Dr. Spurzheim, a number of his friends assembled at his late apartments for the purpose of considering what measures should be taken on this melancholy occasion.

"The Hon. Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard University, being called to the chair, and J. Greely Stevenson, M.D., appointed Secretary, a deliberation took place on the measures which should be adopted to express a sense of the public loss sustained by the death of this distinguished man, and of the impression made by his talents and virtues on those who had enjoyed the privilege of his acquaintance during his short residence in this city. The gentlemen assembled also took into consideration what disposition should be made of his remains, so as to place them at the future disposal of his European relatives and friends, in case they should be hereafter claimed by them, and in whose hands his papers, casts, and other property should be deposited, so as to secure them from the possibility of being damaged, diminished, or lost, until some person legally authorized should take them into possession.

"Whereupon it was voted,

"I. That the arrangement of the funeral obsequies of the deceased, and of the measures proper to be adopted to express a sense of the public loss by the death of Dr. Spurzheim, and the respect entertained by the inhabitants of this city and its vicinity for his talents and

virtues, be committed to Josiah Quincy, LL.D., *President of Harvard University;* Nathaniel Bowditch, LL.D., Joseph Story, LL.D., Joseph Tuckerman, D.D., Charles Follen, J.U.D., Jonathan Barber, M.D., Charles Beck, P.D., William Grigg, M.D., George Bond and Charles P. Curtis, Esquires.

"II. That the body of SPURZHEIM be examined and embalmed and be placed in such a situation as will render it most suitable to be transmitted to his European relatives and friends should they request it, and also that a cast of his head be taken under the superintendence of Drs. John C. Warren, James Jackson, George C. Shattuck, Walter Channing, George Parkman, John Ware, Edward Reynolds, Winslow Lewis, Jr., J. Greely Stevenson, John D. Fisher, William Grigg, and Samuel G. Howe.

"III. Voted, on motion of Mr. Capen, That the papers, casts, and other property of the deceased be committed to John Pickering, LL.D., Nathaniel Bowditch, LL.D., Thomas Ward and Nahum Capen, Esquires, and that they be requested to secure the same until such disposition be made of them as the laws of the land in such cases provide.

"A true transcript of the proceedings.

"JOSIAH QUINCY, *Chairman.*

"(*Attest*): J. GREELY STEVENSON, *Secretary.*"

At a meeting of the committee appointed by the friends of the late Dr. SPURZHEIM to take charge of his funeral obsequies, and to adopt measures proper to express a sense of the public loss sustained by the death of Dr. SPURZHEIM and the respect entertained by the

inhabitants of this city and vicinity for his talents and virtues, holden on the 11th of November, 1832, it was

"*Voted*, That the body of the deceased be conveyed on Saturday, the 17th inst., at two o'clock P.M., to the Old South Meeting-house, where appropriate services shall be performed, after which the body shall be conveyed to the receiving tomb belonging to the trustees of Mount Auburn, there to remain until the determination of his European friends shall be known, and that it be attended from the Old South Church to the cemetery in Park Street by a voluntary procession composed of the members of the several committees and such citizens as may be desirous to pay that mark of respect to the remains of this distinguished stranger.

"JOSIAH QUINCY, *Chairman.*"

At a meeting of the above committee on the 17th of November, 1832, it was

"*Voted*, That a place for the permanent deposit of the body of Dr. SPURZHEIM be prepared at Mount Auburn, in case it should not be requested to be sent to Europe by his relatives and friends, and that a monument be erected over his tomb, and, for this purpose, that a subscription be opened among those who are willing to pay this tribute to his memory.

"*Voted*, That Edward H. Robbins, Thomas B. Curtis, and William Sturgis, Esquires, be a committee to solicit subscriptions for said monument and to take proper measures for erecting the same.

"A true copy of the proceedings of the above subcommittee.

"JOSIAH QUINCY, *Chairman.*"

At a special meeting of the Boston Medical Association, held at the Massachusetts Medical College, November 14th, 1832, the following resolutions were *unanimously* adopted and ordered to be published:

"The Boston Medical Association, having received with great satisfaction the visit of the late Dr. J. G. Spurzheim, and their acquaintance with him having inspired them with high respect for his researches in Anatomy and Physiology, and a deep interest in his opinions on the moral and physical improvement of man; therefore

"*Resolved*, That we view the decease of Dr. Spurzheim and the termination of his labors as a calamity to mankind, and, in a special manner, to this country.

"*Resolved*, That a respectful letter be addressed to his friends in Europe by the Secretary of this Association, detailing an account of his labors, his illness and death, and the expression of public respect paid to his memory.

"*Resolved*, That this Association, as a body, will attend the funeral obsequies of the deceased.

"*Resolved*, That we recommend to our fellow-citizens the opinions of the deceased on the improvement of our systems of education, and especially what relates to the development of the physical powers and moral dispositions, and, as they can no more expect to hear them from the lips of our lamented friend, that they lose no time in making a practical application of them to the existing state of our institutions for the culture of the human mind.

" (*Attest*): Joseph W. McKean, *Secretary*."

The solemn funeral rites were paid to the remains of Dr. Spurzheim, at the appointed time and place. The body of the deceased was removed from the Medical College to the church, at 12 o'clock, accompanied by the Boston Medical Association. The bells of the city were tolled from two to three o'clock.

The services were commenced at three o'clock, by a dirge on the organ by Zeuner. The Rev. Dr. Tuckerman addressed the throne of grace in a most fervent prayer. An able and eloquent oration was then delivered by Prof. Follen, of Harvard University.

The following beautiful Ode, by Rev. John Pierpont, was then sung with great effect by the Handel and Haydn Society:

I.

Stranger, there is bending o'er thee,
Many an eye with sorrow wet:
All our stricken hearts deplore thee;
Who, that knew thee, can forget?
Who forget what thou hast spoken?
Who thine eye—thy noble frame?
But that golden bowl is broken,
In the greatness of thy fame.

II.

Autumn's leaves shall fall and wither
On the spot where thou shalt rest;
'Tis in love we bear thee thither
To thy mourning mother's breast.
For the stores of science brought us,
For the charm thy goodness gave,
To the lessons thou hast taught us,
Can we give thee but a grave?

III.

Nature's priest, how true and fervent
  Was thy worship at her shrine !
Friend of man, of God the servant,
  Advocate of truths divine,—
Taught and charmed as by no other,
  We have been, and hope to be ;
But while waiting round thee, Brother,
  For thy light—'tis dark with thee !

IV.

Dark with thee !—no ; thy Creator,
  All whose creatures and whose laws
Thou didst love, shall give thee greater
  Light than earth's, as earth withdraws.
To thy GOD thy god-like spirit
  Back we give, in filial trust ;
Thy cold clay—we grieve to bear it
  To its chamber—but we must.

On this occasion, the Old South Church was crowded with ladies and gentlemen at an early hour, and large numbers came and went away sadly disappointed, who could not find even a place to stand upon. It was estimated that about three thousand persons were present. The ceremonies were peculiarly and intensely solemn, and they made an impression upon the audience, that time can never erase. After the close of the services, the remains of the lamented deceased were removed to the receiving tomb under Park Street Church, followed by city and State officials, by distinguished representatives of institutions of learning, and by several hundred citizens. The procession embraced the most illustrious men of Massachusetts.

The decease of Spurzheim cast a gloom over the city

not to be described by language. We have never known a death which seemed to excite so universal and sincere a feeling of grief. The citizens of Boston and vicinity had seen and heard him. They had met him, and had been delighted with his conversation. They saw that he was a man, eminent both for his learning and virtues, and they regarded his death not only as a public calamity, but a personal bereavement. They felt that they had lost a noble and powerful friend, one who had made human nature his study, and held in his willing hands the keys of wisdom, and of earthly happiness in his teachings. They had been charmed by his manners and love, and inspired by his language.

We would be glad to quote largely from the eloquent language of the funeral oration of Prof. Follen, but our limits do not permit. We feel, however, that the reader is entitled to the following beautiful passage, in respect to the wonderful influence of the personal presence of the great man: "We have welcomed him at our firesides, we have seen him surrounded by our children, and the hearty applause he drew from these little hearers, who listen with their hearts, and judge by their affections, has convinced me that the charm which had attached us to the successful lecturer, was not the spell of a great name, or of talent, learning, or eloquence; that the light which shone in his countenance, was not the reflection of many lamps, or of admiring eyes, but that it was the spirit of truth and goodness within, which lighted up his face, and gave life and meaning to every sound and every motion. And of all this power of eloquence, by which words became pictures to the eye, and music to the ear, of all those bright manifesta-

tions of a mind that had searched into the kingdoms of nature, and the institutions of man, that had studied the wonderful architecture of the human frame, in order to reach the more mysterious recesses of the mind; of all these powers and charms, which, but a few days since, excited, engaged, and delighted so many of us; of that fullness of thought and action, embodied in a frame which nature herself seemed to have designed to be a stronghold of life and health—is there nothing left of all this? nothing but what is enclosed in the narrow case before us!"

In noticing the funeral, the Boston *Daily Advertiser* of Nov. 19, 1832, says: "The final tribute of respect was paid to this distinguished stranger by a multitude of our citizens, whose respect and regard he had conciliated by his scientific reputation and the amiable qualities of his private character." . . . . "It will be consoling to the friends of the deceased in his own country, to know, that during his last illness he received every attention which kindness could suggest, or professional skill bestow; that the feeling of regret and sympathy for him was very deep and sincere; and that funeral offices were performed by our citizens in a manner which exhibited their sensibility to departed worth."

It is now nearly half a century since the departure of Spurzheim. The illustrious men who performed with so much feeling and consideration the sepulchral rites to his remains, and with whom it was my privilege to act, are all, with the exception of the venerable and respected Dr. Reynolds, of Boston, numbered among the dead. The remains of most of them are deposited at Mt. Auburn, and their monuments speak a

language, that while it records their worth and distinction as citizens, it exalts the name of him they so much loved and honored

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HIS MONUMENT.

In pursuance of the vote of the Committee, passed Nov. 17, 1832, a subscription was immediately commenced, after the funeral, for funds to procure a suitable monument, to be placed at Mt. Auburn. In a week or two, several hundred dollars had been subscribed, when Hon. William Sturgis, one of the Committee, becoming impatient at the slowness of the movement, requested "that all sums already contributed should be returned to the subscribers, and he would pay for such a monument as the Committee would authorize." A beautiful Italian monument was selected, and it was the first placed at Mt. Auburn. It is marked by his illustrious name alone. There could be no better epitaph. Its entire cost was paid by Mr. Sturgis, and he was honored by a vote of thanks of the Boston Phrenological Society, and a donation of a bust of Spurzheim, and a copy of his works, elegantly bound.

The bust was from the artistic hand of Bally, and it gives accurate outlines of the original. The Marquis Moscati placed upon it, in London, the following inscription:

"Hic est Spurzheim, medicus, sophiceque sacerdos,
Qui cerebri partes omnes, arcanaque novit,
Atque facultates mentis, sedesque notavit,

Quique bono humani generis sudavit et alsit.
Noctes atque dies meditans, summoque labore
Perficiens systema sui sublime magistri."

Thus translated by Pierpont:

"Spurzheim is here! the Sage, who drew
Its secrets from the complex brain,
Who gave each power a place and name,
Surpassed, sublime, his Teacher's fame,
And died, imparting what he knew."

In Mr. Combe's address, delivered at the Anniversary Celebration of the birth of Spurzheim, and the organization of the Boston Phrenological Society, Dec. 31, 1839, he thus alludes to this monument, and to the noble donor:

"'Alas! that America's first tribute to her illustrious guest should be a grave and a monument!'—is the language of James Simpson, of Edinburgh. That monument, citizens of Boston, is a noble tribute of respect to a great and good man's worth. The place, the form, the simple inscription of the name, 'SPURZHEIM,' all speak with a touching eloquence to the soul, which no pomp of architectural decoration, and no panegyric of classic phraseology could have reached. Posterity will associate one name with that monument, the name of WILLIAM STURGIS, citizen of Boston. This day I repaired to his residence, and tendered him my humble gratitude for the tribute which, in erecting it, he had paid to the memory of the benefactor of his race, to my master and my friend; and for which many a good mind will hereafter honor him."

HIS INTERMENT—HEART AND BRAIN.

In 1867 I received a letter from A. J. Coolidge, Esq., Secretary of "Mt. Auburn Cemetery," asking the particulars respecting the remains of Spurzheim, and of their interment at Mt. Auburn, as it was believed by some that they were removed to Germany.

In reply, I communicated the particulars of his sickness and death, and in that letter the following paragraph will be found concerning the remains:

"A short time after his (Spurzheim's) death I received a letter from George Combe, Esq., and after dwelling upon his beautiful character and important labors, he stated that it was his wish, frequently expressed, while living, that his skull should be detached after death, and prepared for scientific purposes. I did not feel at liberty to disregard a request so distinctly communicated, and by so distinguished a person. As the remains were embalmed, and had not been removed from the receiving tomb under the Park Street Church, there was no obstacle in the way of its prompt execution. By my request, this sad task was skillfully performed by Dr. Winslow Lewis, in the presence of several of his professional brethren." The skull, brain, and heart were preserved, and placed in a fire-proof safe, and the remaining parts of the remains were deposited beneath the monument.

Alas! what is life, and what is death! Vast multitudes of human beings are born, who live, and move, and act, and die without leaving a single trace of their usefulness, or without discovering to the world the design of their existence! New names are hourly added

to our records of death; but how few of the great number that are let down into the cold grave, excite public grief for the loss of their wisdom, piety, or exertion!

Living is not physical action, though death may be physical decay. To live is to possess the knowledge proper to man, to perform the duties required by the condition of our fellow-creatures, and to act according to the noblest dictates of an honest mind.

It should be humiliating to the pride of man that so few are alive to the great and sublime objects of their existence. That the decease of one human being out of so many millions, should create a void which no other is capable of filling! And yet, who can fill the place of SPURZHEIM?

HIS CHARACTER—DR. ROBERTON, GEORGE AND ANDREW COMBE.

It is difficult, in a few words, to convey to the reader the character of Spurzheim. All that was proper and exalted in man was to be found in him. What he was in character he was in practice. The semblance was true to the reality. Endowed with a powerful intellect and eminently graced by the higher sentiments, he honestly explored the world for truth. His passions were made the servants of his reason, and by systematic culture, he literally stood before the world as a man of wisdom and strength. He was a favorite son in his youth, and a beloved classmate at the University where he was honored as a student. Neukomm, the celebrated composer of music, was a classmate of his. I met him in Manchester, England, and found him to be a gentle-

man of great dignity and intelligence. He spoke of Spurzheim with deep emotion and profound respect. He said, "No one was more beloved by his classmates." I also met, in the same city, Bally, an Italian, Spurzheim's skillful artist, who accompanied him in his travels for six years. When he heard of my arrival he called upon me with a mind so full of inquiries, and a heart so oppressed by affectionate recollections of his departed friend, that, at first, he could not utter a word. He could only speak the name of one who was with Spurzheim in his last hours before death. He seized my hands and wept. This example of deep affection, I may say of reverence, almost unmanned me. His disposition to serve me, his suggestions for my gratification and pleasure, were unlimited, and they are gratefully remembered.

To speak of the many attentions I received from distinguished persons in Europe, in 1835–6, on account of my intimate relations with Spurzheim, would too much extend the communications you have asked of me. I can not omit, however, reference to Dr. Roberton, a distinguished Scotch physician, an old resident in Paris. He was a classmate of Sir Charles Bell, and was much respected by the learned men of France. He was alive to all questions of progress, and was quite intimate with the eminent men of science in Paris.

He was then President of the Anthropological Society, an institution founded by Spurzheim, of which he was the first President. I attended a meeting of this Society, and was introduced to its members, and at the same time to a nephew of Spurzheim, who was in Paris, completing a medical education by attending the lect-

ures of the most distinguished professors. He was a young gentleman of fine appearance, and very intelligent.

Through the influence of Dr. Roberton, I had the privilege of attending a meeting of the French Institute, and was introduced to Arago, and to other members of distinction. He was a most devoted friend and admirer of Spurzheim. Though older in years, the friendship was mutual. I can never forget his manifestations of affection for the departed philosopher. His many inquiries of his last days and hours, the state of his mind, and of his consciousness of the approaching end, and last words; respecting his disease and medical treatment; of the attentions to make him comfortable, and of his reception and teachings—all these and numerous other inquiries were rapidly made with dropping tears and trembling voice—indicating deep emotions of affection too touching and exciting to be described by the pen. His attentions to me while in Paris were unremitting. He was unhappy unless I could breakfast with him every morning. But the depth of his friendship is best illustrated by an item found in his will after his death, which happened in 1841. Knowing that the skull of his dear friend had been preserved, as has been stated, he provided, that his own skull should be preserved in a similar manner, and sent to Boston, to be placed by the side of that of Spurzheim. Having faith in Phrenology, he had collected numerous skulls and casts, and these he bequeathed to the Boston Phrenological Society, having made ample provision to pay all expenses incident to the donation. They were shipped and safely received. His will was faithfully

executed. His skull was placed by the side of that of his dear friend—and there it will sacredly remain in obedience to the commands of unalterable affection. What a monument to be preserved in honor of science!

Dr. Roberton bequeathed a large sum of money, to be disbursed to advance the science of Phrenology, under the direction of the Edinburgh Phrenological Society, but in consequence of some uncertainty in the language of his will, the sum has not been paid.

It is but proper that I should introduce some of the testimony from abroad in respect to the death and character of Spurzheim. In a letter to me from George Combe, dated Edinburgh, December 20, 1832, he says:

"I offer you my warmest acknowledgments for your very interesting letter of November 15, 1832, announcing the lamented death of Dr. Spurzheim. The subject was painful and distressing, but your kind attention was highly appreciated. I read the communication to the Phrenological Society, and prefix an extract from their minutes, which I request you to circulate as widely as possible among your countrymen, that they may receive the humble expression of our gratitude for their admirable treatment of Dr. Spurzheim, and for the honor which they paid to his remains.

"Individually, I felt as if I had lost a near and dear relative and friend. To Dr. Spurzheim I owe an unspeakable debt of gratitude, which it gave me joy to express when he was alive, and which I shall never cease to acknowledge while my being continues.

"He found me an anxious, but disappointed inquirer after the philosophy of man; a lover of mankind, but

ignorant how to do them any good; a firm believer in a superintending Providence, but utterly incapable of comprehending the principles of the moral government of the world. I was unhappy because I had blind desires which I could not gratify, and longings for good and knowledge which were nowhere to be found. Dr. Spurzheim gave me light; the world cleared up under his tuition; my moral and intellectual faculties, from being spell-bound, became active. I experienced the delight of having my various powers placed in harmony with each other, and I saw how the good which I derived might be practically realized. To the man who conferred these gifts, gratitude unbounded was due; and, when he added to them an affectionate and abiding kindness as a friend, you may judge how deeply I deplored his loss. The whole conduct of your countrymen toward him was excellent." . . . .

"The shopkeepers and merchants of Edinburgh and their clerks requested me to lecture to them this winter in the evenings. The course commenced on the 6th of November, and about two hundred and twenty attend. They heard your letter read with an intense and melancholy interest."

HIS DEATH ANNOUNCED IN EDINBURGH—HIGHLY RESPECTED BY DISTINGUISHED MEN OF EUROPE.

The extract from the proceedings of the Edinburgh Phrenological Society, December, 1832, alluded to by Mr. Combe, was as follows:

"James Simpson, Esquire, in the chair. After the

discussion on the papers read to the meeting, the President addressed the Society in nearly the following words:

"'GENTLEMEN:—During the twelve years of this Society's existence, no communication has ever been made to it so afflicting as that which it is now my painful duty to make to you—Dr. Spurzheim is no more! He died of fever, brought on by over-exertion in his great vocation at Boston in the United States, on the 10th day of last month.

"'The death of Dr. GALL, the great founder of Phrenology, was not without its alleviations. He had run his course, and had done all that seemed in the decrees of the All-wise allotted him on earth to do, and fell like a shock of corn fully ripe. Above all, Dr. Spurzheim, his great pupil, survived—heir of all his master's wealth, and richer than even that master in treasures of his own. But Dr. Spurzheim himself is now snatched away in the midst of his usefulness, at the summit of his power, about to pour the true philosophy of man, like a flood of light, upon the transatlantic world. This is, indeed, a blow almost devoid of alleviation.

"'And yet, hope deserts us not. To his own genius we owe the discovery of the organ of Hope and a beautiful exposition of its functions. As we bend over his early grave, a ray breaks forth even from that dark abode. America has celebrated his obsequies with public honors, and ranks him with the illustrious dead. Europe will sanction the award. His philosophic page will live, and even pride and prejudice will look into the philosophy when the philosopher whom they

shunned when alive is no more. Galileo, Newton, and Harvey were all destined to teach from the tomb; so are Spurzheim and Gall. They, too, are among the departed, "who are dead, yet speak," and many a kindred genius will yet arise to listen to their voice. The minds already laboring in the great work by them bequeathed, will be stimulated by the very thought that they are bereft of their leaders. A hand to grasp all the inheritance may not be, but there does live a prophet who will wear gracefully the mantle that has now descended upon him. May all of us, however humbly each, make redoubled exertions to do that which our teacher would have urged us to do with his dying accents—promote by all that in us lies the cause for which he lived and in which he died! His labors were as expansive as they were indefatigable; no scope was too great for them. He had gone to add the new world to the old in one wide empire of truth. Alas! that America's first tribute to her illustrious guest should be a grave and a monument! Be hers the care and custody of his honored remains. The spirit of his genius is everywhere. His memory is the cherished legacy of the human race.'"

After this most eloquent speech of Mr. Simpson, the following resolutions were moved by Mr. Combe, seconded by Mr. Dunn, and adopted unanimously:

"*First*, That this Society have heard the communication now made with sentiments of the most heartfelt sorrow. While they deplore the premature death of Dr. Spurzheim, as by far the greatest loss which the philosophy of mind and man can in their present state

sustain, they lament it as an especial bereavement to themselves of a valued and beloved benefactor and friend.

"*Secondly*, That this Society feel deeply, and—considering their intimate and affectionate relation to the illustrious deceased—gratefully, the intense concern manifested by the citizens of Boston over his sick-bed, the public sorrow for his loss, and the intended honors to his remains and his memory, and they experience comfort in the reflection, since it was in the Divine decrees that that great man was so soon to be taken away, that he did finish his mortal career in the midst of a people enlightened enough to discern his distinguished talents and worth, and duly to appreciate the philosophy which he had come among them to teach."

In a letter of George Combe to Dr. Spurzheim, dated March 12, 1832, we find the following passage:

"Your sympathy and advice did Andrew great good in October. [He was quite ill, and Spurzheim did not expect to see him again alive.] He was most grateful; and I need not assure you that, in the affections and esteem of all my family, you hold a place more like that of a father than of any other being. How much of happiness and usefulness do we not owe to you! Chance brought me first into your presence; but the day when I met you was the fortunate one of my life."

In a letter to me from Dr. Andrew Combe, dated Edinburgh, November 2, 1833, is the following postscript: "By a curious coincidence, it is exactly two years to-day since I last shook hands with our lamented friend Spurzheim. He came to the coach-office in Paris to see me start for Italy; he, the picture of ro-

bust health, and his countenance radiant with the kindliest affections of our nature, and I, weak and ill, with little hope of ever returning. And now I am here, and he is gone in the midst of his usefulness! I can hardly trace the reality to my mind. To me he was at once the friend, the physician, and the philosopher."

But the most touching allusion to Spurzheim by Dr. Combe was in a letter to me dated Edinburgh, December 13, 1838, in which is the following language: "I have to thank you most warmly for your intended present of a brooch with Spurzheim's hair. There was no man out of my own family to whom I ever felt the deep attachment I did to Spurzheim, and scarcely a day passes that my thoughts do not turn with affectionate interest to some fact or other of my past intercourse with him, and especially to that of autumn 1831, when he tended me in Paris with a friendly care which I shall never forget. He believed me to be dying, as I believed myself to be, and under such circumstances there was a gentleness, purity, and simple truthfulness in every word and in every tone, in every look and in every gesture, that soothed and comforted while it moved me. When we parted, it was felt by both as a long and last farewell; but little did I then expect *how* it was to prove so. You may conceive, then, how I shall value your memorial of him."

These undisguised sentiments of regard and respect were fully reciprocated by Spurzheim. He considered Dr. Andrew Combe as one of the ablest and best of men. In respect to the high qualities of amiability and attractiveness, perhaps no two men were more alike. Dr. Combe was not only thoroughly conversant with

the natural laws, but he was a strict observer of them. Doubtless to this fact was attributable his long continuance in life after his extreme physical prostration.

I received letters from Prof. Elliotson, Sir George S. McKenzie, London; James Simpson, Edinburgh; Andrew Carmichael, Dublin; Dr. Roberton, Paris; Prof. Otto, Copenhagen; and from many other gentlemen, on the death and character of Spurzheim, and all filled with similar language to that we have quoted. At meetings of learned societies in Europe, before and after his death, speeches were made and resolutions passed, and all in terms of profound respect and admiration. Such unanimity of opinion everywhere among those who knew him or heard him speak, in respect to the greatness of his mind and purity of his character, should lead all inquirers after truth to treat his investigations with careful consideration and respect, even if they do not adopt his theoretic conclusions.

WHAT SHOULD BE THE INFLUENCE OF MODEL PHILOSOPHERS—GALL, SPURZHEIM, AND COMBE.

The invitation to give reminiscences of Spurzheim, has led me to dwell at some length, not only on the events of his visit to the United States, his sickness and death, the detail of his funeral solemnities and interment, but upon his personal and private character, as a man and lover of wisdom. As defined by himself, "Wisdom consists in the knowledge and in the application of Truth." The evidence of his greatness as a man, and of his goodness as a Christian philosopher,

has been taken from the records of his eventful life. In doing this, my endeavor has been, in some small degree, to acknowledge my indebtedness for his friendship and teachings, and to present to the world a model philosopher, whose integrity of heart was equal to the greatness of his intellect. When thinking men have honored philosophy by their genius and discoveries, and in addition become shining examples of social and moral conduct, their influence should be kept alive and perpetuated.

In this case the question arises, How can this be done? By demanding that the same public attention should be given to the science of Phrenology that is conceded to all other sciences in our schools and universities.

Spurzheim was one of the founders of this science, and its importance is to be estimated in view of his character, investigations, and opinions. But he does not stand alone. Gall preceded, and Combe followed him. It is proposed to glance at their character as men, that we may see what evidence can be found that they are entitled to be classed among the acknowledged teachers of wisdom in the world.

Standing as I do as one of the trusted friends of Spurzheim, and being asked to speak of his character as disclosed by events at the close of his life, it was first in order to commence with what I knew of him, to add the testimony of others, and then to proceed to speak of his joint laborers in the same field of science. After giving a brief sketch of their character as men, it is proposed to consider them as philosophers identified with the origin and progress of Phrenology. All three

were endowed with gifted minds, and had superior advantages of education. All three became distinguished in their respective professions, and high authority in all the established departments of learning, whenever they expressed opinions upon the current subjects of progress or of public concern.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF GALL — HIS ABILITY AND SKILL AS A PHYSICIAN.

Of the personal character of GALL but little need be said. That all who approached him or who listened to his lectures, admired him, and that such a man as Spurzheim should join him in his labors from high convictions of duty, warrants the unqualified belief that he was a man of remarkable capacity and of elevated motives. He had slight peculiarities, but they were remarkable only as illustrating self-forgetfulness. In 1826, an interesting account of an interview with him was published in the Birmingham *Gazette*, England, from which the following extract is made:

"I found Dr. Gall to be a man of middle stature," says the interviewer, "of an outline well-proportioned; he was thin and rather pallid, and possessed a capacious head and chest. The peculiar brilliancy of his penetrating eye left an indelible impression. His countenance was remarkable, his features strongly marked and rather large, yet devoid of coarseness. The general impression that a first glance was calculated to convey would be, that Dr. Gall was a man of originality and

depth of mind, possessing much urbanity, with some self-esteem and inflexibility of design."

M. Fosati, M.D., of Paris, knew him personally, and spoke of him in unmeasured terms of admiration. He thus particularly describes his person: "His body was well developed; he was five feet three inches two lines in height, with a large chest and strong muscles; his step was firm, and his look vivid and penetrating. His features, though not handsome, possessed a mild and pleasing expression. Every part of his head was strikingly developed, measuring above the eyebrows and at the top of the ears twenty-two inches two lines in circumference, and fourteen inches and nine lines from the root of the nose to the occiput." . . . . "He was frank and honest, acute and penetrating. I always observed him to be indifferent to the praise and approbation of the multitude, as he was also to their blame and ridicule. He labored for the love of science, and under the conviction that his ideas would triumph in the end. I could recall a thousand anecdotes to illustrate my statements. He was proud and independent. He never was anxious for titles, and cheerfully practiced the profession of medicine. His skill as a physician may be inferred from the fact that in 1820 a medal was presented to him, executed by M. Bane, an eminent artist in Paris, by order of Count Potosky, a rich Polish nobleman, who took this method of expressing his deep gratitude to Dr. Gall, who had cured him of an old and dangerous malady, for which he had in vain consulted the best medical men in Paris. As a political man, he loved liberty and good laws." . . . . "He often said that it is more difficult to sustain a reputation than to

create one, and that we must always act as if making the first efforts to render ourselves known. It was to his *firmness* that he owed the success of his researches. Without this constancy with which he pursued the same ideas, the same observations, and the same researches, it would have been impossible for him to carry his new science to the point where he left it." . . . . "Gall was exceedingly benevolent; he succored the unfortunate, and procured them the assistance of his rich patients; he encouraged talents, and rendered them all the aid in his power. He educated and supported his nephews, and his table was free to everybody. The more intimately he was known, the more he was loved."

His views in regard to Deity may be found in his own language. "Everywhere," he says, "and in all times, man, pressed by the feeling of dependence, by which he is completely surrounded, is forced to recognize at every instant the limits of his powers, and to avow to himself that his fate is in the hands of a superior Power. Hence the unanimous consent of all people to adore a Supreme Being; hence the ever-felt necessity of recurring to Him, of honoring Him, and rendering homage to His rule."

What Spurzheim was we have already seen.

PERSONAL CHARACTER OF GEORGE COMBE.

It is hardly necessary to speak of the personal character of George Combe, of Edinburgh.* His high

* "The Life of George Combe," in two volumes, by Charles Gibbon, was published by Macmillan & Co., London and New York, in 1878. It is a very interesting book.

moral nature and unyielding integrity have almost a universal record. His extreme love of truth erected in his mind a standard of conduct but few could reach. If he had charity for weakness or error, it was seldom exercised at the expense of justice. Indeed, his rigid observance of the ten commandments was an example but few could follow. Prof. Nichols, of Edinburgh, who knew him intimately, says: "It is never possible for Mr. Combe's audience to doubt that the aim and object of his instructions is the benefit of mankind; and he is manifestly actuated by that pure and independent love of truth which it is the highest privilege of a teacher to exhibit and infuse, but which is never a ruling principle unless in very superior minds." Prof. Hunter, of Glasgow, says: "The lectures of Mr. Combe are characterized by simplicity, clearness, elegance, and cogency of reasoning; and his writings are remarkable not only for purity of style, but for sound philosophy and right moral feeling." The Hon. Andrew Carmichael, of Dublin, says: "When I had the honor to propose George Combe as an honorary member of the Royal Irish Academy, our celebrated astronomer, Sir William Hamilton, Dr. Litton, Professor of Botany of the Dublin Society, and the Very Rev. Henry Dawson, Dean of St. Patrick's, were all desirous of placing their names beside mine in certifying to his high position and character." No man was better acquainted with Mr. Combe than Charles Maclaren, Esq., the able editor of the *Scotsman*, Edinburgh. He says: "Mr. Combe, like his predecessors, Drs. Gall and Spurzheim, instead of applying the new doctrines of Phrenology to unsettle men's notions of duty by raising doubts and

difficulties, has invariably employed them to strengthen the foundations of virtue and religion. The moral results of his system may be said to be, that we best promote our own well-being when we venerate God and obey the voice of conscience—when we are temperate, industrious, and orderly, and exercise justice and charity toward our neighbor. These principles are not only enforced in the volume of Mr. Combe, the 'Constitution of Man,' but they may be said to pervade every page of it."

The Hon. Thomas Wyse, M.P., Chairman of the Committee on Education in Ireland, says: "I feel a high admiration for the talents of Mr. Combe, and for the truly Christian benevolence which directs them."

Here we close the testimony in respect to the personal character of the three distinguished Phrenologists who labored so long and faithfully in the great cause of science and education. Much might be added, but the reader is referred to the pages of their numerous works, and to the record of their achievements. They were the first to mark with precision the conditions of health necessary to sound mental activity, and the first to discover the nature and to remove the local causes of insanity. They were the first to systematize mental development according to physical means, and to meliorate idiocy by a special knowledge of its causes.

METAPHYSICS BEFORE THE TIME OF GALL—PHYSIOGNOMY NOTHING WITHOUT PHRENOLOGY.

For centuries man had been studied—not as a being to be observed as to the functions of all the parts of a harmonious body, as to his form, habits, and natural

tendencies, as we study the subjects of Natural History—but as a creature of mere theory—an abstraction —an abstraction so mysterious, as to challenge the most gifted minds to furnish a reasonable or practical solution of its meaning. When Gall appeared, philosophers were ignorant of men. They knew man by sight, indeed, and they had records of what he had done, but they had not carefully studied mind in connection with matter. They even recognized the general fact that all persons were physiognomists to a certain degree, but they failed to observe the connection between the face and head. They did not discover the fact that the shape of the head rather gave expression to the face than the face to the head. The face of Lord Bacon or of Daniel Webster joined to an idiot's head would not be recognized. Most people claim to be judges of character, and are favorably or unfavorably impressed with a person in the first interview. This impression makes a part of the judgment, whether right or wrong, but how few are prepared to analyze their impressions of personal character, and to give special reasons upon which they are based. To do this accurately the importance of Phrenology can not be over-estimated. We now proceed to speak of Gall, Spurzheim, and George Combe—of each in the order of his birth—as connected with the science.

BIRTH AND EDUCATION OF GALL—HIS EARLY OBSERVATIONS — SCIENTIFIC CONCLUSIONS—ANATOMY OF THE BRAIN—FIRST APPEARANCE AS AUTHOR.

Francois Joseph Gall was born in Tiefenbrum, a village of the Grand Duchy of Baden, Germany, on the

9th of March, 1758. His father was a merchant, and mayor of Tiefenbrum, a village two leagues distant from Pforzheim in Swabia. His parents—professing the Roman Catholic religion—had intended him for the Church, but his natural dispositions were opposed to it. His studies were pursued at Baden, afterward at Brucksal, and then were continued at Strasburg. Having selected the healing art for his profession, he went in 1781 to Vienna—the Medical School of which had obtained great reputation, particularly since the times of Van Swieten and Stahl.

Dr. Gall gives an account, of which the following is an abstract, of the manner in which he was led to the study of the natural talents and dispositions of men—his views of which terminated in the formation of the Phrenological system. When such a man as Gall speaks, it would be presumption to deviate from his own language as it has been reported.

From an early age he was given to observation, and was struck with the fact that each of his brothers and sisters, companions in play, and school-fellows possessed some peculiarity of talent or disposition which distinguished him from others. Some of his school-mates were distinguished by the beauty of their penmanship, some by their success in arithmetic, and others by their talent for acquiring a knowledge of natural history or of languages. The compositions of one were remarkable for elegance, while the style of another was stiff and dry, and a third connected his reasonings in the closest manner and clothed his arguments in the most forcible language. Their dispositions were equally different, and this diversity appeared also to determine

the direction of their partialities and aversions. Not a few of them manifested a capacity for employments which they were not taught. They cut figures in wood or delineated them on paper. Some devoted their leisure to painting or the culture of a garden, while their comrades abandoned themselves to noisy games, or traversed the woods to gather flowers, seek for birds' nests, or catch butterflies. In this manner each individual presented a character peculiar to himself, and Gall never observed that the individual, who, in one year, had displayed selfish or knavish dispositions, became in the next a good and faithful friend.

The scholars with whom young Gall had the greatest difficulty in competing were those who learned by heart with great facility; and such individuals frequently gained from him by their repetitions the places which he had obtained by the merit of his original compositions.

Some years afterwards, having changed his place of residence, he still met individuals endowed with an equally great talent of learning to repeat. He there observed, that his school-fellows, so gifted, possessed prominent eyes; and he recollected, that his rivals in the first school had been distinguished by the same peculiarity. When he entered the University, he directed his attention, from the first, to the students whose eyes were of this description, and he soon found that they all excelled in getting rapidly by heart, and giving correct recitations, although many of them were by no means distinguished in point of general talent. This observation was recognized also by the other students in the classes; and, although the connection betwixt

the talent and the external sign was not at this time established upon such complete evidence as is requisite for a philosophical conclusion, yet Dr. Gall could not believe that the coincidence of the two circumstances thus observed was entirely accidental. He suspected, therefore, from this period, that they stood in an important relation to each other. After much reflection, he conceived that if memory for words was indicated by an external sign, the same might be the case with the other intellectual powers; and, from that moment, all individuals distinguished by any remarkable faculty became the objects of his attention. By degrees, he conceived himself to have found external characteristics, which indicated a decided disposition for painting, music, and the mechanical arts. He became acquainted, also, with some individuals remarkable for the determination of their character, and he observed a particular part of their heads to be very largely developed. This fact first suggested to him the idea of looking to the head for signs of the Moral Sentiments. But in making these observations, he never conceived for a moment that the *skull* was the cause of the different talents, as has been erroneously represented; he referred the influence, whatever it was, to the Brain.

In following out, by observations, the principle which accident had thus suggested, he for some time encountered difficulties of the greatest magnitude. Hitherto he had been altogether ignorant of the opinions of physiologists, touching the brain, and of metaphysicians respecting the mental faculties, and had simply observed nature. When, however, he began to enlarge his knowledge of books, he found the most extraordi-

nary conflict of opinions everywhere prevailing, and this, for the moment, made him hesitate about the correctness of his own observations. He found that the moral sentiments had, by almost general consent, been consigned to the thoracic and abdominal viscera; and that while Pythagoras, Plato, Galen, Haller, and some other physiologists, placed the sentient soul or intellectual faculties in the brain, Aristotle placed it in the heart, Van Helmont in the stomach, Des Cartes and his followers in the pineal gland, and Drelincourt and others in the cerebellum.

He observed also that a greater number of philosophers and physiologists asserted that all men were born with equal faculties; and that the differences observable among them are owing either to education or to the accidental circumstances in which they are placed. If all differences are accidental, he inferred that there could be no natural signs of predominating faculties, and consequently that the project of learning, by observation, to distinguish the functions of the different portions of the brain must be hopeless. This difficulty he combated, by the reflection that his brothers, sisters, and school-fellows had all received very nearly the same education, but that he had still observed each of them unfolding a distinct character, over which circumstances appeared to exert only a limited control. He observed, also, that not unfrequently they whose education had been conducted with the greatest care, and on whom the labors of teachers had been most freely lavished, remained far behind their companions in attainments. "Often," says Dr. Gall, "we were accused of want of will, or deficiency in

zeal; but many of us could not, even with the most ardent desire, followed out by the most obstinate efforts, attain in some pursuits even to mediocrity; while in some other points, some of us surpassed our school-fellows without an effort, and almost, it might be said, without perceiving it ourselves. But, in point of fact, our masters did not appear to attach much faith to the system which taught the equality of mental faculties; for they thought themselves entitled to exact more from one scholar, and less from another. They spoke frequently of natural gifts, or of the gifts of God, and consoled their pupils in the words of the Gospel, by assuring them that each would be required to render an account only in proportion to the gifts which he had received."*

Being convinced by these facts that there is a natural and constitutional diversity of talents and dispositions, he encountered, in books, still another obstacle to his success in determining the external signs of the mental powers. He found that, instead of faculties for languages, drawing, distinguishing places, music, and mechanical arts, corresponding to the different talents which he had observed in his school-fellows, the metaphysicians spoke only of general powers, such as perception, conception, memory, imagination, and judgment; and when he endeavored to discover external signs in the head corresponding to these general faculties, or to determine the correctness of the physiological doctrines regarding the seat of the mind, as taught

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* Preface by Dr. Gall, to the "*Anatomie, etc., du Cerveau.*"

by the authors already mentioned, he found perplexities without end and difficulties insurmountable.

Dr. Gall, therefore, abandoning every theory and preconceived opinion, gave himself up entirely to the observation of nature. Being physician to a lunatic asylum in Vienna, he had opportunities, of which he availed himself, for making observations on the insane. He visited prisons and resorted to schools; he was introduced to the courts of princes, to colleges, and the seats of justice; and wherever he heard of an individual distinguished in any particular way, either by remarkable endowment or deficiency, he observed and studied the development of his head. In this manner, by an almost imperceptible induction he conceived himself warranted in believing that particular mental powers are indicated by particular configurations of the head.

Hitherto he had resorted only to physiognomical indications, as a means of discovering the functions of the brain. On reflection, however, he was convinced that physiology was imperfect when separated from anatomy. Having observed a woman of fifty-four years of age, who had been afflicted with hydrocephalus from her youth, and who, with a body a little shrunk, possessed a mind as active and intelligent as that of other individuals of her class, Dr. Gall declared his conviction that the structure of the brain must be different from what was generally conceived—a remark which Tulpius also had made, on observing a hydrocephalic patient, who manifested the mental faculties. He therefore felt the necessity of making anatomical researches into the structure of the brain.

In every instance where an individual, whose head he had observed while alive, happened to die, he used every means to be permitted to examine the brain, and frequently did so; and found, as a general fact, that on removal of the skull, the brain, covered by the dura mater, presented a form corresponding to that which the skull had exhibited in life.

The successive steps by which Dr. Gall proceeded in his discoveries are particularly deserving of attention. He did not, as many have imagined, first dissect the brain, and pretend, by that means, to have discovered the seats of the mental powers; neither did he, as others have conceived, first map out the skull in various compartments, and assign a faculty to each, according as his imagination led him to conceive the place appropriate to the power. On the contrary, he first observed a concomitance betwixt particular talents and dispositions, and particular forms of the head; he next ascertained, by removal of the skull, that the figure and the size of the brain are indicated by these external forms; and it was only after these facts were determined that the brain was minutely dissected, and light thrown upon its structure.

Dr. Gall was first known as an author by the publication of two chapters of an extensive work, entitled "*Philosophisch-medicinische Untersuchungen über Natur und Kunst imgesunden und kranken Zustande des Menschen, Wien*, 1791." The continuation of this work has never appeared; but, in the first of the two chapters printed, he has evinced the spirit with which his researches into the moral and intellectual nature of man were subsequently conducted. The first written

notice of his inquiries concerning the head appeared in a familiar letter to Baron Retzer, which was inserted in the German periodical journal "*Deutschen, Mercur,*" in December, 1798. In this letter he announces the publication of a work upon his views concerning the brain; but circumstances induced him to alter his intention.

In reading it, one will be surprised to find, contained in so few pages, written so long ago, all the principles of the physiology of the brain. It will be observed that Gall clearly defined the object of his researches; to wit, a knowledge of the brain, in relation to the fundamental qualities of man, illustrated by that of the instincts and propensities of animals in connection with their cerebral organization. The reader will perceive in it all the useful applications which he proposed to make of his new doctrines to medicine, to morals, to legislation, to everything, in a word, which relates to the physical, moral, and intellectual nature of man.

This paper is a valuable document for the history of the science, and M. Dr. Fossati says, "Should convince every one that to Gall alone belongs the glory of having discovered the true physiology of the brain."

OUTLINES OF THE SCIENCE OF PHRENOLOGY, IN A LETTER TO JOS. FR. DE RETZER.

The following letter from Dr. F. J. Gall to Joseph Fr. De Retzer, upon the Functions of the Brain in Man and Animals, is taken from the *Journal de la Société Phrénologique de Paris :*

"I have at last the pleasure, my dear Retzer, of presenting you a sketch of my Treatise upon the Functions of the Brain; and upon the possibility of distinguishing some of the dispositions and propensities by the shape of the head and the skull. I have observed that many men of talent and learning awaited with confidence the result of my labors, while others set me down as a visionary or a dangerous innovator.

"But to the subject: my purpose is to ascertain the functions of the brain in general, and those of its different parts in particular; to show that it is possible to ascertain different dispositions and inclinations by the elevations and depressions upon the head; and to present, in a clear light, the most important consequences which result therefrom to medicine, morality, education, and legislation—in a word, to the science of human nature.

"To do this effectually it is necessary to have a large collection of drawings and plans. Therefore, with regard to particular qualities and their indications only, I shall now submit to my readers so much as is necessary for the establishment and illustration of the fundamental principles.

"The particular design of my work is to mark the historical outline of my researches; to lay down the principles, and to show their application. You will readily conceive that the study of the real springs of thought and action in man is an arduous undertaking. Whether I succeed or not, I shall count upon your indulgence and support, if only on account of the hardihood of the enterprise.

"Be so good as to recollect that I mean by the head

or cranium, the bony box which contains the brain; and of this, only those parts which are immediately in contact with it. And do not blame me for not making use of the language of Kant. I have not made progress enough in my researches to discover the particular organ for sagacity, for depth, for imagination, for the different kinds of judgment, etc. I have even been sometimes wanting precision in the definition of my ideas, my object being to make known to a large number of readers the importance of my subject.

PART I.

contains the principles. I start with my readers from that point to which nature had conducted me." [The original is obscure; the author means, probably, that nature, or the natural process of induction, having led him to certain principles, he starts from them with his readers.] "After having collected the result of my *tedious experiments*, I have built up a theory of their laws of relation. I hasten to lay before you the fundamental principles.

"I.—*The faculties and the propensities innate in man and animals.*

"You surely are not the man to dispute this ground with me; but, follower of Minerva, you should be armed to defend her cause. Should it appear from my system that we are rather slaves than masters of our actions, consequently dependent upon our natural impulses, and should it be asked, what becomes of liberty? and how the good or evil we do be attributed to us? I shall be permitted to give you the answer by ex-

tracting it literally from my preface. You can strengthen the argument by your metaphysical and theological knowledge.

"Those who would persuade themselves that our dispositions (or qualities) are not innate, would attribute them to education. But have we not acted alike passively, whether we have been formed by our innate dispositions or by education? By this objection they confound the ideas of faculties, inclinations, and simple disposition with the mode of action itself. The animals themselves are not altogether subject to their dispositions and propensities. Strong as may be the instinct of the dog to hunt or of the cat to catch mice, repeated punishments will nevertheless prevent the action of their instincts. Birds repair their nests when injured, and bees cover with wax any carrion which they can not remove. But man possesses, besides the animal qualities, the faculty of speech and unlimited *educability*—two inexhaustible sources of knowledge and action. He has the sentiment of truth and error; of right and wrong. He has the consciousness of free-will. The past and the future may influence his action. He is endowed with moral feeling, with conscience, etc. Thus armed, man may combat his inclinations. These indeed have always attractions which lead to temptation, but they are not so strong that they can not be subdued and kept under by other and stronger inclinations which are opposed to them. You have a voluptuous disposition, but, having good morals, conjugal affection, health, regard for society and for religion as your preservatives, you resist it. It is only this struggle against the propensities which gives rise to

virtue, to vice, and moral responsibility. What would that self-denial so much recommended amount to if it did not suppose a combat with ourselves? And then, the more we multiply and fortify the preservatives, the more man gains in free-agency and moral liberty.

"The stronger are the internal propensities, the stronger should be the preservatives. From them result the necessities and the utility of the most intimate knowledge of man, of the theory of the origin of his faculties and inclinations, of education, laws, rewards, punishments, and religion. But the responsibility ceases, even according to the doctrine of the most rigid theologians, if man is either not excited at all, or if he is absolutely incapable of resistance when violently excited. Can it be that there is any merit in the continence of those who are born eunuchs? Rush mentions the case of a woman, who, though adorned by every other moral virtue, could not resist her inclination to steal. I know many similar examples among others of an irresistible inclination to kill. Although we reserve to ourselves the right to prevent these unhappy beings from injuring us, all punishment exercised on them is not less unjust than useless; they merit indeed our compassion. I hope some day to render the proof of this rare but sad fact more familiar to judges and physicians.

"Now that our opponents are tranquillized, let us take up these questions—In what manner are the faculties and propensities of man connected with his organization? Are they the expression of a principle of mind purely spiritual and acting purely by itself, or is the mind connected with some particular organization

—if so, by what organization? From the solution of these questions we shall derive the second principle.

"II.—*The faculties and propensities of man have their seat in the brain.*

"I adduce the following proofs:

"1. The functions of the mind are deranged by the lesion of the brain; they are not immediately deranged by the lesion of other parts of the body.

"2. The brain is not necessary to life; but, as nature creates nothing in vain, it must be that the brain has another distinction—that is to say,

"3 and 4. *The faculties are not only distinct and independent of the propensities, but also the faculties among themselves and the propensities among themselves are essentially distinct and independent. They ought, consequently, to have their seat in parts of the brain distinct and independent of each other.*

"Proof 1. We can make the qualities of the mind alternately act and repose, so that one, after being fatigued, rests and refreshes itself, while another acts and becomes fatigued in turn.

"2. The dispositions and propensities exist among themselves in variable proportions in man as also in animals of the same kind.

"3. Different faculties and propensities exist separately in different animals.

"4. The faculties and propensities develop themselves at different epochs; some cease without the other diminishing, and even while the other increases.

"5. In diseases and wounds of certain parts of the brain, certain qualities are deranged, irritated or sus-

pended. They return by degrees to their natural state during the curative process.

"I do not imagine myself a man sufficiently great enough to establish anything by bare assertion. I must endeavor, therefore, to establish each one of these facts by proof. Nevertheless, some timid minds will object thus: If you allow that the functions of the mind are produced by corporal means, or by certain organs, will you not assail the spiritual nature and the immortality of the soul? Condescend to hear my answer. The naturalist endeavors to penetrate the laws of the material world only, and supposes that no natural truth can be in contradiction with an established truth; he now finds that neither the mind nor body can be destroyed without the immediate order of the Creator; but he can draw no conclusion as to spiritual life. He contents himself with perceiving and teaching that the mind is chained in this life to a corporeal organization.

"Thus much in general; but for details, I answer in the following manner: In the preceding objection the being acting is confounded by the instrument by which he acts. That which I laid down respecting the lower faculties, that is to say, of the inferior organs of the functions of the mind, in numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, takes place also with it in regard to the external senses. For example, while the fatigued eye reposes, we can listen attentively; the hearing may be destroyed without the vision being impaired; some of the senses may be imperfect, while others are in full force; worms are entirely destitute of hearing and sight, but they possess a perfect touch; the new-born puppy is for several days both blind and deaf, while his taste is perfectly de-

veloped; in old age, the hearing generally diminishes before the sight; while the taste almost always remains unimpaired. Hence results the proof of the existence of the senses themselves, and of their independence, which no one doubts. Has any one ever drawn the conclusion that the mind ought to be material or mortal, from the essential difference of the senses? Is the mind which sees different from the mind that hears? I extend the comparison a little further; he is mistaken who thinks that the eye sees, that the ear hears, etc.; each external organ of sense is in communication by nerves with the brain; and at the commencement of the nerves is a proportionable mass of the brain which constitutes the true internal organ of each sensitive function. Consequently, the eye may be ever so sound, the optic nerve may be ever so perfect, and yet, if the internal organ is impaired or destroyed, the eye and the optic nerves are of no avail. The external instruments of sense have, consequently, their organs also in the brain, and these external instruments are only the means by which the internal organs are put in relation with external objects; it is for these reasons that it never entered the head of Boerhaave, nor of Haller, nor of Mayer, nor even of the pious Lavater, who seeks for the qualities of mind in the head, and of character in the body, that anything could be inferred against the doctrine of the immateriality and immortality of the soul from the difference and independence of the faculties and propensities, and of their internal organs. The same mind which sees through the organ of sight, and which smells through the olfactory organ, *learns by heart* through the organ of memory, and does good

through the organ of benevolence. It is the same spring which puts in motion fewer wheels for you and more for me. In this way the general functions of the brain are established.

"I now proceed to prove that we can establish the assistance and the relation of many faculties and propensities by the formation of the cerebral development, by which means will be demonstrated, at once, the functions of the different cerebral parts.

"V.—*Of the distribution of the different organs and their various development arising from different forms of the brain.*

"Among the proofs in support of this principle, I point out the differences of conformation between carnivorous, frugivorous, and omnivorous animals. Then I show the cause of the difference between different species of animals, also the cause of accidental differences of species and individuals.

"VI.—*From the totality and the development of determinate organs results a determinate form, either of the whole brain or of its parts as separate regions.*

"Here I take the opportunity to show that an organ is the more active the more it is developed, without denying other exciting causes of its activity. But how is all this to lead us to a knowledge of the different faculties and the different propensities by the formation of the skull? Is, then, the form of the skull moulded upon that of the brain?

"VII.—*From the formation of the bones of the head until the most advanced periods of life, the form of the*

internal surface of the skull is determined by the external form of the brain; we can then be certain of the existence of some faculties and propensities, while the external surface of the skull agrees with its internal surface, or so long as the variation is confined to certain known limits.

"Here I explain the formation of the bones of the head, and I prove that, from the moment of birth, they receive their form from the brain. I speak afterwards of the influence of other causes upon the conformation of the head; among which causes we may rank continual or repeated violence. I show that the organs develop themselves from the earliest infancy until their final completion, in the same proportion and the same order as the manifestation of the faculties and natural propensities. I show, besides, that the bones of the head take on their different forms in the same proportion and in the same order. I show, finally, the gradual diminution of our faculties by the diminution of the corresponding organs, and how nature deposits in the vacant spaces new portions of bony matter. All these things were heretofore unknown in the doctrine of the bones of the head. By these is the first step taken for the determination of the particular functions of the different parts of the brain.

"PART II.

"*Application of general principles. Establishment and determination of the faculties and propensities existing of themselves.*

"As I suppose a particular organ for each one of our independent qualities, we have only to establish what

are the independent qualities, in order to know what are the organs which we may hope to discover. For many years I met great difficulties in this research, and at last I am convinced that, as in everything else, we take the nearest and surest road if we lay aside our artificial logic and allow ourselves to be guided by facts. I make known to my readers some of the difficulties which it was necessary to surmount. They may solve them if they have more penetration than I have. I come at last to the means which have served me most in the determination of the independence of the natural qualities, and I begin by pointing out more clearly the seat of the organs. Among these means I cite—

"1. The discovery of certain elevations or certain depressions when there are determined qualities. I mark here the course which it is necessary to follow in like researches.

"2. The existence of certain qualities together with the existence of certain protuberances.

"3. A collection of models in plaster.

"4. A collection of skulls.

"We shall find many difficulties with regard to human skulls; you know how every one fears for his own head; how many stories were told about me when I undertook such researches. Men, unhappily, have such an opinion of themselves that each one believes that I am watching for his head, as one of the most important objects of my collection. Nevertheless, I have not been able to collect more than twenty in the space of three years, if I except those that I have taken in the hospitals, or in the asylum for idiots. If I had not been supported by a man who knows how to protect

science, and to consult prejudices, by a man justly and universally esteemed for his qualities of mind, and for his character, I should not have been able, in spite of all my labors, to collect even a few miserable specimens.

"There are those, indeed, who do not wish that even their dogs and monkeys should be placed in my collection after their death. It would be very agreeable to me, however, if persons would send me the heads of animals, of which they have observed well the characters; for example, of a dog who would eat only what he had stolen, one who could find his master at a great distance; heads of monkeys, parrots, or other rare animals, with the histories of their lives, which ought to be written after their death, lest they should contain too much flattery. I wish you could establish the fashion, for every kind of genius should make me the heir of his head. Then, indeed (I will answer for it with mine own), we should see in ten years a splendid edifice, for which at present I only collect materials. It would be surely dangerous for a Castner, a Kant, a Wieland, and other like celebrated men if the exterminating angel of David were placed under my order; but, with Christian patience, I shall await the timely will of Providence.

"However, in the meantime, my dear Retzer, look a little with me into futurity and see assembled the choice spirits of men of past ages. How they will mutually congratulate each other for each minute portion of utility and pleasure which each one of them has contributed for the happiness of men! Why has no one preserved for us the skulls of Homer, Ovid, Virgil, Cicero, Hippocrates, Boerhaave, Alexander, Frederic, Joseph

II., Catharine, Voltaire, Rousseau, Locke, Bacon, and of others? What ornaments for the beautiful temple of the muses!

"5. I come now to the fifth means—phenomena of the diseases and lesions of the brain. I have also much to say on this subject. The most important is the entirely new doctrine of the different kinds of insanity and the means of cure—all supported by facts. If all of my researches should only conduct me to this result, I should deem myself sufficiently rewarded for my labors. If men of sense will not thank me, I ought at least to be sure of the thanks of fools.

"6. The sixth means for discovering the seat of the organs consists in examining the integral parts of different brains and their relations, always comparatively with the different faculties and the different propensities.

"7. I come at last to one of my favorite subjects—the gradual scale of perfections.

"Here I imagine that I am a Jupiter, who beholds from the heavens his animal kingdom crowding upon the earth. Think a little of the immense space which I am going to pass through—from the zoophite to the simple polypus, up to the philosopher and the theosophist. I shall hazard like you, gentlemen poets, some perilous leaps. In setting out I shall create only irritable vessels; then I add nerves and the hermaphrodite nature; then beings who merit something better, who can unite and look around upon the world by the organs of sense. I make an arrangement of powers and instruments and divide them according to my pleasure. I create insects, birds, fishes, mammalia.

I make lap-dogs for your ladies and horses for your beaux; and for myself, men—that is to say, fools and philosophers, poets and historians, theologians and naturalists. I end, then, with man—as Moses told you long before; but it has cost me more than one reflection before I could elevate him to the rank of the king of the earth. I give you the language of signs or natural language, that you may amuse yourselves, and that, if any mute should be found, there may be for him one other language besides that of speech. I assure you that, although no one has thought of acknowledging it, I have not been able to effect this, but by putting in communication in a strange manner your body and your muscles with your cerebral organs.

"Strictly speaking, you only play the part of puppets in a show. When certain cerebral organs are put in action, you are led according to their seat to take certain positions, as though you were drawn by a wire, so that one can discover the seat of the acting organs by the motions. I know that you are blind enough to laugh at this; but, if you will take the trouble to examine it, you will be persuaded that by my discovery I have revealed to you more things than you observe. You will find the explanation of many enigmas; for example, Why you defend so valiantly your women; why you become churls at your advanced age; why there is no one so tenacious of his opinions as a theologian. *Pourquoi plus d'un taureau doit éterneur lorsqu' une Europe le chatouille entre les cornes*, etc. I return at last to you, my dear Retzer, like a poor author, to satisfy you concerning my work.

"The first section of the second part being here fin-

ished, I ought to beg my readers to examine all that I have said, so that they may be more convinced of the truth of my first principles, which I have explained in a superficial manner; but I think that he who is so blind as not to see by the light of the sun, will not do better by the additional light of a candle.

"The second section contains various subjects.

"1.—*Of National Heads.*

"Here I agree in some measure with Helvetius, whom I have heretofore contradicted. I shall, perhaps, fall out with Blumenbach, Camper, and Sœmmering, although I gladly confess that I am not certain respecting it. You may, nevertheless, perceive why some of our brethren can not count more than three; why others can not conceive the difference between *meum* and *tuum;* why lasting peace among men will be always but a dream.

"2.—*Of the difference between the Heads of Men and Women.*

"That which I could say on this subject must remain *entre nous.* We know very well that the heads of the women are difficult to unravel.

"3.—*On Physiognomy.*

"I shall show here that I am nothing less than a physiognomist. I rather think that the wise men have baptized the child before it was born; they call me craniologist, and the science, which I discovered, craniology; but, in the first place, all learned words dis-

please me; next, this is not one applicable to my profession, nor one which really designates it.

"The object of my researches is the brain. The cranium is only a faithful cast of the external surface of the brain, and is, consequently, but a minor part of the principal object. This title, then, is as inapplicable as would be that of maker of rhymes to a poet.

"Lastly, I cite several examples to give to my readers something to examine, so that they may judge, not by principles alone, but also by facts, how much they can hope from the effect of these discoveries. You know, without doubt, my dear friend, how much strictness I observe in my comparisons.

"If, for example, I do not find in *good* horse the same signification as in *good* dog, and if I do not find in this the same as in *good* cook, or *good* philosopher, and if it is not in the same relation to each of these individuals, the sign or word is of no value to me; for I admit no exceptions in the works of nature.

"Finally, I would warn my disciples against a rash use of my doctrine, by pointing out many of its difficulties. On the other hand, I shall get rid of many doubters.

"Allow me, at present, to touch upon two important defects in my work. First, it would have been my duty and my interest to conform more to the spirit of the age; I ought to have maintained that we could absolutely ascertain by the form of the skull and the head, all the faculties and all the propensities, without exception; I ought to have given more isolated experiments, as being a hundred times repeated; I ought to have made of the whole one speculative study, and not

to submit my doctrine, as I have done, to so many investigations and comparisons; I should not ask of the world so much preparatory knowledge and perseverance; I ought to have mounted Parnassus upon Pegasus, and not upon a tortoise. Where is the charm of the interest of a science so hard to acquire? The premature sentences which have been pronounced, the jokes and squibs which have been let off at my expense, even before my intention or my object was known, prove that men do not wait for research in order to draw their conclusions.

"I remark, in the second place, I have not sufficiently appreciated the *a priori*. I have had the weakness in this to judge others by myself; for that which I have considered as well established by my logic, I have invariably found incomplete or erroneous. It was difficult for me to reason soundly upon the experiments which I make, as well as upon those made by others, although I am persuaded that I can collect truths only on the highway of experience. It is possible, nevertheless, very possible, that others have a more favorable organization than I have to arrive at knowledge *a priori;* but you will do me the justice not to insist upon my entering the lists with other arms than my own."

DR. GALL'S LECTURES AND WORKS.

In 1796 Dr. Gall commenced giving courses of lectures in Vienna. Several of his hearers, as well as others who had never heard him lecture, published notices of his doctrines, and represented them with

greater or less exactness. Among the better class, the following deserve to be noticed:

Froriep.—Who has printed an Exposition of the Doctrine of Dr. Gall.—Third Edition.

Martens.—"Quelque chose sur la physiognomie."—*Leipzic*, 1802.

Walther.—"Exposition critique de la Doctrine de Gall, avec quelques particularités concernmant son auteur."—*Zurich*, 1802.

Having continued his lectures five years, on the 9th of January, 1802, the Austrian Government issued an order that they should cease; his doctrines being considered dangerous to religion. A General Regulation was made upon the occasion, prohibiting all private lectures, unless a special permission was obtained from the public authorities. Dr. Gall understood the object of this "General Regulation," and never solicited permission, but preferred to stop his courses. The doctrines, however, continued to be studied with greater zeal than before; the prohibition strongly stimulated curiosity, and all publications on the subject continued to be permitted, provided they abstained from reflecting on the Government for issuing the "general order."

Gall was settled as a physician in Vienna, and had in his charge many of the hospitals and other public institutions requiring medical superintendence. His house was open to every one who wished for information in his newly-discovered science. As might be expected, the new views of Gall soon attracted the unprejudiced notice of Spurzheim, whose birth and education, it is but proper, should be noticed in this place.

BIRTH AND EDUCATION OF SPURZHEIM —HIS CONNECTION WITH GALL.

John Gaspar Spurzheim was born on the 31st of December, 1776, at Longvich, a village about seven miles from the city of Treves, on the Moselle, in the lower circle of the Rhine, now under the dominion of Russia. His father was a farmer, and cultivated the lands of the rich Abbey of *St. Maximin de Treves.* In his religious persuasion he was a Lutheran, and young Spurzheim was educated for the clerical profession. He acquired the first rudiments of Greek and Latin in his native village; to which he added Hebrew at the University of Treves, where he matriculated in 1791, in his sixteenth year, and where he also entered upon the study of Divinity and Philosophy, of both of which, in his riper years, he was a consummate master. In 1792 the armies of France overran the south of Germany, and seized upon Treves. Spurzheim retired to Vienna, and devoted himself to the study of medicine, which opened to him a wider field of inquiry and more suited to his mind. In 1800 he became acquainted with Gall, and entered with great zeal into the consideration of the new doctrine. To use his own words, he "was simply a hearer of Dr. Gall till 1804, at which period he was associated with him in his labors, and his character of hearer ceased." Before this time, Dr. Gall had employed a student to dissect for him, but his method was mechanical, according to the old school. The moment Spurzheim became the associate of Gall, the anatomy of the brain assumed a new character. He specially undertook the prosecution of the anatomical

department, and in their public and private demonstrations he always made the dissections, and Gall explained them.

"Dr. Spurzheim," says Dr. Gall, "who for a long time had been familiar with the physiological part of my doctrine, and who was particularly expert in anatomical researches and in the dissection of the brain, formed the design of accompanying and of pursuing in common with me the investigations which had for their end the anatomy and physiology of the nervous system." They left Vienna in 1805 to travel together and to pursue in common their investigations.

In the period which elapsed betwixt the interdiction of Dr. Gall's lectures in 1802 and the time when he and Spurzheim left Vienna, the doctrine had made a rapid progress—not only in general diffusion, but in solid additions. The following works afford evidence of the state of the science in 1805: Bischoff, "Exposition de la Doctrine de Gall sur le Cerveau et le Crâne, suivie de remarques de Mr. Hufeland sur cette doctrine," *Berlin, second edition*, 1805; Blœde, "Le Doctrine du Gall sur les fonctions de Cerveau," *Dresde, second edition*, 1805.

From 1804 to 1813 Gall and Spurzheim were constantly together. On leaving Vienna they proceeded directly to Berlin, and afterward they visited the following places: Potsdam, Leipzic, Dresden, Halle, Jena, Weimer, Goettingen, Brauerschweig, Copenhagen, Kiel, Hamburgh, Bremen, Münster, Amsterdam, Leyden, Dusseldorf, Frankfort, Würtzbourg, Marbourg, Stuttgard, Carlsruhe, Lastall, Freybourg en Brisgaw, Doneschinque, Heidelberg, Manheim, Mu-

nich, Augsbourg, Ulm, Zurich, Bern, Básle, Muhlhause, and Paris.

"In these travels," says Dr. Gall, "I experienced everywhere the most flattering reception. Sovereigns, ministers, philosophers, legislators, and artists seconded my design on all occasions, augmenting my collection and furnishing me with new observations. The circumstances were too favorable to permit me to resist the invitations which came to me from most of the Universities.

"This journey afforded me the opportunity of studying the organization of a great number of men of eminent talents and of others extremely limited, and I had the advantage of observing the difference between them. I gathered innumerable facts in the schools and in the great establishments of education, in the asylums for orphans and foundlings, in the insane hospitals, in the houses of correction, in prisons, in judicial courts, and even in places of execution. The multiplied researches on suicides, idiots, and madmen have contributed greatly to correct and confirm my opinions." An interesting account of their visit to the prisons in Berlin and Spandau may be found in the sixth volume of Gall's works, *American edition.*

From November, 1807, Dr. Gall made Paris his permanent home.

In November, 1807, Dr. Gall, assisted by Dr. Spurzheim, delivered his first course of public lectures in Paris. "His assertions," says Chenevix,* "were supported by a numerous collection of skulls, heads, casts,

* Richard Chenevix, Esq., F.R.S., etc.

and by a multiplicity of anatomical and physiological facts. Great indeed was the ardor excited among the Parisians by the presence of the men, who, as they supposed, could tell their fortunes by their heads. Every one wanted to get a peep at them; every one was anxious to give them a dinner or supper; and the writer of this article saw a list on which an eager candidate was delighted to inscribe himself for a breakfast, distant only three months and a half, at which breakfast he sat a wondering guest."

GALL AND SPURZHEIM'S MEMOIR TO THE FRENCH INSTITUTE — NAPOLEON—CUVIER—DAVY—SOVEREIGNS AND SCIENCE.

In 1808 they presented a joint memoir on the anatomy of the brain to the French Institute. "We present you," said they in their memoir, "*uné déscription du Systeme Nerveux, moins d'aprés sa structure physique, et ses formes mécaniques que d'aprés Vues Philosophiques et Physiologiques que des hommes habitués a des considérations superieures ne refuserant point d'accueillir.*" The Institute was there in all its glory. In proportion as Bonaparte had cannonaded, it had grown enlightened. As the hero was the referendary of military justice, so was it the areopagus of scientific truth. The chief of the anatomical department was M. CUVIER, and he was the first member of this learned body to whom Doctors Gall and Spurzheim addressed themselves.

M. Cuvier was a man of known talent and acquire-

ments, and he was high authority in many branches of science. But what equally distinguished him with the versatility of his understanding was the suppleness of his opinions. He received the German doctors with much politeness. He requested them to dissect a brain privately for him and a few of his learned friends, and he attended a course of lectures given purposely for him and a party of his selection. He listened with much attention, and appeared well-disposed toward the new doctrine; and the writer of this article (Chenevix) heard him express his approbation of its general features in a circle which was met particularly private.

About this time the Institute had committed an act of extraordinary courage in venturing to ask permission of Bonaparte to award a prize medal to Sir H. Davy for his admirable galvanic experiments, and was still in amaze at its own heroism. Consent was obtained, but the soreness of national defeat rankled deeply within. When the First Consul was apprised that the greatest of his comparative anatomists had attended a course of lectures by Dr. Gall, he broke out as furiously as he had done against Lord Whitworth; and, at his levee, berated the wise men of his land for allowing themselves to be taught chemistry by an Englishman and anatomy by a German, *sat verbum.* The wary citizen altered his language. A commission was named by the Institute to report upon the labors of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim. M. Cuvier drew up the report. In this he used his efforts—not to proclaim the truth, but to diminish the merits of the learned Germans. Whenever he could find the most distant similarity between the slightest point of their mode of operating and any-

thing ever done before, he dwelt upon it with peculiar pleasure, and lightly touched upon what was really new. He even affected to excuse the Institute for taking the subject into consideration at all, saying that the anatomical researches were entirely distinct from the physiology of the brain and the doctrines of mental manifestations. Of this part of the subject, Bonaparte (and not without cause) had declared his reprobation, and M. Cuvier was too great a lover of liberty not to submit his opinion to that of his Consul. His assertion, too, that the anatomy of the brain has nothing to do with its mental influence, he knew to be in direct opposition to fact; but even the meagre credit which he did dare to allow to the new mode of dissection he wished to dilute with as much bitterness as he could. So unjust and unsatisfactory, so lame and mutilated did the whole report appear, that the authors of the new method published an answer, in which they accused the committee of not having repeated their experiments. Such was the reception, concludes Chenevix, which Phrenology met with from the Academy of the great nation.

Napoleon was supposed to be a good judge of character, and doubtless had his rules in deciding upon the motives and designs of men. Had he been tested by the signs of the countenance in connection with the form of the head, his rules would have been discovered. It was not his nature to be ignorant of, or indifferent to, the doctrines of Gall. Conscious of his own superiority and eminently proud and selfish, it is not to be supposed that he would favor a system which opened to all the origin and nature of human actions.

In admitting such a theory as that of Gall, he would himself become a subject of remark and investigation by his own consent, and, however well he might have liked the principles of organology for his own exclusive use, his spirit could never have sanctioned the practice of them in others.

That this position may be made more apparent, we will quote the following conversation from the *Mémoires du Docteur F. Antomarchi, ou les derniers Momens de Napoléon.* He does not express his aversion to all those philosophers who pretend to interpret the internal man by the external organization.

Lady Holland had sent a box of books, in which was also contained a bust in plaster, the head of which was covered with divisions and figures, according to the craniological system of Dr. Gall. "There, doctor," said Napoleon, "that lies in your province. Take and study it, and you shall then give me an account of it. I should be glad to know what Gall would say of me if he felt my head." I immediately set to work, but the divisions were inexact and the figures misplaced, and I had not been able to put them to rights when Napoleon sent for me. I went and found him in the midst of a mass of scattered volumes reading Polybius. He said nothing to me at first, and continued to run over the pages of the work he held in his hand. He then threw it down, came to me, and, taking me by the ears and looking me steadily in the face, said: "Well, *dottoraccio di capo Corso*, have you seen the bust?" "Yes, sire." "Meditated the system of Gall?" "Very nearly." "Comprehended it?" "I think so." "You are able to give an account of it?" "Your Majesty

shall judge." "To know my tastes and appreciate my faculties by examining my head?" "Even without touching it." He began to laugh. "You are quite up to it?" "Yes, sire." "Very well, we shall talk about it when we have nothing better to do. It is a *pis-aller*, which is just as good as any other, and it is sometimes amusing to notice to what extent folly can be carried." He now walked up and down, and then asked: "What did Mascagni think of these German reveries? Come, tell me frankly, as if you were talking to one of your brethren." "Mascagni liked very much the manner in which Gall and Spurzheim develop and point out the different parts of the brain. He himself adopted their method, and regarded it as eminently fitted for discovering the structure of this interesting viscus."

"Sovereigns," remarks Dr. Gall, "are always deceived when they ask advice from the ignorant, the jealous, the envious, the timid, or from those who, from age, are no longer accessible to new opinions. Napoleon acquired his first notions of the value of my discoveries during his first journey to Germany. A certain metaphysical juris consult, E——, at Leipzig, told him that the workings of the soul were too mysterious to leave any external mark. And, accordingly, in answer to the report of the Institute, I had this fact in view when I terminated a passage in these words: 'And the metaphysician can no longer say, in order to preserve his right of losing himself in a sea of speculation, that the operations of the mind are too carefully concealed to admit of any possibility of discovering their material conditions or organs.' At his return to Paris he scolded sharply (*tança vertemont*) those mem-

bers of the Institute who had shown themselves enthusiastic about any new demonstrations. This was the thunder of Jupiter overthrowing the pigmies."

It is a remark of the Edinburgh *Phrenological Journal*, "that, although Gall, merely from seeing the bust of Napoleon placed alongside of those of the Generals of the Austrian armies, predicted the immortal victories of Italy, yet he never received from the Emperor the smallest mark of attention."

Keeping in view the strong and adverse feelings of Napoleon in relation to Phrenology, we may account for the imperfect report of Cuvier. The report, it should be observed, related only to the anatomical discoveries of Gall and Spurzheim—not to their peculiar doctrines of the functions of the brain. Cuvier, however, admitted in the annual report that their "Memoir was by far the most important which had occupied the attention of the class."

That Cuvier was a phrenologist, there can be but little doubt; neither his report nor any of his works warrant us in supposing the contrary. Although political causes had a tendency to influence Cuvier against the doctrines of Gall, nevertheless these two celebrated men were made to understand and esteem each other, and, toward the end of their career, they did each other justice. Gall had already one foot in the grave when Cuvier sent him a cranium, "which," he said, "appeared to him to confirm his doctrine of the physiology of the brain." But the dying Gall replied to him who brought it, "Carry it back and tell Cuvier that my collection only wants one head more—my own—which will soon be placed there as a complete proof of my doctrine."

JOINT PUBLICATION OF GALL AND SPURZHEIM.

In 1809 Gall and Spurzheim commenced publishing their magnificent work, entitled *The Anatomy and Physiology of the Nervous System in general, and of the Brain in particular, with Observations upon the possibility of ascertaining the several intellectual and moral Dispositions of Man and Animals by the configuration of their Heads. Four volumes folio, with an Atlas of* 100 *Plates.* [Price 1,000 francs].

This great work was continued by the joint exertions of Gall and Spurzheim to the completion of two and a half volumes, and was ultimately finished by Gall in 1819. They continued their researches in common till 1813, when Spurzheim left Paris to visit Vienna and Great Britain. Previous to his departure he had studied the English language, and could write and speak it with remarkable accuracy. While in Vienna he received from the University his degree of M.D. These were preparatory steps to his scientific travels, and, considering that England was to be the first field of his labors, they were, of course, most important. During Dr. Spurzheim's absence Dr. Gall discontinued his lectures. After his return (1817) he delivered one private course in his own house and two public courses gratis —one, "*Á l'Ecole de Medecine,*" and the other in a hall, "*De l'Institution pour les Aveugles.*"

In 1819 Dr. Gall, at the request of the Minister of the Interior, commenced lecturing for the benefit of the medical students in Paris. The lectures were, like others, delivered gratis; but he was provided with the use of an operating-room in the *Hospice de Perfec-*

tionnement for his first course, and afterward, on account of that being too small, with the large examination-room of the Institution *des Jeune Aveugles*, which is well fitted for the purpose. His audience amounted to betwixt two and three hundred; and, so eagerly was he attended, that many more tickets were applied for at each course than could be given, and the apartment was regularly crowded half an hour before the lecture began. The French savants listened to him with the same interest as those of Germany had done, and the celebrated Corvisart was, among others, one of his most enthusiastic admirers. Some were slow and reluctant to admit the great value of his labors. "At last, however," said Dr. Fossati in his funeral oration on Dr. Gall, "his works appeared, and several of his eminent contemporaries hastened to do him justice, and still to follow the line of investigation so successfully marked out by him."

From 1822 to 1826, Dr. Gall published an edition of his work, "*Sur les Fonctions du Cerveau*," etc., in six volumes, 8vo.

DEATH OF GALL—HIS FUNERAL.

In Mareh, 1828, at the conclusion of one of his lectures, Dr. Gall was seized with a paralytic attack, from which he never perfectly recovered, and which ultimately carried him off the 22d of August, 1828, in the seventy-first year of his age.

His remains were followed to the grave by an immense concourse of friends and admirers, five of whom pronounced discourses over his grave, as is the custom

in France on such occasions. His death gave rise to a succession of eulogiums and attacks in the French newspapers that had scarcely ever been paralleled, and public sentiment was warmly and loudly expressed in his favor. In proof of this we quote from a letter to Dr. Andrew Combe, written by a gentleman in Paris, at the time, who was not a professed believer in Phrenology, and whose testimony is therefore impartial. After speaking of the political relations of France, he adds, "You will, I am sure, be more affected by the death of Dr. Gall, than by any political events. In truth, it is an immense loss to science. Whatever opinion we may form of the system of that illustrious man, it must be acknowledged that he has made an immense stride in the sciences of medicine and of man. You must have been satisfied with the homage paid to his memory by the side of his grave, by whatever distinguished men Paris possesses. Nothing was wanting to his glory; not even the abuse and calumnies of our *devots de gazette*."

LABORS OF SPURZHEIM ALONE — HIS VISIT TO GREAT BRITAIN—ANATOMY OF THE BRAIN—REVIEWS—ABERNETHY.

We now proceed to consider the scientific labors of Dr. Spurzheim, alone. After a few months' residence in Vienna, he left for England, and arrived at London, March, 1814. Without doubt, he had seen much in the character of the English that corresponded to his own; —carefulness and patience in study, but boldness in

opinion; ardent in the pursuit of scientific discoveries, but regulated by deliberate reflection.

"The moment of his first visit," says Chenevix, "was not propitious. The nation was still smarting with the scars of war. Many kings, too, had indisposed it to the lore of Germany; it was jealous and touchy upon the subject of quackery. Mesmer, Mainaduke, Perkins, the morbid sentimentalism of Miss Ann Plumptre's translation, had made it so; and Dr. Spurzheim had to struggle against all these obstacles. He commenced his labors by a dissection of the brain, at the Medico-Chirurgical Society's in Lincoln's Inn Fields; and the novelty as well as the truth of the demonstration, that this viscus is composed of fibres, created no small surprise among the learned audience. The choice of such a mode to enter upon the subject was eminently judicious, as it placed it at once upon a respectable footing, by making an appeal to science. The effect in its favor, however, was not so general as might have been expected. When a course of lectures was delivered, not more than forty auditors were present; neither did a second course attract a more numerous circle."

It is said, that Dr. Abernethy "fully acknowledged the superiority of Dr. Spurzheim's anatomical demonstrations over every previous mode of dissecting the brain," and that he "directed the attention of his class to Dr. Spurzheim's anatomical labors, as most important discoveries."

As the opinions of Abernethy are always read with interest and respect, we introduce the following extracts from the second volume of his Surgery:

"The views which Drs. Gall and Spurzheim have taken of the nature of the dispositions and faculties of man and animals appear to me, however, both new and philosophical, and these admit of being surveyed without any reference to organization or its supposed situation. It is thus only that I submit them to you as well deserving your examination; for I think it will be acknowledged that they have drawn a correct portrait of human nature, whether they be right or wrong in their speculations concerning certain protuberances which they have depicted."

"It should be remembered, that Gall and Spurzheim do not speak of protuberances or bumps; they require that every one who wishes to form an opinion concerning the reality of Phrenology, must make himself acquainted with, (1), the situation of the special organs; (2), with the true meaning of each fundamental faculty of the human mind, as adopted in Phrenology; (3), with the different temperaments as giving more or less energy to the function of the organs; (4), with the relative development of the four regions of the head, occipital, lateral, frontal, and sincipital; (5), with the proportionate size of the basilar to the coronal portion, and with the proportionate size of the three great divisions of the inferior feelings, superior sentiments, and intellectual faculties; finally, (6), with the relative development of the special organs in each individual."

After considering the science in detail, Mr. Abernethy thus remarks in conclusion:

"The foregoing representation of human nature, when viewed in its proper light, and with due attention, must, I think, please every one; for it is not like

others heretofore presented to us, which appear in comparison but as mere diagrams, the result of study and imagination, whilst this seems like a portrait from life by masterly hands. It is not, indeed, exactly like any individual, but capable, by alterations, of being made to resemble every one; so that by the help of a few touches we are able to show 'Virtue her own image, Vice her own deformity,' in all their diversities.

"I had gratification in being intimate with Dr. Spurzheim whilst he remained in London, and in a kind of badinage I proposed to him questions which he answered with facility, and in a manner that showed a very perfect knowledge of human nature. For instance, I inquired whether he had discovered any organ of common sense; and he replied in the negative. I then demanded in what that quality consisted; and he answered, in the balance of power between all the other organs. This answer shows why a quality so peculiarly useful is common to all, and rare in any; for there are but few who have not prejudices and partialities, hopes or fears, or predominant feelings, which prevent them from pursuing that middle and equal course of thought and conduct which unbiased consideration, or common sense, indicates and directs. I inquired if there was any organ of self-control, or, if not, whence that power originated. He said, 'It is the result of a predominating motive; thus, justice may control avarice, and avarice sensuality.' In short, I readily acknowledged my inability to offer any rational objection to Gall and Spurzheim's System of Phrenology, as affording a satisfactory explanation of the motives of human actions.

"Their representation simplifies our notions of such

motives, by lessening the number of reputed agents; thus the want of benevolence and virtuous dispositions, with excitement to anger, produces malevolence, and this, conjoined with concealment, malice. I need not recite a variety of instances, since they are sufficiently apparent."

From London Dr. Spurzheim proceeded to Bath, Bristol, Cork, and Dublin, where he was well received, and where he lectured with success. He then proceeded to Scotland. "If," says Chenevix, "during his excursion, the harvest of proselytes was not yet very great, the additions to his observations were extensive and interesting. In the Scottish capital another fate attended him, and a decisive moment was approaching. There, as in London, he opened his campaign by the dissection of the nervous mass; but the circumstances of the demonstration were highly exciting.

"The writings of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim, conjointly and separately, had attracted the attention of our periodical critics, and an article had appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for June, 1815, in which these authors were most heartily reviled. Hardly an opprobious epithet in the language was omitted on their moral, as on their intellectual characters, and they were roundly called fools and knaves." . . . .

The intention of Dr. Spurzheim always was to visit the Scottish Athens, but this article confirmed it. He procured one letter of introduction for that city, and but one; that was to the reputed author of the vituperating essay. He visited him, and obtained permission to dissect a brain in his presence. The author himself was a lecturer on anatomy, and the dissection took place

in his lecture-room. Some eyes were a little more, or a little less, clear-sighted than others, for they saw, or thought they saw, fibres. A second day was named. The room was full as it could be, particularly as an intermediate bench was reserved for Dr. Spurzheim to carry round the subject of inquiry to every spectator. There, with the *Edinburgh Review* in one hand and a brain in the other, he opposed fact to assertion. The writer of the article still believed the *Edinburgh Review*, but the public believed the anatomist; and that day won over near five hundred witnesses to the fibrous structure of the white substance of the brain, while it drew off a large portion of admiring pupils from the antagonist lecturer.

Thus, aided by success, Dr. Spurzheim opened a course of lectures on the anatomy and the functions of the brain, and its connection with mind. He used to say to the Scotch, "You are slow, but you are sure; I must remain some time with you, and then I'll leave the fruit of my labors to ripen in your hands. This is the spot from which, as from a centre, the doctrines of Phrenology shall spread over Britain." These predictions proved true. Converts flocked in on all sides; the incredulous came and were convinced.

SPURZHEIM'S VISIT TO DUBLIN, CAMBRIDGE, EDINBURGH—FESTIVAL IN HONOR OF—SPEECHES OF COMBE AND SIMPSON—MME. SPURZHEIM—REPLIES OF DR. SPURZHEIM—CHRISTIANITY AND WOMEN.

In giving an account of his visit to Dublin, I shall employ the language of my late and respected friend,

the Hon. Andrew Carmichael. He was a ripe scholar, a learned author, and a most genial and refined gentleman. When I was preparing a biography of the great philosopher, he was engaged in producing his interesting volume, entitled "A Memoir of the Life and Philosophy of Spurzheim," which was published by request of the Dublin Phrenological Society in 1833, of which he was the first President.

After speaking of the audacious misrepresentations of the reviewers, he says: "Spurzheim arrived in Dublin at a time when every mind was poisoned against him by the effusions of the reckless reviewers. I did not myself escape the infection. It was with difficulty I was persuaded to enter his lecture-room; but, having then an abundance of leisure, I thought a few hours would not be much misspent in indulging an idle curiosity, and reaping some little amusement where I could hope but for little information.

"I listened to his first lecture, expecting it to breathe nothing but ignorance, hypocrisy, deceit, and empiricism. I found it fraught with learning and inspired by truth; and, in place of a hypocrite and empiric, I found a man deeply and earnestly imbued with an unshaken *belief* in the importance and value of the doctrines he communicated.

"I listened to his second lecture, and *I adopted his belief*. I was satisfied of the importance and value of those doctrines, and exulted in anticipating those treasures of knowledge, of whose enjoyment the *Edinburgh Review* had well-nigh overreached and swindled me.

"I listened to his third lecture, and perceived, with all the force of thorough conviction, that there was

nothing of any value in the metaphysics of ancient or modern schools, except so far as they coalesced and amalgamated with the new system. From that hour to the present, I have regarded the science with increasing confidence and unalterable devotion. More certain or more important truths the divine finger has not written in any of the pages of nature, than those which Spurzheim, on this occasion, unfolded to our examination, our study, our admiration.

"He was attended by a large and intelligent class of both sexes, and consequently made many ardent converts to Phrenology in Dublin. Indeed, whoever listened attentively to his lectures must, voluntarily or involuntarily, become a disciple. Of the numbers who received his instructions, I have personally known only three who were not convinced of the truth and value of his doctrines.

"In January, 1816, he went to Cork, where he delivered two courses. In a letter from that city he observes: 'From the beginning the fair sex has been favorable to our science: it is so in Cork. Very few of the medical profession think proper to be interested in our investigations, and prefer dinners and suppers to Phrenology.' . . . .

"In February he returned to Dublin and delivered two concurrent courses, repeating in the evening the same lecture he had given in the morning. Many attended both; and though the topics were the same, his language, manner, and illustrations varied so much that his auditors felt unabated gratification whenever they heard him."

"In May, 1826," says Carmichael, "Spurzheim wrote

me from his residence, Gower Street, London: 'The pleasure to see you and my friends in Dublin is postponed. I return to France for the present, and am willing to pay a visit to Dublin at the beginning of next winter, if a class can be assured. If this be impossible, I remain in England. Here the progress of Phrenology is extraordinary. I have lectured at the London Institution to such an audience as never before was brought together by any scientific subject.'"

In 1827 he visited Cambridge, "and was received," says Chenevix, "in that seat of exact learning with honors seldom bestowed before. By the influence of some of the members of that eminent body, the most distinguished for their characters and talents, permission was granted to deliver a course of lectures on Phrenology, in the botanical lecture-room of the University—a favor never conferred on any who are not members of the establishment. The audience was most respectable, and increased as the course advanced; till, toward the close, it amounted to one hundred and thirty, among whom were fifty-seven partly professors, partly tutors, and fellows of the different colleges. The attentions paid to Dr. Spurzheim, personally, were most gratifying; and the impression made, not merely by his method of dissecting the brain, but by his phrenological doctrines, was as complete a refutation of the lame and impotent conclusions of the Edinburgh Reviewer as candor and science could desire."

"He also lectured," says Carmichael, "with the most triumphant success, at Bath, Bristol, and Hull; and from the last-mentioned town continued his journey to Edinburgh, where he arrived, by invitation, in the first

week of January, 1828. He was accompanied by Mme. Spurzheim.

"On this occasion his reception formed a strong contrast to that which he had experienced eleven years before. During this period a Phrenological Society and Journal had been established, of which George Combe was made president and chief editor; a large collection of casts and drawings, to illustrate the science, had been made, and funds secured to give permanency to the great objects of the association. He was received with sincere respect and profound attention. He delivered two general courses; and a third, confined to the anatomy and pathology of the brain. His classes were numerous, respectable, and intelligent.

"But the most gratifying incident accompanying this visit, was a dinner given in honor of Dr. Spurzheim, by the Phrenological Society, on Friday, 25th of January. The enthusiasm of that day will not readily be forgotten by those who had the happiness of being present. George Combe was president of the day, and was supported by Sir Geo. Stewart Mackenzie, the Hon. David Halliburton, Mr. Neil, Mr. Simpson, and other distinguished gentlemen.

"In proposing the health of Dr. Spurzheim, which was received with profound respect and applause, Mr. Combe made a most eloquent speech, from which the following extracts are made:

"'How would we rejoice to sit at table with Galileo, Harvey, or Newton, and pay them the homage of our gratitude and respect; and yet we have the felicity to be now in company with an individual whose name will rival theirs in brilliancy and duration; to whom ages

unborn will look with fond admiration as the first great champion of this magnificent discovery; as the partner in honor, in COURAGE, and in toil, with Dr. Gall; as the rival in genius of him by whose master-mind the science of man started into existence.' . . . .

"'Dr. Spurzheim, my friends, is an historical personage: a glory dwells on that brow which will never wax dim, and which will one day illuminate the civilized world. His greatness is all moral and intellectual. Like the sun of a long and resplendent day, Spurzheim, at his rising, was obscured by the mists of prejudice and envy; but, in ascending, he has looked down upon and dispelled them. His reputation has become brighter and brighter as men have gazed upon and scrutinized his doctrines and his life. No *violence* and no *anguish* tarnish the laurels that flourish on his brow. The recollections of his labors are all elevating and ennobling, and in our applause he hears not the voice of a vain adulation, but a feeble overture to a grand strain of admiration which a grateful posterity will one day sound to his name.'"

"Striking," says Carmichael, from whose volume this account is taken, "impressive, and affecting was Dr. Spurzheim's reply:

"'I never felt so much the want of mental powers necessary to express the pleasurable satisfaction and gratitude I feel. This day is for me a day of joy, which I never hoped to see. My joy would be complete were Dr. Gall amongst us. Dr. Gall and myself often conversed together about the future admission of our doctrines. Though we relied with confidence on the invariable laws of the Creator, we, however, never ex-

pected to see them *in our lifetime* admitted to such a degree as they actually are. I often placed my consolation IN MAN BEING MORTAL, or *in future generations*, to whom it is generally reserved to take up new discoveries. BUT WE ARE MORE FORTUNATE.'"

What adds greatly to the value of such speeches, is to be found in the character of those who uttered them, and in the absence of all vanity. On this occasion, the language spoken by these distinguished men was that of undisguised sincerity. They stood before the world as the exalted servants of truth, and their extreme enjoyment was inspired by the noblest motives for the advancement and happiness of mankind.

After a most felicitous speech by Vice-President Simpson, he proposed, "With all the honors, the health of Mme. Spurzheim, and all the matrons and all the maids who devote themselves heart and soul to Phrenology."

The response of Dr. Spurzheim to this sentiment was most important and worthy to be remembered:

"Mr. President: As Mme. Spurzheim has had the honor to be named at the head of the females who study Phrenology, I think it is incumbent upon me to thank you in *her* name. There can be no doubt among phrenologists, that the minds of ladies should be cultivated as well as ours, to fit them for their social relations and duties. With respect to Phrenology in particular, I am convinced *that among an equal number of ladies and gentlemen*, a greater number of THE FORMER, are fitted to become PRACTICAL PHRENOLOGISTS: that is, to become able to distinguish the different forms and sizes of the head in general, and of its parts in particular. The reason seems to be, because girls

and women, from the earliest age, exercise the intellectual powers of configuration and size, more than boys and men, in their daily occupations.

"You have already done justice to those mothers whose influence has been great on the education of their children. It is also evident, that ladies may greatly contribute to the diffusion of Phrenology in society, and may make frequent use of it in practical life. But if ladies do render service to Phrenology, this science will also be of great advantage to them—*I may say, of the greatest advantage*, AFTER CHRISTIANITY."

PROGRESS OF PHRENOLOGY IN EUROPE—REVIEWERS.

It would be both useful and interesting to give a connected account of the progress of Phrenology in Europe during the first generation of the present century, but this would fill a large volume, which, we trust, will be produced at some future time. Our present endeavor must be regarded only as an imperfect sketch, simply to indicate the great field and ample materials for some gifted author to shape who desires to be useful. It was in 1830, when Chenevix said, in his very able article—"It would be long to enumerate all the successes and triumphs which this new science now obtained in the shape of societies, collections of busts, lectures fully attended in different parts of the British empire: London, Exeter, Manchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Dublin, Cork, Hull, Paisley, Dundee, vied with each other, according to their means, to learn and diffuse the science; and, in an instant, as

soon as the doctrine was fairly stated, more phrenologists sprung up among us than during twenty years in the country where Drs. Gall and Spurzheim had been residing all the time.

"In the British colonies, too, Phrenology has not been neglected; and Dr. Murray Patterson, in the East India Company's service, delivered lectures at Calcutta, where a Phrenological Society was about to be formed.

"But the freest of nations must always be that in which whatever relates to the study of man will excite the greatest interest. Without such knowledge, indeed, liberty can not exist. Such is a cause of the warm reception which Phrenology has met with among its partisans in England, and of the no less warm opposition of its adversaries. The reverse, too, has procured it a tepid attention in France; for, whatever be the forms of liberty there, its spirit is yet to be born. It is, then, easy to conjecture what may be the mind of the United States of America toward this doctrine. Dr. Caldwell, medical professor in Transylvania University, Kentucky, has prepared a work, entitled "Elements of Phrenology," and delivered lectures in Baltimore, Washington, D. C., and in other cities. And it may be added, that the city of Copenhagen boasts of Professors Otto and Hoppe, who recognize the importance of the science."

THE DIGNITY OF TRUTH IN CONTROVERSY.

There is no higher test of the character of great men than that to be found in public controversy, on any subject. This is particularly true when antagonists

indulge in terms of bitterness and abuse, and in reckless misrepresentation. Perhaps no writers, in any country, were treated with more ridicule and audacious injustice than Gall and Spurzheim. Endowed with great capacity and favored by the best education and position, their theories and opinions, to say the least, were entitled to grave and careful consideration. But instead of this, their lectures and works were attacked by the most influential Reviews of the world in language as false as it was shameless. Facts were opposed by groundless assertions, and opinions were first misinterpreted and then dismissed with flings of contempt. They discovered no aim for truth, and no respect for decency.

The spirit and temper of Spurzheim in replying to these reviewers was truly magnanimous, and afforded a salutary example to his opponents, as may be seen in the following extracts, taken from the Preface of one of his works:

"Discussions properly conducted," he says, "are of great utility. For that reason I am always ready to examine every objection against our doctrines. But I am sorry to observe, that scientific pursuits are so often degraded by selfish passions and spirit of party; that literary publications are employed for the purposes of calumny and detraction; that invectives are used instead of arguments; and that by praising friends and blaming rivals, the progress of the arts and sciences, and the improvement of man, are mightily retarded.

"Such behavior I will never imitate; nay, the illiberal and uncandid manner in which some British Reviews have taken up our investigations, has hitherto prevent-

ed me from attempting justification. As, however, many persons have no inclination, and a greater number no time, for comparing the original works with the reports of the critics; and as in science the majority of readers believe without examining for themselves, I can not entirely avoid controversy.

"I am now to submit to the public some observations on the objections of our principal antagonists in Great Britain, confining myself to the points in question, and depending on the moral sense, the judgment, and observation of my readers.

"Every one will perceive that our adversaries are very witty men. They deal very extensively in the ridiculous; and when they have leisure to become serious, they speak of the motives and *dangerous consequences* of our inquiries; but their generous minds need not be apprehensive, since they declare our doctrines '*incredible and disgraceful nonsense, absurd theories, trash, and despicable trumpery.*'

"Why do they not rather listen to our constant declaration, that one fact well observed is more decisive to us than a thousand opinions and all the metaphysical reasoning of the schools, and that facts alone can expel such intruders as our doctrines."

This able and dignified reply, which secured to its author the respect even of his opponents, thus concludes:

"Certainly, with such critical reviewers, such would-be philosophers, such mechanical directors, and such historians I have done forever; and I may say with Job (xiii. 5), 'Oh, that you would altogether hold your peace, and it should be your wisdom.'"

STATE OF PHRENOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES—MASTER-MIND, LIKE THAT OF SPURZHEIM, WANTED—INFLUENCE OF HIS LABORS—ATTACKS UPON THE SCIENCE—ITS PROGRESS—CHARACTER OF OPPONENTS.

When Spurzheim visited the United States, Phrenology was a new subject. So far as it had been discussed, it was perverted and misrepresented. It is true societies had been formed in Philadelphia and in Washington, D. C., and lectures had been delivered by Professor Charles Caldwell, of Kentucky, but these efforts were insufficient to counteract the influence of foreign reviewers and a class of editors at home who were accustomed to repeat opinions from abroad without examination.

In this state of things a master-mind was wanted to combat the prejudices of the people and to undeceive the learned. If there were one man more capable than all others in the world to set forth the claims of this important science and to defend it, that man was SPURZHEIM. With a desire to increase his own knowledge, and moved by that noblest motive of human action, to advance the cause of truth, he resolved to visit the growing Republic of America.

His arrival in this country and the receptions given him in several of our large cities have already been noticed. It is an interesting fact to be noted, and particularly to be remembered, that no stranger from abroad, however distinguished by public service or by attainments in science, was ever received in the United States with more profound respect and enthusiastic attention than Dr. Spurzheim. It was clearly evident

that his high reputation had preceded him, and that it was more than sustained by his wisdom and presence. The unanimity of all who met him or who listened to his lectures was soon made known in the public press and by private correspondence throughout the country. Numerous letters of inquiry from men of science in all sections were received and answered; and there was but one common feeling everywhere, and that was expressed in an earnest desire to see him and to hear him. Once heard, his influence became irresistible. No witness of his eloquence, of his truthful appeals, and of his ample knowledge had even a desire to venture an open opposition to his teachings. All saw in him "the bright countenance of truth" and the surpassing wealth of goodness. All admired, no one doubted. Without exaggeration the lines of Goldsmith could here be quoted:

> "Truth from his lips prevail'd with double sway;
> And fools, who came to scoff, remain'd to pray."

This was while he lived to be seen, to be met, and to be heard. When he was removed from earth, however, the self-complacent critic—too ignorant to be prudent and too proud to be wise—appeared in the Reviews with an assumed courage to contradict and misrepresent the departed philosopher. The *North-American* and the *Christian Examiner*, in a year or two after his death, gained an unenviable reputation by repeating the insulting language and unfounded assertions of foreign Reviews against Phrenology published more than twenty years before. They copied statements which repeatedly had been denied or refuted, and quoted au-

thors who had lived to be honest, and who had discarded their own premature opinions. The article in the *North-American Review* was ably answered by Professor Caldwell, of Kentucky. In a letter to the editor, Hon. A. H. Everett, enclosing the article, and dated Lexington, Kentucky, August 31, 1833, he employs the following decided language:

"One of two things is true—you either did not read attentively the article of your correspondent before inserting it in your journal, or you have no familiarity with the history and science of Phrenology. Possessing *such* familiarity, you never would have admitted such an article."

This reply was published in the October Number of the *Annals of Phrenology*, 1833. We can make only two or three brief extracts from it:

"The article," he says, "is a compound of worn-out matter. There is no originality in it. The allegations of the writer are but the mouldering remains of the sophistry of his predecessors. . . . . Nor is it the *matter* of the article alone that is borrowed or purloined. Of its form and manner the same is true."

In refutation of the assertion that Phrenology was losing its hold upon thinking men, the writer says:

"Able works in exposition and defence of it are now extensively circulated and read. Societies for the cultivation and promotion of it are growing in number in our own country, and, in Great Britain and France, they are already abundant and still on the increase. . . . . Not only are the friends of Phrenology increasing, its enemies are, in much more than an equal ratio, reduced—not alone in number, but in activity, energy,

and the hope of success. Comparatively, they are paralyzed in everything. In proof of this, let the former hostile operations of the British press be contrasted with its present unbelligerent condition, and the testimony will be found conclusive. The *Edinburgh Review*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, and the *London Quarterly*—which once formed the holy anti-phrenological alliance and led the war against the science—have retired from the field, their shields broken and their laurels withered, and will never renew the helpless conflict."

The article entitled "Pretensions of Phrenology Examined," published in the November Number of the *Christian Examiner*, 1834, was answered by Mr. Capen in the *Annals of Phrenology* in 1835, and by Professor Caldwell in a pamphlet of ninety-three pages. It was of a similar character to that of the *North-American Review*. It was characterized by unbecoming arrogance and ignorance. After reviewing the article with great severity, Professor Caldwell thus dismisses the writer:

"Influenced by these considerations, and regardless of the opinion of any one to the contrary, we feel that we have inflicted no unbecoming or unmerited chastisement on the Rev. Defamer of Phrenology and its Advocates."

From 1832 to 1838 lectures against Phrenology were occasionally delivered by Doctors of Divinity and by Doctors of Medicine, but with no marked success, except to show their utter want of information upon the subject. Their objections to the science were old, and had been frequently refuted, and even their wit and

prejudices were *borrowed*. It would be unprofitable to the reader to dwell in this place upon these discreditable articles and lectures, or upon the triumphant replies that proved them to be such. To be fully understood, they should be read as a part of the history of conflicts between truth and error, a subject, by itself, of imposing magnitude.

The immediate results of Spurzheim's lectures, in Boston and Cambridge, were most gratifying both to him and to the public. Their effect upon the minds of leading men and editors produced an excitement throughout the country. It was one of inquiry. Phrenological societies were numerously organized, courses of lectures were given upon Phrenology, and the subject was almost everywhere discussed, at the lyceums, in the social and debating clubs, and by the public press.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOSTON PHRENOLOGICAL SOCIETY —ITS MEMBERS AND OFFICERS — ITS TRANSACTIONS — BIRTHDAY OF SPURZHEIM ANNUALLY OBSERVED—PROCEEDINGS—LECTURES BY MEMBERS—CLOSE OF SOCIETY —REASONS.

On the evening of the 17th of November, 1832 (the day of the funeral of the lamented Spurzheim), a meeting of gentlemen was held in the building occupied by Marsh, Capen & Lyon, at which the Rev. Dr. Tuckerman presided, and Nahum Capen was chosen secretary. The following resolutions were offered by Dr. J. D. Fisher, and passed:

"1. *Resolved*, That we form ourselves into a society to be called 'THE BOSTON PHRENOLOGICAL SOCIETY,' instituted

for the purpose of investigating the science of Phrenology and its bearings upon the physical, intellectual, and moral conditions of man.

"2. *Resolved*, That a committee of five, consisting of Hon. John Pickering, Dr. Jona. Barber, Dr. Saml. G. Howe, Rev. John Pierpont, and Wm. B. Fowle, Esq., be appointed to draft a Constitution and By-Laws for the government of the Society, and that the said committee shall have power to invite others to act with them."

At a subsequent meeting, Nov. 28th, the venerable Dr. Wm. Ingalls presided, and a Constitution and By-Laws were reported by the committee, and adopted. It was voted, "that the annual meetings of the Society should be held on the 31st of December, this being the birthday of the late Dr. Spurzheim." It was also voted to petition the Legislature for an Act of Incorporation. This was granted and signed by the Governor, in March, 1833.

The first officers of the Society, elected December 31, 1832, were the following: Rev. John Pierpont, President; Dr. Jona. Barber, Vice-President; Dr. Samuel G. Howe, Cor. Secretary; Nahum Capen, Recording Secretary; E. P. Clark, Treasurer.

Counsellors—Dr. J. F. Flagg, Dr. Winslow Lewis, Jr., Dr. Jos. W. McKean, and Wm. B. Fowle.

Curators [elected in 1834]—Dr. N. B. Shurtleff and Henry T. Tuckerman.

Of the first organization, all are deceased except the Recording Secretary. The Society continued a useful activity for about ten years, and numbered one hundred and forty-four members. Of these, about one-fourth were of the medical profession, about one-tenth were

clergymen, and the remainder were merchants, lawyers, professors, teachers, artists, clerks, and mechanics.

In the list of members, we find the names of some of the well-known citizens of Boston, viz: Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., Rev. Dr. Brownson, Hon. John Pickering, Hon. Abbott Lawrence, Hon. J. W. Edmunds, Wm. P. Mason, Nathl. C. Nash, Samuel Downer, Chas. G. Loring, J. H. Walcott, Moses Kimball, Geo. G. Smith, Jonas Chickering, Joseph Tilden, Otis Everett, Jr., James Blake, Hon. James D. Greene, Hon. J. S. Sleeper, J. W. Ingraham, E. L. Frothingham, Wm. A. Alcott, Dr. Daniel Harwood, Wilder S. Thurston, Wm. Hunt, F. Skinner, John Appleton, Dr. Henry G. Clark, John H. Blake, Danl. F. Child, Alvan Fisher, Danl. S. Smalley, Dr. M. S. Perry, Dr. John Flint, John J. Dixwell, etc.

Of the twenty-six members elected to office during the ten years' existence of the Society, only five are living. Of the whole number of members, during the same period, one hundred and forty-four, only twenty-one are now living. During the same period the following distinguished professors and authors were elected honorary members: Prof. Elliottson, Sir Geo. S. McKenzie, Sir Wm. Ellis, J. De Ville, London; Geo. Combe, Dr. Andrew Combe, Rev. Dr. Welsh, Edinburgh; Prof. Otto, Copenhagen; Prof. L. V. de Simoni, Rio Janeiro; Dr. Richard Carmichael, Hon. Andrew Carmichael, Dublin; Prof. Blumenbach, Göttingen; Dr. J. Roberton, Prof. Andral, Dr. C. Broussais, Prof. Broussais, Dr. Felix Voisin, Dr. Vimont, Paris; and Rev. Dr. Wheaton, Pres. Washington College, Hartford, Conn. Quite a large number of scientific gentlemen, in the

United States and abroad, were elected corresponding members.

In his advisory letter to Blumenbach, the Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Saml. G. Howe, says:

"The Boston Phrenological Society has for its object the examination of the principles of the science of Phrenology directly; and indirectly all of the physical that has a bearing upon the social, moral, and intellectual conditions of man. It numbers among its members many of the scientific minds of our community."

In his letter to Sir Geo. Stewart Mackenzie, after complimenting him upon his important labors in favor of Phrenology, he says: "There is but little credit due to those who now embrace and defend a doctrine which has survived the storms of prejudice that assailed it at birth, and which numbers among its supporters some of the brightest geniuses of the age."

All the letters of the Corresponding Secretary to the honorary members elect, are characterized by the intelligent zeal and good judgment of the distinguished author.

During the period of its existence, the Society duly observed the birthday of Spurzheim, the day of its anniversary, by suitable private or public services. These occasions were made public in 1833, 1836, 1837, 1838, and in 1839. The proceedings, the addresses, and poems delivered, were published. They were delivered by Professor Barber, of Cambridge; Hon. James D. Green, of Cambridge; Dr. Samuel G. Howe, of Boston; Dr. Bartlett, of Lowell; and by George Combe, of Edinburgh.

The subject of Professor Barber was "The Impor-

tance of Phrenology;"* of Mr. Green, "Claims of Phrenology to be regarded as the Science of Human Nature;"† of Dr. Howe, "The Social Relations of Man;"‡ of Hon. Elisha Bartlett, "Progress of the Natural Sciences, the Character of Spurzheim, and the Importance of Phrenology;"§ of Mr. Combe, "Obstacles to the Progress of Phrenology, and its Importance to All Classes and in the Schools;"‖

Lectures were given by Drs. Ingalls and McKean on the anatomy of the brain, and by Dr. Ingalls on the harmony between Phrenology and Christianity. Two courses of public lectures were also given in 1834 and 1836 by the following members of the Society, viz: Rev. John Pierpont, Professor Barber, Hon. J. D. Greene, Dr. Howe, Dr. J. D. Fisher, Dr. J. F. Flagg, and Nahum Capen.

In 1835 the Council of the Society were authorized by the publishing house of Marsh, Capen & Lyon to offer a premium of one hundred dollars for the best essay of fifty pages against Phrenology—the merits of such essay to be determined by a competent committee of three anti-phrenologists. This offer was announced in 1835, 1836, and 1837, but no one was ambitious to compete for the prize.

To give a full account of the transactions of this Society—of its correspondence, reports of committees on heads, skulls, and character, of papers read, and of discussions on numerous subjects—would make a large volume. It was the leading Society of the United

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* Appendix A. † Appendix B. ‡ Appendix C.
§ Appendix D. ‖ Appendix E.

States, and it was extensively approached by prominent men in all sections of the country and from abroad.

It would be quite natural for the reader to inquire in this place why the Society was not continued beyond the period of 1842. The reasons are various and obvious. The subject had ceased to be a novelty. All new subjects or discoveries, after a certain time cease to command special attention. If established, controversy ends; if otherwise, its importance ceases. New topics arise, and these absorb the public mind. The great master of the science had been removed by death, and slowly by death his enthusiastic followers were removed, or scattered by the calls of a business nature. Some may have had a disposition to be active, but were without health or means. Besides, in a Society of nearly one hundred and fifty members, there will always be some who injure the cause of scientific investigation by their weakness, their want of sense, and by their tedious dissertations upon subjects they do not understand. This is the common fate of associations made up of members of unequal capacity, and where pride and vanity often claim a distinction above merit and an influence above that of knowledge.

When men do not readily disclose the sources of their convictions and the reasons of their belief, it is difficult to measure the progress of phrenological science, or indeed of any science. The unyielding pride of the schools, the influence of old prejudices against new theories, the natural aversion to labor to investigate new truths and at the expense of old ones, stand for a long time in the way of tracing thought in its invisible action. Error is often rejected by clothing

new truths in disguised language—that is, the principles of new theories are recognized, but not in the technical language of their authors. This has been extensively done with Phrenology. Many adopt its philosophy, but are not honest enough to give due credit to the science.

PROGRESS OF PHRENOLOGY FROM 1832 TO 1840—VISIT OF COMBE TO THE UNITED STATES—BIRTH AND EDUCATION OF COMBE—HIGH POSITION OF GALL, SPURZHEIM, AND COMBE AS PHILOSOPHERS—NUMEROUS TESTIMONIALS RESPECTING THE ABILITY AND CHARACTER OF GEORGE COMBE.

But perhaps the progress of the science may be best estimated by a review of the period from 1832 to 1840, when leading scientific men of the country gave their unqualified testimony in favor of the importance of the proposed visit of George Combe to the United States, and other distinguished men of the world gave their high testimonials as to his eminent fitness to fill the chair of Logic in the University of Edinburgh. Add these testimonials to the record already given of Gall and Spurzheim; weigh them together and study their meaning.

The emphatic acknowledgment of so many distinguished men, who have given glory to the present century, of the ability and merit of such authors and teachers, is an extraordinary fact. It is an irrevocable recognition of the great truths which they have taught and indisputable evidence of their salutary influence upon society. As the mountain marks the geographi-

cal locality from which the countless streams of water flow, to give fertility to the earth and pass to the ocean, so this great fact points to a common centre from which truth emanates to cheer and bless mankind. The teachers of truth are but the servants of God, in whom all truth centers.

George Combe was born October 21, 1788, at Livingston's Yards, close under the south-west bank and rock of the Castle Edinburgh. He was the son of George Combe, brewer. His mother, Marion Newton, was the daughter of Abram Newton, of Curriehill. He was educated to the profession of the law, and became Writer to the Signet. As a student in the University of Edinburgh it was certified that he "prosecuted his studies with great diligence and success." In his chosen profession he became distinguished for his carefulness, accuracy, and integrity. Mental philosophy was his favorite theme at an early period. "While still a youth," says Gibbon, "he read the works of Locke, Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, David Hume, Dr. Reid, and Dugald Stewart." These authors served only to discourage him. He could not understand what they seemed to endeavor to teach, and was led to mistrust his own want of capacity, rather than their want of philosophy. In 1815 he followed the lead of the *Edinburgh Review* against Gall and Spurzheim, but he was not slow in manifesting his delight when he listened to the simple language of truth as uttered by the latter. But this has been given in his own language.

We have already spoken of his high personal character. Of his eminent ability and scientific attain-

ments there is a mass of unquestionable evidence, which, for extent and character, is almost without a parallel. In 1836 he was a candidate for the vacant chair of Logic in the University of Edinburgh. There were ten candidates, but only four were voted for, viz: Sir William Hamilton, Isaac Taylor, Mr. McDougall, and Mr. Combe.*

We have printed documents before us, numbering more than two hundred octavo pages, containing letters addressed to "the Lord Provost and Council of the city of Edinburgh, in behalf of George Combe," and articles from influential journals favoring his appointment. The letters are signed by more than a hundred of the most eminent physicians, surgeons, divines, professors, editors, and authors in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany, Denmark, and in the United States. Among the names of *Great Britain* we may mention His Grace Right Rev. Archbishop of Dublin (Whately), Sir George S. Mackenzie, Sir William C. Ellis, Professor Elliotson, Robert Ferguson, M.P., R. Jonson Evanson, M.D., M.R.I.A., Dr. William Gregory, F.R.S.E., Professor J. P. Nichol, Professor Robert Hunter, M.D., Hon. D. G. Halliburton, M.P., Robert Chambers, Esq.; Charles Maclaren, editor of the *Scotsman*, James Johnson, M.D., physician to the King and editor of the *Medico-Chirurgical Review;* Robert C. Macnish, M.D., author of "Philosophy of Sleep;" Surgeon Carmichael, and Hon. Andrew Carmichael. Of the names in the list from France we can give only a few: Professor Broussais, M. David Richard, Dr.

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* Appendix F.

Roberton, Dr. Fossati, Professor Boullard, M. Turpin, member of French Institute; Professor Cloquet, M. Peltier, Dr. Vimont, Dr. Gaubert, M. Dumoutier, Dr. Felix Voisin, and Professor Andral. Among the names from the United States we find from *New York*, Drs. John F. Gray, Valentine Mott, and H. J. Judson; from *Baltimore*, John P. Kennedy, Professors Dunglinson, George H. Calvert, Drs. Ducatel, Geddings, and Dickson; from *Hartford, Connecticut,* Rev. Dr. Wheaton, President, and Professors of Washington College, Dr. A. Brigham; from *Boston*, Drs. J. C. Warren, Hayward, Lewis, Homans, and Storer; and from *Albany, New York*, Rev. Dr. Sprague and Professor Dean.

Of these testimonials, the London *Spectator* says:

"The testimonialists (in favor of Mr. Combe) are of various countries. They are of various walks in science, religion, literature, and life; many of them are the well-known heads and officers of philosophical institutions, and teachers of the great schools of medicine and general science throughout Europe; and some of them members of Parliament. Among them are the present philosophical and high-minded Archbishop of Dublin (Whately), himself the chief authority on *Logic*, as a writer upon it; and Andral, one of the most eminent guides of the medical student."

The *Bath Journal*, Eng., says: "Probably an equivalent amount of evidence has never been collected, in so short a time, in favor of any individual, or of any subject whatever."

The following brief extracts will afford the reader some idea of the substance of these interesting and remarkable letters:

Dr. Robert Macnish, of Glasgow, author of the "Philosophy of Sleep," etc., says: "I am not acquainted with any individual, either in Edinburgh or elsewhere, who, as a teacher of Logic or Metaphysics, can be compared with Mr. Combe."

Prof. William Weir, M.D., of Glasgow, one of the editors of the *Glasgow Medical Journal*, says: "I consider Mr. Combe, from his splendid talents, his vigorous and enlightened understanding, and his very superior attainments in philosophy, to be eminently qualified for the Logic Chair in the University of Edinburgh."*

Dr. John Elliotson, F.R.S., President of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, Dean of the Faculty in the London University, etc., etc., says: "No one could be found more fitted for the chair of Logic than Mr. Combe, and scarcely any one so fit."†

Hon. D. G. Halliburton, M.P., says: "Wherever Mr. Combe is known (and he is very generally known in the Scotch metropolis), there is but one opinion, and that a very favorable one, of his ample qualifications for filling, with credit to himself, benefit to his pupils, and honor to any learned body who should adopt him, the chair of *such* a Professorship as that of Logic."

James Johnson, M.D., Physician Extraordinary to the King, and editor of the *Medico-Chirurgical Review*, etc., says: "I have no hesitation in stating my conviction that Mr. Combe is eminently qualified to teach the manifestations of the *immortal spark* through the medium of its perishable instrument on earth."‡

Dr. W. F. Edwards, F.R.S., says: "No man has,

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* Appendix G. † Appendix H. ‡ Appendix I.

since Gall and Spurzheim, done so much to enlarge our knowledge of human nature as Mr. Combe, to whose labors the scientific world, and humanity at large, are much indebted." In noticing this letter, the London *Courier* says: "Dr. Edwards is a Member of the French Institute, and is known all over Europe for the accuracy of his scientific investigations."

Broussais, Professor to the Faculty of Medicine of Paris, expresses "the hope that Mr. Combe will obtain the chair of Logic in question. It can not be filled by a man better qualified to cause a great and rapid advancement of the positive philosophy." Turpin, Member of the French Institute, and many of the learned professors of France, give similar testimony, and even in stronger language.

In a letter signed by Professor R. Dunglinson, John P. Kennedy, Geo. H. Calvert, and others, dated Baltimore, Md., U. S. A., June 3, 1836, we find the following passage: "Wherever Mr. Combe's works have been read, they have been admired, as well by those who do *not* as by those who do believe in the phrenological doctrines, and have given their author fame in America as a man of high mental powers and fine cultivation." Similar and stronger language in his favor may be found in the printed letters from Dr. Mott and others of New York; from Dr. John C. Warren and others of Boston; and from Dr. Brigham, Rev. Dr. Wheaton and others of Hartford, Conn.; and from Rev. Dr. Sprague, of Albany, N. Y. These testimonials (in the U. S.) were addressed to Nahum Capen.

COMBE'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES—HIS MOTIVES—HIS ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION—TESTIMONIALS OF RESPECT—IN BOSTON, NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, BALTIMORE, WASHINGTON, D. C., NEW HAVEN AND HARTFORD, CONN. —INFLUENCE OF HIS LABORS.

"Long before Mr. Combe had determined to visit America," says Charles Gibbon,* "he repeatedly, in letters and in private notes, expressed his admiration of the country and the people." The visit of Spurzheim, in 1832; his cordial reception and sad ending; the great influence of his teachings, his unfinished labors, and the general voice of thinking men, that he was counted as his successor—all these events, in connection with private letters from personal friends, served to hasten Mr. Combe in his convictions of duty that he had a sacred mission to perform in the United States. When assured of a warm welcome, he did not hesitate. He left England, in the *Great Western*, on the 8th of September, 1838, and arrived in New York on the 25th. He was accompanied by his accomplished wife, Mrs. Cecilia Siddons Combe, the daughter of the late celebrated Mrs. Siddons. He was met there by his friend, Mr. Capen, who had made arrangements for his first course of lectures in the United States, to be delivered in Boston. He commenced his first course, of sixteen lectures, at the Masonic Temple, on the 10th of October, 1838. No delay was permitted in making arrangements for his lectures in New York, Albany, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Hartford and New Haven, Conn., and in other cities.

His arrival was extensively announced, and with much

* "The Life of George Combe."

favor. He was received everywhere by the learned and distinguished men of all classes with marked distinction, and his lectures were attended by the most intelligent citizens of all classes. While in Boston he became acquainted with Wm. H. Prescott, Daniel Webster, Rev. Dr. Channing, Dr. James Jackson, Dr. J. C. Warren, Prof. Ticknor, George Bancroft, John Pickering, Horace Mann, Dr. Shattuck, and with many other leading men of the city and vicinity.

At the close of the last lecture, the following complimentary resolutions were adopted by the class, and presented by a committee:

"At a meeting of the subscribers to the course of lectures delivered by George Combe, Esq., in Boston, held at the Masonic Temple, Nov. 14, 1838,

"*Resolved*, That this audience feel highly grateful to George Combe, Esq., for the generous philanthropy which has led him from the shores of his native country to extend among us the principles of that philosophy which he has cultivated with so much success.

"*Resolved*, That we have derived from the lectures of Mr. Combe much instruction and delight, and we believe that his investigations have shed a valuable light on the physical, intellectual, and moral constitution of man; and that his labors are eminently calculated to promote the progress of the human race in civilization, virtue, and religion.

"*Resolved*, That these resolutions be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and that the following persons, viz., John Pickering, Charles G. Loring, John Pierpont, Horace Mann, and George Barracott, be a committee to present these resolutions to Mr. Combe.

"Abbott Lawrence, *Chairman.*
"Nahum Capen, *Secretary.*"

In presenting these resolutions, in the presence of the audience of his last lecture, the Hon. Abbott Lawrence

made a brief speech, in his happy manner, and a modest reply was made by Mr. Combe. He claimed no special reward for honest motives to be useful, and if thanks were due to any one they were due to Mr. Capen for having influenced him to visit the United States.

The following letter to him explains itself:

"Boston, *Nov.* 13, 1838.

"To George Combe, Esq.:

"A large number of our citizens having expressed a desire of giving you some public testimonial of their personal regard, and of their respect to you as a teacher of mental and moral philosophy, a meeting was held for that purpose on Friday last.

"The undersigned were appointed a committee to carry into effect the wishes of the meeting, and as the result of their deliberation, they beg to ask your acceptance of a piece of plate, as a testimonial of affection and respect of your friends in Boston.

"They are desirous that the presentation should be accompanied by some ceremony, and they propose that it shall be followed by a social entertainment, in order that ladies, as well as gentlemen, may have an opportunity of paying their respects to Mrs. Combe as well as to yourself.

"Will you have the goodness to name some evening when it will be convenient to you to attend the presentation? With much respect we are, dear sir,

"Yours most truly,

"John Pickering,
"Charles G. Loring,
"S. G. Howe,
"Samuel E. Sewall,
"Nahum Capen."

The evening was appointed and the presentation took place in the spacious parlors of the Tremont House. There was a large gathering of ladies and gentlemen, and the occasion was one of the most interesting of the season. Happy sentiments and speeches were uttered by gifted minds, but I am unable to give particulars. I can only give extracts from an extended and beautiful speech of Mr. Combe, which I have in manuscript. He said: "I ascribe your present gift to your own generous sentiments much more than to any merit of my own. I accept it as a memorial of the elevated feelings and high intellectual attainments of the donors, and, as such, it will recall many of the most delightful associations of my life. . . . . The high talents and distinguished station of those in whose names these resolutions have been presented will operate not only in every region of this vast country, but in Europe, in dispelling the mists of prejudice against Phrenology."

The design of this testimonial was quite original. It was a tea-kettle of solid silver. It was forwarded by request of Mr. Combe to his hotel in New York. In a letter from Mrs. Combe to me, she thus speaks of it:

"My dear Mr. Capen:—The box containing the vase was delivered here yesterday, and you may be sure we lost no time in unpacking it. We placed it on our table and admired it in every point of view. It is very handsome, and, in style and execution, very peculiarly adapted both to our taste and to correspond with all the other plate which we possess. In all respects, then, we shall indeed most highly prize it—first, as a remem-

brance of most valued friends; secondly, as in itself intrinsically handsome and in good taste; and lastly, as suitable in substantial and unpretending appearance to the character and establishment of a simple and practical philosopher. We beg you to tell all our friends how much gratified and pleased Mr. Combe and myself are at the sight of their kind token of regard."

When Mr. Combe arrived in this country, the citizens of New York were favorably disposed to the science of Phrenology. In a letter to me from Dr. A. Brigham, dated New York, August, 1837 (where he resided at the time), he asks: "How is Phrenology in Boston? Here I find a general and favorable impression respecting it. Nearly all the physicians are said to be phrenologists." After Mr. Combe had commenced his first course of lectures in that city, Professor William M. Holland, in a letter to me dated New York, November 22, 1838, says: "Mr. Combe is succeeding admirably. His first lecture was attended by five or six hundred of the best hearers in the city. He has set to work with an earnestness of a man forgetful of himself and everything but truth, and can hardly fail to make a strong impression."

At the close of his second course of lectures in New York, an address, expressive of admiration for himself and confidence in the beneficent tendency of his philosophy, was made, and subsequently the class made a presentation to him (March 23, 1840) of a silver vase bearing medallic portraits of Gall, Spurzheim, and himself, and also of Dr. Benjamin Rush and Dr. Charles Caldwell. In presenting this testimonial the chairman

of a committee, E. P. Hurlbut, said: "Your visit has awakened the interest of thousands in your welfare—of thousands who are not wanting in gratitude for the instruction and delight which your discourses have afforded them, but who have had no opportunity to manifest, as we do on this most favored occasion, their high appreciation of your character and attainments and the enduring impression which your visit has made upon their minds. Their and our best wishes attend you." Mr. Combe made an eloquent reply, but we have room for only a brief extract, showing the character of his sense of appreciation: "I have held converse," he said, "with many enlightened minds in this country—minds that do honor to human nature, whose philanthropy embraces not only patriotism, but an all-prevailing interest in the advancement of the human race in knowledge, virtue, religion, and enjoyment in every clime. Many of these admirable men are deeply interested in Phrenology."

A cordial reception in Philadelphia was anticipated by Mr. Combe, and he was not disappointed. I had received assurances from Professor John Bell which were fully redeemed. Mr. Combe wrote me, "Dr. Bell's head is like my brother Andrew's, and his writings are like his." In a letter dated Philadelphia, February 10, 1839, he says: "Our lectures terminated on the 8th inst. most satisfactorily. I have had regularly from five to six hundred and a vote of approval at the close. My auditors here embraced professors, physicians, and men of the first grade, and, so favorable has been the impression, that I have been publicly requested to repeat the course. . . . . Mr. Rembrandt

Peale is painting my portrait for his own gratification, as I appear to his mind, but considerably different from my appearance in your portrait." The one he referred to was painted in Edinburgh in 1837.

When he visited Washington, he became acquainted with Dr. Sewall, who had distinguished himself, among the great men of the nation, by lecturing and speaking against Phrenology. He had been repeatedly warned respecting his unguarded statements and assertions, by Dr. Brereton, of the U. S. army, and Secretary of Washington Phrenological Society, but without effect. In a letter to me dated March 14, 1839, Mr. Combe thus alludes to him: "Dr. Sewall overwhelmed us with kindness. I told him in presence of a dozen of Senators and Representatives in his own house, that what he called Phrenology was a phantom of his own creation, and that if it were *really* Phrenology, I should be an opponent also. He took this in good part, and said he would revise his opinions."

RESULTS OF MR. COMBE'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES.

That the visit of Mr. Combe to the United States was regarded by some of the best and most influential people of the country, as an event calculated to advance the great cause of education and science, is attested by unquestionable evidence. This evidence is to be found in the public journals, in votes and resolutions of associations passed at pubic meetings, and in the correspondence of learned and professional men. That his lectures served to confirm and advance the

great truths of Phrenology as taught by Gall and Spurzheim, no one will venture to deny. That they aided to remove a prevailing prejudice against the science, and to invest the subject with a dignity that belongs to truth, all must admit. That those who were the most active and foremost in offering him attention and in giving him opportunities to be useful, were men eminent in the walks of science and among the highest in respectability, is abundantly proved by the record. That the high reputation in Europe which he had acquired, and which had been conceded to him there by all classes; that he was the only living representative of Spurzheim, who was able to do justice to the science which he taught, were facts fully acknowledged everywhere. Of course, many who approached him, had no motives above those of mere curiosity. But few of such, however, were to be found on his committees of arrangement for his lectures or receptions. That Mr. and Mrs. Combe fully comprehended and appreciated the results, may be seen from his journal:

"I thank God very sincerely for His bounteous gifts to her (Mrs. Combe) and to me, and am persuaded that the recollection of our visit to the United States will afford us lasting gratification."

ACTIVE AND SCIENTIFIC PHRENOLOGISTS OF THE UNITED STATES—SURVIVING PHRENOLOGISTS WHO WROTE UPON THE SUBJECT FROM THE PERIOD OF 1832—DR. ISAAC RAY—GEO. H. CALVERT.

I could easily extend this chapter of details by making numerous extracts from letters, from Mr. Combe,

Prof. Silliman, of New Haven; Dr. Brigham, of Hartford; Prof. Bell, of Philadelphia; Prof. Calvert, of Baltimore; Prof. Dean, of Albany; Dr. Ray, of Eastport; Prof. Caldwell, of Kentucky, and from many others; but most of them have long been numbered among the dead, and further testimony, I trust, will not be deemed important. Of the many correspondents I had between the periods from 1832 to 1842, only two are now living: Doctor Isaac Ray, formerly of Eastport, Maine, now of Philadelphia, the gifted author on Medical Jurisprudence, etc., etc.; and the Hon. Geo. H. Calvert, formerly of Baltimore, now of Newport, R. I., the able author of many valuable volumes.

When advised that I was preparing these pages, they both addressed me letters, which follow:

LETTER FROM ISAAC RAY, M.D.

"PHILADELPHIA, Baring Street, *August* 25, 1879.

"MY DEAR SIR:—Your letter has called up many interesting reminiscences of my earlier years—those connected with Phrenology and my dealings with your house. Phrenology was to me, in those days, a revelation of new truths and especially of a philosophy that shed a marvelous light on the whole field of mental science. I never reached much belief in organology, but it gave a turn to my inquiries which I never have ceased to follow, and for which I can never cease to be thankful. No story-book was ever devoured with such an abandon of every other thought as was Gall's great work, '*Sur les Fonctions.*'

"I do not think Phrenology throws much light on

insanity, nor upon the received theories of cerebral pathology; could it be expected to? The source of insanity is an organization, more or less vicious, of the brain, and so far as our inquiries have yet gone, it seems to be general and not local or partial in its seat. Mr. Combe thought that the insane manifestations must come from the prominent organs, and thus the manipulation of the head would enable one to say what would be the character of the derangement in any particular case, produced by the disease insanity. Had he known as much of insanity as he did of the brain and mind in the sound state, he would never have adopted this notion. The practical application of it on several cases at the McLean Asylum, failed completely, as Dr. Bell informed me. Not but what some light may be shed on the play of the mind in the unsound state as well as the sound to the patient and skilled observer. The two most common manifestations of mental derangement, are excessive exaltation and depression, and they may continue for months the only ones. They are as clearly the results of abnormal cerebral action, as delusion or raving. If it be contended that they spring from some affection of Hope, it is a fair question, but one not easily answered, how it happens that one particular organ, and that a small one, should become diseased so much oftener than any other? You must conclude, of course, that I am unable to commend Phrenology for any signal service it has rendered in the treatment of insanity. I am glad that you have undertaken this book of reminiscences of one who made so strong a mark on his time (Spurzheim) and promise myself much gratification from reading it.

"With thanks for your expressions of kindness and regard, I remain,

"Yours, truly, ISAAC RAY.

"NAHUM CAPEN, Esq., Boston, Mass."

In an address delivered in Glasgow, Mr. Combe thus alludes to a work of Dr. Ray:

"Dr. Ray's work, allow me to say, is a valuable treatise on Medical Jurisprudence, in which he not only presents the lights of Phrenology to illuminate the subject, but condemns the lawyers of other countries for their blindness to its importance, and among others, he censures the High Court of Justiciary of Scotland for their condemnation in 1832 of Howison, obviously a homicidal monomaniac."*

LETTER FROM HON. GEORGE H. CALVERT.

"NEWPORT, R. I., *August* 20, 1879.

"MY DEAR MR. CAPEN:—Herewith I send you a copy of '*Brief Essays and Brevities*,' in which is a paper entitled 'THE BRAIN,' a succinct statement as to the discovery of the functions of the brain by Gall, and as to the nature and significance of this great discovery. That it is a discovery, and one of the greatest ever made, I firmly believe. Observation and reflection, during the fifty years since I first began to examine the expositions of Gall and his disciples, have from year to year strengthened in me the opinion that this discovery of what is the office of the hitherto mysterious mass of cerebral nervous matter, and is

* Gibbon's "Combe."

pregnant with solutions—solutions ethic, æsthetic, metaphysic, and theologic.

"Most truly yours, GEO. H. CALVERT.

"NAHUM CAPEN, Esq.,

"Mount Ida, Boston, Mass."

The interesting volume referred to by Mr. Calvert, was published in 1874. The chapter on "*the brain*" is brief, original, and full of meaning, but we can make from it only a single extract. He says: "From the discoveries of Gall legitimate deductions are: that the brain is the instrument of mind; that the brain is not a single organ, but a congeries of organs, the function of each being to manifest a primitive mental power of feeling or of intellect; and that, other things being equal, such as health, temperament, opportunity, size is the measure of power."

PHILOSOPHY OF PHRENOLOGY — THE THREE GREAT TEACHERS.

When I commenced these pages, I had intended to give outline views of Phrenology as left by Gall, and as modified and extended by Spurzheim and Combe, but the reader must look for these additions in their works.* Like all other subjects, Phrenology should be carefully studied and practically applied in the affairs of life.

Having given reminiscences of Spurzheim and Combe, and having given unquestionable evidence of the per-

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* See Appendix J.

sonal character, education, and eminent ability of these great teachers of Phrenology, and of their claims upon all good men—to be remembered, respected, and followed as honored disciples of truth—it remains to be added a brief review of the philosophy of their system, and its importance to the great cause of education, legislation, and to the treatment of criminals and the insane. The object of these pages is to influence instructors and parents to teach children the science of Phrenology, and legislators and heads of public institutions to boldly recognize the system as the true science of *self-knowledge* —the greatest of all themes for the study of man.

The Physiology of the Brain.

It is now nearly half a century since Prof. Elliotson, of the University of London, the learned translator of Blumenbach's Physiology; Dr. John Mackintosh, Surgeon to the Ordnance Department in North Britain, Lecturer on the Principles of Pathology and Practice of Physics, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, etc., etc.; Prof. Robert Hunter, Prof. of Anatomy, etc., in the Andersonian University, Glasgow; Prof. C. Otto, M.D., Prof. of Medicine in the University of Copenhagen; James Johnson, M.D., Physician Extraordinary to the King, etc.; Richard Carmichael, Surgeon and Author, of Dublin—and numerous other distinguished authors and professors—gave distinct and emphatic testimony in favor of the *Anatomy of the Brain*—as demonstrated and taught by Gall and Spurzheim. Let this fact be publicly and unreservedly announced in our medical schools—whatever else may be added that may have been discovered since their time.

But in speaking of the Physiology of the Brain, especially, it is not to be inferred that Human Physiology, as a whole, is either to be omitted or neglected. It is a subject that should be studied and made familiar both in the family and in the school. The prevailing ignorance of common people of the make of their own bodies and the means of health, is truly lamentable. Even educated men and women often invite both disease and death by violating the physical laws of their bodies.

In 1853, by co-operation of that great and good man, Sir James Clark, an opinion was obtained in favor of teaching Physiology and the laws of health in the common schools, and signed by sixty-five of the leading physicians of London.

The following is a copy of the document:

"Our opinion having been requested as to the advantage of making the Elements of Human Physiology, or a general knowledge of the laws of health, a part of the education of youth, we, the undersigned, have no hesitation in giving it strongly in the affirmative. We are satisfied that much of the sickness from which the working classes at present suffer, might be avoided; and we know that the best directed efforts to benefit them by medical treatment are often greatly impeded, and sometimes entirely frustrated, by their ignorance and neglect of the conditions upon which health necessarily depends. We are, therefore, of the opinion that it would greatly tend to prevent sickness, and promote soundness of body and mind, were the elements of Physiology, in its application to the preservation of health, made a part of general education; and we are convinced that such

instruction may be rendered most interesting to the young, and may be communicated to them with the utmost facility and propriety in the ordinary schools, by properly instructed schoolmasters."

Mental Philosophy.

It was a great event to be recorded in the history of science when the learned Archbishop Whately, in 1836, pronounced in favor of the metaphysics of Phrenology. "It had a metaphysical nomenclature," he said, "far more logical, accurate, and convenient than Locke, Stewart, and other writers of their schools." To give numerous similar opinions would be easy, but mere opinions, perhaps, would not aid the reader so much as a few words upon the subject itself.

In works on Mental Philosophy, the Mind has usually been represented as made up of Faculties and Affections, but these words have been used in so vague a sense, and in such a variety of relations, that it is difficult to find, in any standard work, satisfactory definitions. The mind consists of faculties, as all admit, and yet there is an apparent relation constantly kept in sight between the faculties and the mind, as if they had separate spheres of action, although one and the same. Of this, however, Locke was perfectly aware, as he says that "this way of speaking of faculties has misled many into a confused notion of so many distinct agents in us, which had their several provinces and authorities, and did command, obey, and perform several actions, as so many distinct beings." But in this remark Locke only stated a difficulty in his own philosophy, without even attempting to obviate it, and by im-

plication, as we have a right to suppose, admitted the necessity of some system like that of Phrenology.

Some may be of the opinion that "when Locke disproved the existence of innate ideas he also disproved the existence of innate faculties and propensities," but such an inference is altogether unwarrantable. So far from this, he furnishes much evidence that the faculties are innate, and advanced a step nearer to Phrenology when he maintained that the organs of *thinking* might be *material*. Such were the opinions of Hartley, Tucker, Hume, Priestly, Reid, Butler, and others equally eminent.

But to make still nearer approaches, the functions of nearly thirty of the organs, discovered by Gall and Spurzheim, have been alluded to as innate faculties of mind, by several of the most eminent metaphysicians. Lord Kames alone admits twenty. *Conscientiousness*, under the name of the *moral sense*, *moral feeling*, *sense of right*, is supported by Warbuton, Hume, Marmontel, Rousseau, Tucker, Hutcheson, Reid, Gregory, Stewart, Browne, Cudworth, and others.

Veneration has had many learned supporters, but we shall only name Kant, Davy, Montesquieu, Warbuton, Tucker, Kames, and some distinguished professors in the United States. The *innateness* of *Philoprogenitiveness* is maintained by Hume, Warbuton, Tucker, Reid, and Browne; *Marvellousness*, by the same, and Lord Shaftesbury; *Benevolence* and *Cautiousness*, by the same, and others. *Self-esteem* is maintained by Reid, Stewart, and Browne; *Love of Approbation*, by Hume, Browne, and Kames; *Hope*, by Stewart; *Ideality*, by Browne and Stewart; *Imitation*, by Reid and Browne;

Time and *Tune*, *Individuality* and *Causality*, by Reid, Browne, and Kames; *Comparison*, by Malbranche, Bacon, and Locke. *Adhesiveness* is supported by Warbuton, Browne, and Kames; *Amativeness*, by Browne and Stewart; *Combativeness* and *Destructiveness*, by Hume, Browne, Kames, and Leighton; *Firmness*, by Tucker, and *Acquisitiveness*, by Reid and Kames, and *Secretiveness*, by Lord Bacon and Bishop Leighton. And, as stated by Andrew Carmichael, in whose work references to some of these authors may be found, "Browne absolutely admits a faculty of *equilibrium*, which is identical with the phrenological faculty of *Weight;* and if his principle of relative suggestion be not a component part of the mind, then, to account for other pnenomena which he discusses, the innate existence must be inferred of *Individuality*, *Eventuality*, *Comparison*, *Causality*, *Number*, *Size*, *Form*, *Coloring*, and *Space*, in addition to those faculties which he admits without reserve."

To say nothing of these subdivisions of mind into faculties, without a system to be found in nature, most writers have agreed in dividing the mental nature of man into four classes of powers, and allowing to each class its own sphere and peculiar characteristics, viz, the Intellectual, the Moral, the Religious, and the Animal.

With this view of the subject, it is very natural to inquire whether it be consistent to suppose that particular acts of the mind result from many powers combined, and acting as *one*, or, as one power acting in different modes. We hear of religious men without moral honesty, and of moral men without religion. And we find,

also, men of great intellectual endowments without either.

Men are ever before us marked by the greatest variety of differences as to person, capacity, and conduct. Let us study them as we see them, as we know them —without losing ourselves in the labyrinths of an artificial erudition or in the spell-bound fogs of prejudice. Let us study nature as we find it to-day, and, in the past, as we find it revealed both by sacred and profane history. Let us have *certainties* to stand upon while we are studying the *uncertainties* of life. Let us regard the attributes of mind as immutable in their nature as the attributes of Deity. Shall we presume to undertake to improve the immortal principle of the soul itself, or of the body in its conditions of strength or weakness? Let us confine ourselves to the training of that nature which limits and deranges the manifestations of the spirit, of the immortal mind, whose depths and mysteries no finite wisdom can solve. Let us study mind and matter—as we only know them together—as it has pleased the Almighty to place them. As we study Natural History to learn the instincts and habits of the animal creation, so should we study the physical and mental capacities of man—that we may understand their normal conditions and arrive at the best methods of training the body and developing the faculties of the mind in harmony: the great business of education. Practical self-knowledge formulized will prove to be the most useful system of mental philosophy. The philosophy of Phrenology affords an easy solution of the mental phenomena of Consciousness, Perception, Reflection, Memory, the Association of Ideas, Dream-

ing, and of Insanity, such as can not be found in any other system.*

PHRENOLOGY THE SCIENCE OF HUMAN NATURE—TESTIMONY OF HON. JAMES D. GREEN.

In this connection it is a most agreeable privilege to employ the language of an able brother member of the Boston Phrenological Society. He is still living, beyond the period of fourscore years, and is delighted to join his voice with mine again in the cause of truth, guided by a reflective experience of nearly half a century. In 1836 the Hon. James D. Green, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was appointed to deliver the anniversary discourse on the birthday of Spurzheim. "*Phrenology the Science of Human Nature*" was his subject, and it was discussed by him with great ability and learning. The discourse was published, and the following extracts are made from it, which, I doubt not, will be welcomed by the reader as appropriate matter to make a part of these pages.

He says: "The true mode of conducting inquiry in the pursuit of knowledge was first pointed out by Lord Bacon. The minds of men until his time had yielded profound homage to the Aristotelian philosophy. But the spell of enchantment was broken by the publication of his *Novum Organum Scientiarum* — the new method of studying the sciences—and the world was delivered from an intellectual bondage of two thousand years. Goethe says, 'He drew a sponge over the table

* See Appendix K.

of human knowledge.' Bacon was not himself the founder of a sect. His object was attained when he had discovered and pointed out the way by which future inquirers should be guided to the truth. This was enough to be accomplished by a single mind. It procured for him the enviable distinction of being known through all after-time as the 'Father of the Experimental Philosophy.' His great principle of inquiry has been called the 'Inductive Method,' *i. e.*, the method of *bringing in* or collecting facts, making experiments, and observations of nature. General truths are to be established only by an induction of facts.

"This great principle was at once applied in physical investigations, and lo! how surprising was the result! A total revolution was effected in natural philosophy. Instead of a jargon of unmeaning terms to stand for occult qualities and imaginary essences, about which there was not one clear conception in the mind, the attention was directed to the observation of facts and the classification of phenomena, and the investigation of causes was abandoned as a fruitless endeavor. . . . .

"Intellectual philosophy, as it has been taught in the schools and founded on individual consciousness, possesses no title to rank as a science, and, least of all, to constitute a science of a distinct class. Instead of being *knowledge* it is still mere *theory*, altogether unsettled, various and conflicting in its elements, as ex pounded by different writers, and without any verification by an examination of nature. Intellectual philosophy in times past has made no progress in comparison with other departments of scientific inquiry. Yet gi-

gantic minds have laid out their strength upon it. They have had the misfortune to overlook the only true mode of investigating the mental phenomena.....

"It was reserved for Gall and Spurzheim to make the first application in the study of human nature, of the same inductive process which had been so successfully applied in physics. The founders of Phrenology had deeply imbibed the spirit of the Baconian philosophy. It everywhere breathes through their works. The first sentence of the *Organum* of Bacon is as follows: 'Man, the servant and interpreter of Nature, understands and reduces to practice just so much as he has actually experienced of Nature's laws; more he can neither know nor do.' How much akin to it is the sentiment that follows: 'Man will be happy when he confines himself to understand the laws of his Creator, and to find out the means of putting them into execution.'

"According to the principle which is here expressed, the phrenologist applies himself to the study of human nature. He begins by regarding himself, not as the standard of universal man, but as possessing a distinct individuality. He forbears to draw general conclusions from a single case. He takes care not to mistake his *idiosyncrasies* for common attributes of humanity. He observes other individuals, and ascertains his facts both by positive and negative proof. His observation is directed to every period of life from infancy and childhood, through the various situations, occupations, and professions of men, in which every variety and modification of individual talent and character may be called into exercise. From individuals he proceeds to sexes and notes their characteristic differences. He

studies human nature in all the modes of its manifestation as it may be learned in the school, in the hospital, in the almshouse, in the prison, in the asylum for the deaf and dumb, the blind, the insane, and the idiotic. From classes he proceeds to the observation of nations and races of men, and marks their distinctive peculiarities. How vast is the field to be explored by him who would be a profound student in the science of man's nature! But the observation of such a student does not terminate here; it must extend even beyond the human race to the animal kingdom, that thus his conclusions may be further ascertained by the demonstrations of comparative anatomy and the broad distinction found and marked between the human, the spiritual, immortal, and the brutal, earthly, perishable. Having made these extensive observations, the phrenologist feels authorized to regard his conclusions as established, unless opposing facts are produced or an error is pointed out in his induction.

"On the ground of this procedure, the phrenologist conceives that he makes out *the title of his science;* that he establishes its claims to be regarded as the *true philosophy of human nature.*"

IMPORTANCE OF PHRENOLOGY TO THE BLIND, DEAF AND DUMB, AND TO IDIOTS—TESTIMONY OF DR. S. G. HOWE.

I can not omit to quote in this place from a letter I received from my late and respected friend, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, dated June 3, 1836:

"You request my opinion of the works of Mr. George Combe. I can not conceive how my individual opinion can be of any consequence; it would be but a faint note in the loud expression of approbation and admiration which I am sure would follow a question on this subject, if addressed to hundreds of our first literary men. Convinced as I thoroughly am of the soundness of Mr. Combe's views, and the truth of most of his deductions, my opinion as a phrenologist might be considered as biased in his favor; but aside from that, I speak my own deliberate opinion, and that of many of my anti-phrenological friends, when I say that Mr. Combe should be ranked among the master-spirits of the age. But one fact is worth many speculations; I have had occasion to teach the general principles of the philosophy of mind to the young. I have given my class the views of the older writers, and mystified them with Stewart and Browne; but on presenting the new philosophy, as explained by Mr. Combe, they said that they saw, and felt, and understood, what before was dark and unsatisfactory. I consider Mr. Combe's works as invaluable to a teacher of moral and intellectual philosophy."

This testimony is particularly valuable, although given more than forty years ago. He modestly esteemed his own opinion at that time, and yet subsequent achievements made it more valuable than the opinion of any other man. I well remember the beginning of his study of mental philosophy as taught by Phrenology, of his enthusiasm in dwelling upon its importance. We were students together. He was naturally bright and keenly practical in everything

that was nobly useful and generous, and when he left college he was utterly indifferent to the metaphysics of Locke, Stewart, and others of the old schools. He taught their philosophy from their books, but without satisfaction, either to himself or to his pupils. When guided by the light of Spurzheim, his first glimpse of the great truths of his system gave him irrepressible joy. They opened to him a new world of mental order and activity such as he had never imagined or realized. He first began to see man in his relations of power and duty, and to comprehend the value of self-knowledge in the cause of education. It was simple, it had a meaning, it was practical, and by applying it he became the foremost teacher of the Blind in the world. That his success, as the Director of the "*Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind*," was really beyond that of any other man, I had substantial reasons for believing. My relations with him were intimate, and I was well acquainted with the results of his methods, and when I visited Europe in 1835–'6, I took special pains to visit all similar institutions abroad, and the comparison was most gratifying, and largely in his favor. He not only gave to the blind the full advantage of the new philosophy, but he sought out new subjects, subjects to whom unfortunately had been denied most of the inlets of knowledge. The history of Laura Bridgman and Oliver Caswell is extensively known and need not be repeated here. They were deaf, dumb, and blind, and by the aid of Phrenology he found the key to unlock their imprisoned minds. Such an achievement in mental philosophy was without a parallel. No meta-

physician of any age had ever supposed it possible.* But he was not satisfied even with this triumph. James Simpson, Esq., Advocate, and a distinguished phrenologist of Edinburgh, had succeeded in teaching an idiot boy, and I had personal knowledge of his delight when he discovered that he had sufficiently awakened his darkened pupil to join his fellows in play. This first step consumed a period of four months, before the first flash of pleasurable intelligence appeared in the poor boy's eyes. This experiment was not lost to the world when it was made known to Dr. Howe. He entered earnestly into an inquiry as to the causes of idiocy, and was the first in the world to establish a school for idiots, in Boston, which has been in successful operation since 1848. It is known as the "*Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble-minded Youth.*"

WHO, NOW, ARE PHRENOLOGISTS? — WHERE, NOW, IS PHRENOLOGY?

It is to be remembered, that neither the evidence of truth, nor the sources of truth, are to be found in the utterances of to-day, either in books just published, or in the public journals. The skeptical inquiries, "Who, now, are phrenologists?" and "Where, now, is Phrenology?" would not so often be made, if the records of the past had been faithfully read, and if all literary and scientific men had publicly confessed their indebtedness to the founders of Phrenology. At no period

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* See Appendix L.

since 1836 has there been such a collection of overwhelming testimony in its favor; and during the long period since, let it be asked, how many institutions of learning have been founded, how many reformatory schools and asylums have been established; and how many subjects concerning humanity have been discussed, and without even a reference to the science by name, though using by stealth many of its important truths?

An expensive and important work on *Comparative Phrenology* was published by Dr. Vimont, in Paris, in 1836, and how many Natural History Societies in the United States, let me ask, even know of its existence, or have studied its pages? The human race stands at the head of the animal kingdom, and yet how many of these societies have given any time or attention to the natural history of man, or to Phrenology? Criminals have constantly been before Courts for trial, and before councils for pardon, when questions have been raised as to the line which divides crime from insanity, but how seldom has the skill of the phrenologist been invoked to solve the dark uncertainties of human motives? In all the recent discussions on "Color-Blindness," how many have looked to Phrenology for an explanation of this common deficiency which was given by Spurzheim a long time ago? Is a person who can not distinguish Yankee-Doodle from Old Hundred to be regarded as *deaf?* Is the possessor of millions of property, who can not see a shilling to count for use, *money blind?* An *idiot* can *see* persons, animals, and things; but he can not see the use of the alphabet: is he *knowledge blind?* Such misuse of language indi-

cates the want of a philosophy that can be explained and understood.

TESTIMONY OF REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER.

More than twenty years ago, a distinguished clergyman acknowledged, in the pulpit, this indebtedness in a manner that was highly creditable to him, and yet, but few, probably, who are accustomed to read his eloquent sermons are aware of the language to be found in the following quotation:

"And I may say here, what I have never said before in the pulpit, that the views of the human mind as they are revealed by Phrenology, are those views which have underlaid my whole ministry; and if I have had any success in bringing the truths of the Gospel to bear practically on the minds of men, any success in the vigorous application of truths to the wants of the human soul, where they are most needed, I owe it to the clearness which I have gained from this science, and I could not ask for the members of my family, nor of a church, any better preparation for religious indoctrination, than to put them into possession of such a practical knowledge of the human soul as is given by Phrenology."

IMPORTANCE OF MENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

Next in importance to religion, to all classes of men and women, is mental philosophy. Indeed, without a knowledge of mental philosophy, even religion can not be fully understood. Its importance to legislators, and to

all who are chosen to administer the affairs of Government, can not be overestimated. A thorough knowledge of the faculties of the human mind, studied in their relations of duty and to external objects, should be regarded as indispensable to the statesman, as light is to the painter, or tools to the mechanic. Without such knowledge, how can the judge, the lawyer, or the juror analyze evidence that will safely defend the innocent or convict the criminal? How can the physician accurately draw the line between sanity and insanity, or between the causes of mental depression and the causes of physical disease? How can the clergyman understand in what language to appeal to the numerous and varying faculties of the minds of his hearers, unless he has clear conceptions of their separate and combined activity? How can parents and teachers educate children, without a knowledge of their differences?

The frank confession of Sir G. S. Mackenzie, published in 1836, is a striking example of candor, and is to be remembered for what it teaches:

"When I was unacquainted with the facts on which Phrenology was founded, I scoffed, with many others, at the pretensions of the new philosophy of the mind. On hearing and conversing with the most eminent disciple of Gall, the lamented Spurzheim, the light broke in upon my mind; and many years after I had neglected the study of mind, in consequence of having been disgusted with the utter uselessness and emptiness of what I had listened to in the University of Edinburgh, I became a zealous student of what I now perceive to be truth. During the last twenty years I have lent my

humble aid in resisting a torrent of ridicule and abuse, and have lived to see the true philosophy of man establishing itself wherever talent is found capable of estimating its immense value."

But this imperfect chapter must be closed. Let the subject receive further and earnest attention, from all classes, by reading that able and eloquent book of George Combe, entitled "*The Constitution of Man, considered in relation to External Objects*," and when this has been faithfully read and studied, all books on Phrenology, calculated to convey information explanatory of the science, will be extensively sought for and appreciated.

Here, again, we have occasion to give another example of Dr. Howe, who, in teaching the blind, excelled other professors, whose pupils could see, and yet were not permitted to use their eyes on lessons they could understand.

It was more than twenty years after the date of the letter already quoted, that Dr. Howe caused "*The Constitution of Man*," by Mr. Combe, to be printed for the use of the blind. It made a large quarto volume of 250 pages, and was "about five inches thick." In sending a copy of it to Mr. Combe, in 1858, he wrote a letter, in which he says:

"I consider this edition of your great book to be the most valuable addition ever yet made to the library for the blind in any language. I have already had warm expressions of gratitude from intelligent blind persons for putting the '*Constitution*' within their reach—gratitude and thanks which belong rather to you than to me."

There is another subject which demands special consideration, in connection with Phrenology, and that is criminal legislation.

During all time, man has been the subject of education, and no community has been found without the criminal. Almost every generation has had its new methods of teaching and of reform. With what success we can only know from the history of progress. That progress has been very slow, is sufficiently proved by the diversity of opinion as to the best methods of improvement now in use. Perhaps, after so long a period of trial and with so little success, it would be useful to inquire how far we have been influenced by our ignorance and prejudices, and how little by accurate knowledge.

We have before us a learned pamphlet, just published, on "*Crime Cause*," by the Hon. Richard Vaux, of Philadelphia. For more than thirty years Mr. Vaux has been chairman of the State Commission on Prisons, and all the reports of that long period have been written by him. They have been prepared with much knowledge and great ability, and yet it is amazing to see how much remains to be ascertained and how much to be done. He says, "That crime is hereditary is now accepted as pathologically as well as physiologically determined." Dr. Harris, of New York, gives a well-authenticated case of six hundred and seventy-three descendants of one female who was incorrigibly vicious, traced through five generations. We commend this Report to all inquirers.*

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* See Appendix M.

If such documents fail to point out the true method of treating criminals, they certainly serve to demonstrate the necessity of a more careful study of the subject, and a more enlightened judgment, which, in our humble opinion, can only come from a thorough knowledge of Phrenology.

If we should read the candid and intelligent letter of Sir George S. Mackenzie to the Right Hon. Lord Gleneig, Secretary of State for the Colonial Department of Great Britain, in 1836, in respect to the best method of treating and reforming criminals, we might reasonably conclude, to say the least, that if his counsel had been followed, more progress than we have seen would have been made during the past forty-four years. His letter was filled with practical information, and which was made the basis of a method of proceeding which he plainly suggested. The entire letter is interesting, but we can only give such extracts as will indicate its character:

"My Dear Lord:—I now put into your hands a number of certificates from eminent men, confirming my former assertion, that it is possible to classify convicts destined for our penal settlements, so that the colonists may be freed from the risk of having atrocious and incorrigible characters allotted to them, and the colonial public from the evils arising out of the escape of such characters. . . . .

"Your Lordship must be aware of the fact, that, independently of rank, education, or wealth, men differ from each other very widely in the amount and kind of their intellectual power, in moral feeling, and in their tendencies to indulge their propensities. It is

too well known that titled, intelligent, wealthy blackguards exist, guilty of the grossest violation of moral law, while they contrive to escape the penalties of statutes, which, however, occasionally reach their enormities. That such are rather encouraged by what is called high society, is notorious; and surely a titled gambler, or cheat, or seducer, can not be reckoned less guilty than a poor, ignorant wretch, who steals perhaps to sustain life, and not from a depraved propensity. It is, however, to the fact of difference of character and talent among men of all stations of society to which I anxiously desire your Lordship's attention. This difference must clearly be the effect of something. There have been philosophers who taught that man is a *tabula rasa*,* on which we may stamp what talent and what character we please. This, however, has long been demonstrated, by thousands of facts of daily occurrence, to be mere delusion. Differences in talent, intelligence, and moral character are now ascertained to be the effects of differences in organization. . . . .

"The differences of organization are, as the certificates which accompany this show, sufficient to indicate *externally* general dispositions, as they are proportioned among one another. Hence, we have the means of estimating, with something like precision, the actual natural characters of convicts [as of all human beings], so that we may at once determine the means best adapted for their reformation, or discover their incapacity of improvement, and their being proper subjects

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* "A shaved or smoothed tablet," leaving it *a mere blank.*

of continued restraint, in order to prevent their further injuring society. . . . .

"It will be a proud day for our country when the Government that has provided vigorously to reform our institutions, shall proceed in the true path to moral reform. There is a near prospect of education being conducted on the true principles of man's nature under national sanction; and I hope the time is not far distant when their influence on criminal legislation will be apparent. . . . .

"In the hands of enlightened governors, Phrenology will be an engine of unlimited improving power in perfecting human institutions, and bringing about universal good order, peace, prosperity, and happiness."

This letter was formally approved and commended by a large number of eminent men of scientific reputation, and of officials of large experience in Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States.

With an accurate knowledge of Phrenology, criminal legislation and prison discipline could be systematized with great ease and with much advantage. Ignorance of this subject, at the present day, is most sad and lamentable. Cruel and criminal arrests are often made, without rebuke, by competing detectives, and newspaper reporters are permitted to lead judicial inquiry. Attorneys are feed to cast suspicion upon innocence, and to conceal the evidence of crime. Imprisoned criminals are debased and made ferocious by the passionate injustice of their keepers, and the means of reform become powerless by the slow process of the ignorant or the indifferent official circumlocution of the Government.

In Gibbon's Life of Combe, published in 1878, we find the views of Mr. Combe on this subject are thus briefly stated:

"His views of the mental constitution of those persons who generally become criminals have been already explained; and in the two systems of dealing with them he found the radical defect that they did not provide sufficient means for strengthening the moral and intellectual faculties of the prisoners. The conclusions at which he arrived led him to suggest a scheme of prison discipline, which, although, he admitted, of a Utopian character in some of its features, was based upon sound principles. His leading ideas were as follows: 1. That the criminal should be treated as a moral patient from the beginning. 2. That he should be sentenced to confinement in a penitentiary for an indefinite period of time, power to restore him to liberty being invested in Government commissioners. 3. That he should be first subjected to solitary confinement, without occupation of any kind, until the mental depression of *ennui* forced him to ask for work as a relief from the monotony of his existence. He would thus be made most susceptible to moral and religious instruction, which should then be commenced and continued in solitude until repentance and the desire of reformation were produced. 4. In proportion to his improvement, the moral faculties should be exercised by increasing degrees of liberty, and he should be allowed occasionally to leave the prison on parole before he was finally discharged. 5. During the long period of confinement, seclusion during the night, and active labor during the day, should be combined with vigorous intellectual and religious culti-

vation. 6. The prisoners should be carefully classified, so that the more advanced might act as guides and examples to those recently admitted, and their privileges curtailed for every breach of discipline. 7. The prisons should be remote from towns, but near a village, where, during their probationary period, the prisoners might hold regulated communication with the inhabitants. Until they had been brought to that state of mind in which they would not only give their pledge to return to the prison at a stated hour, but redeem it faithfully, he would not consider them fit to be restored to society. There were individuals whose moral and intellectual organs were so deficient in size in proportion to that of the propensities, that they might be found incapable of reformation. Such men he regarded as moral patients, and he would have them confined for life. The mistake of detaining a man who ought to be at large could not be easily made, for, according to this plan, the prisoner would always have it in his own power to determine by his own conduct the period of his imprisonment.

"Finally," he said, "a practical knowledge of Phrenology on the part of the chief superintendent and directors of the institution would be of great advantage. By means of this science the natural dispositions and talents of each individual would be ascertained, much deception on the part of the criminals be prevented, and a steady and consistent direction be given to the efforts of all persons employed in the institution."

We commend these views as practically sound, in our opinion, and for the substantial reason, that wherever they have been adopted they have been successful. To estimate their full value, the reader must test them

by observation and experience, as many others have done.

I shall close these pages, already extended beyond my original purpose, by a few remarks upon the gravest of all subjects, the subject of insanity.

When Dr. Todd, of the Hartford Asylum for the Insane, was alive, Phrenology had been but little studied or noticed in the United States. He had the enviable reputation of curing a larger percentage of his patients than any other physician in the world. He left no record of his special knowledge, and no record of his methods of treatment.

When in Edinburgh, I was told by Dr. Andrew Combe that he would give more to possess the knowledge that successfully guided Dr. Todd in his treatment of the insane, than that of any other man who had ever lived. I promised inquiry, and the only information I could obtain from any one was from the talented Dr. A. Brigham, his successor in Hartford, Conn., and afterward the head of the great asylum at Utica, N. Y. This was only verbal, and from personal acquaintance. He said that "Dr. Todd was remarkable as a judge of character from personal appearance. He could read the natural language of a person, whether sane or insane, almost instantly and with great accuracy. It was impossible to deceive him, and he gave me interesting anecdotes to illustrate the fact. He did not know the rules by which he judged, he only knew the fact, that when he expressed opinions of persons whom he had seen, he was always right in his judgment. He only asked to see them and to hear them converse. It was this accurate knowledge of character that enabled him to excel in the treatment of the insane."

What Dr. Combe said of him may be said of Gall, Spurzheim, Combe, Sir Wm. C. Ellis, Prof. Elliotson, and numerous other physicians and surgeons at the head of asylums in Europe, and Dr. Brigham, Dr. Woodward, and others, in the United States. The language of Sir Wm. C. Ellis is entitled to great consideration, and his language was substantially the language of all who spoke from experience.

In a letter to the Right Hon. Lord Gleneig, Secretary for the Colonies, dated March 29, 1836, he says: "I have been the resident physician of the Lunatic Asylum at Hanwell, where we have upward of six hundred patients, for five years, and for thirteen years previous held a similar situation in Yorkshire, where we had two hundred and fifty. If it were necessary, I could mention a great variety of cases in the treatment of which I have found the little knowledge I possess of this interesting science [Phrenology] of the greatest utility; and I am fully persuaded that when it is more known and acted upon, very great advantages will result to society."

In a subsequent letter to Mr. Combe, Sir William says: "I candidly own that until I became acquainted with Phrenology I had no solid basis upon which I could ground any treatment for the cure of the disease of insanity, which had long had a peculiar claim upon my attention."

When I visited Europe, 1835–6, I visited most of the asylums for the insane, and at that time nearly one-half of the whole number were under the direction of phrenologists. I had opportunities to see the great differences in their management by comparison. Suc-

cess and failure were the two words to be applied to them, precisely to the extent they had adopted Phrenology as a guide. I well remember the large asylum in Manchester, where I was introduced by a note from Richard Cobden, whose governor gave me, in a single sentence, the extent of his knowledge and an idea of his system of classification. Observing a great variety of patients in the same ward, I asked him "on what principle he classified his patients." "Classify them?" he asked, with an inquiring look. "Why, a crazy man is a crazy man!" By invitation of Mr. Cobden, who was then an active member of the Manchester Phrenological Society, I attended a special meeting of that Society, at which I gave an account of my visits to the various institutions of the city. My account of the lunatic asylum caused great merriment. Mr. Cobden remarked, that "it was a whole generation behind the age. The directors were highly respectable men, advanced in years, but they allowed their prejudices to influence them against Phrenology." The same was true of the asylum in Liverpool, and for the same reasons, as I was assured by Dr. Baird, the physician.

What was true in Europe, was essentially true in the United States, as to the importance of Phrenology in the treatment of the insane. Dr. Woodward, of the asylum at Worcester, Mass., said "it was impossible successfully to treat the insane without the aid of Phrenology." He gave me the particulars of a very interesting case; in which he relieved a patient by local applications. Dr. Brigham, of Hartford, was of the same opinion. Dr. Bell, and others of high distinction, admitted the importance of the science, just to the extent

of their knowledge of it. It may be said of some men, who are distinguished for ability and learning, that if they are not influenced by their own prejudices, they permit themselves to be influenced, or neutralized, by the prejudices of others. Personal independence is an indispensable element in the character of all who have an honest desire to aid in advancing science.

That the present age is sadly ignorant of the nature and causes of insanity there can be no doubt. We see ignorance everywhere among the common people, in our schools, at the hearings of legislative committees, in the halls of legislation, and in our courts of justice. Even the testimony of medical men is often given with a timidity that indicates doubt, and in qualified language that indicates the want of knowledge. Experience is frequently quoted by them with so many uncertainties of opinion, that no positive information whatever can be gathered and shaped from their testimony. Ignorant attorneys are employed to serve parties on occasion, and what they often attempt to prove or disprove, by their numerous questions, only serves to demonstrate their ignorance of the subject, and to confuse others who are in the pursuit of the truth.

Such ignorance leads to painful mistakes, and sometimes to horrors too terrible to be described. Insane people are arrested as criminals by rough and insolent detectives, and forced into the dark cells of the prison, and suspicion manufactured to sustain abhorrent theories at the expense of all the sacred relations of kindred and of the affections of the heart. Religious frenzy is counted a crime of the deepest atrocity, and *monomania* conclusive evidence of guilt. Lawyers and judges of

courts of justice have so little knowledge of the human mind, and of its aberrations, that they are permitted to employ their skill and learning, not so much to demonstrate the truth as to hide it.

Professed Christians allow themselves to indulge in revengeful language, in respect to such cases as we have in Jesse Pomeroy, the moral idiot and monster youth, and in Freeman and his wife, who took the life of a beloved child by the supposed command of the Almighty. The case of Pomeroy is one of the saddest on record, but he should be humanely cared for in an asylum, but never liberated. Intellectual *idiocy* is recognized and provided for by law. *Moral* idiocy is to be found, and it should be understood. Fox, of Lebanon, N. H., who killed his sister and her husband because they married against his consent, was an idiot. He inherited property, and when of age he had a guardian appointed by the Judge of Probate. He imagined that their marriage was a conspiracy against his property, and threatened their lives before they were united. Comparatively, his organ of Constructiveness was *large*, and it was said that he could make the best ox-yoke of any man in Lebanon. He was placed in an asylum. No explanation influenced him to regret the act. He was sorry that he was not able to find the sexton who published them, and the clergyman who married them, to take *their* lives. Even now Freeman is confined as a criminal in prison, and by a government so ignorant that it is incapable of discriminating between crime and insanity;* such ignorance is culpable in this age of pro-

* Since the above was written, Freeman has been adjudged insane, and sent to the State Asylum at Danvers.

gress, and it can only be explained by the absence of a true system of philosophy. The saddest error that can be committed in an enlightened community is to confound crime with insanity. The enormities of crime are often so shocking to humanity, that it is difficult to look upon them with a charitable judgment, or with a Christian forbearance. The atrocities of murder are so frequently paraded in the daily journals, and with details so revolting to cultivated Christianity, we can well understand how ignorant people are led to indulge in terms of unmeasured destructiveness in their demands for instant and terrible retribution. But little time is given to reflection, and this without a proper knowledge of the human mind, in its weakness or in its conditions of disease, and people are liable to be counseled by their propensities, and not by their sentiments of justice directed by a discriminating judgment. Humanity fails only when it is weak, and when temptations are strong. Good and evil forever go hand in hand together. The stronger is the master in the conflicts of life. The faculties of the human mind, so far as possible, should be weighed and measured, as taught by Phrenology, so that the harmony of right and the key to happiness may be secured in the conduct of life.

Phrenology helps to establish by knowledge a safe and consistent *Faith;* it gives an intelligent and practical meaning to *Hope;* and with these aids it increases the moral and religious responsibilities of the mind, by opening to its view the sources and blessings of truth and duty, and by pointing out the dangers and penalties of wrong and error, thus leading to the sublime privileges of *Charity.* Let *ignorance* be feared rather

than knowledge. Remember, that when the judgment is weak, prejudice is strong. Remember, too, that pride is apt to be a false counselor against the courage of conscience, as it is well known to be "the vice of fools." He that is without sin "let him cast the first stone." It is a sad doom to be a criminal within the meaning of the law, but to confound the *wreck of mind* with guilt and crime is like a stain that wounds humanity. Phrenology is an aid to Christianity, and if it be feared that it leads to too much charity, let all remember the example of Jesus Christ upon the Cross, who, instead of dooming His enemies to a cruel destruction, prayed, "Father, forgive them: for they know not what they do."

Thus, very imperfectly, I have given the reminiscences of Spurzheim and Combe during the period from 1832 to 1840, and have endeavored to convey to the reader some idea of Phrenology in its origin, in its slow progress, and of its importance to humanity. Of the progress of the science since 1840, I leave to other pens. Since that period mine has been largely turned to subjects of history.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS OF INDEBTEDNESS.

Before closing, however, I desire publicly to express my indebtedness to the science as affording me the true philosophy of mind, without which, in my humble opinion, no subject can be well understood.

And furthermore, I take this occasion to express my

acknowledgments as a citizen to Messrs O. S. and L. N. Fowler, to the late Samuel R. Wells, and "though last, not least," to Mrs. C. F. Wells, for their long, persistent, and successful efforts in keeping Phrenology before the public mind. They have done this by lectures, by numerous publications, and by establishing an INSTITUTE for the instruction of students, male and female, in the great truths of the science; thus extending their blessings throughout the country. They are entitled to the thanks of all good people. It is certainly a subject of congratulation, that we have before us an example where enterprise and truth for more than a generation have so successfully worked together. And in this connection, I am reminded of a remark of Spurzheim, that women make better phrenologists than men, and I trust I shall be pardoned for adding, that this truth is well illustrated by the character and intelligence of the lady who so efficiently and modestly directs the appointments and proceedings of "THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PHRENOLOGY."

APPENDIX A.

IMPORTANCE OF PHRENOLOGY.

EXTRACTS FROM DR. BARBER'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE BOSTON PHRENOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DEC. 31, 1832.

. . . . THUS the phrenologists claim for their metaphysics one especial point of superiority, that they have separated by a broader and brighter line than preceding inquirers, the distinctive characteristics of man as compared with the inferior animals; and, seriously, if we admit the correctness of their analysis of the human powers, I see not how this claim can be disputed, or how we can deny that they have thus presented morals in a more simple and impressive point of view than they had attained before.

From the data obtained by the combined study of the brain with the moral and intellectual phenomena, phrenologists proceed to deduce the physical, moral, and intellectual laws. It is not to be denied that some of the speculations of the phrenological writers, on this branch of their subject, are of a very imposing character. They set forth in a novel and striking manner what they deem the *causes* of the evils which afflict society—showing these to be certain specific combinations of the faculties in too great activity, or too little checked by the restraining authority of intellect and of the powers exclusively human. The use they make of their *nomenclature* simplifies their inductive processes, and gives a clearer and more impressive character to these moral disquisitions. In practical affairs, names

are often made to stand for things, and here lies the foundation of many fallacies; but this shows the *power* of a nomenclature, which, if based on truth, is always of great assistance in science.

I am not aware that any but the phrenological writers have perceived, and clearly stated, the fallaciousness of the general expectation that the cultivation of the intellectual powers, and the progress of mere knowledge, will remove the *moral* evils of society. They contend that the notions which exist on this subject are chimerical and extravagant; and that the cultivation of the moral *feelings* is essential to the production of the anticipated improvement. In this respect the deductions of Phrenology are in harmony with Christianity.

Phrenologists contend, of course, that the brain's structure has an influence upon human actions; and that the admission of this truth is an important factor hitherto left out in the computation of the probabilities of improvement in the human race, and of the degree to which it may be ultimately carried. They consider the brain as subject, generally, to the following organic laws: First, that parts assigned to special faculties will increase in size, and be active, in proportion to their exercise. Secondly, that if not exercised, they will probably diminish in size as well as activity. Thirdly, that, thus, classes of organs greatly exercised will acquire, in proportion to their original capacity, an ascendency in the general system, and that, consequently, the class of faculties and propensities dependent on them will be active accordingly. Farther, they think it very probable that, as to intellectual powers, moral dispositions, and animal propensities, children start from a higher or lower point of organization, according to the activity or restraint imposed upon the respective faculties by the parents. They think that on the operation of this law depends, in part, the improvement and deterioration of races, the rise and fall of empires. . . . .

Phrenology, too, say its friends, shall teach you how to

rule as well as reform. Her wise oracles shall prescribe the principles of legislation. She shall teach how to punish in order to amend. She shall enter your prison-houses, and lay her hand upon the heads of your criminals. She shall tell you whom you must consign to bondage—whom you may hope to restore to society—how to reclaim the wanderer, to raise the fallen, and to give free course to that gracious religion by which the captive of sin is translated into the liberty of the sons of God.

Phrenologists point to the works of Spurzheim and Combe for great moral lessons on Toleration, and on Political Economy. These philosophers, they say, have shown how it happens that if unjust regulations sometimes lead to riches, these, in their turn, prove the bane of nations; that schemes of national policy and international communication and exchange must be regulated by juster principles to secure the continued peace and prosperity of communities. These authors tell us that they predicate, from observation of the cranium, what powers are in general most energetic, what are the modifications which exist in particular communities, and how the predominance of certain classes of feelings become especially dangerous to the well-being of society, and are the sure precursors of the revolutions and fall of empires. . . . .

Attempts have been made to put down Phrenology by excluding investigation on other grounds than those already stated. Its enemies have said that it is an *irreligious* science—that it leads to *materialism*. The objection I have to this argument is, that it is entirely senseless. My allegation against it is, not that it is false, but unintelligible. The question, *whether the brain thinks*, is mere logomachy; the words, however correct in grammatical construction, have not any correspondent ideas, and can not have. We are limited in the attainment of knowledge to the exercise of the senses, of the knowing and of the reflective faculties. Now, by what conceivable exaltation of the powers of *sensible* discernment can we be supposed to *perceive* thought—

particles in the act of *thinking*—or by what knowing or reflective faculty can we form a notion of such a process in the brain? Consequently, whether the brain thinks, is a question just as intelligible as that attributed to the old schoolmen, "whether a chimera, bounding in a vacuum, could eat up the second intentions."

Is such nonsense as this to stand in the way of scientific investigation, or to weaken the hopes and expectations which lay hold on eternal life? . . . .

In joining this society, I take it for granted that all the means necessary to determine on the truth or illusiveness of Phrenology will be provided, and that every facility will be afforded for acquiring a thorough knowledge of it. I need not dwell on the importance of anatomy in every physiological investigation. The society should provide for a thorough system of instruction in the anatomy of the brain, spinal marrow, and nerves of the senses. There will be gentlemen among our members, able, and, I am confident, willing to undertake the demonstrations. The anatomy of the cranium within and without, together with the external coverings, should be understood. In demonstrating the cranium, the places of the respective organs, assigned by phrenologists, and their boundaries, should be pointed out. These should also be shown on the brain itself, and their position should be always indicated in connection with the sutures, eminences, and depressions of the different bones, which have received anatomical designations. In this way our members will become familiar with the exact seat of the organs, and be able to determine their relative size, when they approach them in the living head.

Dr. Spurzheim dwelt much on the importance of considering the *general* shape of the head, apart from isolated prominences or depressions. With reference to this object, the society should spare no pains in obtaining a well-selected assortment of national skulls. The history of nations may thus be studied in direct connection with organization, and in this way, as it seems to me, the truth of

Phrenology in its general outlines be at once verified or disproved. The society should lose no opportunity of laying military and naval officers, captains of merchant ships, and travelers, under contribution in this respect, or of obtaining supernumerary specimens, with which sister societies may be disposed to favor us. Casts already in existence, and which, in the opinion of experienced phrenologists, may be necessary fully to verify the data of the science, should be procured and deposited in the museum. . . . .

Phrenology, if it be not an illusion, must form the basis of political economy. The data of that science can never be relied upon, unless they be in harmony with the elements of the human character, and be founded upon the dictates of the higher sentiments.

The same is true of the law of nations, as well as of that which regulates the intercourse of the different portions of the same community. Each must depend upon the discovery of the true principles which propel man to associate and deal with his fellows, which strike the balance justly between his selfish interests and his social duties, which exalt to their just pre-eminence the nobler sentiments of his nature, and suggest efficacious means of establishing, maintaining, and perpetuating their ascendency. Prison discipline, the causes and remedies of pauperism, and the management of the insane, are all connected with the science of the mind, and if Phrenology be in possession of the secrets of this science, it is intimately connected with every one of these subjects, and must suggest important practical views respecting them.

But I forbear to enlarge on the results of the truth of Phrenology. They touch every subject of anthropology, and I shall make an end of this last head of my subject by observing, that if Phrenology be an illusion, the effect of our testimony will not be lost in proclaiming it such; and in *that* alternative our duty is not less obvious and imperative than in the other. . . . .

APPENDIX B.

CLAIMS OF PHRENOLOGY TO BE REGARDED AS THE SCIENCE OF HUMAN NATURE.

EXTRACT FROM MR. GREEN'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE BOSTON PHRENOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DECEMBER 30, 1836.

. . . . "It is not in the mere knowledge, nor even in the discovery of facts, that philosophy consists. One who proceeds thus far is an experimentalist; but he alone, who, by examining the nature and observing the relation of facts, arrives at general truths, is a philosopher. It is, therefore, no wonder that, amongst many experimentalists, there should be few philosophers."*

An appeal to fact is the test of truth. By this Phrenology will be content to stand or fall. We inquire how man *has been constituted* by his Creator? This is the question; not how we think beforehand he *ought to have been* constituted; nor how we should have been pleased to *have had him* constituted; but simply, *what is the fact?* Now, Phrenology claims to have made the discovery. Phrenology answers the question. Do you deny it? Then you are bound to disprove the facts. Produce the cases that are in opposition. If there be no foundation for the doctrine, you can bring as many facts against it as are brought in its support. But the opponent will not abide this test. He shrinks from the appeal to nature. He reasons abstractly about the subject; he misconceives and misrepresents its nature; he denounces its tendency; he attempts

* Enfield, Pref. to Institutes of Nat. Phil.

to excite prejudice; he calls hard names; but he carefully keeps clear of the only touchstone. In vain will you look to the anti-phrenologist to bring examples to disprove the science. So tenaciously does he cling to the old modes of conceiving of human nature, so great seems to him the difficulty, *a priori*, of admitting the system, such is the fear he entertains of its consequences, that he can not come, like a little child, to be taught of nature. He has not learned the philosophy of Bacon.

It was a saying of Dr. Spurzheim, that "all which can be found out by human reasoning has been found out." That is, reasoning is not the mode of discovering truth. It is available for purposes of proof, but it supposes the truth to be already known.

Such, then, though imperfectly represented, is the ground on which the claims of Phrenology rest to be ranked as a science. The name it has assumed denotes the *science of the mind* (Φρην-λογς); not that it pretends to treat of the *mind in itself considered;* for of the nature of the mind we can know nothing. We have no faculties by which we can take cognizance of this. We know not, indeed, the *nature* of any thing. We do not know the *nature of matter.* We can perceive only its properties, its form, its magnitude, its color, and a few other external characteristics; but what that substance is to which these properties belong, what is its real nature, is concealed entirely from our observation. So it is in regard to the true nature of mind. We can not tell what constitutes the mind. We are conscious of its operations in ourselves, of its thoughts and feelings; but of its nature we know nothing. As form, size, and color do not constitute matter, so neither do thought and feeling constitute the mind. They can not exist of themselves. They imply something else, of which they are the qualities or properties in the one case, and the operations or affections in the other.

Phrenology professes to be the science of the mental phenomena, or of the mental manifestations. It claims

to have discovered the laws in accordance to which the mind acts; or, in other words, the material conditions according to which the mind is exercised and manifested. It claims to be received as the only true basis of intellectual and moral philosophy. It urges that mind, in itself considered, apart from matter, can not be an object of our study. It would be as wise to attempt the study of gravity, electricity, or magnetism, in themselves considered, and without reference to matter. Mind is connected with a material organization, and manifests itself, in this state of existence, only through a material instrumentality. How it may be in other modes of existence, whether the mind can act or not, independent of a material instrument, is altogether hypothetical. As philosophers, we are concerned only with present phenomena. We have nothing to do with theory and hypothesis.

What we affirm is this: the human mind, in its present state of existence, manifests itself only through a material organization. Phrenology claims to have established with certainty the fact—a fact which no physiologist of any name will now undertake to question, so full and conclusive is the proof—that the human brain is that organization. These are the words of Blumenbach, second to no man living as a physiologist: "That the mind is closely connected with the brain, as the material condition of mental phenomena, is demonstrated by our consciousness and by the mental disturbances which ensue upon affections of the brain."*

Phrenology claims, moreover, to have demonstrated the fact that the several faculties of man's nature, both of intellect and feeling, have their respective cerebral organs, whose functions are distinct, and whose energy may generally be ascertained. These are the fundamental positions. Of the nature of that connection which exists between the mind and the several organs by which its facul-

* Blum. Elem. Ed. Elliotson, 4th Lond., p. 195.

ties are manifested, we pretend to know nothing. We assert only the simple fact, the existence of the connection. The mind we regard as a unit; and the proposition we affirm is this: that the mind, in the present life, is dependent on the cerebral organization for its power of manifestation; or, to express it more precisely, is dependent on the several organs for its several modes of manifestation. Phrenology does not affirm that the mind results from organization; this might, indeed, with some show of reason, expose it to the charge of materialism; but that it acts, or manifests itself, through this instrumentality.

To render it obnoxious to such a charge, the order of nature, as we conceive it, must be reversed, and mind must be shown to result from organization; whereas the simple truth may be, that mind exists back of the organization, and uses the organized system for its exercise and manifestation. Thus organization is not the cause of mind, but the medium through which the mind acts. It is not the cause of any mental phenomena, but merely the medium through which these phenomena are displayed. The distinction appears to be perfectly plain and simple, and such as no clear and candid mind can confound.

It is true there have been those who have conceived of the mind as though it were a quality, not a thing that could have an independent existence, but a quality or property resulting from organization, in some manner analogous to that in which harmony results from a musical instrument. But Phrenology is not responsible for this opinion. It has no connection whatever with it. Even John Locke, whose "ideas" were as remote as possible from Phrenology, has argued at great length, in a letter to the Bishop of Worcester, to prove that God may "give to matter a faculty of thinking." We conceive that the analogy referred to is extremely fallacious. It can not stand the test of a rigid examination. Whence proceeds harmony? Is it produced by the instrument, or by the musical performer, by means of the instrument? Most

certainly the latter. It is not the organ, but the performer upon it, who conceives and produces the music. So we believe it is in regard to the phenomena of mind. It is not the organization which produces the mental manifestations, but the mind, which is back of the organization, and which manifests itself through this instrumentality. The eye does not see. The ear does not hear. It is the mind, which sees and hears through these organs. That is, in all cases, the mind exists back of the organization, and acts through it.

In the present state of existence, then, there can be no mental manifestation but through the medium of matter. Such has been the ordinance of the Creator; and our duty is to learn and acquiesce in His appointment. Indeed, the same may be affirmed of the Infinite Mind. He is manifested to us only through matter; *i. e.*, through the medium of His works. This fact should teach us caution in the use of language derogatory to that which He has ordained as the medium through which His attributes are displayed. Matter—though not improbably inferior in its nature to mind—is by no means to be spoken of in terms of contempt. It is the creature of God; and is doubtless useful and necessary in the place which has been assigned it. To speak in disparagement of any of God's works is to reproach Him. To despise the creature is the same in criminality as to despise the Creator.

Matter!—indeed we know not what it is. It may be attenuated to a degree infinitely beyond our conception. Light, which travels with the velocity of 195,000 miles in a second of time—for it is proved by the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites to cross the orbit of the earth, 190,000,000 of miles, in sixteen minutes and a quarter—light is affirmed by many philosophers to be matter. We know not how ethereal matter is capable of being in many of its forms.

On material organization, then, we are dependent for our power of mental manifestation; deriving all the knowledge we possess of other minds from the same intermediate

communication, and recognizing the attributes of the Creator only as displayed through the instrumentality of the material universe. The material organization is intended also, we believe, for the mind's exercise as well as manifestation. As the organization is developed from infancy to adult age, the mind's power of manifestation is increased in the same proportion.

Do any serious persons entertain the fear that mind, from its intimate connection with a material organization, may be in danger of becoming extinct when that organization shall be dissolved? Phrenology affirms the connection to be constant, in this life, but makes no inference from this that the connection is necessary. Nay—the Phrenologist may cherish as strong a faith as any other individual—I speak from the consciousness of my own—in the spirituality of the thinking principle and its independence of matter, so far as its existence is concerned. He may cherish, in perfect consistence, a strong faith that this wonderful organization has been designed as the temporary residence of the spiritual principle, not merely for its external manifestation, but also for its discipline and improvement. He may recognize the various means and aids with which it is supplied to promote its intellectual and moral progress. He may believe—doubtless he does believe (it appertains to faith and not to science)—that the knowledge and virtue the mind acquires here, through a material instrumentality, it will carry with it. It may be as difficult for them to be separated from the mind that possesses them, as for form or extension to be separated from matter.

The Phrenologist may believe, with as undoubting confidence as any, that the greater the progress the mind makes here, the more advanced will be the position it will occupy when it shall awake hereafter a disembodied spirit. The mind of the infant, then, at death, must go with infant capacities; but the mind of a Newton must carry with it its vast intelligence.

The Phrenologist, therefore, may cherish as strong a faith as any other individual—there is nothing in his science inconsistent with it—that the mind of man is a spiritual principle, in its own nature distinct from matter and superior to it, and in this life connected with a material organization, not only for its manifestation, but also for its discipline and improvement. As he contemplates the living individual, and beholds him full of activity and vigor, displaying intelligence, speaking, reasoning, and performing his part on the busy theater of the world, he refers the various phenomena to the connection of mind with matter. Presently the individual dies. There is the same body. All the parts of the material organization are there. The anatomist can not discover that anything is missing. Yet no organ now performs its function. No speech, no motion, no animation is to be perceived there. The eye no longer conveys any impression of light. The ear no longer affords the sensation of sound. What now makes the difference between the dead and the living man? Let the Phrenologist give the answer to the question. He will reply, "The spirit is gone. The mind, or soul, which gave animation to this otherwise lifeless dust, hath broken its connection with it and departed to another state." Yes; the Phrenologist will cherish as strong a faith as any other Christian, that the spirit, which is in man, being dependent on a material organization for its exercise and manifestation only, in this life, not for its existence, is independent of the body's dissolution. Though the body dies, the soul survives, and will

> "Flourish in immortal youth,
> Unhurt amidst the war of elements,
> The wreck of matter, and the crush of worlds."

APPENDIX C.

EXTRACTS FROM A DISCOURSE ON THE SOCIAL RELATIONS OF MAN, DELIVERED BEFORE THE BOSTON PHRENOLOGICAL SOCIETY, BY S. G. HOWE. 1837.

PHRENOLOGY teaches that our immaterial and immortal spirits, though essentially independent of matter, are, in this state of being, entirely subjected to, and dependent upon, corporeal organization for the manner and extent of their manifestations.

That God has given to the human race, collectively, the capacity of perceiving, and the power of executing those conditions on which the development and improvement of the immortal spirit is dependent; that observance or neglect of these conditions is visited upon the race to the third and fourth generation.

That individual men have faculties, sentiments, and propensities, the quality and strength of which are dependent on the original size, the physical structure, and the education or exercise of certain corporeal organs.

That when the original formation of these organs is according to the general laws of nature, the individual is a free moral agent, and responsible for his actions according to the degree of his intelligence; that when the original organization is unnatural, or when it becomes diseased, or when the organs sleep, the individual is not a moral free agent.

It teaches that the whole corporeal organization is an unit; that no one part can be diseased without all the

others being implicated, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely.

That man can abuse and destroy the powers of his mind, by neglecting or abusing his corporeal organization, and that God does and will punish him therefor.

Farther, it teaches that the manifestation of mind is dependent, most immediately, upon the structure and condition of certain parts of the brain; that the structure is dependent, in a great degree, upon the obedience or neglect of certain known laws by the human race in general; that the *condition* is dependent, in a great measure, upon the use or abuse, exercise or neglect of his organization, by each individual.

Lastly, it teaches that the body may be the corrupt and unhallowed abode, where selfishness holds uncertain sway over tumultuous propensities and fierce passions; or may be swept and garnished, and become a fit temple for the transient dwelling of a spirit emanating from the Deity himself.

In considering man, and different animals, we perceive in all a natural tendency to social union, a sort of mutual attraction of aggregation; and, although it shows itself in various degrees of energy, to a certain extent, it always exists: this is the foundation of society. . . . .

I said, in my last lecture, that the organs of the three great cavities of the body, the cranium, the thorax, and the abdomen, should be in harmonious action and reaction, in order to give firm and continuous health, and great capacity for endurance of physical or intellectual labor. Now the tendency of most of our social institutions and regulations is to destroy the equilibrium between these functions, and to excite the cerebral organs into undue and unhealthy action. There is no country on earth whence the brain and nervous system of man is kept in such a state of turmoil and excitement as in ours; no one has ever reaped such an early, abundant, and bitter harvest of pain and suffering as ours has; verily, we have sown the wind, and are already beginning to reap the whirlwind.

There is no country where the importance of the phrenological principle, of the necessity of harmonious action between the great functions, is more exemplified than it is in ours, by the consequences of their violation or neglect.

The great errors seem to me to be, a neglect of the physical nature of man; the custom of treating boys too early as men, and sending them too early into the world to act for themselves, the existence of too much political excitement, and too extravagant notions of personal and political liberty; the fact that we are too zealous, devout, and untiring worshipers of mammon; and, that we mingle passion under the name of zeal, with our religious feeling.

The physical nature of man is sadly neglected and abused in this country, and many of our institutions tend to increase that neglect and abuse. It is too much in the fashion to talk and think contemptuously of matter, as though its nature and its laws were not fixed by the same God who created mind. And even when attention to physical health and strength is enjoined, its claims are urged by considerations so low, so purely selfish, that the aspiring contemn them.

I would not have gymnasia for muscular effort—I would not have exercise for enjoyment, or appetite alone; but I would that the cultivation of physical health, and the rearing of strong and robust children should be favored by all our social institutions; I would that stern conscientiousness should be appealed to; that the abuse of God's gift should be forbidden; that the body should be considered as the instrument by which the soul is not only to influence others, but to operate upon itself, and prepare itself for its future and eternal condition.

People in this country too often consider and treat their bodies as avaricious men treat their horses; they try to get the most possible work out of them in the shortest possible time; and, like overworked horses, indeed, they do look.....

And woman, too, delicate and lovely woman, how has she changed; and how little is left of that erect and noble

carriage, that full, rounded figure, that dignity and beauty which characterized those of the bygone century, and does still characterize the daughters of fair Albion; a beauty which arose from a full and perfect development and healthy action of every organ of the body. Some may say that beauty is of small moment, that it is of little consequence in an individual, and much less in a national point of view is it to be regarded; but I maintain, and will maintain, the contrary; and though I can not, like the chevalier of old, uphold the claims of beauty by the point of a lance, I will use, wield at least, a pen in its defence, and maintain its cause with all the chivalry and zeal which the degeneracy of the age, and of our unchivalric day and country, will allow.

Most heartily do I agree with the sage who said, with a sigh, "Well, philosophers may argue, and plain men may fret; but beauty will find its way to the human heart." And it should be so, for so hath the Creator kindly and wisely ordained it; He hath vouchsafed to man the faculty of perceiving beauty; He hath made the perception a source of delight to him, and He hath filled the earth, the sea, and the skies with bright and beautiful objects which he may contemplate and admire. Else, why is the earth, and everything upon it, so varied in form, so full of beauty of outline? Why are not the hills, the rocks, the trees, all square? Why runneth not the river canal-like to the ocean? Why is not the grass black? Why cometh the green bud, the white blossom, the golden fruit, and the yellow leaf? Why is not the firmament of a leaden changeless hue? Why hang not the clouds like sponges in the sky? Why the bright tints of morning, the splendor of noon, the gorgeous hues of sunset? Why, in a word, does the great firmament, like an ever-turning kaleidoscope, at every revolving hour present to man a new and beautiful picture in the skies? I care not that I shall be answered that these, and all other beauties, whether of sight and sound, are the results of arrangements for other ends; I care not, for it is enough for

me, that a benevolent God hath so constituted us as to enable us to derive pleasure and benefit from them, and, by so doing, he hath made it incumbent upon us to draw from so abundant a source.

It will be said I am losing sight of my subject—the physical beauty of my countrywomen; I am not wont to do so long, and hasten back to it.

It is a very general opinion with us, that the standard of female beauty is quite as high here as in most countries; but this is by no means the case; our women fall far, very far below the standard which is attainable by them; for I hold, that with greater advantage of descent, with more of physical comfort and luxuries, with greater intellectual cultivation, than any women on earth, in beauty and grace of person they fall far below those of every civilized nation whom I have ever seen. Exceptions there are, and bright exceptions—I need not leave this desk to point out some of them; but, alas! in how sad contrast do they stand with thousands whose narrow chests, projecting collar-bones, pallid faces, and decaying teeth, show the defective physical organization. This is an interesting and a very important subject; for, as I shall show, the perfection of womanly beauty is dependent upon her original constitution, and her physical health, and I beg you to allow me to enlarge upon it.

I said that it was generally supposed here that our women are not deficient in beauty, while in reality they are so, and this I explain from the fact, that in the spring of life, and for a number of years, there is a brilliancy of complexion which makes our maidens *seem* beautiful, and, as it were, dazzles the spectator into blindness to other faults. I confess I know nothing like it; and, as the gorgeous pomp of our summer sunsets are unmatched by richest skies of Italy or Greece—as the bright hues of our autumnal foliage are unrivaled by the forest scenery of any country, and inimitable by the boldest pencil—so is the clear, glowing complexion of our maidens—the blended lily and rose of their

faces, unequaled by the brightest and most beautiful of earth's daughters. This it is that renders them so pretty without being beautiful; and for this it is, that when the bloom of cheek is gone, you have but a very plain woman left. As at sunset you gaze with rapture upon a golden-hued cloud, but while you gaze, the sun ceases to shine upon it, and you have only a leaden-colored, sombre mass before you; so, oftentimes, does the lovely American girl of sixteen sink into the plain American woman of twenty.

Now, there is no reason in nature why this should be so; there is nothing in the constitution of woman that prevents her being at thirty still fresh, healthy, and beautiful; with well-developed and erect figure, with clear and unwrinkled brow, with a luxuriant profusion of hair, and with every tooth in her head, and clear and sound as the pearl; but there are many and very sufficient reasons in the present constitution, and habits of society, and in our social and domestic arrangements. Depend upon it, the milliner, the hairdresser, and the dentist, are but funguses growing out of a rotten state of society, and that if women were what they should be, one-half the doctors would emigrate, in despair, to a less enlightened and favored land.

But the point in which American women fall most below the standard of female beauty, is in the figure; and this is attributed, in a great measure, to the very absurd and unnatural attempt to set up a standard of beauty, in the outline of form, exactly the reverse of nature. To man has nature given the deep chest, the broad shoulders, the form tapering from above downwards; to woman, exactly the reverse; but fashion, tyrant fashion, condemns all this; the waist must be drawn in at all hazards, the internal organs may take care of themselves, and grow if they can; if they can not—no matter—the cord must be drawn; and when the balloon sleeves filled our streets, and monopolized our side-walks, the figure of a lady in outline looked as unnatural as would a churn set up on its small end.

Should a female appear in the streets with her dress ar-

ranged so as to show her figure to be in outline like that of Eve, she would be pointed at as a fright; and the Venus de Medicis would be called a dowdy by our fashionables.

Such is not the case with the famed beauties of the East —the women of Georgia and Circassia; with them the growth of the figure is never constrained; the dress is never drawn tight, the foot is never cramped up in a shoe; the locks are never imprisoned in papers; the dentist, the coiffeur, the mantua-maker, are never known there, and yet they grow up erect as the pine. graceful as the gazelle, beautiful as a flower. But that which most distinguishes them is the graceful and swan-like carriage of the neck— the erect and easy posture of the body, which is unstayed and unsupported by art—the perfect roundness of the tapering limbs, and the general fullness and swell of the flesh, which hides every projection of bone; there is no elbow—no collar-bone; they seem as if made of elastic ivory—as if they had no skeleton, of the existence of which you are so frequently and disagreeably reminded here, by the angular arms, the sharp elbows, and the projecting collar-bones of our ladies.

There is, however, a more important and lamentable effect of the want of attention to the organic laws, a careless defiance of the natural tendency to hereditary transmission of infirmities. Very few consider that they owe more to society than to their individual selves; that if we are to love our neighbor as ourself, we must, of course, love all our neighbors collectively more than the single unit, which each calls I. . . . .

But a word more for the actual state of things: We find that it is not our country alone which is affected; and it is in vain to seek for the origin of the present distress in any partial and particular measures of any government or any institution; the causes lie deeper—they are in the very nature of and spirit of the modern method of business. Governments, and institutions, and particular edicts may, and doubtless have done, much to hasten the crisis; certainly

some of them are very like an order that all waters shall run up hill; but though they had been ever so preposterous and absurd, not to say willful and wicked, they could not have produced the convulsion that is now rocking our firmest houses like an earthquake, if men had conducted business in that spirit which looks only to the natural and certain reward of prudent industry.

It will be answered that men must act according to the spirit of the time and place; and that they have a right to count upon the permanence of any national law or commercial regulation. Aye! but when such laws and regulations run counter to the course of nature, they must, and will, be frustrated; and he who puts more faith in the laws and regulations of man than in those of nature, must take the consequences of his choice.

The fact is, the present generation has been agitated and swayed by passion as much as the most remarkable ones in history; veneration and combativeness once stirred up Europe to madness, and sent her raving, with the cross in one hand, and the sword in the other, upon benighted Asia; love of approbation and combativeness caused France to raise the storm of war which shook the world—which made the rivers of the south run red with blood, and stained the snows of the north with gore; and now, love of approbation, riding on acquisitiveness, is making the world equally mad in the chase for money. America leads in the van—she mortgages her unexplored lands, and her unborn generations, to raise funds for the present; Europe follows hard after—she pawns her regalia, she sells her titles, she grubs in the battle-fields, and converts the bones of her heroes into money; Asia starts up to join the chase, and casts away her turban and her robes, that she may follow the faster; even dead Africa is roused to life, and begins to pull down her pyramids to build up factories.*

* A population of five hundred millions would hardly suffice to fill up the land which has been laid out on paper, and counted as property, in this country; pawnbrokers are the "keepers of the jewels;" money

I have said that combined love of approbation and acquisitiveness is the leading characteristic of the age; it is certainly and especially so of our own country. Many a man devotes his hours, his days, and his years to the accumulation of dross, which he would despise if he did not consider it a means to an end, a stepping-stone to honor and distinction. We may deny it, we may hide it from ourselves, but we do bow down to and honor wealth; we do give it the precedence of talent. I speak not of this city, nor of a particular class, but of the country generally; and I say, that except where genius blazes like a comet, dazzling the people and forcing admiration, wealth commands more personal regard than intellectual and moral superiority; the wise man, or the good man, is stared at; the rich one is bowed down to; the one excites wonder, the other envy. . . . .

Dyspepsia, that canker-worm which gnaws at and slowly undermines the soundest constitution, prevails in this country to an extent unknown elsewhere in the world; of this there is no manner of question; nor is there a doubt, that it prevails much more in the present than in past generations. The causes are obvious; there must be a communication between the stomach and brain, by means of the nerves, in order that the digestive process may go on well; interrupt this communication, and you stop digestion: restore it, and it goes on again. Now, if the brain is exhausted, if its influence is carried to another part, and not to the stomach; or, if it be so impaired that it can not afford nervous stimulus to the stomach, digestion is impaired, precisely as the muscles of the body can not contract without the necessary cerebral stimulus is sent to them, and as the strength of the contraction is mainly dependent upon this stimulus. Now, give to two dogs a full meal, let one lie down and rest, so that the whole cerebral

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obtains patents of nobility anywhere; the bones at Waterloo, Leipsic, etc., have been articles of commerce; the Sultan has ordered the turban and trowsers to be abandoned; the Viceroy of Egypt issued an edict for pulling down ancient monuments to build factories, arsenals, etc.

influence may be exercised over the stomach; and set the other to hunting, let the cerebral influence be expended upon the muscles, and withdrawn from the stomach, and in four hours examine the two; the stomach of the first will be found almost empty, and the food converted into chyle; the other will contain what the dog had eaten, and but half digested. But I will spend no words on what is now admitted as an axiom by all physiologists, phrenological and anti-phrenological; there is no doubt but the great majority of cases of dyspepsia in this country arise from an abuse and over-excitement of the cerebral organ; and those few which form the exception to this, arise from some violation of the organic laws; from eating too much, or too fast, or too hot, all of which may be claimed as American, and errors of our social system. And, we may add, that we take not sleep enough for digestion; Cæsar would have found few here to answer his purpose, when he said, "Let me have fat, sleek-headed men about me, such as sleep o' nights." But he would have said of us as he did of Cassius, "Yon Yankee has a lean and hungry look; he thinks too much; such men are dangerous."

The extent of insanity in this country has already become alarming; but all nervous diseases are on the increase, and, with insanity, will doubtless continue to be so. The entire number of insane is computed to be already fifty thousand! In some of the New England States the proportion is as one to every two hundred and fifty inhabitants, while in Old England, where insanity is more prevalent than in any country of Europe, the proportion is only as one to eight hundred and twenty! This is a serious, an awful consideration; it is one of the penalties which outraged nature inflicts upon society; and upon our social institutions must fall the moral guilt and the moral responsibility for such an amount of suffering, for such an abuse and destruction of the highest prerogative of man, the noblest trust reposed in us by God—the human reason!....

Our country is far advanced in civilization; but, how far

is man, here and everywhere, from the bright goal to which he may one day attain! and how much may he advance toward it, by due attention to his physical, moral, and intellectual nature, and the laws of animal organization by which these are modified and influenced. These have hitherto been unknown and neglected, or imperfectly perceived, and vaguely followed. Phrenology points them out clearly; it presents a plain chart of the mind—a simple and beautiful system of moral philosophy; and though not a single organ could be pointed out on the head, it would still be invaluable. Let us follow then its precepts; let the body, the instrument of the soul, be a fit one for it to operate with; let our social institutions be such as to improve, as far as may be, its original structure; let every individual preserve it in healthy tone; for as well may he hope for the sweetest sounds from an inferior or discordant instrument as the finer manifestations of spirit, from an inferior or deranged organization; the harp must be well formed; its strings must all be in the nicest tune, or the fingers that play upon it, the wind that sighs through it, will produce but discord; the body is a harp of a thousand strings—the breath of the spirit moves among them—may it be so attuned that the spirit can give forth those sweet sounds which proclaim its heavenly origin, and indicate its heavenly destiny!

APPENDIX D.

PROGRESS OF THE NATURAL SCIENCES — THE CHARACTER OF SPURZHEIM AND THE IMPORTANCE OF PHRENOLOGY.

EXTRACTS FROM DR. BARTLETT'S ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE BIRTH OF SPURZHEIM AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE BOSTON PHRENOLOGICAL SOCIETY, JANUARY 1, 1838.

. . . . LEAVING this topic, then, I proceed to say that the true science of the human mind ought to issue in human good; it ought to be productive of beneficent results. Such has been the case with all the other sciences; such ought also to be the case with this. Astronomy, mathematics, geology, chemistry, and physiology have all proved themselves not merely subjects of abstract intellectual interest and curiosity, but matters of great practical usefulness. They have acted upon man's daily life. They have aided in improving his spiritual nature, and they minister to his commonest wants. They enlarge and elevate his mind; they clothe and nourish and protect his body. They make the elements his servants to do his bidding. They make his timekeepers, for seconds or for ages, the stars on the dial-plate of the sky. They carry him over the land; they guide him across the sea; his pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night. Unfolding to him the mysteries of the visible world, they bring him nearer to its author—God. If Phrenology, I repeat, is what it pretends to be, it

must also, like its sister sciences, show itself directly instrumental in promoting the best interests of the human race. And if it does so show itself, we have a right to see herein another evidence of its truth. I shall, therefore, after these preliminary observations, endeavor to apply this test of the claims of Phrenology, derived from some few of its leading tendencies and results, both practical and philosophical—from the natural and inevitable issues of its principles and laws.

The first general result of the phrenological doctrines of which I shall speak is the separation which they make of our *true humanity* from those accidental and factitious *circumstances* with which it is interwoven and overlaid. By revealing to us the essential *nature* of humanity in its complex physical and spiritual constitution, it exposes also the manifold illusions which this humanity has always and everywhere worn. In the clear light of Phrenology, man for the first time stands before us *as man*—whatever and however unlike and diverse may be the accidents of his environment. If there is any one moral truth which can claim to be a central truth—the truth of truths—it is that of the entire, essential, absolute oneness and equality of human nature. All right rests upon this, its only immutable basis; all order flows from this, its sole inexhaustible fountain. I do not claim for Phrenology the merit of having first asserted or promulgated this truth. Always, throughout all time and in every country, have there been SEERS who have read the sublime record written on their own hearts; always, too, have there been PROPHETS and TEACHERS who have uttered it. It is a doctrine also of inspiration. It was proclaimed by Moses, and it runs through all the teachings of Christ. I do not claim for Phrenology, I say, the merit of having first asserted and promulgated this truth; but I do claim for it the next highest merit of having given to that which was before only matter of argument or speculation or of dogmatic statement, merely, the fixed and positive and everlasting attributes of science.

What was *precept* became *law*—unchangeable and eternal, and universally binding in its obligations.

In spite of all the teachings of sages and philosophers and prophets—blind to the light of wisdom and deaf to the oracles of Revelation—men, generally, have never believed this truth. They do not yet believe it; at least they do not feel it, and they never have felt it. The feeling—and in this case the feeling is equivalent to the belief—is almost universal that the *circumstances* by which each man and woman is accidentally surrounded have wrought a change in that man's or woman's nature and rendered it unlike that of an individual surrounded by wholly different circumstances. I am sure that I do not state this too strongly. Phrenology not only asserts what has always been nominally asserted, that this is not the case, but it shows the reasons why it is not. Phrenology not only teaches the great opposite truth, but it makes plainly visible the foundation on which the truth rests; it develops its principles; it unfolds and establishes its laws and sanctions. We see by its light not only that every man is the equal brother of every other man, but we see also *why* he is so, and *how* he is so, and *wherein* he is so. . . . .

The truth which I claim to have been first authoritatively asserted and demonstrated by Phrenology as a law of the mental constitution is this, that every separate power and capacity of the human mind can be developed and strengthened only by developing and exciting its own peculiar individual activity; and that, therefore, the education of each and every faculty is dependent wholly upon those means and influences which increase or diminish or control this activity and strength. That power of the mind which takes cognizance of the relations of numbers can be educated only through its own instrumentality; it can acquire skill and facility in calculating these relations only by calculating them; and, just in proportion to the amount of its original vigor and of its educated activity, will be its strength and capabilities. This is strictly true

of every intellectual power, and it is as true of the animal instincts as it is of the knowing faculties. The love of children is made strong and fervent by loving children. Hate becomes a burning and ferocious passion only by hating. And, furthermore, as strictly true as this is of the intellect and the instincts, is it of all the higher sentiments. Hope can be nourished only by its own ambrosial food—the bright colors, the ever-blossoming flowers, the fairy enchantments of the future. Conscientiousness—that deep-seated sentiment of right and wrong, that stern monitor within us—can be crowned with the supremacy which it was designed to possess only by our being just. Ideality—that versatile power—constituting as it may be said to do the wings of the spirit, can acquire strength and freedom only by soaring aloft into a pure and celestial atmosphere, and by visiting in the heavens and on the earth those scenes of beauty and sublimity and order, those manifestations of the perfect, the excellent, and the fair which have been created for its gratification. Benevolence can be quickened into a divine and soothing sentiment only by our being compassionate and humane.

The bearing of this principle must be perfectly manifest. It is easy to see that all education hinges upon it, and you would almost as soon tolerate me in consuming your time with a formal argument in favor of education itself, as in any more elaborate effort to show the importance of the truth which I have stated.

There is another great elementary truth bearing directly upon the subject of education, which, like the one already spoken of, was first clearly demonstrated as a natural law of man's spiritual being by Phrenology. I mean that of the absolute rule and superiority which the Author of the mind has conferred on the religious and disinterested sentiments over all the other powers. Phrenology has not merely pointed out the only effective method of educating these sentiments, but it has vindicated for them their inalienable supremacy. Far be it from me, I say again as I

have said in another connection, to arrogate for Phrenology the merit of having discovered or of having first promulgated the truth of which I now speak. No one, I trust, will suppose me guilty of such ignorance or of such presumption. Always has it been taught by the wise and the good everywhere and throughout all time; eloquently in their precepts and more eloquently still in their happy and beneficent lives and in their deaths of serenity and triumphant hope. It is the declaration of prophets and apostles; it is the song of the seraphim; it is the great lesson of Christ; it is the voice of God. Nevertheless, it is true that to Phrenology belongs the high distinction of having placed this doctrine on the firm basis of demonstration, of having fixed it immutably in the very organization of humanity one of its central and everlasting laws.

This truth, like the other of which I have spoken, is almost universally disregarded. In all systems of education the intellectual powers are almost exclusively considered; a very subordinate place is assigned to the higher sentiments, and herein consists one of the most melancholy and disastrous errors of these systems. Almost the whole surface of the civilized world is spread over with schoolhouses for the nurture of the infant intellect, and universities are built and professorships are endowed to aid it in its maturer training. I do not complain that this has been done, but that the other has been left undone. One of the highest ends, even of intellectual culture, is almost entirely overlooked and neglected—that of promoting the development and regulating the action of the moral and religious feelings, and of ministering, directly or indirectly, to their good. . . . .

Free and liberal governments have thought it their safety as well as their duty to provide for and encourage general education. The axiom is, that popular intelligence is the only sure support and safe guardian of popular government. All political institutions, resting to any considerable extent on the popular or democratic principle, rec-

ognize this relation. They profess to rely upon it for their stability and efficiency for good. What I wish to say is this: If the education on which popular government is to rest be the education of the intellect merely, then it leans on a broken reed. How is it here at home in this Federal Republic? Will intellectual culture alone, perfect and universal as it can be made, secure to us the permanency and the purity of our institutions? Will it keep inviolate the spirit of rational liberty which pervades and consecrates the written charter of our rights? Will it hold unbroken the links of that chain which binds these States together? Will it prove a sufficient security for national peace, prosperity, and happiness? Can we confide to it the keeping of our hearth-stones and our altars? Will it guard us in the business of the day? Will it be round about us — a tutelary presence—in the watches of the night? No! never, never, never! Unless the sense of right and wrong between man and man be ripened to a hardier growth amongst us than it has ever yet attained—unless the true and great relation which every man sustains to all other men be better understood and felt more warmly than it ever yet has been—unless reverence and love for whatever is exalted above us in genuine excellence and glory be more cherished than it now is—unless, in short, the moral, social, and religious sentiments are made to receive that regular, systematic, and general culture which is now bestowed almost entirely upon the intellect —then, as surely as there is certainty in science or truth in revelation, shall we come short of our true greatness; nay, more—then is there for our institutions no safety in the present and no security in the future.

What are these institutions? Have they in themselves any principle of preservation or of perpetuity? What is this written charter which we are taught so much to prize and venerate? Is it anything but ink and parchment? Nothing. You may raise the naked intellect of this whole nation to its highest attainable point, and you only pre-

pare and accumulate the elements in whose fiery collision this charter shall be consumed like tow. You may surround it with a whole cohort of gallant champions, whose hearts shall be as large and whose arms shall be as strong as those of your own great defender of its integrity and its worth—all in vain.

The elements of individual good and of universal good are identical. What is best for me is best also for all other men. If in me evil, confusion, misery, and disaster are the fruits of a predominance either of the intellect merely or of the selfish and animal propensities or of both over the higher powers, the same is true of a community, of a people, of the race. All history is a running commentary on this truth. I have no time to dwell at length on this great topic, but I can not forbear a short and passing allusion to the age of Louis XV. of France, and to the following revolution. Then, on the largest scale since the days of the Roman emperors and their successors (the Alarics and Attilas), was the experiment tried whether a nation could reach and keep any considerable height and degree of social and civil good by the unaided intellect. That age in France was emphatically the age of intellect—the grand culminating epoch of cyclopedias and philosophers. But, in that aggregate of mind then in the ascendant, there was no reverence, there was little ideality, there was no conscientiousness, there was no benevolence, there was no recognition of the disinterested and self-sacrificing in humanity. The order, which God has ordained as an indispensable condition of individual and so of general greatness and good, was reversed; the understanding, which was then called reason, was placed above the true kingly powers of the mind, and the issue was what it was, what it always has been, and ever will be under like circumstances. Here, too, let it be remembered, that the antagonistic powers in the mind, of the animal appetites, and the selfish passions are the higher and essentially disinterested feelings, and not the understanding. And so in Paris, under

Louis XV. and Louis XVI., and in Rome, under Augustus, with the highest cultivation of the mere intellect, there was linked the foulest corruption. In the broad blaze of that cold enlightenment stood — unblushing and unreproved—nay, worshiped, rather—crowned with garlands as true gods, every possible form and manifestation of sensualism, selfishness, and crime. And what was the end? Let the dying wail of the seven-hilled city—mingled with the crash of falling temples, the gusty roar of conflagration, and the fierce clamor of vandal armies—answer. Let that gay capital of intellectual and philosophic France, when her gambling-rooms and her houses of infamous pleasure became the murky gathering-places of conspiracy and murder, when her halls of science and legislation were converted into camps and citadels of civil war, when ferocity itself went reeling through her streets satiate and drunk with carnage, when the guillotine was running day and night with the blood of the high-born, the learned, and the beautiful—as the fountain in her Palais Royal now flows with water—let her also answer. . . . .

Phrenology, by demonstrating the primary faculties of the mind and their relations, first rendered intelligible the infinite variety of thought and action in individuals. Extending the same principles from the individual to the race —from the one person thinking and acting to-day, to the many hundreds or millions of like persons thinking and acting at any time and at all times in the past—it solves the riddle of history; it interprets the great events of time. Beautifully unfolding itself in the process of this interpretation shall we find, everywhere, Law. Chance disappears, and we see that throughout all that multitudinous thought and action of humanity constituting its history—in all its fightings, from the first fratricide down to the battle of Waterloo; in all its art, in all its literature, in its religion, in its laws, in its politics, in its love and in its hate, in its wisdom and in its perversity, in its migrations, in its conquests, in its discoveries, in the mutations of empires as

truly as in the phases of individual life—is there nothing fortuitous, nothing accidental, nothing anomalous. We have only to apply to all this the true principles of human nature, as they are now expounded by Phrenology, and its obscurity is dissipated, its apparent contradictions are reconciled, the seemingly inextricable confusion in which its elements are mingled is cleared up. As the sea—alike in its vast aggregate and its every atom, alike in its rest and in its wrath—is still subject to the laws of gravity and motion, so is the great tide (as it has been called) of human affairs—in its ebb and in its flow, in its agitation and in its repose—obedient ever to the few and simple laws which God has impressed upon it.

One result of this method of investigating the past will be a conviction, clearer and stronger than we can in any other way attain, that all Form is created and moulded by Spirit; that all the multiform institutions of men, that all the complex machinery of life and society, that all the aggregate act of humanity existed first in the mind; that all these are but the emanations, in distinct and visible shape, of the pre-existing and pre-acting human soul. Without denying the reaction of these institutions and of this external machinery as instruments of that general mind of which they are the product upon the interests and condition of our race, we shall be satisfied, I think, that their influence has been exaggerated. We shall thus be led, not only to a more correct philosophy, but to the adoption of more rational and efficient means of acting on the condition of our race—of promoting its well-being. Strangely and widely do we mistake in the estimate which we form of the greatest personages and the most important influences, judged merely in their relationship to civil and social institutions and to the form and administration of government. We are accustomed to regard the statesmen and politicians of a country—its kings, its presidents, its secretaries and diplomatists, and senators and representatives—as the great guardians and conservators of its lib-

erty and its interests. This is too much the case with ourselves. But neither in these nor yet in that other misnamed rock of safety, the democracy of numbers—the mere preponderance, ever changing, of numerical strength—does any abiding security lie. True hearts are there undoubtedly, many of them among the first, warm with a patriot's love; and eloquent lips, touched with fire from the true altar, to vindicate for our wide commonwealth its best good and to warn it against threatened ills. But from the high arena of the capitol at Washington, and from the ten thousand other rostrums scattered through the land, are there ever issuing discordant as well as angry voices. Lo here! says one, and lo there! says another. That democracy of numbers, too, can pull down as easily—more easily perhaps than it can build up—and it undoes to-day its most solemn acts of yesterday. Not in the speculative doctrines of consolidation or of nullification, of sub-treasury systems or of banks, nor yet in the pendulum-swinging of counted majorities—whether federal or democratic, whether whig or tory—is the genuine good, the enduring and high glory of this nation bound up. Not Jefferson nor Hamilton, not Webster nor Hayne—useful, indispensable as their functions may have been and may still be, worthy as their names may be of that high honor and renown which they wear—not they are the anointed high-priests of our social temple; not on their shoulders does the ark of our safety rest.

"Who, then," it may be asked, "are the great among us if not these?" They are those who are most successful in giving to human nature that development, relative and absolute, which its Author has so evidently made the indispensable condition of its well-being. They are those who are doing most for the direction of the intellect to its best uses, and especially for that subordination of the animal appetites and selfish desires to the moral and religious powers which Revelation and Phrenology agree in declaring to be the best and highest good of man. They are the teachers in our schools and academies and colleges, al-

though the relative importance of these has been overrated. They are the ministers at the altar of religion—so far, and so far only, as these fill the soul with reverence and humility and good-will and duty—warming the heart with love and devotion, instead of crowding the head with theology. They are mothers at the fireside and in the nursery, guiding the feet of childhood in the right way, moulding its plastic mind to a correspondence with the good, the just, the beautiful, and the true. They are that mighty host of the dead and the living by whom—in their lives and in their writings, in their works and in their words—Truth and Wisdom are ever speaking to all who are willing to listen. Even now a woman, by the subtle magic of her pen, seated in her quiet parlor near the banks of the Housatonic, may be doing more, although of these things she may not utter a word, for the preservation and improvement of our political fabric, for the strengthening of the bonds of our political union, and for the promotion of our truest and highest national glory, than all the Senators and Representatives of the twenty-six States in Congress assembled. . . . .

The last topic that I had intended to speak upon is the relationship which has been established, first, between the powers of the mind and the forms and phenomena of matter, including the body; and secondly, between these powers and the various circumstances of life in the midst of which we are placed. The adaptation of the powers of the human mind, and also of the organization and functions of the human body to the physical constitution of things, to the residence of man on the earth, is no new subject either of study or of admiration. It constitutes, as you well know, one of the fairest and richest fields of natural theology, and has long furnished manifold and significant evidence of the being and agency of an almighty and benevolent God. All these varied and beautiful relationships and adaptations have been rendered, by the clear and new light which Phrenology has shed upon the faculties of the mind, more manifest and more wonderful than they had

ever before appeared. I pass by this theme with reluctance. Many voices are calling out to us to stop—many hands beckon to us to pause and to ponder it. Color holds to our eyes her prism and asks us to look—Tune touches her harp-strings and invites us to listen. The connection which the Creator has seen fit to establish, during the present state of our existence, between the mental and the physical constitution of man—imparting, as this connection does, to bodily labor the dignity of moral action, and making, as this connection so manifestly does, obedience to the physiological laws a moral duty—the relation between the knowing and reasoning powers on the one hand, and the properties and laws of the entire universe of matter on the other—accurately adapted, as this relation is, to excite and develop the perceptive and reflective faculties—demonstrating, as it does, the constantly and illimitably progressive character of science and knowledge—the delightful correspondence which exists between all our social faculties on the one hand, and our social relations and the discipline of life on the other—transforming evil into good, endowing it with a blessed and beneficent ministry—between ideality and all forms and expressions, in nature and in art, in spirit and in matter, of the beautiful—between marvelousness and all that wonder and mystery of man's being and environment, which science, instead of dissipating and clearing up, only deepens and increases—between veneration and whatever is exalted above us, its worthiest and truest object being none else than God himself—between that supremacy of the moral and religious sentiments, which the Father of our spirits has instituted, and the continual advancement in all happiness and well-being of humanity, thus rendering this advancement not probable, but certain—the necessary and inevitable result of man's constitution:—all these and many other like considerations are crowding upon us. They are all pertinent to our argument. They have all received new elucidation, new value, and new interest from Phrenology, and they thus tend in their turn to establish and confirm its truth.

APPENDIX E.

OBSTACLES TO THE PROGRESS OF PHRENOLOGY. ITS IMPORTANCE TO ALL CLASSES AND IN THE SCHOOLS.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. COMBE'S ADDRESS, DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE BIRTH OF SPURZHEIM, AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE BOSTON PHRENOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DECEMBER 31, 1839.

WE have met together this evening, on the anniversary of the birthday of Dr. Spurzheim, to celebrate the institution of the Phrenological Society of Boston, and the Council of the Society has done me the honor to request me to address you on the occasion. It affords me much gratification to comply with their desire. In addressing an American audience the speaker enjoys the inestimable advantage of breathing the air of Liberty; and only in such an atmosphere can Phrenology flourish. Napoleon, on his Imperial throne, sustained by five hundred thousand armed men, and ruling over the prostrate continent of Europe, feared the philosophers who investigated the laws of mind and of morals. He hated metaphysicians, moralists, and even jurists; all, in short, who sought to analyze the nature of man, with a view to discover his rights as well as his duties. He seems to have had an instinctive consciousness that if the human mind were examined in its elements, and the dictates of its highest powers given forth, the conqueror and the tyrant would stand condemned before them. He disliked Phrenology in particular, and gave

significant hints to Cuvier and other men of science of the French capital, that they should lend no countenance to its doctrines and pretensions. There was good reason for this conduct. Had the French people been taught the sphere of activity of every faculty, instructed in the great doctrine of the supremacy of the moral sentiments, and enabled to appreciate the unerring certainty of that law of the Creator which binds misery to all abuses of our faculties and enjoyment to their legitimate action, the horrible drama of the Revolution could not have been enacted, and the blood-stained Empire of Napoleon could never have arisen to scourge and to terrify the nations of Europe. Even the milder despots of Austria and Prussia, whose sway is more paternal than that of the military conqueror, sovereigns who walk forth unarmed, unguarded, nay, even unattended among their people, and who by their personal virtues and the halo of a long line of ancestors, secure the willing homage of their subjects, even *they* repel the philosophy of mind. They honor the philosophers who investigate matter; but the laws of the material universe tell no tale of human rights. When, however, the mental philosopher speaks of man's intellectual powers as instruments bestowed on him with the injunction, "Try all things, and hold fast by that which is good;" when he unfolds sentiments of Benevolence, Veneration, Ideality, and Justice, under the inspirations of which men feel that they have rights to enjoy as well as duties to perform; when he proclaims to the political bondsman that kings, emperors, and all terrestrial powers, are themselves bound by the dictates of these heavenly emotions, and that a God of beneficence and justice knows no distinction in moral rights and duties between the prince and the peasant, then the philosopher of mind becomes odious to the despot, whose maxims of government will not sustain the scrutiny of this searching analysis. The Emperor of Austria forbade Dr. Gall to lecture, and virtually banished him from his dominions. To this day the subjects of Aus-

tria and Prussia sigh while they say, "Phrenology is the philosophy of a free country; here it can not flourish."

Where, then, should this last and best gift of individual genius to the family of mankind bring forth its blessed fruits, in richer abundance, than in this land of freedom! Let us, then, enjoy this liberty, and let us speak of Dr. Gall's discovery in terms, if they can be found, adequate to its importance. In addressing a miscellaneous audience a phrenologist is bound, by the dictates of correct taste, to moderate his language and veil the pretensions of his science, to such an extent as not to shock too rudely the perhaps unfavorable prepossessions of those before whom he appears. But on this occasion I regard myself as a phrenologist (whose opinions are founded on nearly twenty-five years of observation and reflection in various regions of the globe) addressing a Society of phrenologists, whose convictions of the great truths of the science are as firmly rooted as my own. While to them I may present ideas to which the tyro in the study is not prepared to assent, I assure *him* that I cordially allow him to withhold his approval; but I also very respectfully solicit him to restrain his condemnation, and not to measure the solidity of the foundations on which *our* convictions are built by the slender soil on which he yet rests his *own*.

It is seven years since this Society was instituted (Dec. 31, 1832) for the cultivation and diffusion of a knowledge of Phrenology; but after some vigorous exertions, displaying zeal and talent in its members, its active existence has ceased. In its splendid, but brief career, it does not stand forth a monument of that youthful passion for novelty and that lack of perseverance amidst obstacles and difficulties, which is said to characterize the people of this young and ardent nation; but it has yielded to the operation of causes which have equally, and in the same manner, paralyzed several of the phrenological societies of Europe. It may be interesting to trace the nature of these adverse influences whose effects we deplore.

I observe, then, that many phrenological societies have perished from having prescribed to themselves objects of too limited a nature. They have undertaken chiefly the duty of verifying the observations of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim and other phrenologists, in regard to the organs of the mind and their functions; and have too seldom embraced, in their sphere of action, the application of this knowledge to the physical, moral, and intellectual improvement of themselves and their fellow-men; or, if this aim have found a place in the constitution and laws, it has not practically been carried into effect.

A knowledge of the organs and their functions, and of the effects of their combinations, is indispensable as a foundation for the useful application of phrenological science; and I have long been convinced, by observation, that the confidence of each disciple in the power of his principles, and also his capacity of applying them to advantage, bears a relation, *ceteris paribus*, to his minute acquaintance with organology. Far from undervaluing, therefore, the importance of an extensive series of observations in organology, I emphatically declare my experience to be, that it is the first step toward the formation of a true phrenologist; it is the second step; and it is the third step toward the formation of a true phrenologist. If any cause has contributed more than another to the distinction acquired by Edinburgh as a school of this science, it has been the rule established in our Society from its foundation, that the cerebral development of every member should be taken by a committee of the Society and recorded; and that extensive observation of living heads and casts should be practiced. The Phrenological Society of Aberdeen has traveled in the same path, and it also has been eminently successful. Again, therefore, I say that I place the highest value on the practical department of the science.

But experience induces me to add that this department is comparatively narrow. In a few years, an individual of ordinary powers of observation may attain to a full knowl-

edge of organology and a thorough conviction of its truth; and if he stop there, he will resemble a geometrician, who, after having mastered all the demonstrations of Euclid, shrinks from applying them. He would find the constant repetition of them uninteresting because they had become familiar, and led to no practical results. The same rule holds good in Phrenology. To sustain our interest, we must proceed to apply our principles; and here our difficulties commence. The most timid mind may employ itself, in the secret recesses of its own study, in observing casts, or in manipulating living heads, and suffer no inconvenience, except perhaps a passing smile of derision from some good-natured friend, who esteems his own ignorance more excellent than our knowledge. But when the phrenologist advances openly to the application of the principles of his science, then the din of conflict arises. He invades other men's prejudices, and sometimes assails what they conceive to be their privileges; for there are persons who claim as a privilege the profits which they may make by public errors. He is then opposed, misrepresented, and abused; and as he is conscious that his object is one of beneficence, he is unwilling to accept a reformer's recompense, discontinues his exertions, and the society becomes dormant. This fate has overtaken several phrenological associations in Britain. They have shrunk from the practical application of their principles, and consequently sleep.

The time is not yet, but will probably soon arrive, for resuscitating them into active existence as societies for physiological, moral, and intellectual reform; and I venture to prophesy, that whenever they shall embody a reasonable number of members pledged to the application of the principles of Phrenology in these great fields of usefulness, their success will be conspicuous and cheering. . . . .

In this country, many excellent men fear the power of the demagogue to mislead the people. I should like to see the most splendid orator who ever bent a people to his will, address an assemblage of men who had been instructed

in Phrenology from their youth, who had been trained to analyze every thought, word, and action quickly as it was uttered; before whose mental vision the boundaries of good and evil had been made by this science to stand forth as clear and well-defined as the rocks which first greeted the eyes of the Pilgrim Fathers when they reached this land of their hopes and fears. I should rejoice to witness the attempt of Demosthenes himself, to instigate such an assembly to deeds of outrage and injustice—to persuade them that individual and national grandeur could be best achieved by triumphant propensities and virtues prostrate; in short, that the remedy for all social evils was to plunder the rich, to degrade the refined and intelligent, and to enthrone confident ignorance and rude propensity in high places of authority and power. The orator would be committed to a lunatic asylum by a unanimous vote of the people, whose reason he had thus insulted and whose moral emotions he had outraged, in the full conviction that he was insane. It is true that no candidate for popular favor would venture even now to present such naked propositions of injustice to the people, but many daily offer injurious schemes to their acceptance thinly clothed with sophistry and gilded by passion.

In proportion to the power of sifting moral and political propositions and resolving them into their simple elements, which you confer upon your people, will be their dexterity in stripping off the ornamental finery from the sophist's speech, and in resisting his appeals to their passions. Your institutions call on your people to act on questions of great moment, and often of much difficulty. They need an instrument of moral analysis, at once simple and comprehensive, to enable them to do so with intelligence and success. Such an instrument is Phrenology. If you wish, therefore, to deprive the demagogue of every possibility of success, teach your young generation a sound philosophy of mind; you will find that it is also the handmaid of a pure and practical religion. . . . .

I have spoken as a phrenologist to phrenologists, who no longer doubt the foundations of the science, but look forward with ardor to its beneficial applications. It is now within a few days of thirty-eight years since Dr. Gall, the immortal discoverer of the functions of the brain, stood alone in the world as the author, the teacher, and the champion of the new philosophy. It gave displeasure to the Emperor of Germany and the Church of Austria, and an edict was issued by the Emperor, the effect of which was intended to be the suppression of the doctrine and all its consequences. On the 9th of January, 1802, Dr. Gall presented a respectful petition and remonstrance to the Government of his native country, showing forth the truth and the beneficial applications of his discovery, and praying to be permitted to continue to teach it in public lectures. His petition contains these memorable words: "As my doctrine on the functions of the brain has been taught to several thousand hearers, and as it has been spread abroad among a still greater number of persons by the sale of Froriep's Treatise, in three editions, and by means of smaller extracts and notices in almost all the German, English, and French journals, it is no longer in the power either of myself or of any human being to arrest its progress, or to set bounds to its circulation." The Emperor was inexorable; the edict was enforced; Dr. Gall, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and in possession of a high and lucrative practice as a physician in Vienna, went into voluntary banishment rather than remain silent—and who is now victorious? The Emperor sleeps in the tomb and so does Dr. Gall; but every word of these prophetic lines is already realized. Look at Phrenology in France, in Britain, and in the United States of America. It already directs lunatic asylums; it presides over education; it mitigates the severity of the criminal law; it assuages religious animosity; it guides the historian; is a beacon light to the physiologist, and already has it incorporated its nomenclature with the language of these countries. Who now reigns over the minds of the free, of the great in intellect,

and of the good? Is it the Emperor, or the spirit of Dr. Gall? Thus it is ever. Francis of Germany, stripped of his diadem, is an uninteresting individual of the human race. His edict suppressed Phrenology in his own dominions; and to this hour they lie buried in the darkness of ignorance and ghostly superstition; while light and beneficence beam on the nations around from the luminary which he in vain endeavored to extinguish. Dr. Gall stands forth the equal of Copernicus, Galileo, Harvey, and Newton; or, if discoveries are to be estimated by their consequences, he will one day be awarded a place in the temple of Fame, more elevated than those assigned even to these illustrious men!

Napoleon frowned on Dr. Gall and his discoveries. But where are now Napoleon and his Empire! His body moulders in a solitary tomb, far from the scenes of his energetic deeds, and his Empire has crumbled into dust. Has *he* triumphed over Dr. Gall? No; the cast of his own head now serves as one of the strongest evidences in support of Dr. Gall's discovery; and Napoleon, *dead*, ministers to Gall's enduring glory!

There can be but one Dr. Gall, because there is no other department of nature equally important for man to know, with that which contains the philosophy of his own mind; and this once discovered, no equal field remains to be explored by succeeding philosophers.

Next to Gall, beyond all question, stands Dr. Spurzheim, on the anniversary of whose birth we are now assembled. He has not the merit of having discovered the functions of the brain, but he has extended the knowledge of them by discoveries of important organs which Dr. Gall did not reach, and he has taught the applications of the whole. Animated by a generous devotion to truth, he, in early youth, cast aside the allurements of ambition and the prospects of fortune, and dedicated his life to Phrenology, when it had no defender except its founder, and counted among its opponents the greatest minds of the scientific world. But signal has been his triumph! In Britain we

cherish his memory with the deepest reverence and the fondest affection. He it was who first came, like a messenger from heaven, to make known to us the new philosophy; and we find his monument in the good, the imperishable good, which he has done to us. We point, as you do, to improved hospitals for the insane, managed (to the admiration of our countrymen) by his avowed disciples, and on the principles which he taught; to our improved schools, conducted on his maxims; to our more just and humane administration of criminal law, particularly in cases of homicidal insanity; to our enlightened, philanthropic, and philosophical press (for the journals of largest circulation and most extensive influence, in my native country, are conducted by the followers of Dr. Spurzheim); to our general advance in civilization; and we say we owe these great benefits to the new philosophy which Dr. Spurzheim taught us to understand and apply.

On the 25th of January, 1828, in my native city, and in presence of this illustrious teacher, I publicly acknowledged that "I owe everything I possess in this science to him; his lectures first fixed my wandering conceptions, and directed them to the true study of man; his personal kindness first encouraged me to prosecute the study thus opened up; and his uninterrupted friendship has been continued with me since, communicating every new idea that occurred, and helping me in difficulties which embarrassed my progress." I now stand within a short distance from his grave, and nearly twelve years have rolled over my head since these words were spoken. I repeat them here with redoubled earnestness, and confirm the testimony then given to the value of the gifts, in the following words: "I speak literally, and in sincerity, when I say that were I at this moment offered the wealth of India, on condition of Phrenology being blotted from my mind forever, I should scorn the gift; nay, were everything I possessed in the world placed in one hand and Phrenology in the other, and orders issued for me to choose one, Phrenology, without a moment's hesitation, would be preferred." . . . .

APPENDIX F.

GEORGE COMBE'S LETTER TO THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND TOWN COUNCIL OF EDINBURGH.

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23 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh,
1*st July*, 1836.

My Lord Provost and Gentlemen:

I beg leave to present to you a few additional testimonials which I have received from the United States of America, and to avail myself of the occasion to offer some explanations regarding the grounds of my pretensions to the Logic chair, which, I am informed, are still imperfectly understood by several members of Council.

It has been remarked that if a chair of Phrenology were to be disposed of, my certificates might be deserving of attention, but that they have no relation to Logic.

I beg leave very respectfully to solicit the attention of those who entertain this opinion to the following words of Mr. Dugald Stewart: "I have always," says he, "been convinced that it was a fundamental error of Aristotle (in which he has been followed by almost every logical writer since his time) to confine his views entirely to Reasoning or the discursive faculty, instead of aiming at the improvement of our nature in all its parts. . . . . If this remark be well founded, it obviously follows that, in order to prepare the way for a just and comprehensive system of logic, a previous survey of our nature considered as one comprehensive whole is indispensably necessary."*

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* "Philosophical Essays," by Dugald Stewart, Esq.; 2d edition, chap. ii., pp. 61–63.

The late Mr. George Jardine, Professor of Logic in the University of Glasgow, in his "Outlines of Philosophical Education illustrated by the Method of Teaching the Logic Class" in that University, says: "To the elements of the science of the human mind, therefore, I have recourse on the present occasion, as the mother science, so to call it, from which all others derive at once their origin and nourishment. Thus logic, metaphysics, ethics, jurisprudence, law, and eloquence have their common origin in mind; . . . . and, consequently, an intimate acquaintance with the phenomena of mind must form a suitable introduction to the study of every branch of knowledge."—(p. 45).

The Royal Commissioners appointed to visit the Universities of Scotland, in their General Report, observe that "Logic may be rendered more elementary and useful by being confined to a brief and general account of the objects of human knowledge, the faculties by which it is acquired, and the rules for the investigation of truth."—(p. 28).

Assuming, then, that the philosophy of mind is indispensable to the formation of a sound and useful system of logic, I beg leave to observe that Phrenology—whatever notions of it individuals who have never studied it may entertain—is the philosophy of the human mind, based on observation of the mental organs.

The external senses may be adverted to in illustration of its nature and pretensions. In order to comprehend the philosophy of vision, it is necessary to study the following particulars:

1. The structure and functions of the eye and optic nerve, which are the organs of this sense.

2. The effects of the condition of these organs on the powers of vision. One constitution of the eye, for instance, gives distant, another close, vision. When the eye is diseased, we may see green objects as yellow, or we may see double, or we may be altogether incapable of seeing, according to the nature of the malady.

3. The relations of external objects to these organs.

This head includes the science of optics, with its various applications to painting (perspective), astronomy (making of telescopes), etc., etc.

If the philosophy of vision were studied by merely naming, recording, and classifying its phenomena without knowledge of the structure, functions, diseases, and relations of the eye, it would present precisely the same appearance which the philosophy of mind now exhibits in the pages of the metaphysicians.

In studying the works on mental philosophy by Dr. Reid, Mr. Dugald Stewart, and Dr. Thomas Brown, who form the boast of Scotland in this department of knowledge, the following observations strike a reflecting reader:

1. These authors differ widely in regard to the number and nature of the primitive mental faculties.

If the philosophy of the senses had been studied without knowledge of their organs, we should probably have had, in like manner, disputes whether hearing and seeing, tasting and smelling were distinct senses, or whether, by some metaphysical refinement, they could not all be referred to one sense.

2 They make no inquiry into the organs of the faculties.

3. They give no account of the obvious fact of different individuals possessing the faculties in different degrees of endowment which fit them for different pursuits.

4. They give no account of the effects of disease on the manifestations of the faculties.

5. They have given no philosophical account of the relations of external objects to the faculties, and can not do so while the faculties themselves continue unknown.

In consequence of these imperfections, it is impossible to apply, with reasonable success, the philosophy of mind as taught by these distinguished authors to any of the following purposes:

1. To the selection of proper pursuits for individuals according to their capacities, or to the selection of persons endowed with the necessary natural ability to fill particu-

lar offices. Men of penetration accomplish these ends by the aid of their natural sagacity, sharpened by experience, but metaphysical philosophy affords them no aid in doing so.

2. To the elucidation and treatment of insanity.

3. To the exposition of the relations of different sciences to the human faculties; an indispensable requisite in an effective system of education.

4. To the elucidation of the mental causes which produce the tendency to crime.

5. To the exposition of the effects of the condition of the bodily organs on the powers of mental manifestation.

Phrenology, on the other hand, is recommended by the following considerations:

1. No faculty of mind is admitted as primitive until the organ by which it is manifested be ascertained by observation.

In consequence, the phrenologists no more attempt to make and unmake faculties or to analyze one into another than they would attempt such feats in regard to the external senses. Every faculty stated as ascertained in Phrenology stands forth as a distinct mental capacity, whether of feeling or of thought, resting on the stable foundation of an organ, having specific functions and standing related to determinate objects, very much as the external senses appear when studied in connection with their organic apparatus.

2. The fact is ascertained by observation that the power of manifesting each of these faculties bears a relation, *cæteris paribus*, to the size of its organ, and that the relative size of the organs differs in different individuals.

Hence, it is possible to ascertain the strong and feeble powers in individual minds and to apply this knowledge in dedicating them to particular pursuits. The same knowledge renders it possible to select persons enjoying particular mental qualifications to fill particular offices.

3. The mental faculties being studied in relation to their organs, their constitution in health is philosophically as-

certained, and it becomes easy to understand their appearances under the influence of disease.

4. The fact that, *cæteris paribus*, the power of manifesting the faculties is in proportion to the size of the organs, enables us to comprehend how some individuals, from having the organs of the animal feelings in excess and the organs of the moral emotions in a state of deficiency, are prone to crime; and the knowledge of it aids us in their treatment.

5. The mental faculties being specifically ascertained by means of their organs, it becomes possible to determine the relations in which they stand to external objects; in other words, to form a rational system of logic and a really philosophical plan of education.

It is generally admitted that logic and mental science as at present taught are inapplicable to any practical purpose, except serving as a species of gymnastics for exercising the mental faculties of the young.

Professor Jardine, in speaking of the state of logic when he entered the University of Glasgow, uses these words: "During several sessions after my appointment the former practice was regularly followed; that is, the usual course of logic and metaphysics was explained by me in the most intelligible manner I could—subjected, no doubt, to the same animadversions as my predecessor. Though every day more and more convinced me that something was wrong in the system of instruction pursued in this class—that the subjects on which I lectured were not adapted to the age, the capacity, and the previous attainments of my pupils—I did not venture upon any sudden or precipitate change. Meanwhile, the daily examination of the students at a separate hour gave me an opportunity of observing that the greater number of them comprehended very little of the doctrines explained; that a few only of superior abilities or of more advanced years could give any account of them at all; and that the greatest part of the young men remembered only a few peculiar phrases or technical ex-

pressions, which they seemed to deliver by rote unaccompanied with any distinct notion of their meaning. Impressed with this conviction, which the experience of every day tended to confirm, I found myself reduced to the alternative of prelecting all my life on subjects which no effort of mine could render useful to my pupils, or of making a thorough and radical change in the subject-matter of my lectures."—(p. 28).

Professor Jardine informs us that he did make "a thorough and radical change in the subject-matter of his lectures" accordingly, and no doubt he introduced great improvements; but you may easily ascertain by inquiring of the students of the latest session whether the foregoing observations are not in a great degree still applicable even to the most improved systems of logic taught in the Scottish Universities.

On this subject, indeed, Mr. Stewart speaks emphatically. Alluding to the long prevalence of Aristotle's logic, he remarks that "the empire founded by this philosopher continued one and undivided for the period of two thousand years; and even at this day, fallen as it is from its former grandeur, a few faithful and devoted veterans, shut up in its remaining fortresses, still bid proud defiance in their master's name to all the arrayed strength of human reason."*

"As to logic in general," he observes, "according to my idea of it, it is an art yet in its infancy, and to the future advancement of which it is no more possible to fix a limit than to the future progress of human knowledge."—(p. 63). Again he remarks that "to speak in the actual state of the world of a complete system of logic (if by that word is meant anything different from the logic of the schools) betrays an inattention to the object at which it aims and to the progressive career of the human mind; but, above all, it betrays an overweening estimate of the little which

* "Philosophical Essays," p. 66.

logicians have hitherto done, when compared with the magnitude of the task which they have left to their successors."—(p. 64).

In accordance with these remarks, you will observe that in the testimonials presented to you in favor of the champions of the existing school no allusion is made to the utility of the doctrines either in metaphysics or in logic.

The questions for you to determine, therefore, are—Whether the teaching of logic in your University shall be continued on a system which the experience of ages has demonstrated to be nearly useless, and which has been condemned as barren by the highest authorities in mental philosophy; or whether you will endeavor to introduce a new system, founded on the improvements in mental science which have recently taken place—rational, practical, and in harmony with the spirit of the age. If the former be your determination, then you should by all means reject my pretensions; but if you aim at the latter alternative, I very respectfully solicit your suffrages, because I appear before you as the representative of a new mental philosophy capable of affording a basis for a sound system of logic, and I have endeavored to prove by evidence in my testimonials that that system is founded in nature and applicable to practice.

In forming your judgment on these two questions, it may not be without advantage to bear in mind that the history of all scientific discoveries establishes the melancholy fact that philosophers educated in erroneous systems have in general pertinaciously adhered to them, in contempt equally of the dictates of observation and of mathematical demonstration. You can not, therefore, reasonably expect that the masters of the expiring systems should in the present instance view with any favorable eye the pretensions of the new. Experience also shows that it is equally true in philosophy as in the affairs of ordinary life, that "coming events cast their shadows before;" in other words, that the opinions of the young present the

best index of the doctrines which will prevail in the next generation. There is no instance in the records of science of the authority of great names, even although sustained by the energy of civil power, proving successful in permanently supporting error in opposition to truth; and neither is there an example of any established University, which had at an early period embraced a great discovery in science, having had occasion afterward to repent of having done so.

In applying these historical facts as principles of judgment to the present case, I would respectfully remind you that Phrenology is now in the forty-eighth year of its promulgation, and that during the whole period of its history it has been opposed, ridiculed, misrepresented, and contemned by almost all the men whose intellectual reputations rested on the basis of the philosophy which it is extinguishing; and that nevertheless it has steadily advanced in public estimation, until at present—even in weighing the mere authority of names against names—it stands in Europe on an equality with the older systems and in America it has unquestionably the ascendency. Farther, in looking at the state of opinion in your own city on the subject, it is certain that while you will hear Phrenology condemned by the more aged patrons of the ancient school, you will find the young ardent inquirers into its doctrines. Your acute and learned member of Council, Bailie Macfarlane, will correct me if I am in error in stating that in 1823, when he so ably and eloquently defended Phrenology in the Royal Medical Society in this city, he had scarcely any supporters; but that in proportion as he persevered, season after season, in lifting up his testimony in its favor, he found himself backed by a constantly increasing minority. And I am informed that now, so numerous are its adherents in that body, that questions touching its truth and merits are generally carried by majorities in its favor.

In nominating a professor of logic, you are providing a teacher for the young; and I very respectfully beg of you

to consider whether it is probable that—with the testimonials in favor of Phrenology which have been presented to you in their hands, with the books and museums on the science before their eyes, and with the constant advocacy of its truth by a highly influential portion of the periodical press—the students of the rising generation will readily bow to the authority of a philosophy which never satisfied men of practical understandings, even when it was supported by public opinion and the highest names, but which is now generally proclaimed as being useless, and which is brought into competition with a newer, a better, and a highly practical system of truth.

I have been told that to rest my claims on the truth and utility of Phrenology is to deprive myself of the benefit which I might otherwise have derived from the talents which I have displayed and the beneficial uses which I have made of them, however humble these may be. I profess myself altogether incapable of comprehending this objection. I found my pretensions on Phrenology because I entertain the sincere conviction that no rational or useful system of logic can be reared without its aid. If you have confidence in the judgment and good faith of the gentlemen who have honored me with testimonials, you have grave authority for admitting the reasonableness of this opinion. To reject my claims, therefore, because they are based on and bound up with Phrenology, would be simply to shut your eyes to doctrines which have been certified to you by men of the highest talents and philosophical reputation as constituting the only basis of a sound system of logic.

It may appear to savor of egotism in me to observe further, that on your decision in the present instance will depend to some considerable extent the prosperity and reputation of your University for the next generation; but I venture to do so because I speak not of my own importance, but of that of a great system of natural science, to the prosperity of the University of Edinburgh. As an in-

dividual I am utterly insignificant; but if in rejecting me it shall be understood that you refuse to admit Phrenology as a science within your academic walls, then you may injure the Institution over which you preside.

Phrenology stands in much the same relation to the philosophy of mind and its applications in which the discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo, and Newton stood to astronomy and physical science. It is calculated to remove mystic speculations and to supplant them by facts and the sound inductions of reason. Its first and greatest influence will be felt in leading to an important reformation in the subjects taught in classes dedicated to moral and intellectual science. Its next effect will extend to the improvement of education, rendering it at once philosophical and practical. But it will exert a still more extensive influence. Phrenology is the doctrine of the functions of the brain, and I feel and aver that if it were once admitted into your University as science, professors of physiology might soon find it prudent to instruct their pupils in its principles, else they would fall behind their age. It is the foundation of the most rational views of insanity, and professors of medical jurisprudence might find it proper to give effect to its doctrines in preparing their pupils for judging of this form of disease. It affords an intelligible clue to the reciprocal influence of mind and body, and teachers of the theory and practice of medicine might, I trust, be induced to avail themselves of its lights in their prelections. But, while I say these things, permit me to assure you that if placed in the chair it would be my earnest study as it would be my duty and interest to avoid giving offence to any one, and I am persuaded that I could teach logic on phrenological principles without doing so

In short, were the new philosophy introduced into your University, a very few years would justify the wisdom of your decision; and you would maintain for your Seminary that pre-eminence as a seat of unfettered and liberal study

which it has already enjoyed, and which contributes so greatly to the fame and prosperity of the city.

On the other hand, if you shall shut your eyes to the pretensions of the new science, you will proclaim to the world that the University of Edinburgh is not disposed to take the lead in adopting the new lights of the age, and a short period may suffice to reveal to you a decline in its prosperity which it may be extremely difficult to arrest.

I am aware of the criticisms to which I expose myself in making these remarks, but criticism has already done its worst on me and I have nothing farther to fear from its severity. If I did not state to you truths, and truths of the utmost importance to the welfare of your University and city, I should be bound to submit to obloquy, because it would be merited; but if I merely present to you facts founded in nature and endeavor to open your understandings to the perception of consequences which a few years may realize, I appeal to public opinion, when enlightened by experience, to decide on the merits of the course which I have pursued.

I have the honor to be, my Lord Provost and gentlemen,

Your very obedient servant,

GEORGE COMBE.

APPENDIX G. H. I.

TESTIMONIALS IN FAVOR OF GEORGE COMBE AS A CANDIDATE FOR THE CHAIR OF LOGIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

FROM Dr. WILLIAM WEIR, Lecturer on the Practice of Medicine at the Portland Street Medical School, Glasgow, formerly Surgeon to the Royal Infirmary, and one of the Editors of the Glasgow *Medical Journal:*

BUCHANAN STREET, GLASGOW, 15*th April*, 1836.

I have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the very superior talents and high attainments of George Combe, Esq., of Edinburgh. I have been personally acquainted with him for some time, have frequently heard him lecture, and am intimately conversant with his various writings on the Science of Mind.

Being myself firmly convinced, after many years' study of the subject, and numerous observations, that Phrenology is the true Philosophy of the Mind, I have taught it, in my lectures delivered to medical students, as the correct physiology of the brain; and I consider it impossible to give a proper view of the functions of the brain on any other but phrenological principles. In my lectures on the Practice of Medicine, also, I have, during the last five years, applied the principles of this science toward the elucidating the nature and treatment of insanity.

I have no hesitation in further stating my opinion, that an acquaintance with Phrenology must be eminently useful to the successful teaching of any branch of knowledge connected with the human faculties; and that, therefore, the

application of its principles to the exposition of the subjects treated of in a course of logic is absolutely necessary, and highly conducive to the proper understanding of that science.

Holding these opinions, I consider Mr. Combe, from his splendid talents, his vigorous and enlightened understanding, and his very superior attainments in philosophy, to be eminently qualified for the Logic Chair in the University of Edinburgh. I know that he has devoted a great portion of his time, for the last twenty years, to the study and the teaching of mental science, and that he has been very successful as a public instructor. As a lecturer his language is forcible, yet plain and simple; his demonstrations are always clear and easily understood, and his arguments at once logical and convincing. He possesses, in a very high degree, that aptness for teaching—that power of communicating knowledge to others, so very essential to the instructor of youth; and also the capability of fixing the attention of an audience, so necessary to render the subject interesting, and the lecturer popular with his pupils. I have heard few lecturers who could equal Mr. Combe in these particulars.

Of Mr. Combe's publications it is scarcely necessary for me to speak. They are in the hands of thousands. The "System of Phrenology," and "The Constitution of Man considered in relation to External Objects," are his two great works. In the former the principles of Phrenology are maintained with evidence and illustrations equally appropriate and conclusive, and with the dignity and strict accuracy of pure inductive science. It is truly a comprehensive system of mental philosophy, and contains rules for facilitating improvement in everything connected with human happiness—education, prison discipline, legislation, and morals. It only requires to be read by a mind free from hypothetical notions and the prejudice of authority, to bring conviction to the understanding. The "Constitution of Man" is a true exposition of the laws of the

Creator as applicable to mankind, and contains a mass of information which can not be obtained in any other work. The views of human nature laid down in this treatise are perspicuous and profound, and its tendency has always appeared to me in the highest degree useful and excellent; for it inculcates, in the strongest and most impressive language, and in a style level to the meanest capacity, the high importance of cultivating the moral and intellectual faculties, and keeping in due subjection the impulses from the lower propensities. These two publications are sufficient to stamp Mr. Combe as a writer of the very highest class. The subjects are treated with the vigor and eloquence of a master, and every page exhibits a mind powerful, discriminative, and just. I must be permitted to add, that the perusal of these and his other writings has been to me the source of much instruction and very great pleasure; and it consists with my knowledge, that they have afforded the same to very many within my own circle.

WILL. WEIR.

From Dr. JOHN ELLIOTSON, F.R.S., President of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical, and of the London Phrenological Societies; Professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine and of Clinical Medicine, and Dean of Faculty, in the University of London; Senior Physician of the North London Hospital; Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London; formerly Physician to St. Thomas' Hospital, and President of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, etc., etc., etc.:

CONDUIT STREET, LONDON, *April* 23, 1836.

Dr. Elliotson takes the opportunity of a distinguished phrenologist offering himself for the chair of Logic in the University of Edinburgh, to state, that metaphysics, or mental philosophy, have formed a favorite study with him from his youth, and that he has carefully read a large num-

ber of the best writers on the subject—but that he feels convinced of the phrenological being the only sound view of the mind, and of Phrenology being as true, as founded in fact, as the science of Astronomy or Chemistry. Twenty years have elapsed since his attention was first directed to it, and, during the whole period, a day has not passed without some portion being devoted to its consideration. His opinions have been published in his notes to a translation of "Blumenbach's Physiology," which has gone through many editions, as well as in papers which have appeared in periodicals. He always taught it in his lectures upon insanity when he had the chair of the Practice of Medicine in St. Thomas' Hospital; and notwithstanding this was stated, he understands, to the University of London when he offered himself for the chair of the Practice of Medicine in that institution, he was unanimously elected to that chair, and has not only discussed the subject of insanity there, ever since, upon phrenological principles, as the only ones by which a person can have any knowledge of insanity, but has premised a statement and defence of Phrenology on arriving at that department of his course. He must add, that none but those who are totally ignorant of Phrenology regard it as a means of merely discovering natural powers and dispositions by external signs. Those who have studied it know, indeed, that the natural powers and dispositions are, *cœteris paribus*, in conformity with the size of the various parts of the brain; but they know likewise, that Phrenology unfolds the only satisfactory account of the mind, human and brute; that it contributes to establish the surest foundation for legislation, education, and morals, and presents a large department of nature in the noblest, grandest, and the only satisfactory point of view; and that those who reject or neglect Phrenology, are lamentably ignorant of much which they fancy they know, and deprive themselves not only of much intellectual delight, but of much practical utility; and, compared with phrenologists, remain as men of some centuries past.

If such is Phrenology, he feels justified in expressing his opinion, that no one could be found more fitted for the chair of Logic than Mr. Combe, and scarcely any one so fit.

From JAMES JOHNSON, M.D., Physician Extraordinary to the King, Editor of the *Medico-Chirurgical Review*, etc., etc.

SUFFOLK PLACE, PALL-MALL EASTER,
LONDON, 3*d May*, 1836.

To GEORGE COMBE, Esq.:

I have long been acquainted with the writings of Mr. Combe, and have considered them as exhibiting the most rational and enlightened views of the human mind, as revealed through the *organ of Mind*, in this our sublunary state of existence. I have long been convinced that the science of *Mind* can only be understood and taught, properly, by those who have deeply studied the structure and functions of its *material instrument*—the *brain*. I am convinced that, in this world, Mind can be manifested *only* through the medium of *matter*, and that the metaphysician who studies Mind independent of its corporeal organ, works in the dark, and with only half of his requisite tools.

Without subscribing to all the details of Phrenology, I believe its fundamental principles to be based on truth;—and, as a profound phrenologist, I have no hesitation in stating my conviction, that Mr. Combe is eminently qualified to teach the manifestations of the *immortal spark* through the medium of its perishable instrument on earth.

JAMES JOHNSON, M.D.

APPENDIX J.

THE following is taken from Mr. Capen's "Biography of Spurzheim":

The additions which Dr. Spurzheim made to the number of the fundamental faculties, not before admitted by Dr. Gall, are eight. But it is not the number, it is the spirit of these modifications which phrenologists principally admire.

We present a diagram of the system such as Dr. Gall made, and another comprising Dr. Spurzheim's latest modifications.

SYSTEM AS LEFT BY DR. GALL.

No. 1. *Zeugunstrieb*—the instinct of generation.

No. 2. *Jungenliebe*, *Kinderliebe*—the love of offspring.

No. 3. *Anhänglichkeit*—friendship, attachment.

No. 4. *Muth*, *Raufsinn*—courage, self-defence.

No. 5. *Würgsinn*—murder, the wish to destroy.

No. 6. *List*, *Schlauheit*, *Klugheit*—cunning.

No. 7. *Eigenthümsinn*—the sentiment of property.

No. 8. *Stolz*, *Hochmuth*, *Herschsucht*—pride, self-esteem, haughtiness.

No. 9. *Eitelkeit*, *Rhumsucht*, *Ehrgeitz*—vanity, ambition.

No. 10. *Behuthsamkeit*, *vorsicht*, *Vorsichtigkeit*—cautiousness, foresight, prudence.

No. 11. *Sachgedächtniss*, *Erzichungs-fahigkest*—the memory of things, educability.

No. 12. *Oatsum*, *Raumsinn*—local memory.

No. 13. *Personensinn*—the memory of persons.
No. 14. *Wortgedächtniss*—verbal memory.
No. 15. *Sprachforschungssinn*—memory for languages.
No. 16. *Farbensinn*—colors.
No. 17. *Tonsinn*—music.
No. 18. *Zahlensinn*—number.
No. 19. *Kunstsinn*—aptitude for the mechanical arts.
No. 20. *Vergleichender, Scharfsinn*—comparative sagacity, aptitude for drawing comparisons.
No. 21. *Metaphysischer, Tiefsinn*—metaphysical depth of thought, aptitude for drawing conclusions.
No. 22. *Witz*—wit.
No. 23. *Dichtergeist*—poetry.
No. 24. *Gutmüthigkeit, mitleiden*—good nature.
No. 25. *Darstellungssinn*—mimicry.
No. 26. *Theosophie*—theosophy, religion.
No. 27. *Festigkeit*—firmness of character.

"Philosophers," said Spurzheim, in one of his lectures, "have merely spoken of the general manifestations of the mind, and have given names to them; but we must be more particular, we must specify the powers, and hence we are obliged either to speak in circumlocution, or to give new names. Some people say they do not like new names, but if I have an idea, must I not give it a sign? If the first man gives names to all things known to him, and if in future ages things are discovered not known before, must we not name them? I will not, however, dispute about names, only let us have the powers kept distinct; I am ready to change the names, at any time, if any person will suggest better."

Dr. SPURZHEIM'S arrangement of the faculties is comprised in orders, genera, species, etc.

SYSTEM AS MODIFIED BY SPURZHEIM.

Special Faculties of the Mind. ORDER I.—*Feelings*, or Affective Faculties. GENUS I.—*Propensities.*

Desire to Live.
Alimentiveness.
1. Destructiveness.
2. Amativeness.
3. Philoprogenitiveness.
4. Adhesiveness.
5. Inhabitiveness.
6. Combativeness.
7. Secretiveness.
8. Acquisitiveness.
9. Constructiveness.

GENUS II.—*Sentiments.*

10. Cautiousness.
11. Approbativeness.
12. Self-esteem.
13. Benevolence.
14. Reverence.
15. Firmness.
16. Conscientiousness.
17. Hope.
18. Marvellousness.
19. Ideality.
20. Mirthfulness.
21. Imitation.

ORDER II.—*Intellectual Faculties.* GENUS I.—*External Senses.*

Voluntary motion.
Feeling.
Taste.
Smell.
Hearing.
Sight.

GENUS II.—*Perceptive Faculties.*

22. Individuality.
23. Configuration.
24. Size.
25. Weight, and resistance.
26. Coloring.
27. Locality.
28. Order.
29. Calculation.
30. Eventuality.
31. Time.
32. Tune.
33. Artificial Language.

GENUS III.—*Reflective Faculties.*

34. Comparison.
35. Causality.

To take a comparative view of these distinguished philosophers, and to say which was the greater of the two, Gall or Spurzheim, is a task that we leave for abler hands to perform. Both had their points of strength and originality, and they both excelled in whatever they attempted to accomplish.

SYSTEM AS MODIFIED BY GEORGE COMBE.

Classifications of Organs.

Order I.—*Feelings.* Genus I.—*Propensities.*

1. Amativeness.
2. Philoprogenitiveness.
3. Concentrativeness.
4. Adhesiveness.
5. Combativeness.
6. Destructiveness.
   Alimentiveness.
   Love of Life.
7. Secretiveness.
8. Acquisitiveness.
9. Constructiveness.

Genus II.—*Sentiments common to Man with the Lower Animals.*

10. Self-esteem.
11. Love of Approbation.
12. Cautiousness.

Genus III.—*Superior Sentiments.*

13. Benevolence.
14. Veneration.
15. Firmness.
16. Conscientiousness.
17. Hope.
18. Wonder.
19. Ideality.
20. Wit, or Mirthfulness.
21. Imitation.

Order II.—*Intellectual Faculties.* Genus I.—*External Senses.*

Feeling, or Touch. Taste. Smell. Hearing. Sight.

GENUS II.—*Intellectual Faculties* which perceive Existence and Physical Qualities.

22. Individuality.
23. Form.
24. Size.
25. Weight.
26. Coloring.

GENUS III.—*Intellectual Faculties* which perceive relations of External Objects.

27. Locality.
28. Number.
29. Order.
30. Eventuality.
31. Time.
32. Tune.
33. Language.

GENUS IV.—*Reflecting Faculties.*

34. Comparison.
35. Causality.

APPENDIX K.

In connection with the subject of Self-Knowledge, we would commend, as an important aid, the little volume of Spurzheim's entitled "Philosophical Catechism of the Natural Laws of Man."

It commences with a chapter on *Generalities*, giving preliminary definitions, and is divided into sections:

Section I.—*Of the Vegetative Laws of Man.*
Sec. II.—*Of the Intellectual Laws of Man.*
Sec. III.—*Of the Moral Laws.*
Chapter I.—*Of Morality.*
Chap. II.—*Of Religion;* 1, *Of Religion in General;* 2, *Of Natural Religion;* 3, *Of Revealed Religion;* 4, *Of Christianity;* 5, *Of Church Religion.*

The Preface of the author indicates the value of the book,* and it is inserted here in the hope that it will influence our readers not only to add it to their libraries, but to study its lessons:

PREFACE.

Men have long been treated as children; they have been taught that ignorance and credulity are virtues, and that fear is wisdom; and that they may glorify God by flattery rather than by moral excellency. Arbitrary regulations of

* "Natural Laws of Man. A Philosophical Catechism." Sixth Edition. Enlarged and improved. One 16mo vol., 171 pp., muslin, 50 cents. Fowler & Wells, Publishers, 753 Broadway, New York.

all sorts have been imposed upon them, and blind and unconditional obedience to these required. Words too often satisfy them; and the less they understand, the more do they generally deem it incumbent on them to admire; sensual gratifications have proved sufficient inducements for them willingly to follow the good pleasure of their masters. Even religion, in one or another form, has been an engine to crush the human mind. This was, at all times, more or less the deplorable condition of mankind. Those who, even in our days, make exception, are comparatively few in number.

The following pages are written with a view to ascertain whether or not the human kind be susceptible of better treatment; and whether or not the arbitrary legislation of man, that has hitherto been, and must always be, but temporary, and of limited application, might not advantageously give place to a code of IMMUTABLE LAWS, which, established by the Creator, and not adapted to a single family, to a particular nation, to an age, but to all mankind, and to all times, are calculated to endure as long as the species remains.

It is of the highest importance to demonstrate the existence of such laws, although it may happen that governments and nations themselves will oppose their adoption. But this opposition will not annihilate the reality of the NATURAL CODE, and communities will certainly feel disposed to receive, will even demand it, in proportion as they become enlightened; they will also be worthy of it in proportion as they become virtuous.

I shall consider my subject under the form of question and answer, the better to fix the attention of my reader. My sole intention is to contribute to the amelioration of man; that is to say, to combat his ignorance and his immorality, and to point out the means of making him better and happier, by insisting particularly on the necessity of his fulfilling the laws of his Creator.

Some may be of opinion that I might here have avoided

the introduction of any question upon religion and morality. I, however, think it incumbent on a philosopher to examine all that enters into the nature of man, and to "*hold fast that which is good.*" Now, man being positively endowed with moral and religious feelings, as well as with vegetative functions and intellectual faculties, it was my business to speak of the former as well as of the latter. Nay, true religion is central truth; and all knowledge, in my opinion, should be gathered round it.

I lament the continual war which philosophers, moralists, and divines have hitherto waged. They have only mutually disparaged their inquiries, and retarded the knowledge and happiness of man. Would they consent to lay aside vanity, pride, and self-interest, they would perceive, and might display, the harmony that exists between the will of God and His gift of intelligence.

APPENDIX L.

THE following extracts are taken from a volume entitled "Life and Education of LAURA DEWEY BRIDGMAN, the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Girl." By MARY SWIFT LAMSON. With an Introduction, by EDWARDS A. PARK, *Andover Theological Seminary.* The volume embraces, also, an account of OLIVER CASWELL, the deaf, dumb, and blind boy.

This is a most important and interesting book of above four hundred pages, and many will be inclined to add it to their libraries when informed that the profits arising from the sales will be appropriated for the benefit of LAURA D. BRIDGMAN. It is illustrated with portraits and specimens of writing. It is for sale at the low price of $1.50, at the Office of Perkins' Institution for the Blind, No. 37 Avon Street, Boston :

LAURA DEWEY BRIDGMAN was born Dec. 21, 1829, in Hanover, N. H. She was the child of Daniel and Harmony Bridgman.

Mrs. Mary Swift Lamson says: "For the interesting account which follows, I am indebted to Mrs. L. H. Morton (Miss Drew), of Halifax, Mass., who assisted Dr. Howe in all these early lessons, and who continued to be Laura's teacher for several years. She writes as follows:

" 'Laura was a healthy little girl, with very fair complexion and light-brown hair; and there was nothing in her appearance to distinguish her from the other little blind

girls, except that she was more quiet and undemonstrative. This was, perhaps, because all were strangers to her. She first made the acquaintance of the matron, Mrs. Smith, to whom she seemed to be especially attracted, whose greetings would light up her face with smiles, while she returned her caresses with interest. She spent her time in knitting, and would take her work to Mrs. Smith if she dropped a stitch, and smile quietly as it was returned, with a sign of approbation.

"'At this time she uttered only a little pleasant noise; but as she became better acquainted, this grew louder and very disagreeable.

"'When I had been with her a few days, and she became accustomed to being led about by me, I took her one morning to the nursery; and having seated her by a table, Dr. Howe and myself commenced her first lesson. He had had printed, in the raised letters used by the blind, the names of many common objects, such as knife, fork, spoon, key, bed, chair, stove, door, etc., and had pasted some of the labels on the corresponding articles. First we gave her the word "knife" on the slip of paper, and moved her fingers over it, as the blind do in reading. Then we showed her the knife, and let her feel the label upon it, and made to her the sign which she was accustomed to use to signify likeness, viz, placing side by side the forefingers of each hand. She readily perceived the similarity of the two words.

"'The same process was repeated with other articles. This exercise lasted three-quarters of an hour. She received from it only the idea that some of the labels were alike, and others were unlike. The lesson was repeated in the afternoon, and on the next day, and about the third day she began to comprehend that the words on the slips of paper represented the object on which they were pasted. This was shown by her taking the word "chair" and placing it first upon one chair and then upon another, while a smile of intelligence lighted her hitherto puzzled counte-

nance, and her evident satisfaction assured us that she had mastered her first lesson. In succeeding lessons, the label having been given her, she would search for the article, and having found it, place it upon it. Then the operation was reversed, and having the article given, she found the proper label.

" 'Thus far she had studied the words as a whole, and it was now desirable to have her form them herself from their component letters. Mr. S. P. Ruggles, who had charge of the printing department, was called upon to construct a case of metal types. This contained four sets of the alphabet, and afforded her much amusement as well as profit. She seemed never to tire of setting up the types to correspond with the printed words with which she was already familiar. All the letters of one alphabet were kept arranged in their proper order, while she used the others. In less than three days she had learned this order, as was found by taking all the types from the case, and making a sign to her to rearrange them, which she did without assistance.

" 'During the time of her earliest instruction, it was necessary to use many signs. These were laid aside, however, as soon as we had something better to supply their place. As a mark of approval, I stroked her hair or patted her upon the head; of disapproval, knocked her elbow lightly.

" 'Whenever she overcame a difficulty, a peculiarly sweet expression lighted up her face, and we perceived that it grew daily more intelligent.

" 'It was nearly two months before any use was made of the manual alphabet. At this time Dr. Howe gave me a letter of introduction to Mr. Geo. Loring, who was a deaf-mute and a graduate from the institution at Hartford. In one afternoon he taught me the alphabet, and the next day I began to teach it to Laura, showing her the position of the fingers to represent each of the types which she had been using.

" 'The method of teaching her new words afterward was as follows: To let her examine an object, and then teach her its name by spelling it with my fingers. She placed her right hand over mine, so that she could feel every change of position, and with the greatest anxiety, watched for each letter; then she attempted to spell it herself; and as she mastered the word, her anxiety changed to delight. Next she took her board, and arranged the types to spell the same word, and placed them near the object, to show that she understood it.

" 'She very soon perceived that spelling the words in this way was much more rapid, and attended with much less difficulty than the old method with types, and immediately applied it practically. I shall never forget the first meal taken after she appreciated the use of the finger alphabet. Every article that she touched must have a name; and I was obliged to call some one to help me wait upon the other children, while she kept me busy in spelling the new words. Dr. Howe had been absent for some time, and on his return was much delighted with the progress she had made, and at once learned the manual alphabet himself.

" 'After she had learned a hundred or more common nouns, we began to teach her the use of verbs. The first were shut, open ; shut door, open door, accompanying the spelling of the word by the act. In this way she learned those in constant use, and then we taught her adjectives, and the names of individuals. In a very short time she had learned the names of all our large family.

" 'After a year she began to learn to write. A pasteboard with grooved lines, such as the blind use, was placed between the folds of the paper ; a letter was pricked in stiff paper, so that she might feel its shape, and then her right hand, holding the pencil, was guided to form it, the forefinger of the left hand following the point of the pencil, guiding the writing and keeping the spaces between the letters. She did not learn to write well as quickly as many of the blind children.

"'She was very social, and always wished to have some one sit beside her or walk with her, and she taught her little blind friends the finger alphabet.

"'One day I was passing the door of the linen-room, and saw her standing upon a chair, examining the contents of an upper drawer. It contained pieces of ribbon and laces belonging to the matron. She took them out, felt of the smooth satin and the delicate lace, soliloquized with her fingers, and made a motion as if to appropriate them, then knocked her elbow (the sign of wrong), and after some hesitation replaced them. This was repeated several times, and then I went to her, and took her hand as if wishing to speak to her, when an expression of conscious guilt overspread her face. I made her understand by signs that she must not meddle with what did not belong to her. She said, "Laura wrong, no ; Laura right," patting her own head, and showing me that she had not taken anything, but I knew that she had been under great temptation and had triumphed over it.

"'I accompanied her on her first visit to her home in Hanover, in 1839. Her father met us in Lebanon, and as he took her hand she recognized him, and I taught her the word "father." She had seen her mother a year before, and had learned the word "mother" at the time of her visit at the Institution. Before Laura could be persuaded to take off her cloak and bonnet, after arriving at home, she took me over the whole house, showing me everything, and inquiring the names of things which she had not learned about in Boston. In an unfinished room were a loom and spinning wheel. These she had seen (felt) her mother use, and was very anxious for their names. Then she led me to the bee-hive to know what that was.

"'At this time she was very shy of gentlemen, and would hardly approach any one but Dr. Howe, and I thought she might repel her father, and her old friend Mr. Tenny, but, on the contrary, she was much pleased to walk with him, as she had been in the habit of doing before she left home.

"'She was anxious to have her mother talk with her, and began at once to teach her the alphabet.

"'She seemed so happy to be at home that I feared she might object to return with me, but at the end of a fortnight she was quite willing to go, and left her mother very calmly.'"

OLIVER CASWELL'S FIRST LESSON.

"For the benefit of any future case of similar affliction, I have thought it desirable to describe minutely the first lessons given to Oliver Caswell, a deaf, dumb, and blind boy who entered the Institution at South Boston, September 30, 1841, at the age of twelve years, having lost his senses when three years and four months old by scarlet fever. Lucy Reed, also deaf, dumb, and blind, had been received in the previous February, but remained only five months, having returned to her home two months previous to Oliver's arrival.

"Not having become acquainted with Laura until she had been two years and a half under instruction, I was much interested in watching Lucy's progress, the course of training being the same as that which was adopted for Laura, and which has been described in the preceding pages. Four months elapsed before Lucy attached any significance to the process she was required to go through several times a day, of feeling the letters in raised type composing the various labels, which were placed upon a few common objects, and moving her fingers in certain directions to correspond with them. Her ungoverned will and stolid indifference were undoubtedly serious obstacles to her progress, but it had taken more than two months before Laura received the idea, although she was a most interested scholar. After a careful study of our work with Lucy, it seemed to me that the introduction of the raised letters at the beginning of the training was entirely useless, and resulted only in a serious complication of the whole matter. No one would teach a little child to read until it had learned to talk, so

the deaf and blind child should only be taught to spell the names of objects on the fingers, and not to read the raised letters at the same time ; the attention being thus concentrated on this one point, I believe the desired result would be far more speedily attained.

"I had often expressed the wish that one more such child might be brought to us, that my theory might be tested, and on this September 30th I was made happy by a summons from Dr. Howe, and the announcement that such a child had arrived, and I might begin my experiment at once, while he was absent in the city.

"That there need be nothing to distract attention, I led the boy into a room where we could be undisturbed, and seated myself beside him upon a sofa. He first wished to find what manner of person I was, and I gave him all the opportunity he desired to examine the arrangement of my hair, to feel of my face, dress, chain, breastpin, rings, etc., until his curiosity was satisfied. Next he examined the sofa on which we were seated, and then rested quietly. Now was my time to attract his attention. I led him to a door, and placed his hand upon the key which was in the lock. He made the motion of turning it, nodding with a quizzical look, all which meant plainly, Yes, I know what a key is for, did you suppose I did not? Taking the key from the door, we returned to the sofa. Now he was curious to know what was to come next. I placed his hand upon the key, then lifting it, moved the fingers in the positions for the letters k-e-y, repeating it several times. Then I placed my hand in his and let him feel that I moved my fingers in the same way. By tapping his hand he understood that he was to repeat it himself; he succeeded in making k, but needed assistance on the other letters, which was given by letting him feel me make them again. On the second trial he spelled the word without assistance.

"The expression on his face now indicated, I wonder what all this means. Next I took a mug from a table near by, and placed it in his hand. Again, he nodded and raised

it to his lips, tipping it as a sign of drinking. Laying his hand upon it, as I had done before with the key, I moved his fingers to make the letters m-u-g, repeating it with my own fingers, his hand resting on mine, so that he could feel the motions, and then asked him by a sign to do it himself. After three efforts he was successful, and showed pleasure in receiving a pat upon his head as a sign of approbation. Then I returned to the key. He had forgotten those letters, but after feeling me make them once, succeeded in spelling it. Turning back to the mug, he remembered two letters, and after a few trials more, spelled each correctly without assistance.

"All this time his face wore a puzzled look, mingled with indifference, which would perhaps have triumphed at this point, but for his spirit of obedience, which prompted him to do as he perceived I wished. These two words learned, he sat back upon the sofa, as if to say, this is enough of such nonsense. Just then I drew a pin from my dress and handed it to him. He made the sign of sticking it into his coat, and listlessly returned it to me. I lifted his hand, which he had lain quietly on his knee, and spelled with my fingers p-i-n. With a nervous movement and an expression of face quite unlike anything he had exhibited before, he tapped my hand, showing his wish that I should repeat it, and then, without waiting to make the letters himself, with a look of intense earnestness, he sprang from the sofa and drew me to the table, placing his hands upon it, and then rapping my fingers. As I made the letters t-a-b-l-e, he perceived that they were unlike those he had learned for the key, mug, and pin. His countenance became radiant. He led me rapidly about the room, putting my hands on different objects, and feeling me spell the names. A half hour had passed since we took the key from the door, and he had received the idea which it had taken four months to give to Lucy Reed, and nearly three months to Laura. The success of the experiment was far beyond my expectations. Had we saved a month's time,

it would have been a great gain ; but the work was done when I supposed it only commenced. Once having received the idea that objects have names, and that by movements of our fingers we can communicate them, the remaining work is simply to acquire a knowledge of those movements. In teaching a deaf, dumb, and blind person, the Frenchman's maxim is eminently true, 'C'est le premier pas qui coute.'

"It will be noticed that in selecting the words to be taught, care was taken that they should be as short as possible, and that no letter used in the name of one object should be repeated in that of another. This is very important, as the first idea which the mind receives is probably the difference in the words, and by making any part of them similar, we make this less striking.

"Let no one who undertakes a similar work be discouraged if, in following the steps above described, it takes weeks or even months to attain the desired result, but in no case can the labels be of assistance."

APPENDIX M.

SOME REMARKS ON CRIME-CAUSE.

FROM AN ABLE PAPER, 1879, BY HON. RICHARD VAUX.

. . . . . That physical traits are inherited, is not doubted. The resemblance between parents and their children is a fact that is not even questioned. We know that physical causes have had such influence on females during pregnancy, that the child born, has proved the effect of these influences. A lady during pregnancy felt a strange sensation on one of her limbs; she struck the part with her hand, and on examination it was found a mouse had run up the limb, and the blow given had killed it. When the child was born, there was on the limb of the child the exact figure of a mouse, and the skin covering the spot was *mouse-colored.*

If there is imparted to the child by the mother during pregnancy, such consequences from physical causes, is it to be doubted that both mental and moral impressions are in like manner impressed on the child? That most children inherit mental traits from their parents is undeniable. Music, painting, other special mental capacities are found in the children of parents who possessed them. Is the moral nature only to be utterly unimpressible? It is not so easy to trace up moral defects in the crime class to these parents, but occasionally special cases are found in which this can be successfully accomplished, and we have given some striking examples which deserve serious consideration. They are authentic, and form the basis for further investigations by those who will take the trouble to explore this

field open for examination. That mental disease, or the morbid abnormal mental state as a crime-cause, is a subject now receiving very serious attention. It is specially referred to, in order, by comparative reasoning, to establish that the abnormal moral condition is also replete with the cause of crime. By a process of deductive reasoning, it may be asserted that if mental disease induces to crime, moral unsoundness or inherited moral weaknesses have a similar effect.

In support of the first of these propositions, we cite the following extract from a volume, by Henry Maudsley, M.D., a very high medical authority in England, entitled "Responsibility in Mental Disease." International scientific series. Appleton & Co., N. Y., 1874:

"Notwithstanding that the influence of hereditary antecedents upon the character of the individual has been admitted by all sorts and conditions of men, its important bearing upon moral responsibility has not received the serious consideration which it deserves.

"Laws are made and enforced on the supposition that all persons who have reached a certain age, arbitrarily fixed as the age of discretion, and are not deprived of their reason, have the capacity to know and obey them; so that when the laws are broken, the punishment inflicted is in proportion to the nature of the offence, and not to the actual moral responsibility of the individual. The legislator can know nothing of individuals; he must necessarily assume a uniform standard of mental capacity, so far as a knowledge of right and wrong, and of moral power, so far as resistance to unlawful impulses are concerned; exceptions being made of children of tender age, and of persons of unsound mind.

"There can be no question, however, that this assumption is not in strict accordance with facts, and that there are in reality many persons who, without being actually imbecile or insane, are of lower moral responsibility than the average of mankind; they have been taught the same

lessons as the rest of mankind, and have a full theoretical knowledge of them, but they have not really assimilated them; the principles inculcated never gain that hold of their minds which they gain in a sound and well-constituted nature. After all that can be said, an individual nature will only assimilate, that is, will only make of a same kind with itself, what is fitted to further its special development, and this it will, by a natural affinity, find in the conditions of its life. To the end of the chapter of life the man will feel, think, and act according to his kind. The wicked are not wicked by deliberate choice of the advantages by wickedness which are a delusion, or of the pleasures of wickedness, which are a snare, but by an inclination of their natures, which makes the evil good to them, and the good evil; that they choose the gratification of a present indulgence, in spite of the chance or certainty of future punishment and suffering, is often a proof not only of a natural affinity for the evil, but of a deficient understanding and a feeble will.

"Not until comparatively lately has much attention been given to the way criminals are produced. It was with them much as it was at one time with lunatics; to say of the former that they were wicked and of the latter that they were mad, was thought to render any further explanation unnecessary and any further inquiry superfluous. It is certain, however, that lunatics and criminals are as much manufactured articles as are steam engines and calico printing machines, only the processes of the organic manufactory are so complete that we are not able to follow them. They are neither accidents nor anomalies in the universe, but come by law and testify to casuality; and it is the business to find out what the causes are and by what laws they work. There is nothing accidental, nothing supernatural in the impulse to do right, or in the impulse to do wrong; both come by inheritance or by education; and science can no more rest content with the explanation which attributes one to the grace of heaven and the other to the malice of

the devil, than it can rest content with the explanation of insanity as a possession by the devil. The few and imperfect investigations of the personal and family histories of criminals which have yet been made, are sufficient to excite some serious reflections. One fact which is brought strongly out by these inquiries is that crime is often hereditary; that just as a man may inherit the stamp of the bodily features and characters of his parents, so he may also inherit the impress of their evil passions and propensities; of the true thief as of the true poet it may be indeed said that he is born, not made. That is what observation of the phenomena of hereditary would lead us to expect; and although certain theologians, who are prone to square the order of nature to their notions of what it should be, may repel such doctrine as the heritage of an immoral in place of a moral sense, they will in the end find it impossible in this matter, as they have done in other matters, to contend against facts. To add to their misfortunes, many criminals are not only begotten and conceived, and bred in crime, but they are instructed in it from their youth upwards, so that their original criminal instincts acquire a power which no subsequent effort to produce reformation will ever counteract.

"All persons who have made criminals their study, recognize a distinct criminal class of beings, who herd together in our large cities in a thieves' quarter, giving themselves up to intemperance, rioting in debauchery, without regard to marriage ties or the bars of consanguinity, and propagating a criminal population of degenerate beings. For it is furthermore a matter of observation that this criminal class constitutes a degenerate or morbid variety of mankind, marked by peculiar low physical and mental characteristics. They are, it has been said, as distinctly marked off from the honest and well-bred operatives, as "black-faced sheep are from other breeds," so that an experienced detective officer or prison official could pick them out from any promiscuous assembly at church or market.

"Their family likeness betrays them as follows:—'By the hand of nature marked, quoted, and signed to do a deed of shame.' They are scrofulous, not seldom deformed, with badly formed angular heads; are stupid, sullen, sluggish, deficient in vital energy, sometimes afflicted with epilepsy. As a class, they are of mean and defective intellect, though excessively cunning, and not a few of them are weak-minded and imbecile. The women are ugly in features, and without grace of expression or movement. The children, who become juvenile criminals, do not evince the educational aptitude of the higher industrial classes; they are deficient in the power of attention and application, have bad memories, and make slow progress in learning. Many of them are weak in mind and body, and some of them actually imbecile.

"We may accept then the authority of those who have studied criminals, that there is a class of them marked by defective physical and mental organization; one result of their natural defect, which really determines their destiny in life, being an extreme deficiency or complete absence of moral sense. In addition to the perversion or entire absence of moral sense, which experience of habitual criminals brings prominently out, other important facts disclosed by the investigation of their family histories are, that a considerable proportion of them are weak-minded or epileptic, or become insane, or that they spring from families in which insanity, epilepsy, or some other neurosis exist, and that the diseases from which they suffer, and of which they die, are chiefly tubercular diseases, and diseases of the nervous system. Crime is a sort of outlet, by which their unsound tendencies are discharged; they would go mad if they were not criminals, and they do not go mad because they are criminals.

"Crime is not then, in all cases, a simple affair of yielding to an evil impulse, or a vicious passion, which might be checked were ordinary control exercised; it is clearly sometimes the result of an actual neurosis, which has close re-

lations of nature and descent to other neuroses, especially the epileptic and the insane neuroses; and this neurosis is the physical result of the physiological laws of production and evolution. No wonder that the criminal psychosis, which is the mental side of neurosis, is for the most part an intractable malady, punishment being of no avail to produce a permanent reformation. The dog returns to its vomit, and the sow to its wallowing in the mire. A true reformation would be the re-forming of the individual nature; and how can that, which has been forming through generations, be re-formed within the term of a single life? Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the Leopard his spots?

"Thus, then, when we take the most decided forms of human wrong-doing, and examine the causes and nature of the moral degeneracy which they evince, we find that they are not merely subjects for the moral philosopher and the preacher, but that they rightly come within the scope of positive scientific research. The metaphysical nature of a man, as an abstract being, endowed with a certain fixed moral potentiality to do the right and eschew the wrong, is as little applicable to each human being born into the world, as the notion of a certain fixed intellectual power would be applicable to each being, whether of good mental capacity, imbecile or idiot. There are, as natural phenomena, manifold gradations of understanding from the highest intellect to the lowest idiocy; and there are also, as natural phenomena, various degrees of morality between the highest energy of a well-fashioned will and the complete absence of moral sense. Nor are intellect and moral power so dependent mutually, as necessarily to vary together, the one increasing and decreasing, as the other increases and decreases. Experience proves conclusively that there may be much intellect with little morality, and much morality with little intellect."

Taking these views of Dr. Maudsley as authority on this subject, it is not solely by deduction that the hereditary

nature of crime in the moral constitution is to be maintained. In the fifteenth volume of the Journal of Mental Science, there is a paper by J. B. Thomas, of singular interest, under the caption of "The Hereditary Nature of Crimes." It can hardly be denied that if special, or particular, or peculiar traits in the physical and mental condition can be inherited by offspring from parents, then by a parity of reasoning, the moral defects of parents are likewise transmitted, and exert as malign influences as other vicious or unhealthy inherited physical characteristics.

To support these views, the following extracts from a paper prepared by J. B. Thomas, L.R.C.S., resident Surgeon-General, prison for Scotland, at Perth, A.D. 1870, are here presented:

"On the border-land of lunacy lie the criminal populations. It is a debatable region, and no more vexed problem comes before the medical psychologist than this, viz: Where badness ends and madness begins in criminals. . . . .

"The propositions that crime is generally committed by criminals hereditarily disposed to it, I shall try to prove by showing—

"1. That there is a criminal class distinct from other civilized and criminal men.

"2. That this criminal class is marked by peculiar physical and mental characteristics.

"3. That the hereditary nature of crime is shown by the *family* histories of criminals.

"4. That the *transformation* of other nervous diseases with crime in the criminal class, also proves the alliance of hereditary crime with other diseases of the mind, such as epilepsy, dipsomania, insanity, etc.

"5. That the incurable nature of crime in the criminal class goes to prove its hereditary nature. . . . .

. . . . . "Not to heap up proofs which are ample, I shall only add to this my own testimony as a prison surgeon, as to the mental condition of prisoners generally. Out of a population of 5,432, no less than 673 were placed on my

registers as requiring care and treatment on account of their mental condition. . . . .

"One of the most remarkable examples of a criminal family I know of, is as follows: Three brothers had families amounting to fifteen members in all. Of these fourteen were utterers of base coin; the fifteenth appeared to be an exception, but was at length detected in setting fire to his house, after insuring it for four times its value. . . . .

"Of 109 prisoners, out of 50 families, were in prison at one time. Of one family eight were known. The father had been several times under long sentences. Near relations I found in prison, were the father, two sons, three daughters, one daughter-in-law, and a sister-in-law. . . . . There were in prison three cousins (two being sisters), two aunts, and two uncles, of the same family. . . . . Of two families, six were in prison about the same time, viz:—four brothers and two sisters.

"The following instances are from the reports of a gentleman of large experience in Glasgow:

"In one family there were five criminals—one male and four females; the last was executed. The girls had lived by thieving and profligacy. Their evil propensities seem to have been inherited from the mother; the mother also being a poor silly creature.

"In another family were two male and two female criminals, all transported for theft they inherited from the mother.

"In another family four females were all thieves; often in prisons; inherited from the father.

"In another family three girls, all wicked; two of them were banished; father and mother criminals.

"Again, two males and two females were active thieves by inheritance.

"Again, one male and two females, incorrigible thieves; their mother a thief; grandmother also.

"Again, two males and two females; three transported.

"Again, three girls, all thieves by the mother's heritage.

"Again, a family of four, all thieves by the mother.

"Again, one male and two females, with the mother; all sentenced to transportation.

"Again, four or five in this, all thieves; two sentenced to transportation.

"Let me wind up this dark roll with an example from a French report. The history of a family in Bayeaux is this:—One of them had been sentenced to the Travaux forces for life, having committed assassination. Five remained—three brothers, one sister, and her husband, who all became robbers. Their uncles and aunts had been in les bogues; one nephew also, and others took to criminal courses by an hereditary proclivity that seemed quite irresistible.

"I offer the following conclusions from the foregoing examen:

"1st. That crime being hereditary in the criminal class, measures are called for to break up the caste and community of the class.

"2d. That transportation and long sentences of habitual criminals are called for, in order to lessen the criminal offenders.

"3d. That old offenders can scarcely be reclaimed, and that juveniles brought under very early training are the most hopeful; but even these are apt to lapse into their hereditary tendency.

"4th. That crime is so nearly allied to insanity, as to be chiefly a psychological study."

The direct influences exerted to produce crime-cause on that aggregation of people in more or less dense population, as contra-distinguished from agricultural life in sparse settlements, or villages and hamlets, are not authoritatively to be yet determined. There are now no positively ascertained data on which to erect any hypothesis which will bear careful study or stand analytical criticisms. The scientist can only obtain here and there some facts, but what is to be proved by them in their relation to the general subject, is far from ascertainable, because though they

are facts, they are not connected with what may be found to be either explanatory or contradictory, or as essentially varying the proof, from the theory assumed.

It, however, may be asserted, that the influence of the social forces which produce crime on those subjected to them, are positive and controlling. These social forces are motors which come from the compression in large populations which evolves necessity, opportunity, affinity, immunity, dwarfed moral perceptions, blunted or weakened comprehension, and a reliance on precarious means for support rather than honest labor or trade, or regular employments in a large or smaller class of the population. Temptation to commit crime, a lack of a resisting power to repress this temptation, a lack of comprehension which fails to set up a distinctive understanding of the disobedience of law which temptation to violate it urges in individuals, is often the consequence of the action of these social forces, and as classes of society are by their near association more liable to the operation of those forces because of the aggregation of those moral defects which are individual to each member of the class, it may not be too broad an assertion to declare that crime is often produced by social influences.

The observation of careful investigation shows that in large populations there exists a class, or it may be classes of individuals who are criminals by reason of their personal habits, tastes, associations, moral defects, mental weaknesses, and the cultivation of that animal instinct called cunning, which may be described as a physical sagacity that does not partake of the faculty of reason beyond the line which marks the blending of mental with the physical constituents of human nature. This class or classes are found in the depressed state of the social structure. They grow out of the deep shadow which this structure throws, and are indigenous to it.

The motives for the action, the impulses, the motors, the impelling or compelling causes are produced by the presence, on this class or classes, of the social forces which are constantly in action in large populations.

While it is true that there are more criminals in large than in small populations, and that the proportion of criminals to population is the evidence of the fact, yet that does not wholly explain why the criminal exists, unless it is admitted that populations create criminals in the ratio of crime-cause to these communities. Why an individual should be a criminal in a city and not in a village, is unexplained by the proof that in the city he is, and in the village he is not, a criminal. If it is to be explained by the assertion that in a city the demand for employment is less than the supply, and the excess is forced into crime for support, then the question is at once suggested, why are the unemployed persons driven to crime, if in these larger populations there are no predisposing causes which belong to them?

Take the facts as they are, it is plain that in large communities there are social forces, which by their pressure on parts or classes, evolve criminal conditions, and out of them come crimes and criminals, or crime-cause forced into operation.

One mode to test the influence of society as contributing to crime, educating in crime, creating crime-causes and crime classes, let us invite attention to the following statistics: We have given the several counties of this State,* then the number of crimes of which individuals have been convicted, then the character of these crimes. While this is neither conclusive nor exhaustive of the premises to be proven, it is something to show what is the proportion of criminals to populations, and what counties produce the largest number of criminals, and for what offences they are charged. A comparison instituted from these facts will direct closer investigation and suggest into what channels investigation is to be directed. Such a comparison will be suggestive. Some light will be thrown on the subject, and thus enable scientists to adopt an initial point for co-operative examinations in various localities.

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