

X.—*Notes on Certain Matters connected with the Dahoman.*
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V.P.A.S.L., etc. etc.

Hic Niger est, hunc tu, Gens Angla, caveto!

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—In availing myself of the opportunity now afforded me of addressing you, I cannot but congratulate ourselves upon the fact, that we find in this room a liberty of thought and a freedom of speech unknown, I may assert, to any other society in Great Britain. It is well so. Our object of study being MAN in all his relations, physical, moral, psychical, and social, it is impossible to treat the subject adequately without offending in general the *mauvaise honte*, the false delicacy, and the ingrained prejudices of the age. Without some such refuge for Destitute Truth as the rooms of the Anthropological Society, we should find it equally difficult to relate and to publish facts. Indeed, some years ago, I was induced to propose that if the terminology of certain natural objects be held too gross for ears modest and polite to hear, the physiologist might adopt some system of conventional symbols which, like the finger-language of the Chinese ideologist, would obviate the displeasures of articulation. Some such symbolism is everywhere instinctively known to the natural man. This highly decorous proposal was, however, I regret to say, utterly ignored.

The kingdom of Dahome, upon some of whose peculiar customs it is proposed to treat this evening, is one of the eight purely negro empires, a connected account of which would read greatly to the edification of Europe. The others on the western coast are Inta or Asiante, corrupted to Ashánte, Ashanti, and Ashantee; she has lately been at war with our

Gold Coast protectorate, and as she began with right so she left off with honour. The next in consequence is the kingdom of Ibini, or Great Benin, which I visited in 1862 and described in *Frazer's Magazine* (January, February, and March, 1863). At the beginning of the eighteenth century it was, as Bosman and Barbot prove, important and powerful. It is now suffering from the ambition of its two brother and rival princes. Both Ashante and Benin are as inhuman in their worship as is Dahome, and probably more heads fall during the year in the former than in the other two together. The Lake Regions of Central Africa have of late years yielded to our knowledge the interesting Highland country of Karagweh, with its hospitable chiefs and its curious and intelligent population. To its north, between the Tanganyika and where the Victoria Nyanza has been conjectured to lie, is Uganda, a fine hilly country, inhabited by a superior race of negroes; it rivals in atrocity the most terrible despotisms of Western Africa. Above Uganda again is Unyoro or Kittara, where Nature is by no means so kindly, and which appears to be in a state of decadence. These three were described by me from the reports of Arab merchants living at Kazeh, in Unyamwezi (*Journal R. Geographical Society*, 1860), and have since been visited (in 1862) by the lamented Captain Speke and his gallant companion Captain Grant. The latter, whose book is already advertised, will, it is to be hoped, favour us with as many anthropological details as possible. In Central and Tropical Africa there is the great empire of "Matiamvo," properly the Muata ya Nvo, or Lord of Nvo; to his appalling court visits have been paid by Graça (1847) and other Portuguese travellers. Finally, in South Eastern Intertropical Africa there is the country of the Muata Cazembe, once a vassal of the Muata ya Nvo. His capital Usenda, or Lusenda, was first visited in 1799 by Dr. de Lacerda e Almeida. That learned Portuguese traveller died before giving a name to the city, and was followed in 1831-32 by Majors Monteiro and Gamitto, whose volumes contain almost all desirable information except an exact geography. The two last-named kingdoms are of considerable size, and nothing can be more horrible than the cruelties practised by priest and king

upon their extensive populations. The others can boast of only a few square miles, and appear at present to be dismemberments of once important empires. Dahome and Benin, for instance, are now independent provinces of the great Yoruban despotism, whose capital Katanga or Oyo (pronounced Awyaw) was destroyed in 1825 by the Haussa and Fula Moslems.

A brief sketch of Dahoman annals will be the most fitting introduction to an account of its present peculiarities. The once great military kingdom was first made known to Europe in November, 1724, through a letter written by a Mr. Lamb or Lambe, reporting to Mr. Tinker, agent of the English fort or factory at Whydah, his forcible carriage to and detention at Agbome, the capital. Between that year and 1727, the Dahoman conqueror, a negro Scourge of God, named Agaja Dosu or Turudo (one who dashes, *i. e.*, throws presents to the people) attacked successively the three populous little kingdoms which lay in his path, from the interior to the coast. Allada, Tori, and Whydah, which should be pronounced Hwedah, were taken with dreadful slaughter, and incorporated in a single empire, enabled Agaja to attain the summit of African ambition, a port on the seaboard, where he could trade directly with white men. Since Mr. Lamb's day the country has been visited and described by a variety of travellers: Captain William Snelgrave (1726), Mr. William Smith (1726), Mr. Robert Norris (1772), Dr. John M'Leod (1820), Commander Forbes (1849-50), the author probably best known to the English reader; Lieutenant Wallon, of the French Navy (1856-58), Commodore Wilmot (1861-62), and myself.

As far back as half a generation ago, Commander Forbes (*Dahomey and the Dahomans*, vol. i, p. 19) correctly stated, "Strange and contradictory as it may sound, this great nation," (he had seen nothing in Africa but petty tribes,) "is no nation, but a banditti, and there are few pure Dahomans. Those who may claim to be of the race are the king's family and the nobles; but even these are not of pure descent, as the harems of all are replenished with the fruits of war. As a military nation, the officers are natives, the soldiery foreigners, pri-

soners of war or purchased slaves." During Gelele the present king's attack on Abeokuta (March 15, 1864), it was remarked by the Iwe Irohin, a local paper, "notwithstanding the desolation he has made, it does not seem that he can collect more than 10,000 or 12,000 fighting men for an expedition like this: of these scarcely one-half are really Dahomians; some are forced to come against their will, and to any objection the answer is easy, 'Then we must kill you at once.' Of four prisoners in one house, only one was a true Dahoman; one was from Refurefu, a town on this route destroyed several years ago by Dahomey; another was from Makun, the country they attacked unsuccessfully last year, and the fourth was an Egba, Joseph Madarikan." The old race of black Spartans, concerning which Dalzel's *History* speaks in such high terms, has been killed off, and captives, slaves, and mongrels now occupy its place. The only proper freemen with any remnant of ancient blood is the royal family, which numbers perhaps two thousand souls. It cannot, however, be pure, as its members rarely intermarry.

Under these circumstances, it will be useful to enter into certain ethnological explanations of terms occurring in the pages of the older authors; many of them will become unintelligible. The name Fouin or Foy applied by the history (Preface xv) to the Dahoman race, is a corruption of Ffon, meaning the Dahoman dialect, which the Rev. Mr. Zimmermann (*Grammatical Sketch of the Akra or Ga Language*) miscalls "Ewe." The Tuffoes (p. 34) are a people properly named Aizoh, who inhabit Tofo, a fine rolling country, on the west of the high road from the coast to the capital. I cannot help thinking that Ossue (p. 51) or Assue, the name of a Caboceer, is connected with Iso or 'So. This is a tribe which during some forgotten war fled from Dahome, and established itself in a lagoon called, *par excellence*, the Nohwe, and christened in our charts Denham Waters, by the gallant naval officer of that name. The Dahoman king is sworn never to lead his army where canoes may be required; these Iso, therefore, have built their huts upon tall poles, about a mile distant from the shore. Their villages at once suggest the Pra-

sian Lake dwellings of Herodotus, and the Crannoges of Ireland, and the Swiss Waters. The people are essentially boatmen; they avoid dry land as much as possible, and though said to be ferocious, they are civil enough to strangers. In June 1863, I moored my little canoe under one of their huts, and I well remember the grotesque sensation of hearing children, dogs, pigs, and poultry actively engaged aloft. The Mahecs (p. 59, *et passim*), better written *Makhi*, with the Arabic guttural, are mountaineers, inhabiting the country north of Dahome proper. They are almost always at war with their neighbours, and they were first visited in 1846, by the late Mr. Duncan, who describes them as a superior race. "Wcemey," or Wemy (p. 60), is Wémé, a little district, near Grand Popo, on the seaboard west of Whydah; this once "respectable state" has fallen so low that few know its name, some will locate it near Porto Novo, east of Whydah. The "kingdom of Appah" (p. 61), which we are told most erroneously reaches eastward as far as the Bay of Benin, is the little place near Badagry, and known to our directories as "Apee." The Sarrachee nation (p. 163) is interpreted to be an East Yoruban tribe, mixed with the Makhi mountaineers. The country called Croo-too-hoon-too (p. 199) is unknown. I have conjectured that it lies near the Hun-to-nun, or "Canoe Water," a now shrunken *fumara*, between Agbome and the Tofo plateau. Peshie (p. 214) is for "Kpesi," a subtribe of the Aja nation, lying to the south west of Agbome. The French call them *Les barbares*, and little is known of them, or of their conquerors, the Ajabi, the Ajabi-kome, and the Ajawachi, except that they worship thunder, probably the Shango or Jupiter Tonans of Yoruban mythology. I may remark *obiter* that the latter system is extensive and complicated, bearing traces of an Eastern derivation, from the Nile Basin, or even from Asia. For instance, this now inland people has an ark or canoe, which reminds us of the Hindu "Argha," the symbolic source of all mammalian life still typified by us as "Noah's Ark."

In Commander Forbes we find the names of tribes (vol. i, p. 8), "Attahpahms" and "Ahjabee." The "Atakpamwe" live

in the country west of Agbome, across the River Mono (vol. ii, p. 96), which runs to the Lagoon of Grand Popo. Like the Ajas, they wear three short cuts up and down the cheek, when the Nagos or Abeokutans prefer three long. The "Ajabi" placed (p. 19) to the "eastward of Abomey," are to the westward, and the word is a corruption of the Aja above noticed. "Tappur" (vol. ii, p. 23) is the Takpa or Tappa race, included amongst the Nagos; the women seen at Agbome wear a pin of coral passed perpendicularly through the lower lip. The "Agoonee people" (p. 193) are the Agone, north east of Agbome, lying near the Ogun River of Abeokuta.

Such corrupted words as Muley, Malay or Malaye, Yahoos, Porto Novo, Katoo, and others, have been illustrated in the two volumes which I have lately had the honour to lay before the public. Of the religion of Dahome, of its Amazons and its army, of its customs and grand customs, of its ceremonies, manners and morals, of its rise and decadence, the details there given are as ample as my stay at the capital enabled me to collect. Some further account of its speech may be deemed interesting.

The Dahoman language, called by the people Ffon, and by the Portuguese *Lingoa Geral*, is like the Popo, one of the poorest, the meagrest, and the most incult of the great and rich Yoruban family. It is harsh and explosive; one of my Krumen justly observed, "Dis country wouf, he break man tooth." The nasals and gutturals are most pronounced in and about the capital, where the surface is one thousand feet above sea level. At Whydah it is comparatively soft, but far less pure, and the *lingua Toscana in bocca Romana* is found at Allada, lying between the two extremes.

The Ffon or Ffun is built up on a century or so of monosyllabic roots, and three hundred words suffice for conversation. Like the Chinese, it depends greatly upon accent, and the stranger's ear has hard work. For instance, Sô (Saw) is "yesterday" or "to-morrow," causing perpetual confusion. Só is "a horse" or "bring" (the imperative—verb and root). Sò with depression of the voice is "thunder." So or Soh, with a subspirate, is "a stick." Also, one word has numerous significations. Thus

“Do,” a pit, downwards, etc., has a dozen different meanings. Every vocable ends in a vowel or in a nasal, the latter sound being unpleasantly prevalent. There are archaic expressions, dark and parable-like sentences, titles elliptical in the extreme, which each Fetih has its own dialect, recalling to mind the Zargari Boli, or “Goldsmith’s Speech” of India, the English Thieves’ Latin, and the Sim of the Egyptian gipsy. It has neither rhyme nor assonance. Two hundred years of European example has not taught the use of a syllabarium; the people still marvel stupidly at the white man’s “sense.” They practise oratory, as do all savages, and the language, as is mostly the case with barbarous tribes, is copious in material terminology—almost every wild plant and animal has a name. This is conspicuous in the matter of cowries, the local coin. For instance—

40 Akwe, or Cowries	= 1 Kade, or string.
5 Strings	= 1 Afode.
10 „	= 1 Afowe.
20 „	= 1 Afenne.
30 „	= 1 Afainge.
40 „	= 1 Afataton.
50 „	= 1 Afo, or head.
10 heads	= 1 Debwa’aton, or long.

By perpetual cowrie handling the people learn to be ready reckoners. Amongst the cognate Yorubas the saying, “You cannot multiply nine by nine,” means “You are a dunce.” There are still, I fear, some such in more civilised countries. To express larger numbers, higher than Afaton—a thousand,—heads of cowries are used; thus, Gelele the King was reported to have lost, whilst attacking Abeokuta, “two heads, twenty strings, and twenty cowries” = 6820 men.

Yet, curious to say, the Dahoman numerals between ten (*uwò*) and twenty (*ko*) are exceedingly complicated. Thus, sixteen would be expressed by *afanton nun-hun lokpo*, literally meaning fifteen (*afantan*), and by side (*nun-hun*) one (*lokpo*). The ten first are thus given by Commander Forbes, who spells the language with hyphens, or in separate syllables, without having ascertained what the syllable meant. He has published in his Appendix C, a short vocabulary of the Dahoman language, but the linguist will derive from it scanty benefit. Thus,

1 Deh, according to Forbes, which should be	Dé,	or Lokpo in Eglz Eni.
2. Oni „ „ „	Wé	„ Eji.
3. Ahtor „ „ „	Attón	„ Etta.
4. Eh neh „ „ „	Erne	„ Erin.
5. Ah tong „ „ „	Attón	„ Arun.
6. Ah ee zee „ „ „	Aize	„ Effa.
7. Teghn oui „ „ „	Ten’we (i. e. 5 + 2)	„ Eja.
8. Tar tor „ „ „	Tan’ton (i. e. 5 + 3)	„ Ejio.
9. Teghn neh „ „ „	Te’’ne’ (i. e. 5 + 4)	„ Essan.
10. Woh „ „ „	Uwò	„ Eron.

The Ffon, like the tongues of all puerile races, delights in palpably imitative words; e. g., *koklo*, a cock (*cackler*); *kra-kra*, an English rattle (*crackler*). As in all monosyllabic languages, reduplication of the roots is a necessary evil; for instance, *gaga*, long; *gon-gon*, deep. A delight in euphony produces extensive apocope; e. g. *akho’ si* for *akhosu’ assi*, a king’s wife, Amazon, or eunuch. Finally, as in the Egba, there is a somewhat extensive oral proverbial literature, of which the following are specimens:—

1. My musket, after use, needs oiling. [N.B.—Recommending the punishment or acquittal of one accused.]
2. Give a dog a bone, and he will break it and eat it: so will we the town of an enemy.
3. Goat’s blood is goat’s blood. [N.B.—Anglicè in the vulgar “trumps,” i. e. we knew all that before (*Connu*)!]
4. What I speak in the debate, I will enact: there is a fish in the river called *pataseke*. [N.B.—This animal has a natural protection, and is able to defend itself.]
5. Let a man stuff himself at night, and he is heavy in the morning: that man’s a fool. [Something like our modern “Proverbial Philosophy.”]
6. If one partly destroys a country, one is not likely to return in open day, but will take advantage of the darkness of night. [N.B.—Alluding to the Dahoman system of perpetual surprises.]
7. Where war is, there the drum will be.
8. The readiest way to sell is to cry your goods through the streets.
9. In times of peace, the warrior’s eye roves in all direc-

tions: in war, it is fixed upon one point. [N.B.—Meaning “Force should be concentrated.”]

10. We are the king's sandals.

11. A man entered a room in which lay a corpse; he lifted the sheet, and was asked, why? “Because,” he replied, “I am anxious to go where that man is gone.” Let us go there, or conquer the enemy. [N.B.—The Dahomans, with other African pagans do not believe, as Commander Forbes supposes, “in a transmigration of souls, and that the dead pass into a happier state;” but that after death the ghost can return at times to earth, and do good or evil to those living. Thus, the rich take their favourite wives and a few slaves with them, some being voluntary sacrifices, and with wives, often suicides.]

12. Although a snake casts away beads, and sheds its skin, it cannot change its colour: nor can I my word. [N.B.—The Dahoman believes that the “Popo beads” are the egesta of a snake; whereas other Africans generally consider them the vertebrae of reptiles. They are dug up in the interior, where they are worth their weight in coral. Imitation has hitherto failed; and it is still disputed whether they came originally across the continent from Egypt, or if they were buried in early times by the Venetians.]

13. Beans, through dried in burning fire, can, by introducing the finger, be taken out and eaten.

14. Fetish men never initiate the poor.

15. Spitting makes the belly more comfortable; and the outstretched hand will be the receiving one.

16. When the wolf goes abroad, the sheep must fly.

17. Let the king grant war speedily; let not our energies be damped. Fire cannot pass through water.

18. In the days of our ancestors, the white trader brought good articles. A musket then lasted twenty years, now three. [N.B.—Upon which Commander Forbes remarks:—“I doubt much if this was not a *double entendre*; meaning that formerly a musket would be of little use in Dahomey, but now its use is universal. All these sayings, as will be seen, are in abstruse parables.”]

19. If the leopard kills her prey, does she not feed her

young? If the hind brings forth her young, does she not nibble grass for it?

20. “We shall still drink water.” [N.B.—Meaning we shall still live.]

21. You do not give a goat a plantation to sow corn in.* [N.B.—Meaning that he eats it.]

22. Allada is Oyo's calabash. [N.B.—Meaning that no people but the Oyos should be allowed to plunder Allada.]

23. An elephant cannot shelter himself under a clay pot. [N.B.—Used to express the difficulty of concealing a king's greatness. One of the kings called himself Adankpwen' su, (not as the history writes, Ai-yaw-soo), the Male Oyster, as being hard to crack. Another chose, “I am easy in my pace, but always in pursuit.”]

I now proceed to notice certain peculiarities in the Dahoman race, which, in the usual phrase, are “unfit for the drawing-room table.”

The Dahoman is essentially a polygynist; and the *History* is still correct in asserting “The Dahoman women do not admit the embraces of their husbands during pregnancy, nor at the time of suckling, which continues two or three years, nor while under the *catamenia*, during which they retire to a part of the town allotted to their reception. The prostitutes, who in this country are licensed by royal authority, are also obliged to confine themselves to a particular district, and are subject to an annual tax.” The latter class, called *ko'si* (twenty-wife), because the honorarium was twenty cowries, is supplied from the palace; and the peculiar male and female system which pervades the court rendering eunuchesses necessary as well as eunuchs, demands *Hetærae* for the women as well as for the male fighters. I was hardly prepared for this amount of cynicism amongst mere barbarians; although in that wonderful book, the “Arabian Nights,” which has been degraded by Europe into mere Fairy Tales, the lover is always jealous, not of his own, but of the opposite sex.

* Dalzel (*History*, p. 201) writes the words “Gree ma zon baw,” for *Gree* or *Gle*, a plantation; *ma*, not; *zon*, send; *gbo* (pronounced *gbaw*), a goat.

Another great peculiarity in Dahome is as follows:—Almost all the world over, where man is circumcised, the woman is subjected either, as in Egypt, to mutilation of the clitoris, performed in early infancy, when that part is prominent, or as in the Somal and the Upper Nilotic tribes, described by M. Werne (*Reise zur Entdeckung der Quellen des Weissen Nil*), to mutilation combined with excision of the nymphæ and fibulation, the wounded surfaces being roughly stitched together. The reason of such mutilation is evident. Removal of the prepuce blunts the sensitiveness of the *glans penis*, and protracts the act of Venus, which Africans and Asiatics ever strive, even by charms and medicines, to lengthen. The clitoris, called by old authors *fons et scaturigo Veneris*, must be reduced to a similar condition, or the too frequent recurrence of the venereal orgasm would injure the health of the woman. This is the case in the Old Calabar River of the Biafran Bight; in Dahome it is reversed.

Adagbwiba, or circumcision, which in parts of West Africa,—the Gold Coast for instance,—appears sporadic, is universally practised in Dahome. During the days of the *History* (Intro., p. xviii) the time of submitting to the rite was left to the boys themselves, and their caresses were not admitted by the women as long as they remained in the natural state. At present, circumcision is undergone in Whydah and about the seaboard at the age of twelve to sixteen; in the interior it is often delayed till the youth is twenty years old, when it becomes cruel and sometimes dangerous. It is apparently not a religious ceremony: a lay practitioner, and not the fetishman, being the performer. The patient sits over a small hole dug in the ground. The operator draws out the prepuce, which, as amongst Africans generally, is long and fleshy, and removes the blood from it by manipulation. He then inserts under the prepuce the forefinger of the left hand, and wetting with saliva a splint or a bit of straw, marks the circle which is to be removed. Two cuts with a sharp razor, one above the other below, conclude the operation. This would argue an origin unconnected with the Jewish and with the Moslem forms, which also vary; amongst circumcising peoples, however, the rite is everywhere

differently performed. The favourite styptic is heated sand thrown on the wound, which is washed every third day with simples boiled in water. The drink is ginger and warm water; the food preferred is ginger soup, but anything may be eaten except pork.

“A certain operation peculiar to this country,” says the *History* (*loc. cit.*), “is likewise performed upon the women,” and this the foot-note thus explains—*Prolongatio, videlicet, artificialis labiorum pudendi, capellæ mamillis simillima*. The parts in question, locally called “*Tu*,” must, from the earliest years, be manipulated by professional old women, as is the bosom amongst the embryo prostitutes of China. If this be neglected, lady friends will deride and denigrate the mother, declaring that she has neglected her child’s education, and the juniors will laugh at the daughter as a coward, who would not prepare herself for marriage. The sole possible advantage to be derived from this strange practice is the prevention of rape, but the men are said to enjoy handling the long projections, whose livid slatey hue suggests the idea of the turkey-cock’s caruncle. It is popularly said, “There can be no pleasurable Venus without ‘*Tu*.’” I find the custom amongst the cognate tribes of Grand Popo, but not in any other part of the West African Coast.

As a rule the Dahoman eunuch still marries, and I have heard of cases similar to that quoted in Dalzel’s history, when relating the end of the rebel eunuch “Tanga:”—“To his wives he appeared not the rigid jailer, nor the tyrannic usurper of their affections, but the generous arbiter of their liveliest pleasures. Hence they could not but be charmed with a freedom which no other seraglio enjoyed, and” (all devoted themselves to death) “they would not survive that felicity and protection which was to terminate with the existence of their master and their lover, whose ruin seemed inevitable.” It is difficult to obtain information in Dahome concerning eunuchs, who are special slaves of the king, and bear the dignified title of royal wives. The operation is performed in the palaces, by evulsion of the testicles, and is often fatal, especially when deferred till the age of twenty. Throughout Yoruba these neutrals are

found at the different courts, and the practice may have migrated from the East.

Amongst all barbarians whose primal want is progeny, we observe a greater or a less development of the Phallic worship. In Dahome it is uncomfortably prominent; every street from Whydah to the capital is adorned with the symbol, and the old ones are not removed. The Dahoman Priapus is a clay figure of any size between a giant and the pigmy, crouched upon the ground as if contemplating its own Attributes. The head is sometimes a wooden block rudely carved, more often dried mud, and the eyes and teeth are supplied by cowries. A huge penis, like the section of a broom-stick, rudely carved as the Japanese articles which I have lately been permitted to inspect, projects horizontally from the middle. I could have carried off a donkey's load had I been aware of the rapidly rising value of Phallic specimens amongst the collectors of Europe. The Tree of Life is anointed with palm-oil, which drips into a pot or a shard placed below it, and the would-be mother of children prays that the great god Legba will make her fertile. Female Legbas are rare, about one to a dozen males. They are, if possible, more hideous and gorilla-like than those of the other sex; their breasts resemble the halves of German sausages, and the external labia, which are adored by being anointed with oil, are painfully developed. There is another Phallic god named "Bo," the guardian of warriors and the protector of markets.

The Dahoman kingdom is apparently not destined long to endure. It contains within itself a preponderance of destructive elements, and hitherto its only safeguard has been the imbecility of the neighbouring tribes. But now the Abeokutans are waxing strong, and the southward progress of El Islam, though slow and gradual, is sure as the course of Fate. Already the Haussa men begin to pour into our youngest colony, Lagos, where, as soldiers and policemen, they are found superior not only to the heathenry, but to the so-called "Christian" Africans. Among the many gentlemen in this room who can confirm this statement, I beg to particularise Governor Freeman of Lagos. The "Safe Faith" is unpopular with our Missionaries, chiefly because they never have con-

verted, and they probably never will convert a single Moslem soul to Christianity. But to the hopeful Philanthropist the dispersion of Africa's gloom, and the dawn of the bright day when she will take her place in the Republic of Nations, appear wholly dependent upon the light of the Crescent. Thus only can the negro be annihilated by absorption with the negroid.

With us there are normally three several phases of popular opinion touching peoples as well as persons. For instance, Bruce was looked upon by the public as a Prodigy of Lying when he first published his ponderous travels. Presently came the inevitable reaction. Bruce became an Angel of Truth. When, however, the two extremes found time to meet and to blend, the great Abyssinian traveller took his place as a man with a solid foundation of merit, and with less than the average amount of error.

So it is with the African. Before the Wilberforcean age, he was simply a negro. That counteraction of the Asiento Treaty and of other little jobs, which founded Liverpool, and which poured five millions of pounds sterling into the national pocket, marked him to the one class a Man and a Brother, to the other a Nigger. But in the light of increased experience, the two extreme opinions must eventually disappear. I have already suggested to our excellent and energetic President that the subject properly treated in the three phases into which it naturally divides itself, would form a publication of material use to the many who would welcome information upon this highly interesting subject. Our strong young Society will aid by difference and discussion in establishing the Golden Mean, and thus by individual and combined exertion we shall succeed in restoring the Negro to his Proper Place in Nature,—whatever that may be.

Thanking you gratefully for the attention with which you have honoured me, I now beg to leave the subject in worthier hands.