The President proposed the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Helshby for having sent the Peruvian mummies to be inspected by the Society. He then stated that the number of Fellows of the Anthropological Society amounted to four hundred and seventy-two, and that they only desired twenty-eight more to complete the number of five hundred. He hoped they should be able to do so before the 25th of March; for, in that case, they would be able, in accordance with the original resolution of the Council, to increase the salary of their assistant secretary and curator, Mr. Carter Blake, to whom the Society were very much indebted for his indefatigable exertions.

The meeting then adjourned.

March 14th, 1865.

The President, Dr. J. Hunt, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.


It was announced that the Fellows of the Society now elected amounted to five hundred and three.

The names of the following gentlemen who had been elected foreign local secretaries were then read:—M. de Köninck, Liège; M. A. Becquet, Namur.

The following list of presents was announced:—Zimmermann, L’Homme (H. J. C. Beaven, Esq.); the Pre-Historic Remains of Caithness (John Miller, Esq.); Kircher, China Illustrata (J. W. Conrad Cox, Esq., B.A.); Linnaeus Systema Natura, Rev. Dr. M. P. Clifford; Echelle Chromatique des Yeux (M. Broca); Sur les origines des Races d’Europe (M. Broca); Sur l’aphémie (M. Broca); a Gonimeter (M. Broca); the Canadian Journal (the Editor).

Mr. W. Winwood Reade then read the following paper:—


Of all sciences, gentlemen, anthropology is the most catholic and the most comprehensive. It includes all that can directly or indirectly contribute to our knowledge of man. We are human natur-
alists—we who labour in this wide, in this boundless field. It is
our profession not only to scrutinise the structures, and to observe
the habits of the various varieties of our species, but also to study
these influences, physical and moral, which affect their bodies and
their minds. During the young life of this society, which has been
founded for the purpose of carrying out these researches more fully
and of venting them more fearlessly than they have ever been be-
fore, the subjects which it has discussed have been anatomical or
physiological, geological, ethnological, palaeontological, archaeo-
logical, philological, or zoological. The paper which I shall read to-night
will not belong to any of these minor ologies. It rather belongs to
that branch of anthropology which may broadly be termed social
science.

We know that man is modified to a certain extent by the atmo-
sphere in which he breathes. In the same manner men live in a
moral atmosphere, which varies immensely in different parts of the
globe, and of which religion may be said to be the oxygen, or uni-
versal gas.

Now there can be no doubt that we live in an air which is purer
than that which permeates a savage people. This incontestable fact
has induced some thousands of our enthusiastic, but ignorant, fel-
low-countrymen to adopt a wild scheme for the remedy of this evil.
They endeavour to change the religious climate of whole continents
by bottling up our moral atmosphere in missionaries, and in export-
ing it at a very great expense.

It is well known, in fact notorious, that some of the vessels se-
lected for this purpose are not of the most cleanly character. There
are many missionaries so ignorant, or so knavish, that no work of
this kind, however feasible, could prosper at their hands. Evidence
on this head will doubtless be offered you to-night. For my part, I
shall content myself with showing to you that even when promoted
under the most favourable circumstances, missionary enterprise is a
wretched bubble, and that British Christianity can never flourish
on a savage soil. I shall confine my illustrations on the present
occasion to the region of West Africa, and my arguments will merit
your attention at least thus far; they are solely and wholly based
upon personal experience.

During my stay of five months in Equatorial Africa, those days
which were not spent in actual travelling were passed beneath the
roofs of two American missionaries, viz., Mr. Walker of Gaboon,
and Mr. Mackey of Corisco. It was then and there that my eyes
were fully opened to the absolute futility of Christian missions. Had
these gentlemen been incompetent men, such as the Wesleyans of
the Gambia, and with rare exceptions the Church of England mis-
ionaries upon the coast, I might have ascribed their failure to them-
selves. But they completely realised one’s beau-ideal of what a mis-
ionary ought to be. They were men of practical abilities and culti-
vated minds; not only classical, but even Hebrew, scholars; they
could speak with facility the dialects of the tribes among whom they
laboured; they could build houses, sail boats, do everything in fact
which would force both whites and blacks to look up to them as superior men. If Saxon Christianity could be made to grow in Africa, these I was convinced were the men to make it grow. But it had failed to do so; and I attribute this failure not to them, but to that silly system to which their noble lives were sacrificed.

They had both in Corisco and Gaboon their congregations, which were very small. And I failed to discover that the members of this little band were more honest, more truthful, more sober, or more virtuous than their Pagan brethren. I found that my Christian servants, although they believed in Jesus, and refused to work on the Sabbath, and sang hymns in a very high falsetto voice, made mental reservations about the eighth commandment; and their wives, according to all that I heard and saw, were equally ready to infringe the seventh. In plain words, I found that every Christian negress was a prostitute, and that every Christian negro was a thief.

The missionaries allow that no moral change in their parishioners is perceptible to the naked eye. But said one of them to me, you cannot measure the amount of moral influence which our teachings exercise. He was quite right. You cannot. There is nothing to measure this moral influence by. It must be represented by $x$, which in algebra signifies an unknown number.

I will just give one instance, which will prove how little real power these missionaries can exert over Pagan superstition. In West Africa, whenever a man of importance dies, it is said that he died by witchcraft. The fetishman goes through certain rites, and ends by accusing some persons of the sorcery. The accused is subjected to an ordeal, which has been often described; and if the verdict be guilty, as is usually the case, is put to death with more or less barbarity. In Gaboon the French authorities soon abolished this ancient custom by threatening to hang all persons therein concerned, but in Corisco, Mr. Mackey has laboured during twelve years in vain to put a stop to it by arguments of reason and religion. While I was at Corisco I heard him plead without avail for the lives of a woman and her child condemned to death for sorcery. Now what is the use of a Christian mission if a man goes to church in the morning, and burns a witch alive in the afternoon?

Next, gentlemen, I shall examine into those causes which choke the growth of Christianity in Africa.

At first sight, there seems no reason why pagan Africa should not become, at all events, nominally Christian. The negroes are a people without any religion; they have certain practices and certain superstitious fancies, but they have no creed to which they cling, like the Mohammedans, the Buddhists, and the Jews. They suppose that each people has its own God: and that the white man's God is more powerful than their's, because the white men are so much richer than themselves. When, therefore, they are informed that if they will give up their God, and worship the white man's God, he will take them into the white man's heaven, they show no reluctance to do so; for they believe in a future state, as we do, though they do not pretend to know so much about it. Thus, when
the Portuguese first colonised Africa, the Jesuits counted their converts by thousands; so much so, that one of them wrote home to Europe from the Congo, complaining that, in the whole of that extensive empire, there was not a single negro who had not been baptised.

But it was soon discovered that, however readily they consented to be baptised (the more so as eating salt, which they are very fond of, was part of the ceremony) and to call themselves Christians, they utterly refused to give up their plurality of wives, and were very indignant, as well they might be, at the impertinence of these foreigners in making such a request. They could not see the connection between marriage and religion; and the wives, especially, were furious. Women are always the pillars of the church; and when these were withdrawn, the missionaries were ridiculed as madmen, and Congo relapsed into paganism.

The Protestant Church in Africa excommunicates such of its members as may be polygamists; and this alone will prevent Africa from becoming nominally Christian. A negro's social position is marked by the number of his wives; but, putting aside all these minor considerations, it is sufficient to say that in Africa polygamy is the natural state of married man; and he is warned by instinct never to abandon it. In England, polygamy would produce a frightful excess of population; but in Africa monogamy would exterminate the negro.

As for the dogmas of the Christian religion, how can a savage understand these? How can he be made to understand that there is only One God and yet Three? That the Old Testament is the word of a God who cannot change, and yet that this word is superseded by the New Testament? Imagine, for instance, a negro in the Gaboon. He sees the French Catholics and the American Protestants competing for converts like two rival joint-stock companies, and, being puzzled to know which sells the right article, asks advice of a free-thinking trader, who tells him not to bother his head about either the one or the other.

British Christianity, I say it again, can never grow in an African soil. By British Christianity, I mean that particular form which at present prevails, not only in Britain, but in Europe; which has decked the monotheism of Judah with the ornaments of pagan Rome; and which has smothered the pure precepts which Christ taught with a mass of rabbinical traditions. I do not say that Christianity in its Eastern form might not teach the negro honesty and truth, and elevate him from his degrading fetish-worship to a knowledge of the One God.

Nay more, I will actually tell you—and probably all of you here, with the exception of Capt. Burton, will be much surprised to hear it—that pagan Africa is at this very time being rapidly converted by Oriental Christians. Who are these Oriental Christians? you will ask. I reply, they are the Mohammedans.

Locke himself defined the Mussulman as a Christian heretic. Thus you see that, as far as terminology goes, I am not very far
from the truth. The Mussulman does not believe that Jesus Christ was actually God; he considers such a belief blasphemous—an insult to the Almighty; but he believes in him as a great prophet, as a greater prophet than Mohammed; and, though he calls himself a Mohammedan, as a disciple of Luther calls himself a Lutheran, he is a better Christian than we, who call ourselves by that name. The Mohammedan religion and the Christian religion are in spirit the same; in their political institutions they differ; those of the Christian religion are suited to Europe; those of the Mohammedan religion are suited to Asia and to Africa. Mohammed appeared as a Christian prophet among the ancient Arabs, a people who strongly resembled the Africans of the present day. The religious laws which he made, apply perfectly to the latter people. The Arabs were idolators, gamblers, drunkards, liars, and thieves, as the negroes are: he made laws against these vices. He did not attempt to oust polygamy and domestic slavery; he contented himself with restraining them. He limited the number of wives to four; he enjoined that slaves should be treated kindly, and that, under certain conditions, they should receive their liberty. He dealt with these institutions as the French legislators deal with prostitution; recognising it as an evil which cannot be suppressed, they license in order that they may limit it—a policy which we are commencing timidly to adopt. But let us give you facts, which are better than mere words. Every African traveller knows what enormous progress the religion of the prophet is making in that continent; beyond the scope of European eyes, a great reformation is taking place. I have travelled among the Mohammedan negroes. I have found them sober, honest, and truthful. I have found a school in every village, where a marabout teaches the Koran. I have found, in a word, the Mohammedan convert as superior to the Christian convert, as he is superior to the pagan savage. Such is my evidence, as a traveller in that country. I have found Christian missions not only inferior to Mohammedan missions, as a means of civilising negroes, but absolutely useless.

Now what can Europe do to assist West Africa? I reply that it can do nothing. The only manner in which we could elevate the negro would be by establishing a commercial mission, of which the churches should be workshops, and master artisans the priests. But, owing to the pestilential nature of the climate, all efforts of this kind would result rather in degrading the white man to a level with the negro than to elevate the negro to anything like our own standard. Thanks to the exertions of Mr. Adderley, we may soon hope to see the emancipation of the white men from this accursed coast.

I am well aware that there are certain people who will never believe that Christian missions are useless. Missionary enterprise is the romance of religion; and even Puritans, I suppose, must dash their lives with a little poetry. But to those who are really charitable, who are really desirous of applying their gifts to the best purposes, let me say one little word. I have been among the most
abject tribes of Africans, but never have I seen such real misery as I have seen in this city. When you subscribe your guineas to a foreign mission you defraud some starving Englishman of that money. Whenever you send a missionary abroad to such countries as West Africa, you sacrifice what might otherwise be a useful life, if he is a good man; and if he is an idle, ignorant, knavish man, unfit for anything else (as many of them are), you place a premium upon hypocrisy. As for the eternal welfare of the negro, I think the less that is said about that the better. No one will be rash enough, I presume, to say that God created these wretched creatures in order to punish them hereafter; and I have already shown that Christian missions do not tend to elevate them in the moral scale.

The President proposed the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Reade for the paper. (This was carried by a large majority, there being three hands held up against it.) He said it should be borne in mind that that was a scientific society, in which all facts bearing on the subject under discussion should be brought forward. The statements made were open to the strictest scrutiny, and however much any members might differ from the opinions expressed, it was right that they should be received with consideration, and be replied to if thought erroneous.

Mr. R. B. Walker (of Gaboon) said he had resided fourteen years in Africa, and he could bear testimony to the truthfulness of the greater part of the statements in Mr. Reade's paper, especially as to the result of missionary labours in Gaboon. An American missionary who had been there for twenty-three, admitted that all his efforts had been utterly fruitless, and that he had not made one bond fide convert to Christianity. All who had been supposed to be converted had lapsed into paganism, and the more educated among them were the greatest villains. Such was the result of the American and English missionary efforts; and the French had not succeeded much better. One French convert applied to him for permission to rob him as others had done. The want of success of the missionaries he did not attribute to any individual fault of theirs, but to the system they adopted. They made polygamy the grand object of their attack before attempting to convert the negroes. They insisted that they must abandon their many wives before they could become Christians. The natives revolted at such a demand, and refused to become converts to a faith that required such a sacrifice in the first instance. Mr. Walker adduced several instances of pretended conversion to Christianity to obtain favours, and of the continued prevalence of pagan practices among those who were supposed to be converts to Christianity. He spoke in high terms of the Rev. Mr. Leighton Wilson, Mr. Walker, and the Rev. Mr. Mackey, who were missionaries at Gaboon; but their efforts, he said, to convert and civilise the natives had been entirely without any real good.

Sir George Denys related an anecdote in reference to the preliminary requirement insisted on by the missionaries of doing away with polygamy. A certain bishop had taken great pains to convert an African chief, and he had induced him to put away several of his
wives, and thought he was on the point of becoming a Christian. The
chief, however, insisted on retaining two of his favourites, but this
compromise the bishop would not agree to. At length, however, the
chief came to the bishop and told him that he had put away one of
his two wives, and was ready to become a Christian. With this an-
nouncement the bishop was greatly pleased, but on inquiring what he
had done with the wife he had put away, the chief said he had eaten
her! Sir G. Denys said they had been told by African travellers that
it was customary in some parts of that country for the natives to eat
their aged parents when they became infirm and burdensome, thus
summarily avoiding the necessity of a poor law; he thought it would
be very desirable to give the natives a taste for beef and mutton
before attempting to initiate them into the mysteries of Christianity.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Natal observed that many
of the native Africans had already a very good taste for beef and
mutton, and he believed the anecdote about the chief who had eaten
his wife had been narrated originally about a New Zealand chief, and
not an African. With regard to the paper, he thought that Mr.
Reade had done good service by drawing attention to the results of
missionary efforts in Africa. The people of this country were arriv-
ing at a great crisis in religious feeling, the effects of which might
be extended abroad, and it was desirable to consider what should be
done, more than is done at present, with regard to the conversion of
savages to Christianity. He differed on some points from the opinions
expressed in the paper. But it was important that missionaries
should know the opinion on the subject of their labours of laymen
who had resided many years in Africa, and had noticed their efforts
from a different point of view from their own. The subject was one
that required much consideration. He would not, therefore, venture
to speak on it at that time, but would put his own views on paper,
and at some approaching meeting of the society he would be glad to
read them.

Captain Burton said it is a pleasing task to comment upon the
excellent paper with which we have just been favoured. There is
open to our young society a wide field in the discussion and ventila-
tion of those great popular questions which society at large seems to
hold as settled, when no one has hitherto been allowed to answer
them. Let the honour of the attempt be ours, and the anthropologist
should assume as his motto the old line—

Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto.

I venture also to compliment my friend Mr. Reade upon his views of
that branch of social science popularly known as missionary enter-
prise. He has also very properly preferred the abstract to the con-
crete style of treatment; and whilst he has denounced missions, he
has not denounced missionaries. I shall follow in his steps, merely
supplementing his West African experiences by a conscientious ac-
count, and necessarily a bird's eye view of my observations in Western
India, the prairie tribes of America, and tropical Africa generally.
By way of preface, a few lines may be devoted to considering the
motives which induce the public to subscribe so largely to the support of missions. In the fiery days of the Crusades, men armed themselves and rode forth to cure the soul of the infidel by spoiling his body—a peculiar proceeding, of which, unhappily, modern instances have not been wanting. In our softer times, men are content to pay for substitutes. Many mortify themselves for the best of motives, an earnest desire to carry out the commands of their faith. Many do so because it is the fashion, and because they love to see their names in print. Some look upon the missionary as the forerunner of the merchant. Others appear to think that such liberality “purifies,” as the Arabs say, their property. There are men whose principal profits in the African trade are derived from such abominations as selling pestilent rum, and supplying negroes with arms and ammunition whereby to enslave or slaughter one another. Yet these men will subscribe largely to missions. With respect to the oft-agitated question of difference between the Catholic and the Protestant style of proselytising, I have offered an opinion in a work lately published (A Mission to Dahome, vol. 1, chap. iv). Against the former there is a common charge, namely, that though ardent and self-sacrificing; and though prompt to endure every discomfort, even that of celibacy, where it is least endurable, they are too accommodating to heathenism, and therefore they do not last. This may have been the case in the days when Jesuit and Jansenist contended for the conquest of the convert. But it is not so now. The French mission at Whydah has constantly incurred the persecution of the local Fetishmen, yet from April 1861 to the present date they have never made a convert. The Spanish missionaries at Fernando Po, established in 1858, have failed as notably amongst the Bube; they cannot even persuade the wild women around them to add another inch to their half-foot of attire. And what has become of the noble establishment which, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries attacked the superstitions of the Congosee? Their cathedrals and churches are level with the ground, their priests are dead, and here and there a crucifix hanging round a pagan’s neck, tells the tale of past times. When marching towards the cataracts of the Congo River in 1863, I asked my guide the meaning of a pot of grease tufted with feathers, and stuck in a tree. “That,” he replied, “is Meu Deus.” The words sounded peculiar. On the other hand, Protestant missions are described as being, like the constitution which breeds them, comfortable and feeble, offering salaries to married men, who, in squabbles about outfits, passages, re-passages, and conveyance of children, manage to spend about half a million per annum, which had much better be transferred to Connaught and to Western Ireland. The material upon which all missions practise may briefly be described as Christian, Moslem, and Pagan. The firstnamed is perhaps the most unmanageable; witness Abyssinia, to which I propose reverting. The Moslem, hardly less amenable to Trinitarian doctrine, is, as Mr. Reade has justly remarked, a heterodox Christian, in fact a modern Arian, and the nineteenth century lacks an Athanasius to put him down. The Arab Prophet or rather Apostle never pretended to found a new faith; his mission was
to restore to its original purity the religion revealed by God to man, through the succession of Adamical, Noachian, Mosaic, and Christian dispensations. The Pagans may be divided into two great families. The civilised, for instance, the Japanese, Chinese, and Hindus having various settled forms of worship, and mythologies more or less extensive, have rejected Christianity. The uncivilised, as the Africans and the American aborigines, have either accepted the new religion, like the tribes subject to the Amazon missions, or have ignored it, as in Africa. Mr. Reade has perhaps said too much when he sees no reason why the negro should refuse the faith of his masters. It is impossible, save to those who have dwelt long among these people, to understand the influence which Fetishism exercises over their most trivial actions. Nor does the negro, as a rule, believe in a future state. The abolition of polygamy is to him what it would be to us, a forbidden of marriage. When we would instil our ideas into his mind, we are teaching him Euclid or Aristotle, before he knows what an alphabet means. The language of Holy Writ is a mystery to him. How express in Kiswahili grapes and thistles? In the pathetic passage, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that slayest the prophets," the only intelligible expression is the slaying. During a residence of nearly eight years in Western India, I had an opportunity of seeing the effects of modern missionary preaching. Portuguese Goa was Christianised by the racks and gibbets of Albuquerque; and what the Church had taken to her maternal bosom the Inquisition kept there. At present, "the Mikorani log"—missionary folk—have succeeded with a few of the lower castes, and in the case of the higher castes have converted the Brahman into a Vedantist; have made a Monotheist of a Polytheist. He will eat beef, drink wine, and use paper; but beyond that his ideas are with the Essence of the Vedas. Splendid accounts of missionary successes have at times reached England. I do not accuse their authors of any dishonesty, but I assert that their pictures are unconsciously far too highly coloured. The general public account of missions to the Prairie tribes of North America is as follows:—The Churchman begins with zeal, and continues more or less long till he finds out that he is twisting a rope of sand. At length totally depressed by the deadening barbarism of the herd, he sinks to the condition of a comfortable married man, and he loafers about where forts and military camps promise him protection. Even the Mormons, who have worked such marvels amongst the mechanics of Wales and Northern England, have failed to bring the Yutas into the pale of the Church. And if they do not succeed, who will? And now to proceed to Africa. The head-quarters of missionary enterprise on the West Coast may be placed at Sierra Leone. Almost all the negro denizens of the "Red Grave" are Christians. The traveller expects therefore to find there a purer morality, a higher social state. But he is doomed to be disappointed. The churches, and chapels, and meeting-houses are crowded, the sabbaths are well kept as days of rest, and so they would be if there were 365 in the year. But there is neither honesty amongst men nor honour to be found in women; the hospitals are full of syphilis and gonorrhcea; and robbery is the
rule of life. Amongst the pure pagans such abuses are corrected by fire and steel, not so amongst these negro Christians. And despite their change of creed, the old superstitions are perpetually cropping out; the same man who worships at the little Bethel will adore Shango the Thunder God in the bush. Next in the chain are the Episcopalian missions furnished by Anglo-America to the Liberians. Near Cape Palmas resides a missionary bishop, a divine of exemplary piety, learning, and energy. Again, I agree with Mr. Reade in his eulogium of our transatlantic brethren. The American, totally unlike the Englishman, understands the negro before leaving his own country; he is a practical man, not a theoretical philanthropist; and he avoids both sets of extreme opinions. I have visited Congo and Gaboon, as well as Cape Palmas, and everywhere I have seen noble efforts wasted. The Kruman of Liberia is still one of the most thoroughbred pagan tribes on the West African Coast, his polity is an aristocratic republic, probably the worst form of government ever invented by man; and his life at home is a succession of petty slaughteerings. Yet pagan and savage as he is, the Kruman has ever been par excellence the labouring man of northern tropical Africa, and those of Cape Palmas contrast favourably with their brethren of Sierra Leone. On the infamous Gulf of Guinea we find the Cape Coast missions, Wesleyans. They have orders not to interfere in politics, and have extended their operations to Komasi, capital of Ashanti. You may imagine their success, when the king sacrifices a man per day, excepting only his birthdays. They have also tried a mulatto administration, and they found that it did not answer in a pecuniary sense. A little to the east lie the Basle missions, who systematically oppose the officers of government upon all points, who advertise their interests in the African Times, and who display an inhospitality somewhat exceptional.

On the Slave Coast we have at Whydah the Wesleyans, who contrast sadly with the Lyons mission. Our unfortunate ministers are mulattoes, whose wretched salaries compel them to support their large families by the sale of arms and ammunition, rum and urinals. Amongst them there have been scandals, into which I will not enter. Their neighbouring station is Badagry, where a single mulatto saunters through life amidst nonchalant barbarians, Popos, and others. The next in the chain is Lagos, celebrated for its quarrels between consuls and missionaries in olden days. It is the port of Abeokuta, where Episcopalians and Methodists, Northern Baptists, Southern Baptists, and now, I believe, Roman Catholics, offer difficulties to the negro in search of the best of religions. This "nearly Christian city," as some have miscalled it, is a den of abominations; human sacrifice abounds there, and its people, the Egbas, popularly called Akus, have made for themselves the worst of names from Sierra Leone to Brazil.

We now enter the ill-omened Bight of Biafra. It contains five great centres of trade, known as the Oil Rivers, and of these two, the Old Calabar and the Camaroons, have missionary establishments. The former are Scotch Presbyterians, the latter English Baptists,
under the wing of Sir Morton Petoe. I can only say that these two
rivers gave me far more trouble than all the rest of the coast. The
Old Calabar displays abominations unknown to other negro tribes.
The Camaraons is in a chronic state of murder. The arm of flesh, in
the shape of a gun-boat, is invoked by these gentlemen with a regular
periodicity when there is an excess of torturing and poisoning. There
are frequent feuds between missionaries and merchants, as the former
will interfere in local interests, often trade for themselves, and make
a living by breeding dissensions. King Peppele of the Bonny River,
who was baptised by a metropolitan bishop, in company with a wife,
then dubbed Eleanor Queen Peppele, fired with desire to obtain such
assistance, ordered his poet laureate to indite a hymn beginning—

"O who shall succour Bonny's king?"

And applied to a lady well known for princely generosity for the sum
of £20,000 to build houses and keep a mission. As that potentate's
kingdom consists of a single mud-bank, upon which it is death for a
white man to pass the night, I can hardly regret that he failed. The
traders are delighted; they find the people bad enough without learn-
ing to forge acceptances, and to write to missionary papers garbled
accounts, which are licked into shape at home.

I can speak only from hearsay of the Niger missions. That excel-
lent traveller the late Dr. Baikie, thought it advisable to place the
breadth of the river between them and himself. They are now directed
by Bishop Crowther, by far the best specimen of African that I have
yet met. He labours, however, under the disadvantages of a certain
high priest; he has a family of sons who are as bad as he is good,
and he firmly believes in their goodness.

Briefly reviewing the West Coast of Africa, I find the oldest seat of
our English Christianity the most depraved of all the settlements,
and generally a balance in favour of the pagans, compared with the
native Christians. For the latter do not, as when adopting El Islam,
drop their abominations of infanticide and human sacrifice, witch-
slaying, and poison ordeals. Christianity floats on their minds, but
Mumbo Jumbo dwells in their inmost recesses. Even in the Con-
ferate States of America I found that slaves bred and born in the
country had leavened their new religion with not a little of their old
faith.

I need hardly enlarge upon the fate of the Oxford and Cambridge
missions on the Zambezi River. Every one in the room knows as
much about them as I do. But upon my return from Africa in 1869,
a reverend gentleman called upon me, and after expounding his plan
asked me to speak upon the subject. I consented, remarking, how-
ever, that he might like to hear what the spirit would move me to say.
He assented. I informed him that my sentiments upon the subject
were, that those who engaged in the enterprise might suicide them-
selves if they wished, but that it would be murder for them to
take their wives and children. My reverend visitor observed that,
under the circumstances, he would not trouble me to express my
opinions.
With the last African or Mombas mission I am personally acquainted. Years ago this ill-fated establishment had spent a sum of £12,000, and what were the results. In 1857, when calling at the missionary station of Rabbai Mpia, near Mombas, I was informed that a wild-looking negro, whose peculiar looks caused me to get my bowie-knife handy, was "a very dear person to us; he is our first and only convert." "Yes," added the husband, with an amount of simplicity which might provoke a smile but for the melancholy thoughts that it breeds, "and he was prepared for Christianity by an attack of insanity, caused by the death of all his relations, and lasting five years."

I now come to Abyssinia, where the saddest tale of all remains to be told. Ethiopia, commonly known as Habash or Abyssinia, is a Christian empire, once rich and powerful, whose emperors derive their lineage from Menelek, son of Solomon by the Queen of Sheba, and "whose progenitors (to quote the words of a valuable pamphlet, The British Captives in Abyssinia, by Charles T. Beke, Ph. D., London, Longmans, 1865) received the Christian faith, and possessed a native version of the Holy Scriptures as early as the fourth century." Of course this land of primitive Christianity was a suitable field for missionary enterprise, even whilst the savage Gallas, Shangallas, Danakils, and Somal remained unconverted. The result was a mission, established by the Church Missionary Society. "The first missionaries, of whom Dr. Gobat, now Anglican bishop of Jerusalem, was one, arrived in Tigre towards the end of 1829; and the mission continued till 1838, when (as stated by Bishop Gobat) 'through the influence of certain members of the Church of Rome, opposition was raised against the missionaries by the Abyssinian priests, and they were compelled to quit the country, and return to Egypt.'" They took refuge in Shoa, and a Roman Catholic mission was forthwith established by Padre Giuseppe Sapeto, "who had for its head," I quote Dr. Beke, "Padre de Jacobis, a Neapolitan of noble family, under whose able directions it took deep root in Abyssinia, where it still exists, notwithstanding the disgraces and subsequent death of its amiable and accomplished chief, who, in addition to his zeal for the spread of his faith, was the prince of political intrigurers."

The Chief Krapf, alias Theodore Emperor of Abyssinia, having firmly seated himself on the throne, granted the establishment of a new Protestant mission in April 1856. It was originated by the Protestant missionary Krapf, who had entered the country in 1842, and whose intolerance, bigotry, and interference with political matters had caused him to be expelled from Tigre and Shoa. This mission of lay handicraftsmen was supplied by the British and Foreign Bible Society with books and money to the amount of nearly £1000.

I need not dwell upon the disappointment of that enterprise. It is impossible to read the received version of the affair without perceiving that the arrogance of the Rev. Mr. Stern, who, unsummoned, would force himself into the king's presence, caused the detention and torture of Messrs. Stern and Rosenthal, and I
deeply regret to add, of my unfortunate friend Captain Cameron. After the last reports (Feb. 3, 1865) Dr. Beke concludes, "The condition of the captives was said not to have improved; but, on the contrary, death seemed to offer to them the only prospect of deliverance from their misery."

After this brief and cursory review of African missions, I would ask leave for a few words of present explanation.

The people of England is determined to missionarise, it will not regard failure; it considers proselytism a sacred duty. And how then to oppose it? And what arrogance is it to oppose a single voice to the united opinions of millions?

I reply, that it is our duty as travellers and citizens to relate the truth, however unpalatable. Moreover, that the voice of millions is apt to change its tone. The subject of slavery in the Confederate States has greatly altered in aspect during the last few years.

A facetious journal charges me with a rabid hatred against anything in a natural or an artificial black coat. This I deny. Many of my best friends wear artificial sables, and my only dislike to the natural article is when it is whitewashed. But I must sympathise with my friend Commander Charles Stuart Forbes, R.N., who in a bold and able pamphlet dared to contend that our slave-preventing squadron on the West Coast of Africa, which, not to take count of invaluable life and health, costs an over-taxed people nearly a million per annum, should be supported by voluntary contributions. And after some experience of the agricultural districts in Essex, to speak of nothing more, I would willingly see a fair proportion of the half a million now expended on missions amongst savages transferred to the Arabs of our cities, and to others who have the misfortune to be born without natural black coats in a civilised land.

Mr. J. M. Harris (of Sherbro) spoke strongly against the characters of the so-called Christian converts on the west coast of Africa, particularly at Sierra Leone, where he had resided for ten years. He said there was barely one among those he employed who did not rob him. He spoke, also, against the system adopted at the missions; and mentioned that one of the missionaries, who had married a black woman, was not allowed to stay in the mission. He to a great extent supported all that Mr. Reade had said respecting the superiority of the Mohammedan converts; and asserted that, among the natives, the Christian converts were worst of all.

Mr. Charlesworth mentioned that, about half a century ago, there was a very great excitement in the religious world, on the arrival in this country of two New Zealand chiefs, who were announced to be converts to Christianity. They were taken about the country, to show what success had attended missionary labours, and what might be further accomplished if a certain amount of money could be raised. He said he was taken when a child to a missionary meeting, where these New Zealand chiefs were made an exhibition of. They could not speak a word of English, but they were exhibited as the first results of the successful attempt to evangelise the New Zealanders. They were introduced to George the Third as specimens.
of the first converts; and they were loaded with presents of money, given under the idea that it would be expended in the purchase of Bibles and other books, to be used in converting the natives. The result of all these efforts was, that the two chiefs spent the money thus raised in purchasing muskets, gunpowder, and bullets; and, when they returned to New Zealand, they killed the people of the other tribes until they became masters of the island. He thought it was impossible to discuss the question of missionary labour without thus reverting to some of the effects that had resulted from it, which were anything but satisfactory. The exposure of such failures must, he thought, open the minds of the public to the fact that the attempts to make Christians of savage tribes were generally unsuccessful. The public might, indeed, say that it was their duty to attempt to evangelise the world; that they had a direct command to do so; and that they must leave the results to Providence. The answer to that expression of opinion was, that they have a command, also, not to throw away their lives uselessly. The command to evangelise was accompanied by promises of supernatural protection. But had any such protection been given to those who undertook to convert savages to Christianity? The case of Captain Gardiner was a striking instance to the contrary. He thought he had a "call" to take a body of men to Patagonia, to spread the Gospel among the natives. A ship was chartered; a band of devoted missionaries was collected to accompany him; and the result of the expedition was, that every one of them perished with hunger on the barren coast of Patagonia. They were found dead on their knees; and, from the papers they had left, it appeared that they had prayed fervently that foxes might be led into their traps for food, but no foxes came. Those who advocated the continuance of missionary efforts because they considered they were acting under divine command, might be met on that ground. If it were a command to be fulfilled, there were promises of supernatural support in carrying it into effect; and, as the support was not given, it might be assumed they were mistaken as to the command. That was, he thought, the common-sense view to be taken of the matter.

Mr. Reddie said that, but for the speech of Mr. Charlesworth, he should have been puzzled how to address the meeting; for the facts asserted by Mr. Reade and by Captain Burton could not be assailed offhand by those who were not travellers, and who were as surprised as he was at what had now been stated. He confessed to feeling some disappointment that there had not been a proper issue raised on those facts, even admitting their accuracy. He protested, however, against Mr. Charlesworth's theory of missions; and believed there was no missionary of the present day who would admit anything of the kind, neither was any such pretence ever put forward. The whole history of the spread of Christianity contradicted Mr. Charlesworth's preposterous observations. He seemed actually never to have heard of the proverbial saying, that "the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church;" and to have forgotten that Christ Himself and His apostles were persecuted. And, indeed, it would be
truer to say, that persecution, rather than "protection," is the destined lot of Christian missionaries. As to the paper that had been read, he should like to say a few words, first, on Mr. Reade's views of the foundation principles of Christianity. For his part, he did not believe that one God was three. That was a doctrine that the negroes, of course, could not understand; and one which Christianity did not teach. Neither did he, as a professing Christian, believe that the New Testament contradicted the Old. And it was rather to the credit of the negroes, if they rejected opinions such as these, which might be regarded as merely Mr. Reade's own false versions of the true Christian doctrines he was pointing at. There was only one true religion, which is fully developed in the Christian system, but which is not essentially different from that of the Jews. In fact, Christianity is Judaism perfected and "fulfilled."—But, apart from those incidental issues, he begged leave to take advantage of the statement that Mohammedism is a branch of Christianity, as refuting Mr. Reade's main proposition, that Christianity cannot be taught; for he tells us that Mohammedism is taught successfully. The grand distinctive doctrine of Christianity compared with heathen worship is the enunciation that there is only one God, and consequently that all idol-worship is false and absurd. In that fundamental principle Mohammedism and Christianity so far agreed; and, if there were any essential principle of civilisation more important than all others for elevating the human race, he thought it was to be found in the doctrine of pure Theism. That was the grand feature of Christianity, and that was the first thing that the heathen should be taught. As long as men are content to bow down to idols of their own making, as if they were gods, it was hopeless to expect moral elevation, or anything like true manly character. Surely it could never be meant to advocate the leaving of savages in such an abject state of degrading and irrational superstition! As regards the savage being probably unfit to learn at first all Christian doctrine, that of course might be so far true. It is nothing new to be told (if that had been what was meant), "Not to cast pearls before swine." And the great difficulty in dealing with savage races was very well known by missionaries, long before the attempt to convert them was made by Protestants. Labat, the famous Dominican missionary to South America in the seventeenth century, when asked what progress he had made, answered, "Very little; in order to make the Americans Christians, they must first be made men." Thus it has been said long ago, that you must civilise men before you converted them. It should be borne in mind that the full development of Christian truth had been reserved for a late stage of the world's history, viz., till the age of the apostles. In the low state in which the people of Africa are placed, they may be unable to appreciate Christianity all at once; or it might be that the missionaries had not adopted the most advisable methods of teaching Christianity; and the different forms of Christian faith brought before a savage people may have tended to obstruct their success. But, taking for granted the assertion that the Mohammedan religion is a development of Christianity, and that
the Mohammedans have succeeded to a great extent in converting the natives of Africa; it would be desirable to consider the methods they had adopted to effect that object, and whether it was advisable for Christian missionaries to take the same course. He could not, however, agree with the opinion that Christianity had made the people worse than they were; for he could not conceive men to be worse than the negroes were in their natural state. If the chief obstacle to the introduction of Christianity among the negroes of Africa were the persistence of the missionaries in the abolition of polygamy, —the main reason of their failure, now broadly stated—this, of course, should be taken into consideration; and, in fact, it is well known that the distinguished prelate present this evening had some years ago written on the question, whether it might not be desirable to tolerate polygamy among the natives to a certain extent. He should like to see, as the result of this discussion, the proposal of some principles as a foundation on which missionary efforts might be more efficiently conducted among savage tribes. Instead of that, the paper now read was at issue with general opinion as to its quasi facts, adverse to all Christianity in its tone, and practically worthless. Only a Mohammedan could possibly accept its conclusions consistently. He hoped that Bishop Colenso would throw some light on the subject, in the paper with which he had promised to favour the Society; and that the consideration of the causes of the alleged failure of missionary efforts in Africa might lead to the adoption of better methods of instructing the natives. He could not admit that it was a proper thing to leave ignorant people in a state of ignorance and brutality, and in the commission of such atrocities and abominations as had been narrated by Captain Burton. The question to be solved was, the proper method of teaching and improving them; and it was not enough merely to say that the missions had hitherto failed, and that the money expended in attempting to convert savages to Christianity had been wasted. If the Mohammedan missionaries had been so successful, let the Christian missionaries imitate them; and all they would have to do to be successful, would be to teach Christianity, so far as this is possible, in the same manner in which Mohammedism had been taught.

Mr. Dixey remarked, that it was generally agreed that the differences of belief among Christian missionaries was a great cause of their failure. The doctrine of the Trinity, the belief that one God was three, was a great stumbling-block to the natives. It appeared evident, indeed, that something very different must be done from what had been done hitherto, before the savages among whom missionaries were sent could be civilised and converted.

Mr. Pirk objected to the course which the discussion had taken, as he thought it was not the province of the Society to discuss religious matters; and that it was far better to leave them in other hands. The scientific bearing of the paper and of the statements that had been made was, that they were told certain facts as to the condition of the negroes, and the effects produced on them by the teaching of the missionaries. Now it was a remarkable fact, that the
opinions and dogmas, the teaching of which was commonly believed to have beneficial effects in this country, should produce a very different effect among the negroes; and it was a question deserving the gravest consideration. Respecting the cause of the difference—if difference there existed—there appeared to be at present great confusion, and they had not sufficient evidence to arrive at any safe conclusion on the subject; but the statements laid before the meeting might form the nucleus for the collection of other facts, from which collectively they might be able to make valuable deductions.

Mr. M'Arthur, as one of those who held up his hand against returning thanks for the paper, said he thought it right to explain why he had done so. He altogether differed from the author of the paper in the views he had expressed. Had he confined his remarks to the results of the labours of the missionaries, there would not have been much ground for objection; but when he described them as fanatics, fools, and knaves, he must say that that was very strong language, not justified by the characters of the missionaries in general. He knew a good many missionaries, and some of them were men as truthful, as well educated, as intelligent, and possessed of as much information as any one in that room; and he could never believe them to be rogues, fools, or knaves.

Captain Burton explained that he spoke of the missions, and not of the missionaries.

Mr. W. Winwood Reade also disavowed any intention of making accusations against the missionaries. So far from it, he had expressed his approbation of their character; and to show that his words did not bear the interpretation put on them by Mr. M'Arthur, he read some passages from his paper, wherein the conduct of some of the missionaries was praised.

Mr. M'Arthur, in continuation, said he believed that the author of the paper and Captain Burton believed what they had stated as to the results of the labours of the missionaries; but other persons, who had travelled in various parts of the world, had stated the reverse, and had expressed the opinion that they had found the missionaries of the greatest service. He himself had been in America, in New Zealand, and in Australia; and he had seen a great deal of the missionaries, and of the good they had done. Reference had been made to North America, and to the little that had been done by the missionaries there; and it had been said that many who professed Christianity did not know anything about it. In contradiction to that statement, he mentioned the fact that a North American Indian recently came to this country (who a few years ago had been running wild with his tribe), who had been converted by the missionaries, and now conducts himself with as much propriety as any gentleman in that room, and has been preaching in many parts of the country. From whatever cause it may happen that missionary labour has failed in Africa, it does not follow that it has failed in other parts of the world. Colonel Edwardes, General Havelock, and other officers in India, had given the highest testimony in favour of the efforts and the success of the Christian mission in that part of the British empire.
Then, again, in the Fiji islands the influence of Christianity had produced the abandonment of cannibalism to a great extent. In those islands there were 60,000 nominal Christians; and some of them, there was no doubt, were genuine and real believers of Christianity. In the island of Tonga, almost the whole population had embraced Christianity; and he had heard that the king of the Tongas, a man of great intelligence and shrewdness, had published a code of laws. In New Zealand, it had been said, not much had been done by the missionaries; but he believed that, if it had not been for them, the present war would have had much worse results. The presence of missionaries among savage men was very beneficial, as it set them a great example; but the missionaries could not do everything at once. It had been said by Mr. Reade, that it would be much better to give the money expended in missionary efforts to feed the starving poor at home. Now he (Mr. M'Arthur) contended, that the very men who advocate and support Christian missions, are the men who principally support the charities at home. If they examined the list of benefactors and contributors to benevolent institutions, it would be found that seven-eighths of them were those at whose expense Christian missions were sent out. He would not enter into the question of Mohammedanism and Christianity being on a par; but what he contended was, that Christian missions had converted and civilised many savage tribes. If it were believed that all religions were equally true and false, then, indeed, it would be useless to continue the efforts to make converts to Christianity; but if they believed in Christianity, and that it is superior to all other religions, then they were bound not to leave savage people in ignorance, but to enlighten them and do them all the good that was possible.

Mr. Bollarett observed that, on the discovery of the New World, there were some 120,000,000 of the Red species occupying the country, which number has been reduced, since the introduction of Christian creeds, the sword of the conquerors, and the vices of European civilisation, to 12,000,000; and of those thus left few are but partially Christianised or humanised. He had great doubt whether the constitution of the native mind was capable of receiving anything like Christianity, as understood by Protestants.

Dr. Seemann said he did not object to a religious discussion in that Society, for the form of religion might partake of a race character; but he objected to the introduction of sectarian views. With regard to cannibalism, he believed the real history of cannibalism had not yet been told. The fact was, that many of the nations had abandoned cannibalism from their own conviction of its atrocity; for instance, he believed that, if the missionaries had not gone to Fiji, cannibalism would soon have disappeared. His own impression was not favourable to missionary efforts. One of the supposed most successful missions was that to the Sandwich islands. After the murder of Captain Cook they were abandoned for a long time, but about twenty years afterwards a great change came over the natives. They had found that their own system had completely given way, and tried to live without any religion whatever. The Americans then
sent a mission to the islands and converted them. But what was the condition of the people now? Every woman among them was a prostitute, and in about thirty years time there would not be one of the natives left. Morality was there at the lowest ebb; and he mentioned as an instance that a man connected with the missions offered his wife for two dollars. In many instances no doubt missionaries had done good, for any civilized person going among savages must do good. He preferred Protestant missions to Roman Catholic, because the Protestant missionary settling among the people with his wife and family afforded an example of civilized family life. It was not so with the Catholics. The priests could set no example of family life. They had no wives to take care of them, and they went about with their linen not clean, and their appearance generally not such as to excite respect. As to polygamy, he believed it was one of the greatest obstacles to the spread of Christianity. It was a practice which he thought ought to be tolerated in the first instance, and that it would die out in the second generation. It was a great crime for a man to put away his wives, who then became prostitutes; and for that reason he considered it desirable that polygamy should be allowed amongst the first converts.

Mr. R. B. Walker, in confirmation of the observations of Mr. Owen, said he knew from experience that the converted natives of Gaboon were worse than the savages, their countrymen. The Christian natives who had lapsed into paganism were still worse. They compelled their wives to prostitute themselves, and they asked a higher price because they were Christians and wore a frock. The savages there, he asserted, became deteriorated by the efforts of the missionaries to convert them, and at Sierra Leone they were worse than any other savages in the world. The Africans were more than a match for Europeans in cunning, and were the greatest thieves.

Captain Burton gave an instance of the results of abandoning polygamy by a chief on the African coast. The chief when converted was told he must put away all his wives but one. He did so, and as it is the practice of the native women when they are pregnant to avoid connection with their husbands, he was separated from his wife at the time. The consequence was, he became connected with other women and died of syphilis.

Mr. C. Carter Blake said that, with the President, he considered religion to be an important anthropological characteristic of greater classificatory value even than language; he was, therefore, not sorry that they had had somewhat of a theological discussion. Mr. Reade had told them that Mohammedanism was a form of Christianity, but he had adduced no evidence in support of that opinion, with which he (Mr. Blake) did not agree. As to Draper's suggestive work on that subject, he must say that he and many others were not satisfied with the arguments advanced to support that view, but perhaps Mr. Reade might have some original arguments that might confirm or invalidate the assertion which he had borrowed from Draper and some medieval writers. As to the non-success of Christian missions, it appeared to be clear that, in most cases, the diversity of religious sects and the
constant bickerings among the missionaries of different denominations in contending for the conversion of savages, coupled with the lack of any central organisation in Europe, were the real causes of the failure of missionary efforts.

The President said the paper no doubt treated of an important subject, though not perhaps in the manner that might be expected in a scientific body, and it must not be taken to indicate the tone in which subjects are usually treated in that society. The author had made some broad statements respecting Christian missions in Africa, which he was bound to substantiate. The question whether they did good or harm was open to discussion, but the opinions against them ought to be supported by something more than vague assertions. There might be some who dissented from the opinion that religion resembled oxygen, or any healthy gas, and others that missionary enterprise was a wretched bubble. Those were hard words and not facts. Then again as to the assertion that every Christian negro was a prostitute and every Christian negro a thief, there was no proof of those accusations. The author did not remain among them more than five months, and he could scarcely in that time have had personal experience sufficient to enable him to make those general charges. Again, it was said that there is no use in a Christian mission if a man goes to church in the morning and burns a witch alive in the afternoon. Now it was well known that some of the greatest criminals in this country had professed to be most religious, therefore it might naturally be expected that similar examples might be found among the negroes. The author referred to Captain Burton to confirm his assertion that the Mohammedan religion is the only one that is known to be making progress in Africa, and that one form of religion is suited to Europe and another to Africa. Now it was an open question whether Christianity is suited for Europe, for even that should not be taken for granted. With respect to what was called in the paper "British Christianity," he must confess he did not know what the author meant. The result at which Mr. Reade had arrived was, that Europe can do nothing to assist West Africa. That was, perhaps, a comfortable doctrine, and it might be philosophic, for it might be found that there was no practicable way of getting out of the difficulty. It had been asked, what was the effect of missions? That was a question which they must discuss thoroughly, and before they could come to a right conclusion they must examine carefully into the facts. Whether it is the duty of the people of this country to send out missionaries to Africa or to other savage nations to interfere with their customs and opinions, and to impose on them our system of religion and moral philosophy, or our notions of social science, was a question to be investigated; also if one religion be found not suitable to them, whether it would be our duty to propound another religion that was suitable. He would give no opinion on that question until they had more facts brought forward. He did not agree with Mr. Reddie nor with Mr. Dibley in thinking that there was only one form of religion that should be taught to savage people. As a scientific society it was their duty to look on all religions in the same manner.
It was a question of science to be considered in connection with race, and then they would have to consider whether it was the duty of any one race of men to impose their views on any other race. He considered the meeting was much indebted to Mr. Reade for his paper, which had given rise to so interesting a discussion, and to the Bishop of Natal for his promise to communicate a paper on the subject, on which the discussion might be resumed on some other occasion.

Mr. W. Winwood Reade briefly replied. He said it was an astonishing fact that his paper should have received such gentle opposition from the speakers generally that evening, for if the opinions expressed in it had been announced two hundred years ago he should have been burnt alive. There had, indeed, been so little opposition that he had really little to reply. He saw only one way of civilising the African negroes, and that was by first taking possession of the country. Then this country would have the power to make laws against the savage practices of the natives, and to effectually suppress them. When that was done, in order to convert the negroes to Christianity, it would be requisite that all Christians should have the same opinion on the doctrines of religion.

The President announced that the council had come to the resolution that it would be desirable to give a farewell complimentary dinner to their Vice-President, Captain Burton, before his departure for South America, and to commemorate at the same time the completion by the Society of the number of five hundred members. He believed they should be joined in that demonstration by the members of other societies, and that a nobleman would preside on the occasion.

The meeting then adjourned.

April 18th, 1865.

The President, Dr. James Hunt, in the Chair.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and confirmed.

The names of the following gentlemen, who had been elected Fellows of the Society, were then read:—