full of supplies. Petherick and his wife, accompanied by Dr. Murie (who had joined them from England) and by Foxcroft, then spent some years exploring the western affluents of the Nile which unite in the Bahr-al-Ghazal. In this way they revisited the Nyam-nyam country. Petherick seems to have been partly trading and partly collecting information on the slave-trade and prosecuting Maltese slave-traders; and these investigations seem to have rather taken his attention from one of the objects of his mission, which was to insure a proper relief to Speke and Grant. How far he was to blame in the matter it is difficult to determine. People in England seem to have doubted the effectiveness of his methods to insure this relief, and amongst others who thought it necessary to forestall Petherick was Mr. (afterwards Sir Samuel) Baker, who, in 1862–1863, got ahead of the Pethericks (then deciding to go in person to the relief of the explorers), and actually arrived at Gondokoro in time to afford much needed assistance to the exhausted travellers. Speke appears to have considered that Petherick had not acted up to the assurance he had given to the Royal Geographical Society, who intrusted him with the expenditure of the relief fund. This criticism, together with the bitter animosity aroused by Petherick's prosecution of slave-traders and reports on the misgovernment of Egyptian officials, cost him the confidence of the Foreign Office, and in 1864 his consulate was abolished. It was actually alleged by some of his enemies that he himself carried on a trade in slaves, — an alle-

gation for which there does not seem to have been the slightest foundation. In 1865 the Pethericks returned to England. Petherick's second book ("Travels in Central Africa") was not published until 1869. It is impossible, after careful observation and a more than thirty years' interval, to avoid the impression that Petherick was treated by his country with some ingratitude. He did a great deal to increase our knowledge of the Nile basin and its remarkable fauna. His collections of beasts, birds, and fishes enriched the British Museum. He took a number of astronomical observations in order to fix important points on the White Nile and in the region of the Bahr-al-Ghazal. He died in 1882.

In 1840 a French Egyptian official, Clot Bey, engaged as private secretary a young French doctor of medicine, Alfred Peney. For something like fifteen years Dr. Peney carried on official medical work in Egypt. He was gradually led, however, towards Nile exploration through his official visits to Khartum, the Blue Nile, and Kordofan. He was intensely interested in ethnology and in the study of the Nile Negroes. French influence in Egypt during the fifties was in the ascendency. De Lesseps and the various officials who served France as agents and consuls-general at Cairo had known how to secure the concession for the Suez Canal. They became jealous that France should also secure for her citizens the glory of having discovered and traced the course and the sources of the Upper Nile. This blue ribbon of

geographical discovery was already being sought for by Germans and Englishmen. Dr. Peney especially was continually urging his superiors in Cairo to organise, or induce the Viceroy Said to organise, a Nile research expedition under French auspices. But the choice by the French agent of a leader for this enterprise fell most unfortunately. Hanging about Cairo was a Frenchman of a type not infrequently met with at Levantine courts during the first eight decades of the nineteenth century. This was the Count d'Escayrac de Lauture. Men of this description were either Royalist refugees, or the sons of such, or they were Napoleonic noblemen who had got into financial or social difficulties. D'Escayrac, however, appears to have been an amiable dilettante, who had some pretensions to be an Egyptologist. But he was utterly unsuited to lead an expedition into Central Africa. He was elderly, vain, pompous, and extravagant. The viceroy, wishing that the expedition should not be too exclusively French, ordered d'Escayrac to recruit part of his personnel in England, Germany, and Switzerland. This was done, but the expedition never left Cairo for the Upper Nile. D'Escayrac made himself perfectly ridiculous by strutting about in a fantastic uniform, trailing a long sabre. His expensive scientific instruments were badly packed, and arrived at Cairo injured. The whole expedition was dissolved, owing to the bitter dislike which d'Escayrac inspired among his staff. The only incident in the whole of Count d'Escayrac's preparations which shows him to

have been in any way enterprising or intelligent, was his desire to secure good photographic views of the Upper Nile and its natives. He had provided the expedition with the best apparatus which could be obtained at that period (1856). It is curious to note that in the criticisms of his plans published at the time, the critics animadvert more bitterly on the extravagance of spending one hundred pounds on photography than on any other supposed mistake in d'Escayrac's preparations.

Dr. Albert Peney was to have been medical officer to the expedition. When it was dissolved, he started off for the White Nile on his own account, attaching himself, whenever opportunity offered, to such caravans as those of Andrea de Bono, the Maltese. Peney made a remarkably good map (most interesting to place on record as showing subsequent changes in the course of the Nile) between Bor and a place which he calls Nieki, which was situated on the Mountain Nile very near to the present site of Fort Berkeley. Peney, hearing rumours of great rivers to the west, crossed the range of hills which flanks the western bank of the Mountain Nile in the Bari country, and thus reached the river Yie or Yeï. This river, as we know now, flows northwest nearly parallel to the main Mountain Nile, and joins that river some distance before its junction with the Bahr-al-Ghazal. But Peney exaggerated the importance of this stream, and confused it with the accounts he heard of the many great rivers that united to form the Bahr-al-Ghazal. On

his map he actually makes the Yie an effluent of the White Nile, issuing from the main stream not far from the present post of Nimule, and flowing north-westwards until it enters the Bahr-al-Ghazal. He thus transformed the whole region of the Bahr-al-Ghazal into an enormous island encircled by two branches of the Nile. Peney further visited the country to the east of Gondokoro, and was probably the first explorer to mention the name Latuka. This country he rightly designates Lotuka. Latuka is the incorrect version given to the world by Emin Pasha. The *Lo* in this word is really the masculine article met with in so many of the Masai group of languages to which the tongue of Latuka belongs. The root *tuka* (which should be properly spelled and pronounced *tukă*) is evidently a racial name widespread among that Negroid group resulting from an ancient intermixture of the Gala with the Negro, from which groups the Latuka, Turkana, Masai, Nandi, and Elgumi descend.[1]

Dr. Peney died of blackwater fever in July, 1861, at a point on the Nile near Fort Berkeley. Andrea de Bono was with him at his death, and records the characteristics of the disease from which Dr. Peney died. Since the idea has been started that blackwater fever is quite a new disease in these regions, it is interesting to know that from all accounts several of the earliest European pioneers from 1848 to 1861 appear

[1] Many of these tribes are known to us at the present day by foolish nicknames. For instance, the Kamasia people, who dwell in the western part of the Baringo district, really call themselves El Tūkan. Turkana seems often pronounced Tukana.

to have died of this malady whilst exploring the Upper Nile.

About the time that Peney was exploring the Mountain Nile, another Frenchman, Lejean, was surveying with some correctness the Bahr-al-Ghazal estuary, of which he published a map in 1862.

Not only Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans, but Italians and Maltese had by this time appeared as explorers, traders, and naturalists on the White Nile and its tributaries.[1] Some of these came as members of the Austrian Roman Catholic Mission. Perhaps out of jealousy of Austria, or with the idea of spreading North Italian trade and influence, the then Kingdom of Sardinia appointed Signor Vaudet (apparently a Piedmontese trader) Sardinian pro-consul at Khartum. Vaudet invited out his two nephews, the brothers Poncet (one of whom published a book on the White Nile in 1863). Vaudet was killed by the Bari tribe near Gondokoro about 1859. This Bari people, now so much diminished by famine and by the raids of the Sudanese slave-traders and Dervishes, was a far more serious bar to the prosecution of exploration up the Mountain Nile in the direction of the great lakes than the rapids above Gondokoro. The Bari, no doubt, were wronged by the Europeans and Nubians, but they were nevertheless responsible for the

[1] Amabile, tried and sentenced to imprisonment by Petherick for slave-trading, and Andrea de Bono, who, though ostensibly an ivory-trader, was very unscrupulous in his methods. De Bono, however, was the first European to explore the countries to the east of the Mountain Nile, i. e., between the main Nile and the basin of Lake Rudolf.

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MAP PUBLISHED IN PENNY MAGAZINE OF 1852.
Which gives results of Nile exploration up to that date.

death of not a few European explorers. But for their determined hostility, there is little doubt that the earlier French, Italian, German, and English pioneers would have found their way to Lake Albert long before its discovery by Baker. Indeed Giovanni Miani, a Venetian, got as far south as Apuddo,[1] if not farther, in the prosecution of his search for the rumoured lake. Miani subsequently explored the regions of the Bahr-al-Ghazal and the headwaters of the streams rising in the Nyam-nyam country. He it was who, first of all explorers, brought back those rumours of a watershed beyond the Nile system, with a great river (the Welle) flowing to the west.

There seems to have been little, if any, international jealousy in this wonderful field of exploration between 1840 and 1860. Khartum was the rendezvous, the principal depot of the Europeans, and throughout all these years was under a Turkish governor. Life in Khartum between 1850 and 1860 was by no means devoid of attractions. Several of the Europeans who made it their headquarters brought out their wives with them. Others were married to handsome Abyssinian women. The houses of Egyptian style were comfortable and cool. The place swarmed with strange new beasts and birds; indeed, nearly every house included a menagerie in one of its yards. A great slave-market brought before the eyes of astonished and interested Europeans nearly all the principal Negro types from as far west as Wadai

[1] Near the confluence of the Asua River.

and Darfur, from the confines of Abyssinia on the east, from the lands of the naked Nile Negroes on the south; stalwart, lighter-coloured, bearded Nyam-nyam cannibals from the southwest, coal-black Madi, here and there an Akka Pygmy, thin-shanked Dinka and Shiluk, sturdy Bongo, and handsome Gala. "There ain't no Ten Commandments" might with some justice have been said of society at Khartum. At any rate it was much untrammelled as regards the more wearisome conventions of civilised life. Nobody inquired if M. Dubois was legally married to Mme. Dubois, and perhaps the treatment of the doubtful Mme. Dubois as a respectable married woman by blue-eyed strait-souled Mrs. Jones ended by Mme. Dubois becoming legally united to her spouse later on at Cairo, and finishing the rest of her life as a happy and perfectly respectable person. The air was full of wonderment. Improvements made year by year in firearms resulted in marvellous big-game shooting. Though there were bad fevers to be got in the Bahr-al-Ghazal, the climate of Khartum itself was not necessarily unhealthy. The post seems to have arrived across the desert on camels at least once a month. The tyranny, social and administrative, of the British military officer and his dame was not to come for many years; the "smart" hotel was absent; provisions were good, plentiful, and cheap. Those are times that the African explorer of to-day looks back upon with something like a sigh.

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THE RIVER SOBAT.

CHAPTER X

MISSIONARIES AND SNOW-MOUNTAINS

DOWN to 1858 all that Europe knew of the Nile basin was this: The course of the Blue Nile had been mapped to some extent from its source in Lake Tsana; and the travels of Rüppell (1830–1831) (the great German naturalist), of another German, Joseph Russegger, of the D'Abbadies (the great French surveyors), of Sir William Cornwallis Harris (who was sent on a mission to Shoa), Théophile Le Febvre, Mansfield Parkyns (1840–1845), H. Dufton, and C. T. Beke had cleared up a good many blank spaces in the geography of Abyssinia and of the various affluents of the Nile flowing from the snow-mountains of that African Afghanistan in the direction of the Atbara, the Blue Nile, and the Sobat. The Sobat had been explored for a hundred miles or so, as far as steamers could penetrate. The White Nile had been surveyed from Khartum to the junction of the Bahr-al-Ghazal. South of that point, under the name of Mountain Nile, it and some of its branches, such as the Giraffe River, had also been explored, and the River of the Mountains, as the Upper White Nile is called by the Arabs, had been ascended to a little distance south of Gondokoro. The Bahr-al-Ghazal, the great western feeder

of the Nile, and several of its more important affluents, such as the Jur, had been made known, and the existence of the Nyam-nyam cannibal country ascertained. But the ultimate sources of the Nile stream were still undiscovered. This problem was now to be attacked from two very different directions.

In 1829 the Church Missionary Society had resolved to attempt the evangelisation of Abyssinia, and sent missionaries to the northern part of that country. Amongst these missionaries, in 1840, was a Würtemberg student named Ludwig Krapf, sent to prospect in northern Abyssinia. But the Abyssinians eventually resented this missionary enterprise, and Krapf and some others were expelled from the country in 1842.

Hearing good accounts of the more genial nature of the Zanzibar Arabs and of their Maskat ruler, Krapf journeyed down the East Coast of Africa and visited the Sayyid of Zanzibar (Majid); he obtained permission from this Arab viceroy [1] to settle at Mombasa and establish a Christian mission there. Krapf was soon joined by John Rebman (another Würtemberger). Both were well-educated men, who had been trained at Tübingen, at Basle, and in Rebman's case at an English missionary college. They acquired a knowledge of Arabic, and soon added to it an intimate acquaintance with several African tongues. Their in-

[1] Down to about 1860 the Arab ruler over East Africa was the Imam of Maskat, the sovereign of the principality of Oman on the Persian Gulf. For more than a hundred years, however, the Imam of Maskat deputed one of his sons or kinsmen to be Sayyid of Zanzibar.

L. Krapf

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REV. DR. J. LUDWIG KRAPF.

tercourse with the Arabs and the Negroes at Mombasa and its vicinity soon opened their ears to remarkable stories of the unknown interior. Already the Arabs were pushing farther and farther inland from these ports on the Zanzibar coast, and some of them had reached Lake Tanganyika, while they had also heard rumours of the Victoria Nyanza. The natives further told the missionaries of the wonderfully high mountains distant from ten to thirty days' march from the coast, the tops of which were covered with "white stuff." By 1850, through the agency of the Church Missionary Society, Rebman and Krapf were able to report from their own observation the existence of snow-mountains nearly under the equator, Rebman having discovered Kilimanjaro in 1848, while in the following year Krapf not only confirmed this discovery, but pushed his way far enough inland to catch a glimpse of Mount Kenya, the distance of which from the coast he underestimated. The missionaries also sent to Europe about the same time stories of a great inland sea. They had gathered up the reports of Lake Nyasa, Tanganyika, and the Victoria Nyanza, and had imagined these separate sheets of water to be only parts of a huge, slug-shaped lake as big as the Caspian Sea. They also reported the separate existence of Lake Baringo. These stories they illustrated by a map (Erhardt and Rebman) published in 1855. Their stories of snow-mountains in equatorial Africa only drew down on them for the most part the ridicule of English geographers, among whom was a

wearisome person, Mr. Desborough Cooley, who published fine-spun theories based on a fantastic interpretation of African etymology; but their stories were believed in France, and they were awarded a medal by the Paris Geographical Society. They also impressed an American poet, Bayard Taylor, who in 1855 wrote some stirring lines on Kilimanjaro:—

> "Remote, inaccessible, silent, and lone —
> Who from the heart of the tropical fervours
> Liftest to heaven thine alien snows."

These stories from the missionaries revived the interest in Ptolemy's Geography. The Nile lakes were once more believed in, especially as the discovery of Kenya and Kilimanjaro appeared to confirm the stories of the Mountains of the Moon. This idea indeed was additionally favoured by the fact that the missionaries often referred to their hypothetical lake as the Sea of Unyamwezi, which name they rightly explained as meaning (we know not why) the "Land of the Moon." [1]

[1] By its own people this country is called *Wu-nya-mwezi*. *Wu-* is a degenerate form of the Bantu *bu-* prefix, which is often used to indicate a country. *Nya* is a particle, meaning "of," or "concerning," and *mwezi* = the moon. Unyamwezi is, however, so far away from Ruwenzori on the one hand or Kilimanjaro on the other that it is difficult to associate its name (which so far as we know has been in existence for about four centuries) with that of the snow-mountains.

CHAPTER XI

BURTON AND SPEKE

NILE exploration from the north had stopped in 1851 at the rapids south of Gondokoro. It was now felt that the problem should be attacked from other directions. In 1839 the British government had formally annexed Aden at the southwestern corner of Arabia as a coaling station for ships plying between Suez and India. Aden is opposite the Somali coast, and has been for many centuries the outpost of civilisation with which the Somali have traded. It was impossible to possess Aden long without desiring to become acquainted with the character of the African coast across the gulf, especially as Aden depended so much on Somaliland for its supplies of meat, grain, and fodder, and the ostrich feathers, ivory, and skins sold in the Aden bazaars. Aden was, and is still, under the government of India, and officers of the Indian army soon found their way across to Somaliland on authorised or unauthorised surveys. Among these was Lieutenant Cruttenden, who collected some new information about the sterile country beyond the coast. In 1854 a remarkable man came to Aden as an officer in the Indian garrison,—Lieutenant Richard Francis Burton, fresh from his wonderful journey as

a pilgrim to Mecca. Burton induced the authorities to support him in a project for entering inner East Africa through Somaliland, and thus perhaps striking at the sources of the Nile. Another explorer in the bud, Lieutenant John Hanning Speke, reached Aden soon afterwards, and obtained permission to join Burton's expedition.

Whilst waiting for a time thought to be favourable for travelling southwards into the Ogadein country, Burton went off alone on a remarkably plucky journey to the mysterious city of Harrar, to-day a frontier town of Abyssinia. Harrar, lying to the south of that Rift valley, which can be traced after a few interruptions from the Gulf of Tajurra right down into British and German East Africa, was a walled city inhabited by a Semitic people, or rather a people still retaining the use of a Semitic dialect akin to those of Abyssinia and South Arabia.

Speke did a good deal to increase our knowledge of the remarkable fauna of Somaliland, but the Burton-Speke expedition into that country got no great distance inland, and ended in disaster, owing to the suspicions of the Somali. The expedition was attacked close to the seashore at Berbera. One of the party, Lieutenant Stroyan, was killed. Speke was severely, and Burton slightly wounded. Speke is of opinion that much of this disaster was due to the mismanagement of Burton. He considers that if, when the expedition was first organised, instead of fussing about mysterious visits to Harrar and waiting for this

thing and that thing, the whole expedition had started off boldly for the interior, the Somali would have had no time to cultivate suspicion, and would have opposed no resistance. It is quite conceivable that Speke was right, and that if the expedition had started with promptitude it might have reached the confines of Shoa or the Gala country in the direction of modern British East Africa. As it was, the attack on Burton's expedition closed for some thirty years any attempt at penetrating the mysterious country of the Somali, with its remarkable mammalian fauna and its as yet unexplained ruins.[1]

Burton's attention was now drawn to the stories of the Mombasa missionaries. With some difficulty he obtained from the Foreign Office, the East India Company, and the Royal Geographical Society funds to equip an expedition which should start from the Zanzibar coast in search of the great lake. As Speke had lost over five hundred pounds worth of private property

[1] Speke and others are of opinion that there was a considerable civilisation in Somaliland at one time, which completely disappeared after the Muhammadanising of the country. The Somali (except those of the far interior) were converted to Islam by Arab immigrants in the fifteenth century. Prior to this they had been Christian to some extent, a much degraded type of Christianity having penetrated southwards from Abyssinia. It is hardly necessary to point out that the Somali and Gala are practically one people in race and language. Gala is only apparently a cant term originating in Abyssinia and unknown to the people whom we call by that name. It is also interesting to note that Speke and other explorers heard in Somaliland, in the "early fifties," of the existence of a great lake far in the interior which was in all probability the Victoria Nyanza. The present writer has endeavoured to show, in his book on the Uganda Protectorate, that in ancient times considerable trading intercourse was kept up between Somaliland and the northeast shores of the Victoria Nyanza.

in the disaster which fell on the Somali expedition, Burton invited him to join this new expedition as his lieutenant. Burton had been distracted for a time from this idea by the Crimean War, but when peace was declared, he obtained the sanction of the Geographical Society to his plans, and started with Speke for India to smooth the difficulties placed in his way by the Indian government. At the very end of 1856 the explorers reached Zanzibar. While the expedition was being organised at Zanzibar, Burton and Speke visited Pemba, Mombasa, and the mission station ten miles in the interior. Fired by the stories of the snow-mountains and the rumour of the great lake of Ukerewe,[1] Speke proposed that they should bring their expedition to Mombasa and start for the lake by way of Kilimanjaro. The Masai, however, were raiding the country right up to within ten miles of Mombasa, and in consequence Burton was afraid to take this route. The explorers visited the mountainous country of Usambara, which is close to the coast, and then returned to Zanzibar. The original instructions, however, of the Royal Geographical Society (which had found the bulk of the funds) had been: "The great object of the expedition is to penetrate inland, from Kilwa or some other place on the East Coast of Africa, and make the best of its way to the reputed Lake of Nyasa." Burton found, however, that the Arabs of Kilwa were strongly opposed

[1] Victoria Nyanza. Often so called in earlier days by the Arabs, from Bukerebe, a large island near the south shore.

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A Swahili Arab Trader.

to white men penetrating the interior in that direction. He therefore decided to choose the line of least resistance at Bagamoyo, and go along the now beaten track of the Arabs to Ujiji. When Burton and Speke reached Unyamwezi (Kaze) at the close of 1857, they were received with much kindness and courtesy by the Zanzibar Arabs established there, especially by Sheikh Snay, who had been the first Arab to reach Uganda. Snay promptly cleared up the mystery of the missionaries' great lake, telling the explorers that it was three different lakes (Nyasa, Tanganyika, and Victoria) rolled into one. The Arabs had also heard through the Banyoro rumours of European vessels travelling up the White Nile to the Bari country. Burton was continually prostrated with fever during this stay in Unyamwezi, so that the command of the expedition and the solution of its difficulties temporarily devolved on Speke. The main trouble, as on all these expeditions, was with the question of transport. It was very difficult to obtain porters to proceed in any direction north or west of Unyamwezi. At last they induced a number of their paid-off men who had accompanied them through the coast lands to rejoin and convey the loads as far as Ujiji. In that way Burton and Speke discovered Lake Tanganyika, and Speke thought (wrongly) that in the great tilted plateau which they ascended on the east, and from which they looked down on the beautiful blue waters of the lake, he had discovered the Mountains of the Moon.

After a somewhat half-hearted exploration of the northern portion of Tanganyika in an Arab dau, during which they heard and partially verified the fact that no river flowed out of Tanganyika on the north, but that the Rusizi flowed *into* the lake[1] in that direction, they returned to Ujiji, and from this point made their way back to Kaze in Unyamwezi. Here Burton again became ill. Speke with some difficulty obtained from him permission to travel northwards in search of the Lake of Bukerebe. Burton yielded his consent reluctantly, and appears to have given but grudging assistance in the shape of men and guides. Full of energy, however, Speke gathered together a caravan, which crossed Unyamwezi and Usukuma, and on the 30th of July, 1858, he saw the Mwanza creek, one of the southernmost gulfs of the Victoria Nyanza. The extremity of this he named "Jordans Nullah."[2] Travelling northwards along this creek, on August 3d (1858), early in the morning, Speke saw the open waters of a great lake with a sea horizon to the north. Much of the horizon was shut in by great and small islands, but Speke detected through their interstices the vast extent of open water which stretched to the north.

He realised to the full the wonder of his discovery, and the obvious probability that this mighty lake would

[1] Though Burton subsequently recanted this opinion in order to embarrass Speke's theories, and declared that the Rusizi was the outlet of Tanganyika.

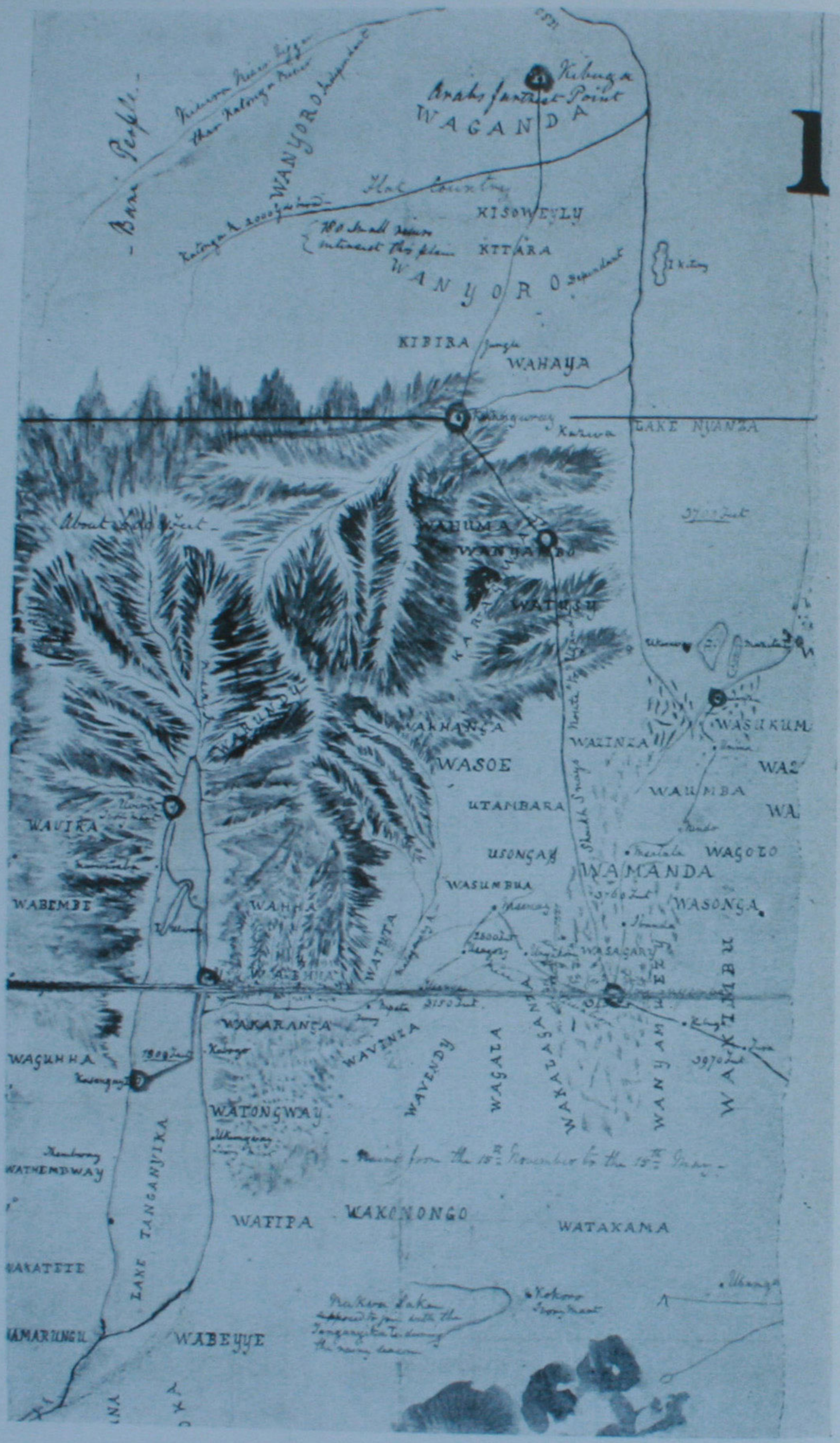
[2] After his Somersetshire home, and the Indian word for a creek — *ălla*.

prove to be the main headwaters of the White Nile. Even Speke, however, failed to appreciate then or subsequently the full extent of the Nyanza's area. He only guessed its breadth at over one hundred miles, and its length from north to south at under two hundred. Speke inquired from the natives the name of this freshwater sea, and they replied "Nyanza," which in varying forms such as Nyanja, Nyasa, Mwanza, Kianja, Luanza (according to prefix), is a widespread Bantu root for a large extent of water, — a river or a lake. To this term Speke added the name of Victoria after the Queen of England. The following extract from his book, "What Led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile," gives his first impressions of the great lake: —

"The caravan, after quitting Isamiro, began winding up a long but gradually inclined hill [which, as it bears no native name, I shall call Somerset] until it reached its summit, when the vast expanse of the pale blue waters of the Nyanza burst suddenly upon my gaze. It was early morning. The distant sea-line of the north horizon was defined in the calm atmosphere between the north and the west points of the compass; but even this did not afford me any idea of the breadth of the lake, as an archipelago of islands, each consisting of a single hill, rising to a height two hundred or three hundred feet above the water, intersected the line of vision to the left; while on the right the western horn of the Ukerewe Island cut off any further view of its distant waters to the eastward of north. A sheet of water — an elbow of the sea, however, at the base of the low range on which I stood — extended far away to the eastward, to where, in the

dim horizon, a hummock-like elevation of the mainland marked what I understood to be the south and east angle of the lake. The important islands of Ukerewe and Mzita, distant about twenty or thirty miles, formed the visible north shore of this firth. The name of the former of these islands was familiar to us as that by which this long-sought lake was usually known. It is reported by the natives to be of no great extent, and though of no considerable elevation, I could discover severable spurs stretching down to the water's edge from its central ridge of hills. The other island, Mzita, is of greater elevation, of a hog-backed shape, but being more distant its physical features were not so distinctly visible.

"In consequence of the northern islands of the Bengal Archipelago before-mentioned obstructing the view, the western shore of the lake could not be defined: a series of low hill-tops extended in this direction as far as the eye could reach; while below me, at no great distance, was the *débouchure* of the creek which enters the lake from the south, and along the banks of which my last three days' journey had led me. This view was one which even in a well-known and explored country would have arrested the traveller by its peaceful beauty. The islands, each swelling in a gentle slope to a rounded summit, clothed with wood between the rugged, angular, closely-cropping rocks of granite, seemed mirrored in the calm surface of the lake, on which I here and there detected a small black speck, — the tiny canoe of some Muanza fisherman. On the gently shelving plain below me blue smoke curled among the trees, which here and there partially concealed villages and hamlets, their brown thatched roofs contrasting with the emerald-green of the beautiful aloes, the coral flower-branches of which cluster in such profusion round the cottages, and form alleys and hedgerows about the villages as ornamental as any garden



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SKETCH MAP BY BURTON AND SPEKE, 1858.
From the Original in the possession of the Royal Geographical Society.

shrub in England. But the pleasure of the mere view vanished in the presence of those more intense and exciting emotions which are called up by the consideration of the commercial and geographical importance of the prospect before me.

"I no longer felt any doubt that the lake at my feet gave birth to that interesting river, the source of which has been the subject of so much speculation, and the object of so many explorers. The Arabs' tale was proved to the letter. This is a far more extensive lake than the Tanganyika; 'so broad that you could not see across it, and so long that nobody knew its length.' I had now the pleasure of perceiving that a map I had constructed on Arab testimony, and sent home to the Royal Geographical Society before leaving Unyanyembe, was so substantially correct in its general outlines I had nothing whatever to alter. Further, as I drew that map after proving their first statements about the Tanganyika, which were made before my going there, I have every reason to feel confident of their veracity relative to their travels north through Karagwe, and to Kibuga in Uganda."

Unable to delay longer in his exploration of the southern shores of the Victoria Nyanza, as he had promised to rejoin Burton by a certain date, Speke returned to Kaze in Unyanyembe, to find his companion vexed at the great discovery which he had made. Speke did not pursue the argument as to the Victoria Nyanza being the main source of the Nile. The two men journeyed together on more or less bad terms to Zanzibar, where Burton remained to wind up the affairs of the expedition, Speke returning direct to England. Here the wonderful news he brought

prompted the Royal Geographical Society to gather together the funds for a fresh expedition, which was to enable Speke to make good his discovery of the lake, and to prove to the satisfaction of the scientific world that this sheet of water was the ultimate source of the White Nile.

CHAPTER XII

SPEKE AND THE NILE QUEST

JOHN HANNING SPEKE was born on May 27, 1827, at Orleigh Court, Bideford, North Devon. His father's family had its seat in Somersetshire, near the pretty old town of Ilminster, and was of ancient descent. The name was spelled L'Espec in Norman times, and apparently meant a spike or porcupine quill (the family crest was a porcupine).[1] Speke's mother was a Miss Hanning of Dillington Park, also in Somerset. He was one of four sons, and had several sisters. As his father (Mr. William Speke), after he came into the family place of Jordans near Ilminster, had two church livings to dispose of, he was desirous that two at least of his sons might be brought up to the Church. John Hanning and Edward Speke (who was killed at Delhi) declined such a career, however, and wished to go into the army. Speke was a restless boy, who detested school, declaring that a sedentary life made him ill. Whenever

[1] Walter L'Espec, in the reign of Henry I., founded three abbeys,—Kirkham, Rivaulx, and Warden. In the thirteenth century the L'Especs altered the spelling of their name to Speke. One Speke lost property by faithfulness to Charles I.; another got into (and out of) trouble in the reign of Charles II. by advocating the claims to the succession of the Duke of Monmouth.

he could escape from his masters, he was always out in the woods and on the heaths, displaying a great devotion to natural history and sport.

When only seventeen his mother, who was acquainted with the Duke of Wellington, obtained for her two sons, John and Edward, commissions in the Indian army. The Duke asked to see the boys, and congratulated their mother on two such fine young fellows coming forward for service in India. Edward Speke, as already mentioned, was killed during the Indian mutiny at the siege of Delhi. John Hanning Speke himself, between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two, had seen a good deal of military service in India, and took part in the last Sikh war, having been at the battles of Ramnagar, Sedulapur, Chilianwala, and Guzerat.

In 1849 he first entertained the idea of exploring equatorial Africa. Prior to this date he had shot a great deal in India, and subsequently explored southwestern Tibet. His first interest in Africa lay in the possibility of amassing magnificent zoölogical collections to illustrate the fauna of that wide stretch of country which lay between South Africa and Abyssinia. He wished to supplement the researches of Rüppell on the northeast and of Harris, Gordon Cumming, and others in the far south. Even at that date Speke desired to land at some point on the East African coast, and strike across to the Nile, descending the Nile to Egypt with his zoölogical collections.

He obtained furlough in the autumn of 1854, and

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At the age of 17, on first receiving his commission in the Indian Army.

proceeded to Aden with the intention of landing on the opposite coast of Somaliland. Arrived at Aden, his plans met with stubborn opposition from Colonel Sir James Outram, the Resident, who not only opposed Speke's journeys, but even those which were officially ordered by the Bombay government to be conducted by Richard Burton. But the Bombay government, in regard to the latter plan, insisted on Sir James Outram withdrawing his opposition. Sir James Outram then attached Speke to this expedition, knowing him to be a good surveyor. Speke had in fact mapped a good deal of southwestern Tibet, and was thoroughly at home with the sextant. The results of this venture have been described in the preceding chapter. The Somali expedition led to Speke's accompanying Burton in 1857.

Speke returned to England alone on the 8th of May, 1859. The day after his arrival Sir Roderick Murchison, President of the Royal Geographical Society, decided that Speke was to be sent back as soon as possible to substantiate his discovery of the Victoria Nyanza, and to ascertain its connection with the Nile system. But although funds were soon secured by public subscription, it was deemed advisable by Speke that the new expedition should not start for nearly a year. Captain James Augustus Grant, who had shot with Speke in India, begged leave to accompany him as his lieutenant.

Burton returned to England in 1859, somewhat chagrined to hear of the enthusiasm with which Speke's

discovery of the Victoria Nyanza had been received, — an enthusiasm which to some extent had put the revelation of Lake Tanganyika in the shade. Burton nevertheless was awarded, in 1860, the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society, and in returning thanks for this honour, he uttered a handsome acknowledgment of Speke's services as surveyor on this expedition to the great lakes. But the two men were evidently on bad terms, and though the fault of their disaccord may have lain with Burton's conduct, the world knew of it first through the writings of Speke in "Blackwood's Magazine," and later (in 1864) in the republication of these Blackwood articles with additions under the title of "What Led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile." In these works Speke makes certain stinging references to Burton. So far as an impartial verdict can be arrived at, Speke in all probability spoke the truth; but he was perhaps unduly hard on his companion, for whom he had evidently a great personal dislike and some degree of contempt. In some respects Speke's own education had been defective (at least, we are told that he was so much of a truant as to receive but little schooling before going to India). He may, therefore, have been unable to appreciate to the full Burton's undoubted talents. Yet again, in reading Speke's books it would occur to no one to say that he was deficient in education. He had become an admirable geographer, a keen naturalist; and whether his writing was or was not without grace of style, it was

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BURTON'S IDEA OF THE NILE SOURCES, DEC. 1864.

certainly pithy and to the point. His great book, the "Discovery of the Source of the Nile," is good reading all through, and strikes one who, like the present writer, has been over much of the same ground, as being singularly truthful. It is as good a book as any that Burton himself ever wrote on Africa, not excepting even the excellent "Lake Regions." Speke was a fine figure of a man, — tall and handsome in an English style, with blue eyes and a brown beard. There is no doubt that he impressed the natives favourably wherever he went as being a man and a gentleman. Yet there was a little hardness in his disposition, something pitiless in his criticisms of Burton. Burton's own attacks on Speke scarcely appeared in a public form until four years after Speke had returned to Africa. They were angry, and somewhat clumsy, but not so incisive as Speke's criticisms of Burton. Burton's chief revenge lay in endeavouring for many years to prove that Speke had made no very great discovery; that his Victoria Nyanza was not the greatest lake in Africa and the main source of the Nile, but a network of swamps and lakelets. Burton hailed with delight Sir Samuel Baker's description of the Albert Nyanza as being the ultimate origin of the White Nile. To meet this view he, against his own convictions, tried to make the Rusizi River flow out of the north end of Tanganyika instead of flowing into that lake, in the hope that Tanganyika was thus connected with Lake Albert, — a fact which, if proved, would dwarf the discovery of

the Victoria Nyanza into insignificance. To this end he published a map, and endeavoured to persuade every geographer who would listen to him that the Victoria Nyanza was more than half a myth, and that its contribution to the Nile waters was insignificant compared to the supply received from the western chain of lakes.

Speke's character was that of many an officer in the British army. Though his family claimed Norman descent, his physique was emphatically Anglo-Saxon. Born almost without fear, he had perhaps too ready a contempt for others of weaker nerve who could better weigh the chances of danger and the counsels of prudence. Speke was a splendid shot, and accurate in those astronomical observations necessary to the determination of geographical positions. He had a good knowledge of Hindustani,[1] but not that great readiness in picking up languages which was Burton's forte. Yet he was perfectly honest about this, as about every talent which he possessed or lacked. On the other hand, his great dislike of Bur-

[1] In one of his books Speke shows us how Burton and himself managed to communicate with the natives. Neither of them — not even Burton — had a sufficient knowledge of Kiswahili during their journey to Tanganyika to talk direct with their porters. They conversed with "Bombay," their Swahili interpreter, in Hindustani. Burton also was able to speak Arabic with the Arab traders. Both, perhaps, are a little too inclined to overlook this language difficulty in describing their conversations with native chiefs. In all cases these must have been carried on in the following manner: The chief would probably speak in his native language, which would be translated by somebody else into Swahili, and this again would be translated by Bombay, or Frij, or some other interpreter, into Hindustani or English; or, again, Burton's information might be rendered by some Arab in Arabic. Direct communications no doubt were sometimes made by both parties in broken Swahili.

ton sometimes made him unjust in denying to his companion the qualities of mind he really possessed. Burton's *résumé* of ethnological information concerning the East African tribes from the Zanzibar coast to Uganda and the shores of Tanganyika is masterly, and due to the most careful note-taking. It may not, perhaps, be out of place if I quote a few lines from a letter written by Sir Samuel Baker to a correspondent:[1] —

"Speke comes first as a geographer and African explorer. He was superior to Burton as a painstaking, determined traveller, who worked out his object for the real love of geographical research, without the slightest jealousy of others. . . . But Burton excelled Speke in cleverness and general information, though he was not so reliable. Speke was a splendid fellow in every way. . . . Grant (his companion) was one of the most loyal and charming creatures in the world. Perfectly unselfish, he adored Speke, and throughout his life he maintained an attitude of chivalrous defence of Speke's reputation. . . . They were all friends of mine."

There is little doubt that Burton, who had displayed such cool courage on his journey to Mecca, had received a shock over the Somali attack on his camp in 1854, from which he never wholly recovered. His proceedings in connection with the Tanganyika journey were marked by something approaching timidity. It is probable that had Speke been in command of this

[1] Mr. T. Douglas Murray, who afterwards became Baker's biographer. This letter was written near the close of Sir Samuel Baker's life, on the 22d of August, 1893.

expedition much more would have been done than was actually accomplished. Feeling this very strongly, and realising that he had contributed a good deal of his private funds to the resources of this and the preceding Somali expedition, Speke considered himself quite justified in hurrying home with the news of the expedition's discoveries, the more so because Burton had snubbed him for his pains in connection with the Victoria Nyanza. I do not think it can be said that he ever treated Burton unfairly, but there was perhaps in his behaviour a touch of hardness and a lack of generosity. He heartily disliked Burton, and that was the reason.

In James Augustus Grant (as is indicated by the quotation from Sir Samuel Baker's letter) Speke had found a companion after his own heart. Grant was a handsome Scotchman of the "Iberian" type, — black hair, dark eyes, dark eyebrows, clear complexion. In later life the hair and the beard turned white, but the face remained singularly youthful. Of Grant Sir Samuel Baker writes: "He was the most unselfish man I ever met; amiable and gentle to a degree that might to a stranger denote weakness, but, on the contrary, no man could be more determined in character or unrelenting when once he was offended." Grant, like Speke, was a sportsman; he was also — in a somewhat uninstructed way — a zoölogist and a botanist. The botany of Africa, in fact, was his principal hobby. He painted cleverly in water-colours, and did more than anybody else, down to a quite recent date, to put be-

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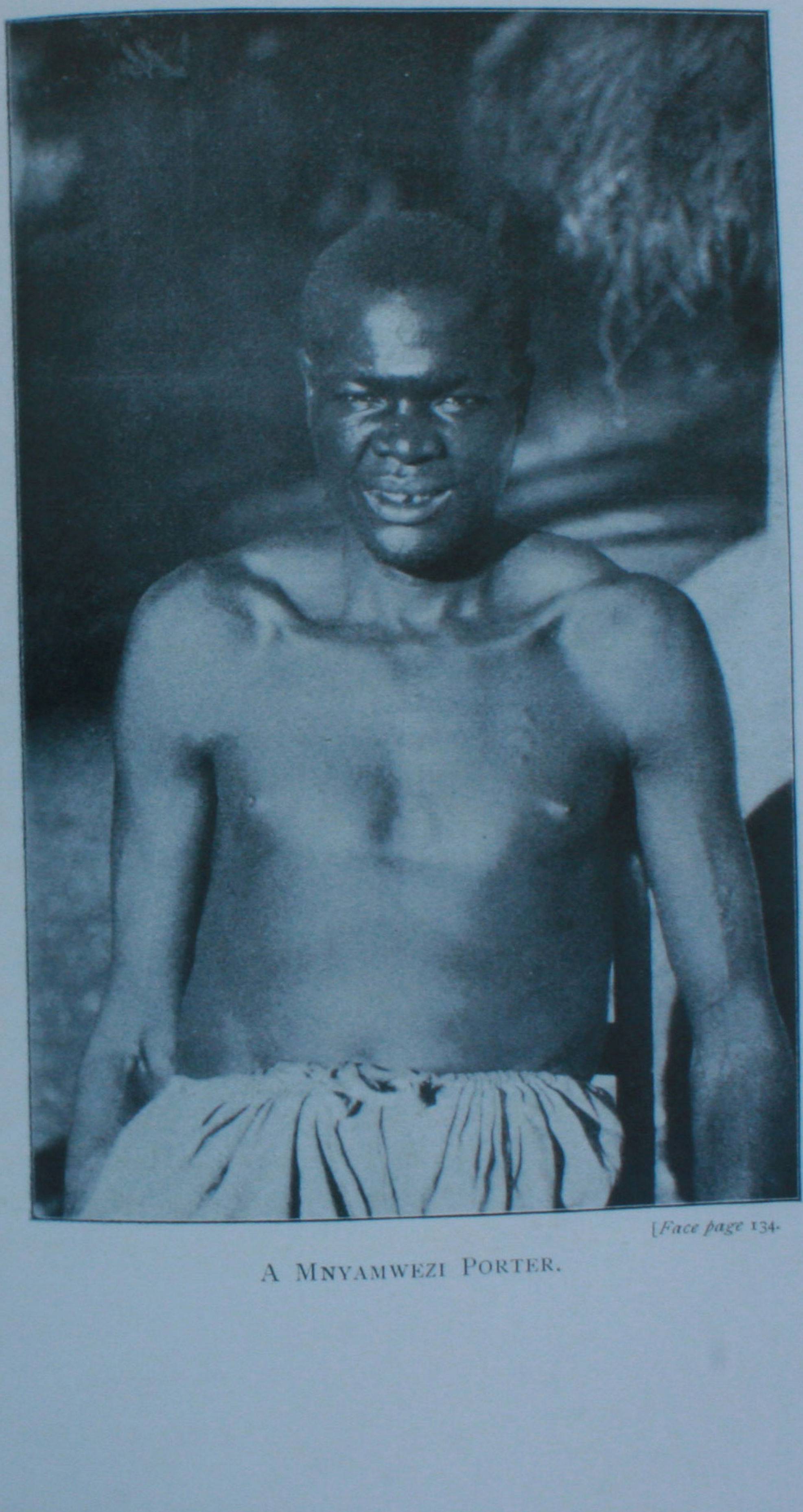
JAMES AUGUSTUS GRANT.

fore our eyes some idea of the beautiful coloration of African wild flowers. He published at his own expense, through the Linnæan Society, three volumes illustrating the more notable features of his botanical collections. Although most of these flowers were drawn for him by scientific draughtsmen, his own sketches supplied the means for an accurate coloration which could no longer be ascertained from the dried specimens. In this particular Grant has made an important contribution to African research.

Before leaving England Speke made arrangements, through the British consul at Zanzibar, to send on an instalment of porters and property to Unyamwezi, intending to follow his old route to the Victoria Nyanza. The Indian government, which has often done so much to assist the opening up or the settlement of eastern Africa, gave to Speke's expedition fifty carbines and twenty thousand rounds of ammunition, and lent him as many surveying instruments as were required. The government of India also put at his disposal rich presents (gold watches) for such Arabs as had assisted him on the former expedition.

Petherick, whose explorations have been treated of in the previous chapter, had recently arrived in England from the Upper Nile, and had been promoted to be British Consul. Speke, before he left England, made arrangements with Petherick to place boats at his disposal at Gondokoro, and to send a party of men in the same direction to collect ivory and to wait about in the vicinity of Gondokoro in order to assist

him when he should reach that part of the Nile. Petherick was also invited to ascend the Asua River (then thought to be a branch of the Nile instead of an affluent) in case it should be another means of communication with the Victoria Nyanza. Speke and Grant journeyed out by way of the Cape, and at Cape Town stayed for a while with the great Sir George Grey, who, taking the greatest interest in their undertaking, induced the Cape government to grant the sum of three hundred pounds to be spent in buying baggage mules. With these mules were sent ten Hottentot mounted police. From Cape Town the expedition was conveyed on a gunboat to Zanzibar. At the commencement of October, 1860, Speke's expedition was organised, and he started for the interior. His expedition consisted of one corporal and nine privates of the Hottentot police; one jemadar and twenty-five privates of the Baluch soldiery of the Sultan of Zanzibar; one Arab caravan leader and seventy-five freed slaves; one kirongozi or guide and one hundred negro porters; two black valets, who had both been man-of-war's men and could speak Hindustani; Frij, the black cook (also from a man-of-war), and the invaluable "Bombay," who was interpreter and factotum. (The expedition took with it twelve transport mules and three donkeys, also twenty-two goats for milk and meat. The Hottentots soon broke down in health, and took to riding the donkeys, the mules being loaded with ammunition.) The white men, as a rule, had to walk. The Hottentots were



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A Mnyamwezi Porter.

sometimes useful as camp cooks, but they suffered so much from fever as to become a burden to the expedition.

"My first occupation [writes Speke][1] was to map the country. This is done by timing the rate of march with a watch, making compass bearings along the road, or any conspicuous marks, — as, for instance, hills off it, — and by noting the watershed, — in short, all topographical objects. On arrival in camp every day came the ascertaining, by boiling-point thermometer, of the altitude of the station above the sea-level; of the latitude of the station by the meridian altitude of a star taken with a sextant; and of the compass variation by azimuth. Occasionally there was the fixing of certain crucial stations at intervals of sixty miles or so, by lunar observations . . . for determining the longitude, by which the original-timed course can be drawn out with certainty on the map by proportion. . . . The rest of my work, besides sketching and keeping a diary, which was the most troublesome of all, consisted in making geological and zoölogical collections. With Captain Grant rested the botanical collections and thermometrical registers. He also undertook the photography. The rest of our day went in breakfasting after the march was over, — a pipe, to prepare us for rummaging the fields and villages to discover their contents for scientific purposes, — dinner close to sunset, and tea and a pipe before turning in at night."

Speke noticed in Uzegura deposits of pisolitic limestone in which marine fossils are observable. He draws attention to the interesting fact that a limestone formation occurs with a few breaks almost

[1] See his "Discovery of the Source of the Nile."

continuously from the southwest coast of Portugal, through North Africa, Egypt, and part of the Somali country, across Arabia to eastern India.[1] In connection with this it may be mentioned as a point of great interest that Mr. C. W. Hobley (Sub-Commissioner in the East Africa Protectorate) discovered deposits of limestone in the Nyando valley, about forty miles from the northeast corner of the Victoria Nyanza.

Speke's expedition travelled on with little trouble as far as Usagara. The complete harmony which existed at all times between Speke and Grant contributed much to the smoothness of the arrangements. At Usagara, however, they had trouble with one of their caravan leaders (Baraka). The Hottentots became increasingly sick and helpless, and Captain Grant was seriously ill with fever. However, they pushed on to that East Coast range of terraced mountains which is nowadays dotted with not a few mission and government stations. There is charming and fantastic scenery in these mountains, which rise in parts to an altitude of seven thousand feet. From Usagara were sent back some of the Hottentots, a collection of natural history specimens, and the camera. Speke had greatly desired to illustrate the scenery of equatorial Africa by means of photography, — a most serious undertaking in the sixties. Grant worked the apparatus, but was rendered so ill by the heat of the dark tent that Speke decided to abandon photography and to rely instead on his companion's drawings.

[1] Discovery of the Source of the Nile, p. 31.

Ugogo, which is a rolling plateau to the west of the Usagara range, gave the travellers some trouble. Here, as elsewhere, there was famine, owing to the scarcity of water and the incessant raids on the part of the Masai from the north or the Wahehe from the south. The Wagogo themselves are a truculent people, who have given serious annoyance to caravans during the last hundred years. They speak a Bantu language, but have very much more the physical aspect of the Nilotic tribes to the north, being, like them, very much addicted to nudity.[1] On the plains of Ugogo Grant killed the largest and handsomest of all the gazelles, which had henceforth borne his name.[2]

In Ugogo Speke also records the existence of that strange archaic type of dog, the *Otocyon,* a specimen of which he killed. On the western frontier of Ugogo the expedition was menaced with serious trouble. The rapacious native chief made increasing demands on them for taxes. A number of their porters deserted, and their Wanyamwezi carriers who had agreed to replace the missing men were scared away by the threats of the Wagogo. In addition, the rainy season had come on, and was unusually heavy, flooding the country in all directions. The expedition would have come to grief but for the game shot by its leaders, which kept

[1] Worthy of mention here as being the southernmost extension of "Nilotic" influence among the East African races.

[2] *Gazella granti*, the horns of which are far longer than is the case with any other gazelle, the animal itself being about the size of a fallow deer.

the men from starvation. It was only got out of its difficulties at last by the friendly help of the Arabs of Unyamwezi, who sent seventy porters to the relief of the explorers. When Speke reached the borders of Unyamwezi and took stock of his position, he found that six of his Hottentots were dead or had been sent back to the coast in charge of several free porters, that twenty-five of the Sultan of Zanzibar's slaves and ninety-eight of the original Wanyamwezi porters had deserted, all the mules and donkeys were dead, and half of his property had been stolen.

Unyamwezi, "the Land of the Moon," is a remarkable part of eastern Africa. Practically it consists of nearly all the land lying between the Victoria Nyanza on the north and the vicinity of Lake Rukwa on the south. It is longer (from north to south) than it is broad. Prior to the German occupation it had ceased to be a single kingdom, and was divided into a number of small and mutually hostile states only united by the common bond of the Kinyamwezi language. This varies a good deal in dialect, though it has distinctive features of its own. In Usukuma to the north it offers more resemblance to the languages of the Uganda Protectorate; on the south it links on in some way with the languages of the Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau. How the country became associated with the moon is not known; for the most part of it is an undulating plateau, with occasional rift valleys that contain salt or fresh water pools. A great part of its drainage goes towards Tanganyika or Lake Rukwa.

The language of its people is typically Bantu, but they would seem to be a very mixed race physically. Some of them have the ugly features of the Congo Pygmies; others again are strikingly like the Galas and the Bahima. The bulk of the nation consists of tall and very muscular Negroes, with thoroughly Negro features. They are celebrated as porters, being able to carry burdens twice as heavy as could be offered to any other carriers. They have also a keen instinct for trade, and it is supposed that, first of all Bantu nations of the East African interior, they opened up communications with the coast. There has been trade going on between the Zanzibar coast and Unyamwezi for at least five centuries, — a trade, however, which has been subject to prolonged interruptions. The Zanzibar Arabs did not settle in the country until a hundred years ago.

Conversing with the Arabs of Unyamwezi, Speke again heard from them of "a wonderful mountain to the northward of Karagwe[1] so high and steep that no one could ascend it. It was seldom visible, being up in the clouds, where white matter — snow or hail — fell on it." The Arabs also spoke of the other lake, which was salt and also called Nyanza, but quite different from the Victoria.[2] From the Arabs Speke also heard of the naked Nile Negroes to the north and east of Unyoro, and of those of them

[1] A Hima state, lying to the west of the Victoria Nyanza.

[2] This, of course, was Lake Albert, the waters of which are slightly brackish. But it is often called the Salt Lake by the Arabs, from the large deposits of salt on its shores.

(the Lango) who, like the Turkana farther east, wear their hair in enormous bags down the back. They told him that Lake Tanganyika was drained by the Marungu River.[1] Some of this knowledge Speke perverted to fit in with erroneous and preconceived notions. At this interval of time, however, one is surprised at the correctness of geographical information given to Burton, Speke, and Baker by the Arabs. One is still more surprised that the constant hints as to the great snow-mountain range of Ruwenzori should have so often fallen on deaf ears.

In Unyamwezi Speke's further progress was much delayed, owing to the difficulty in getting porters. The country to the east from which he had come was convulsed with wars between the Arabs and the natives. In these wars figured, as a bandit leader of handsome appearance and remarkable adventures, the celebrated Manwa Sera, a dispossessed Unyamwezi chief. In the course of these wars Speke's principal friends amongst the Arabs were killed or disappeared. Amongst them was the celebrated Snay, the first Arab to enter Uganda, and in fact the first non-Negro to convey the news of the existence of Uganda to the civilised world. On the northwest trouble was threatened by the warlike country of Usui, whose chief, Suwarora, blocked the way to Karagwe by his extortions. To the west and north also the country was being raided by the Watuta, a mysterious race of warlike nomads who were said to be of Zulu origin, and were, accord-

[1] They meant, of course, the Rukuga, which flows through Marungu.

ing to all accounts, the furthest extension of the great Zulu invasion of East Africa, which took place in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Speke attempted to recruit porters in the northern parts of Unyamwezi, but without success. He therefore returned to the headquarters of the Arabs at Kaze, and from this point sent back the last of the Hottentots to the coast. Speke, seeing that he could get no farther without bringing some order into the country, negotiated a peace beween Manwa Sera and the Arabs. The peace with Manwa Sera broke down. Finally Speke decided to leave Bombay and Grant behind in northern Unyamwezi with the loads which it was impossible to transport. With such porters as he had he pushed on to the northwest and entered Buzinza, the first country ruled by Bahima chiefs.[1] Speke remarks rightly that specimens of this Hamitic (Gala) aristocracy extend from the south shores of the Victoria Nyanza southwards as far as the Fipa country and the edges of the Nyasa-Tanganyika Plateau. On pages 128 to 134 of his book[2] Speke gives an excellent description of the maddening extortions of a petty African chief. This behaviour on the chief's part should be borne in mind when the armchair geographer is inclined to lay all the blame on the European and Arab for commencing wars with Negro tribes.

From February to October Speke had the most

[1] Hima or Huma is the commonest name applied locally to the Gala aristocracy in East Equatorial Africa.

[2] Journal of the Discovery of the Sources of the Nile.

trying experiences which were to await him on this journey. He travelled backwards and forwards from Kaze to Uzinza, endeavouring in all possible ways to get porters to carry him to Usui. In these journeys he caught a severe cold, the effects of which lasted for months in a most distressing cough, and some disease of the chest which he could not diagnose. His caravans were robbed, though the goods were sometimes recovered. Several of his Swahili headmen turned traitors; Bombay alone was faithful. Grant, when he had recovered from fever, marched and countermarched. But Speke had fortunately managed months before to send on word of his coming to Suwarora, Chief of Usui, who himself was a vassal of Rumanika, the great Hima ruler of Karagwe. Suwarora sent an envoy with his mace to invite Speke to proceed at once to his court. This intervention made a good impression on the treacherous chief of Buzinza, Lumeresi. Much of the stolen property was recovered, and the expedition obtaining a few porters started for Usui in October, 1861.

Grant was left behind with such of the property as could not be removed. Speke, when he left Buzinza, "was a most miserable spectre in appearance, puffing and blowing at each step he took, with shoulders drooping and left arm hanging like a dead log, which he was unable to swing." At last, after incredible worries and trouble, occasioned by the demands for "hongo" (tribute) on the part of every petty chief whose territories they crossed, they reached the large country of

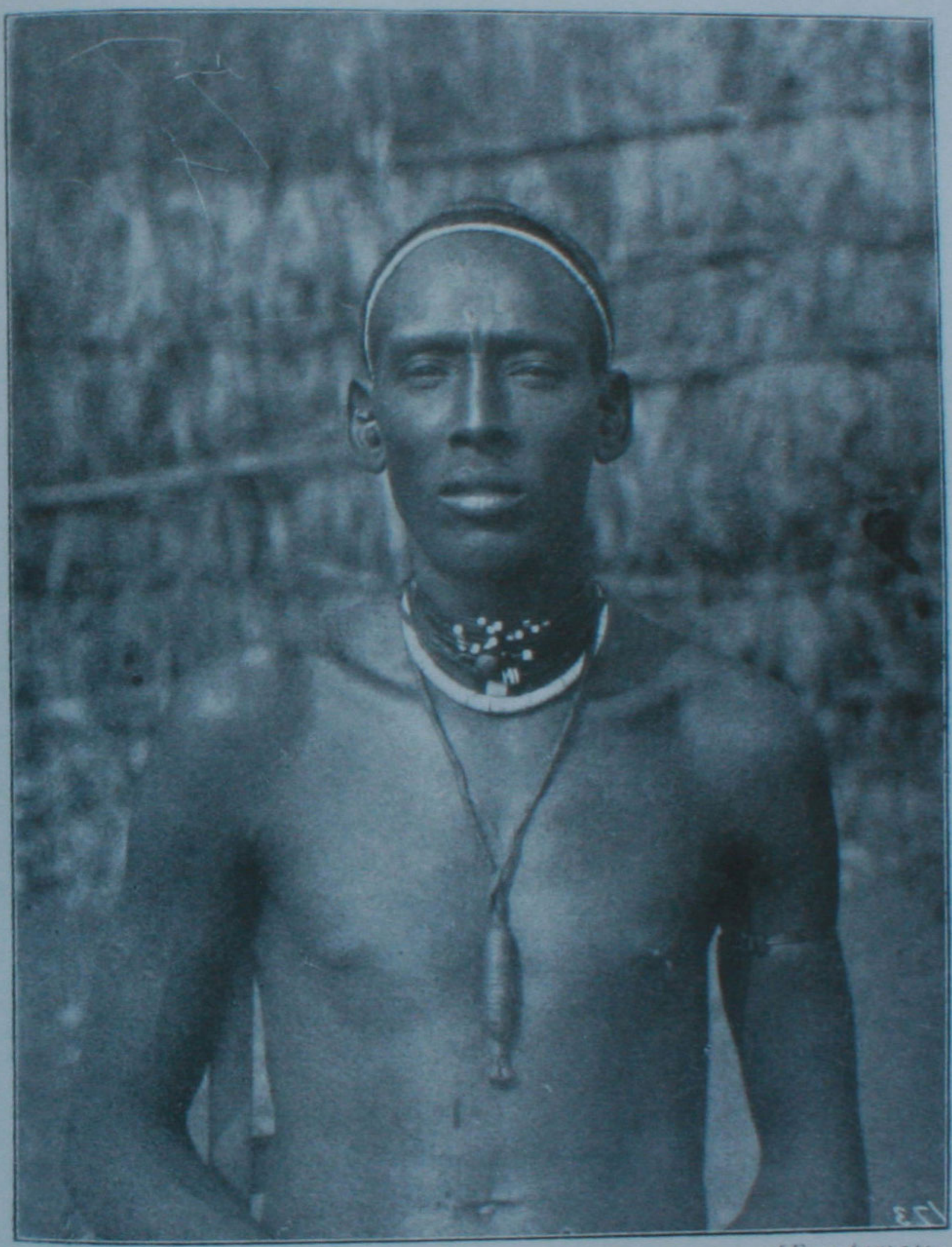
Usui or Busui at the southwest corner of the Victoria Nyanza. Usui is "a most convulsed looking country of well-rounded hills composed of sandstone. . . . Cattle were numerous, kept by the Wahuma (Bahima), who would not sell their milk to us because we ate fowls and a bean called *maharagwe*." In Usui the caravan was incessantly worried at night by the attacks of thieves until one of these was killed, whereupon the Basui congratulated the expedition, saying that the slain man was a wonderful magician. "They thought us wonderful men, possessed of supernatural powers." Suwarora and his fellow-chief Vikora were most exacting in their demands for hongo. At last, after heart-breaking delays, they got away out of Suwarora's country.

Between Usui and Karagwe was one of those no man's lands, which at times are such a relief to the harassed traveller, — a land in which he can enjoy the beauty of the landscapes, the excitement of sport in complete freedom from the harassing attentions of Negro tribes. In this lovely wilderness they were greeted by officers sent to their assistance by Rumanika, who said, "Rumanika has ordered us to bring you to his palace at once, and wherever you stop a day, the village officers are instructed to supply you with food at the King's expense; for there are no taxes gathered from strangers in the Kingdom of Karagwe." Speke noted the little lake of Urigi, and learned from the natives that this was the remains of a much larger sheet of water. They declared, in fact,

that this lake had formerly extended far to the southwards in the direction of Tanganyika, having been at one time a considerable gulf of the Victoria Nyanza.

For the first time since leaving the coast they travelled day after day through beautiful and attractive scenery, in which rhinoceroses, both "white" and black, and herds of hartebeest mingled with the splendid long-horned cattle of the natives. Speke and Grant shot several square-lipped "white" rhinoceroses. (Stanley subsequently did the same in this country of Karagwe. Though it has since been shot on the Upper Nile, this creature is now becoming extinct in East Equatorial Africa.) "Leaving the valley of Uthenja, we rose over the spur of Nyamwara, and found we had attained the delightful altitude of five thousand feet. Oh, how we enjoyed it! — every one feeling so happy at the prospect of meeting the good king Rumanika. Rumanika the king and his brother Nyanaji were both of them men of noble appearance and size. . . . They had fine oval faces, large eyes, and high noses, denoting the best blood of Abyssinia. Having shaken hands in true English style, which is the peculiar custom of the men of this country, the ever-smiling Rumanika begged us to be seated on the ground opposite to him, and at once wished to know what we thought of Karagwe, for it had struck him his mountains were the finest in the world; and the lake, too, did we not admire it?"

Speke subsequently went to see the queens and



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A Hima of Mpororo, near Karagwe.

princesses of this royal family, who, by means of a milk diet, were kept immoderately fat. Of one of them he writes: "She could not rise; and so large were her arms that between the joints the flesh hung down like large, stuffed puddings. Then in came their children, all models of the Abyssinian type of beauty, and as polite in their manners as thoroughbred gentlemen."

Rumanika and his brothers received their presents with a graceful gratitude which was striking after the ill manners of the Negro chiefs in Unyamwezi and Usui. Rumanika begged Speke to remain a little while in his country so that he might send on word of his coming to the King of Uganda. Speke consented to do so, and when walking about the vicinity of the king's capital, descried the distant cone of Mfumbiro. This he at once identified with the Mountains of the Moon and with the story of the snow-capped peaks. It is curious, seeing how friendly were all the Bahima, and what facilities were given to him for travelling about the country of Karagwe, that he made no attempt to enter Ruanda whilst waiting to go on to the north, and thus obtain a nearer acquaintance with the Mountains of the Moon. Had he done so, he might perchance have caught a glimpse of Ruwenzori. Grant's drawing of Mfumbiro and other volcanoes (since explored by many travellers) is a truthful one.

In Rumanika's country Speke discovered the water tragelaph which now bears his name (*Limnotragus*

speckci). This creature has the hoofs very much prolonged, so as to enable it to walk on floating vegetation and marshy ground. Speke at once discerned that this creature was closely allied to the water tragelaph found by Livingstone on Lake Ngami.

The existence of this Bahima[1] aristocracy in the countries west and south of the Victoria Nyanza was not reported for the first time in Speke's account of his second journey to the Victoria Nyanza. First of all, in the early fifties, the Zanzibar Arabs brought to the coast — either at Mombasa or Zanzibar — accounts of a race of "white" men who lived on the Mountains of the Moon. Burton, analysing these stories at Kaze in Unyamwezi, reduced them to accounts of Bahima, who were believed to have the features and complexion of Abyssinians. Speke's arrival in Buzinza and Karagwe made us partially acquainted with the facts. We now know that at some relatively remote period not less than two thousand years ago the lands between the Victoria and Albert Nyanzas were invaded from the northeast by a Caucasian race allied to the Gala and the Egyptian. These ancestors of the Bahima mingled to some extent with the indigenous Negroes, and so somewhat darkened the colour of their skins and acquired hair more like the Negro's wool. This pastoral people brought with them herds of cattle from the direction of Abyssinia

[1] Throughout the writings of Burton, Speke, and Stanley, this race is called Wahuma. The most common term, however, by which they are known and know themselves is Bahima (*hima* being the root and *Ba-* the plural prefix).

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SPEKE'S TRAGELAPH (*Limnotragus spekei*).

or Galaland, — cattle with enormous horns, sometimes over three feet in length. This breed of cattle is found at the present day in southern and western Abyssinia. It is also depicted — with other breeds — on the Egyptian monuments. It is supposed to be allied in origin to the stock which gave rise to the ordinary humped cattle of India, — the Zebu type. These oxen with enormous horns — horns which are not only very long but sometimes very large in girth — are found westwards as far as the vicinity of Lake Chad, and in a more degenerate type farther west still, to the sources of the Niger. It might be thought that they were also related to the long-horned cattle of South Africa, but it is sometimes asserted that the long-horned South African cattle owe their main origin to the introduction of Spanish breeds by the Portuguese, the cattle met with by the first Europeans in South Africa having belonged to the humped zebu type.

The Bahima once founded an empire which stretched from the northern limits of Unyoro and the Victoria Nile westward to the Congo Forest and southward to the coast of Tanganyika. This ancient Empire of Kitara split up into a number of states governed for the most part by Hima dynasties, though in Uganda the native kings became more and more Negro in aspect through their fathers' intermarriage with Negro women. But for the most part friendly relations subsisted between all the states into which the Empire of Kitara was subdivided; it was only in more recent times that the existing blood feud sprang up between

Unyoro and Uganda. The Bahima were reverenced and admired by the mass of the Negro population as the descendants of supernatural beings who had brought to these lands what little civilisation they possessed. Intermarriage constantly took place between the dynasties of Buzinza, Usui, Karagwe, Ruanda, Mpororo, Ankole, Unyoro, and Uganda. This and other causes for intercommunication gave intelligent chiefs like Rumanika a considerable grasp of African geography. These chiefs knew that their world was bounded on the west by the impenetrable Congo Forest. They knew all about Tanganyika, the Victoria Nyanza, the Masai countries, the course of the Nile as far north as Gondokoro, and even the existence of Lake Rudolf. Perhaps also they had a glimmering knowledge not only of the "Turks" on the White Nile (which was the case), but also of the existence of men like themselves in Galaland and Abyssinia. Speke and subsequent travellers found these Hima sovereigns and their courts very different to the petty Negro states of East Africa. Besides the recognised king (a member of a long dynasty), there were regularly established Court officials and functionaries, and an orderly system of government. Travellers like Speke were not slow to appreciate the influence which this Gala invasion of equatorial Africa had on the Negro types. We now begin to feel that this Negrified Caucasian has interpenetrated most parts of Negro Africa between the Cameroons and Zanzibar, and between the northern limits of the Sudan and Natal. In the western pro-

longation of Africa something like the same infiltration of a superior race has been brought about by the Tawareqs of the Sahara. This Libyan race is also of the Caucasian family, more directly so indeed than the curly-haired Gala, who, mixing with the Libyan, laid the foundation of Ancient Egyptian civilisation.

CHAPTER XIII

SPEKE IN UGANDA

SPEKE and Grant both seem to have taken the shape and existence of the Victoria Nyanza for granted. No doubt from the highlands of Karagwe and Buddu they occasionally caught glimpses of the distant Nyanza; besides which the chiefs and the Arabs spoke of its existence as a fact which could be ascertained by one or two days' journey to the east. Speke was more concerned himself with losing no time in getting to the point at which the Nile left the Victoria Nyanza. He made little or no attempt to delineate the coast line of that lake with any accuracy, and as we know, he placed the west coast much too far to the east, reducing the lake to almost two-thirds of its actual area. Seeing how near he marched to the coast in Buddu, it is curious that he got no sight of the large archipelago of the Sese Islands,[1] which can be sighted from a distance of many miles. There is no indication of these islands on his map. Apparently he made no attempts to check his computation of the altitude of the Victoria Nyanza, which

[1] This is the more curious because, on page 276 in the "Discovery of the Source of the Nile," Speke writes of "a long range of view of the lake, and of the large island or group of islands called Sese, where the king of Uganda keeps one of his fleets."

[*Face page* 150.

THE RIPON FALLS FROM THE WEST BANK.

in 1858 he computed at 3740 feet (an estimate not far off the correct one of 3775 feet). All the other altitudes taken by his boiling-point thermometer seem to be too low. His surmise that the Ripon Falls are only 3308 feet above sea-level is more than four hundred feet too low; and if his altitudes in northern Unyamwezi are correct (which I doubt), the waters of the Victoria Nyanza must be a huge, pent-up dam which would flood large tracts of German East Africa.

Grant had to be left behind in Karagwe, owing to an ulcerated leg. Speke decided upon going to Uganda alone, but despatched the head-man of his caravan, Baraka, with a companion to the north of Unyoro, providing him with a letter to Petherick. He himself entered Uganda (first of all Europeans to do so) on the 16th of January, 1862. He travelled along the coast country of Buddu, and soon began to appreciate the beauty of the land.

"I felt inclined to stop here a month, everything was so very pleasant. The temperature was perfect. The roads, as indeed they were everywhere, were as broad as our coach roads, cut through the long grasses, straight over the hills and down through the woods in the dells, — a strange contrast to the wretched tracks in all adjacent countries. The huts were kept so clean and so neat, not a fault could be found with them; the gardens the same. Wherever I strolled I saw nothing but richness, and what ought to be wealth. The whole land was a picture of quiescent beauty, with a boundless sea in the background. Looking over the hills, it struck the fancy at once that at

one period the whole land must have been at a uniform level with their present tops, but that, by the constant denudation it was subjected to by the frequent rains, it had been cut down and sloped into those beautiful hills and dales which now so much please the eye; for there were none of those quartz dykes I had seen protruding through the same kind of aqueous formations in Usui and Karagwe, nor were there any other sorts of volcanic disturbance to distort the quiet aspect of the scene."

Speke found an Uganda not much smaller in area than that Negro kingdom is to-day. It lacked the large slices of Unyoro which were cut off and added to Uganda after the commencement of the British Protectorate, but it probably wielded a political influence over Busoga on the east and Toro on the west, since denied to it. The population of this kingdom in those days was computed at not far under four millions. Its administrators at the present time are doubtful if the same kingdom possesses eight hundred thousand inhabitants. The roads then were as broad and as well kept as they are now. It is sad to think that the people were possibly happier. True, their despotic ruler — whom they regarded with almost religious veneration — slaughtered and tortured those who frequented his Court; but the people at large were little affected by these deeds of cruelty, even if they did not regard them with that disinterested admiration which the Negro always accords to a display of force. Syphilis had wrought but slight ravages amongst them; indeed, it was a disease of but recent

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A View in Uganda.

introduction (coming from the Nile).[1] No religious feuds had begun. The people believed their monarch to be the mightiest on earth, and themselves to be the happiest folk, living in a real paradise. For beauty the land can hardly be matched elsewhere in Africa. The one indisputable flaw in the climate is the frequency of dangerous thunderstorms. But for these reminders of a harsher law the Baganda might well have looked back on their life under Mutesa and his predecessors as one of ideal happiness. They had plenty to eat. Their banana groves provided the staple of their diet unfailingly. In addition, the rich soil grew such legumens and cereals as they required. The rivers, lakes, and marshes swarmed with fish. Cattle throve. Goats, sheep, and fowls were abundant. Bark cloth from the fig-trees and carefully dressed skins provided the clothing they were so scrupulous to wear; for they shuddered at open indecency, and yet led the most licentious lives, licentiousness then paying no penalty in the spread of malignant diseases. This would be the way in which the average Muganda might look back on the past. Of course there was another side to the picture, no doubt. The paradisaical, unmoral lives of easy indulgence in their banana groves ill fitted them in the long run to cope with the attacks of stronger races.

[1] According to the traditions of the natives, syphilis and smallpox entered Uganda about the same time, and came originally from Unyoro. Unyoro received these plagues from the first Nubian slave- and ivory-trading caravans, which were the pioneers of Egyptian rule in the forties of the last century. Syphilis and smallpox were also brought by the Zanzibar trading caravans from Unyamwezi not many years later.

Fate led them under the British ægis after the country had been brought to something like ruin by ten years of civil war, and ten years of wretched misgovernment at the hands of a wicked sovereign. Had the British Protectorate not been declared, it is futile to suppose the country could have retained its independence. It would have been annexed by Germany or France, have been added to the Congo Free State or to the Egyptian Sudan.[1] If by some miracle it had escaped any one of these masters, it would have fallen victim later on to the Abyssinian raiders of the present day.

Speke found the country governed by a worshipped despot, Mutesa, who had just succeeded to a throne which had been in existence for something like four hundred and fifty years in an unbroken dynasty originally of Hima origin. This despot was a young man of agreeable countenance, with somewhat negroid features but a yellowish-brown skin. He had the large, liquid eyes characteristic of all the princes and princesses of this family. He lived in palaces which, though built of palm trunks, reeds, and grass were often imposing in appearance, with roofs rising to fifty feet above the ground. The interior of these dwellings had a raised floor of mud, hard as cement, and was divided into compartments by reed screens. The floor would be strewn with a soft carpet of fine fragrant grass, on which leopard skins and beautifully

[1] This, indeed, long before the British Protectorate, Gordon Pasha meditated, and was only restrained therefrom by the intervention of Sir John Kirk.

dressed ox-hides were laid down. The towns consisted mainly of collections of these straw-thatched dwellings surrounded by large gardens and banana groves, and fenced off from the outer world by tall reed fences so plaited as to produce an agreeably variegated aspect. Speke and his companion, and the Swahili porters with them, noticed the resemblance offered by this beautifully "tidy" country of Uganda to the civilised coast belt of Zanzibar. Negro savagery was far removed, especially in sanitary matters, where the arrangements were quite equal to those in force in England one hundred years ago. The religion of the country consisted of a worship paid to a large number of Ba-lubari or spirits, some of which were obviously ancestral, and others the personification of earth, air, or water forces.[1] The ministers of this religion were the Ba-mandwa or sorcerer-priests. Originally these priests were of the Bahima stock. Indeed, this religion which prevails amongst so many tribes in western and equatorial Africa seems to have had (like the Bahima aristocracy) a Hamitic origin, and to have come originally from the regions east of the White Nile.

Mutesa's Court was remarkable for its hierarchy of officials. The principal minister is now the Katikiro, but was formerly styled Kamuraviona. He was for-

[1] It is a question whether all these spirits were not in origin deified chiefs or medicine-men, who after death were supposed to become controllers of the lake, of the rain supply, of certain diseases, or of certain functions. Speke considers that a small element of phallic worship was mixed up with the old Uganda religion.

merly the commander-in-chief, though now no longer associated with such office. Some functions were hereditary, such as the Pokino or Governor of Buddu; but these hereditary posts were formerly the recognition of the existence of feudatory princes. The Kimbugwe was formerly the guardian of the king's navel string and the keeper of his drums. The Mugema was the commissioner in charge of the royal tombs; Kasuju was the guardian of the king's sisters; Mukwenda was his treasurer; Kauta was the steward of his kitchen; Seruti his head brewer; and so forth. In course of time many of these functions were purely honorary. The system seems to have come, like so much else of the civilisation of Uganda, from the Hamitic invaders, and it bears a curious resemblance to the origin of similar functionaries in the courts of Europe.

Society also was divided much as it is in our own world. There were the Royal Family and its collateral branches, known as Balángira, or princes. The princesses were called Bambeja. The Baronage was styled Bakungu. Then there was an upper class of functionaries known as Batongoli, while the peasants were classed as Bakopi.

Speke — handsome, manly, kindly, and straightforward — became an immense favourite with the volatile tyrant of Uganda, with the queens (for there were several queens — dowagers, mothers, consorts — at once in Uganda), with the nobles, and with the people. "My beard," he writes, "engrossed the

major part of most conversations; all the Baganda said they would come out in future with hairy faces." The Royal Family of Uganda, he also remarks, gave orders without knowing how they were to be carried out, and treated all practical arrangements as trifling details not worth their attention; so that Speke and his caravan sometimes found themselves not very well off for food. The king or the queen-mother had said, "Let them be fed," but ministers were not equally eager to see the royal largesse awarded. The handsome young king was extremely trying to deal with, as he put a great many questions and seldom waited for the answers. His slavish courtiers were constantly on their bellies, uttering incessant expressions of "Thank you very much" ("Niyanzi-ge") for whatever their chief was pleased to do, say, or show to them. Not infrequently Speke intervened to save the lives of queens or pages who for a nothing were condemned to a cruel execution. On one occasion a picnic on the shores of the Victoria Nyanza was attended by the following incident. One of Mutesa's wives, —

> "a most charming creature, and truly one of the best of the lot, plucked a fruit and offered it to the king, thinking, doubtless, to please him greatly; but he, like a madman, flew into a towering passion, said it was the first time a woman had ever had the impudence to offer him anything, and ordered the pages to seize, bind, and lead her off to execution. These words were no sooner uttered by the king than the whole bevy of pages slipped their cord turbans from their heads, and rushed like a pack of cupid beagles upon the fairy queen, who, indignant at