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Dr. Birdwood then read the following paper :—

*On Recent Discovery in Eastern Africa and the Adventures of
Captain Singleton (DeFoe).*

Non contigit ulli
Hoc vidisse caput.

WRITERS on the Nile never fail to tell us how Sesostris, Alexander, the Cæsars, Napoleon, desired to know its sources. Lucan makes great Julius Cæsar say that he would give up the civil war if he might but see the fountains of the Nile; and this problem which the kings and chief captains of the world vainly tried has at last yielded to two intrepid officers of our Indian army.

It is only natural to be almost envious of so much glory, and already Dr. Beke in his pamphlet "Who discovered the sources of the Nile?" answers that he discovered the sources of the Nile, because some years ago he said and printed where they would be found. Sir Roderick Murchison has received several communications on the claims of various authors to be considered as theoretical discoverers of the Nile, and, to do full justice to all these critical geographers, the Council of the Royal Geographical Society have requested them to furnish the Society with a summary (limited to one page) of those conclusions or hypotheses as to the nature and position of the sources of the Nile that they had published before the result of Speke and Grant's expedition became known. When Speke discovered the Victoria Nyanza in 1858 he at once felt certain that it was the head of the Nile. But this was doubted by many, and in a paper read before our Geographical Society in February 1859, while partially supporting his hypothesis, I sought to prove that Bruce had indicated the nature and position of the true *Caput Nili*. And now I am anxious to draw attention to certain remarkable passages in "The Adventures of Captain Singleton," by Daniel DeFoe—passages which, so far as I can learn, have not been noticed in connection with recent discovery in Eastern Africa. The better to appreciate the extracts I have made, it is necessary to look back over the progress of our knowledge of Central Africa.

We all know what the ancients knew of the Nile. Homer sings of
"Egypt's *heaven-descended* spring,"
in the sense, perhaps, of the Arab inscription on the Nilometer at Roda,
"The water sent by God from heaven."

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ABSTRACT OF THE SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS,

Some thought that the river rose in Western Africa, that after flowing eastward across the continent it turned to the north and reached the Mediterranean. Others thought that it rose in India. Herodotus, for his part, can only say that it came from the south, and he ridicules the opinion that it flowed from the ocean, although it may have rested on some vague knowledge of the Victoria Lake. The centurions sent by Nero Cæsar to investigate the *Caput Nili* reported that in tracking the river upwards it was at last lost in immense marshes. They said that they saw two rocks from which the stream gushed with great force. It will be remembered that the Secretary of Minerva in the city of Sais told Herodotus something like this. His story was:—"Between Syrene, a city of the Thebais, and Elephantine, there are two hills with sharp conical tops; the name of the one is Crophî,* and of the other Mophi. Midway between them are the fountains of the Nile, fountains which it is impossible to fathom. Half the water runs northward into Egypt, half to the south towards Ethiopia."

Ptolemy says that it rises in certain Mountains of the Moon from two lakes lying east and west of each other about the equator. As to the inundation, some supposed it caused by the Etesian winds, others by the river having its source in the ocean, others by snows melting on the Mountains of the Moon—suppositions all ridiculed by Herodotus. He and Pliny in different ways explain it as due to evaporation following the sun's course, and Strabo to summer rains in the south. Lucretius has a beautiful and truly philosophic passage on the swelling of the Nile in summer time—

"..... pride of Egypt's plains;
Sole stream on earth its bound'ries that o'erflows
In summer, and scatters plenty. When the year
Now glows with perfect summer leaps its tide
Broad o'er the champaign, for the north wind now,
The Etesian breeze, against its mouth direct
Blows with perpetual winnow.

* * * * *

And towards its fountains ampler rains, perchance,
Fall, as the Etesian fans, now wide unfurl'd,

* Speke places a negro nation of the name of Chopi between the Karuma Falls on the Nile and Lake Nzige. Mophi is formed on Crophî in the manner of "namby-pamby."

Ply the big clouds perpetual from the north
 Far o'er the red equator, where condens'd,
 Pond'rous and low, against the hills they strike,
 And shed their treasures o'er the rising flood,
 Or from the Ethiop mountains, the bright sun,
 Now full matured, with deep-dissolving ray,
 May melt the agglomerate snows, and down the plains
 Drive them."

Eastern writers have placed the sources of the Nile in equatorial lakes, and some make it and the Niger issue from the same lake. They were in the way of getting better information than the Greeks and Romans, but they probably follow Ptolemy. According to Wilford the ancient books of the Hindoos place the source of the White Nile near the equator, in the *Padmawan* or Sacred Lily Lake. Wilford's papers cannot be trusted, but it is a strange coincidence that Speke* should have found the Victoria Nyanza so covered with water-lilies that one might walk on their leaves.

Our next authorities are the Portuguese. They had their factories on both sides of Africa early in the 16th century, and went to and fro between them. They always brought accounts of a great midland sea lying across their way, but little beyond this became generally known, the most valuable records of these expeditions across Africa having remained unused in the hands of the Government of Portugal until the Royal Geographical Society, under Sir Roderick Murchison, drew attention to them. Such Portuguese authorities as were then accessible were summarised by the learned Cooley, in 1845, in his paper on "*The Geography of Nyassi*," and all my quotations are from it. "Already in 1518 we" (writes Cooley) "find it stated," (*Fernandez de Enciso, Suma de Geographia*) "as a fact learned from the natives of Congo, that the river Zaire rises in a lake in the interior, from which issues in the opposite direction another great river, presumed at that time to be the Nile." In his *Decades* (1552-63) De Barros "tells us of a great lake in the centre of Africa," whence issue the Nile, the Zaire, and the great river, the branches of which encompass Benomotapa, besides many others that are nameless. It is a sea of such magnitude as to be capable of being navigated by many sail, and among the

* Speke places a nation of the name of Amara on the north-east of the Nyanza,—this is the Sanscrit name of the Lake of the Immortals Wilford identifies with the Nyassi. *Vide infra*, Le Père Léon on the Amara.

islands in it there is one capable of sending forth an army of 30,000 men." * * "According to the accounts received from Congo and Sofalah the lake must be one hundred leagues in length." With respect to the great river encompassing Benomotapa, he explains to us that "one branch of it is the Espiritu Santo, the other the Cuama, which is called in the interior Zembere. The practice here exemplified of deriving several rivers from a common source remained long in vogue with geographers."

Lopez (*Relatione del Reame di Congo*) was edited by Pigafetta in 1599. He "had heard of a lake called Achelunda (in the language of Angola *the sea*), from which the Quanza and other rivers were said to take their rise, the Zaire also flowing through it. But besides this lake, which was of minor importance, Pigafetta places two great lakes further east, in which, according to him, are the sources of the Nile, Zaire, &c. It is evident that in placing two lakes he sought to maintain some agreement with Ptolemy, from whose authority, nevertheless, he ventured to dissent respecting the position of the lakes. His words are as follows:—

"It remains for us to speak of the Nile, which does not rise in the country of Bel Gian (the Emperor of Abyssinia), nor yet in the Mountains of the Moon, as Ptolemy writes, from two lakes east and west of each other, and 450 miles asunder. * * * Now Odoardo (Lopez) affirms that *there is but one lake in this region*, on the confines of Angola and Monomotapa. It is 195 miles in diameter, and information, as given respecting it, is furnished by the people of Angola and by those of Monomotapa and Sofalah, who give us a full account of this, while they make no mention of any other lake; so that we may conclude that there is no other in those latitudes. * * * It is true that there are two lakes, not, however, lying east and west, but north and south, of each other, and about 400 miles asunder. The first is in 12 deg. south. The Nile, issuing from it, does not, according to Odoardo, sink in the earth, but after flowing northward it enters the second lake, which is 220 miles in extent, and is called by the natives *a sea*. Respecting this lake very positive information is given us by the Auzichi near Congo. They say that on the lake there are people in great ships, who can write, have weights and measures, build houses with stone and lime, and may be compared with the Portuguese, whence it is to be inferred that Prete Gian is not far off." From this it would not appear that he sought to

maintain some agreement with Ptolemy, but that he had some knowledge of the Nyassi and Tanganyenka. The former extends beyond 12 deg. south and 400 miles further north, close to 5 deg. south, or the middle of the Tanganyenka. From the news lately sent by Le Père Léon of Amara, it would seem that Pigafetta must have even heard of the Victoria Nyanza, and that he confused it with the Tanganyenka lake. But while after recent discovery in Eastern Africa it is easy to explain Pigafetta in this way it was impossible for Cooley to do so with the authorities before him in 1845, and in the map accompanying his paper he places but one lake, Nyassi or *the sea*, in Central Africa, extending from 7 deg. to 12 deg. south, with a town called Tanganyica on its *western* shore. DeFoe could have had no better book than Pigafetta. In Dapper's "Beschryoing van Afrika" (1671) he writes of the kingdom of Monemugi. At the extremity of this country, as the blacks tell the Portuguese, is a lake, which they call *a sea*, containing many inhabited islands, and from which flow many rivers. On the eastern side of the lake is a land where they hear the ringing of bells, and see buildings like churches, a people with smooth hair, dark, but not black, come from the East to trade with the islanders on the lake. They are more polished in manners and better attired than other natives." Here again the Tanganyenka and Victoria lakes would seem to be confused, and Cooley considers the passage but a paraphrase of Pigafetta. Dos Santos (*circa* 1597) writes: "The Caffres say they have heard that this river rises in a great lake in the centre of Ethiopia, from which issue also some other great rivers flowing off with different names and in various directions, and in the middle of the lake are many islands, well peopled, rich, and abounding in provisions."

DeCouto the historian, about the same period, often alludes to "the famous lake in the middle of Africa," and relates that "in 1570 there issued from the heart of Ethiopia, from the shores of that great lake whence flow the Cuama, the Zaire, the Rapta, and the Nile, hordes of barbarians like locusts." This is the sum of the labours of the Portuguese given to the world prior to the publication of the Adventures of Captain Singleton in 1720. Luigi Mariano, in his *Lettere Annue d' Ethiopia, Malabar, Brazil, e Goa*, published at Rome in 1627, describes the lake of Hemosura, 97 days distant from Tete, evidently the Nyassi. In 1796 a Portuguese expedition, under

Manoel Caetano Pereira, visited Cazembi, and an account of this journey was given in Lucerdas' despatches, from which Bowdich compiled his work on the discoveries of the Portuguese. They were not published in full until 1830. The accounts of later Portuguese journeys are only now appearing from time to time in the periodicals of Lisbon.

But for the work of real discovery in Central Africa we must turn to men who were not Portuguese.

Bruce visited Abyssinia in 1769, and discovered the source of the Blue Nile. In 1827 Linant reached 13 deg. 30 min. on the White Nile. In 1835 the Rev. C. W. Isenberg, and in 1837 the Rev. Dr. Krapf, visited Abyssinia, and being driven from that country in 1839 explored the Soumali Horn from Tajura to Shoa. Dr. Beke and the expedition under Major Harris followed them over the same ground in 1840.

In 1841 the second Egyptian expedition under D'Arnauld and Sabatier explored the White Nile to 4 deg. 42 min. north, and the venerable Jomard published his account of Limmov and the river Habaiiah.

In 1845 Cooley published his learned paper on the Geography of the Nyassi, and in 1847 Dr. Beke published his elaborate paper on the Nile and its tributaries. Dr. Beke's chief object would appear to be to discredit M. D'Abbadie's opinion that the Nile had its sources about Narea and Caffa, while he contends that they should be sought in the country of the Mono-Moczi, in 2 deg. south, and between 29 deg. and 34 deg. east—about the position of the Nyanza, in fact. Dr. Beke is now proved to have divined the truth, and it may be the whole truth; but it is still probable that M. D'Abbadie may have divined the truth also. Bruce at least learnt that the White Nile rises in the country south of Narea, and that thence the Zebec and many other rivers run south into the inner Ethiopia, and, as he "*heard from the natives of that country, empty themselves into a lake, as those on the north of the line do into the Lake Tzana.*" Relying on Bruce indeed, while supporting Speke's hypothesis that the Nile flowed from the Victoria Nyanza, I argued in my paper of 1859 that the head of the Nile must be in these rivers of Narea and Caffa, which I lumped, and I fear very erroneously, under the common name of the Habaiiah of Jomard. In 1849 Mr. Rebman discovered the mountains of Kenia and Kilimanjaro, which he was informed were snow-capped. In 1852

Sir Roderick Murchison stated his theory of the structure of Africa before the Royal Geographical Society. The same year Colonel Sykes recommended an expedition from Mombas in search of the *Caput Nili*, giving it as his opinion that the discovery of Kenia and Kilimanjaro limited its area between 2 deg. and 4 deg. south, and 32 deg. and 36 deg. east, almost the exact area of the Victoria Nyanza. In 1854 Brun Rollet established the ivory station of Belenia, on the White Nile, 5 deg. north.

In 1856 Macqueen published his critical "Notes on the Geography of Central Africa," and in the map accompanying divided the Nyassi from Lake Tanganyenka. With the latter he evidently, as it now appears, confused the Victoria Nyanza. After an analysis of conflicting accounts, he concludes that the *Great Lake* (Tanganyenka) has its most northern part in 3 deg. 45 min. south, and its centre in 29 deg. east—exactly true of the Tanganyenka, and then continues: "Mount Kenia, the snow-covered mountain seen by Dr. Krapf, lies exactly under the equator, and in 35 deg. east long. From thence a range of very high hills, rising above the range of perpetual congelation, and some of them volcanic, are to the westward, and their spurs approach within a short distance of the great lake in question. Immediately to the north of Mount Kenia rises the most southern source of the Bahr-el-Abiad, the real Egyptian Nile. Of this the information I have collected leaves no doubt." "It was well known to the early Portuguese. * * They * * placed it too much to the east, covering, as may be seen in *DeLisle* from old Portuguese maps, a great portion of Africa to the northward and westward of Kilimanjaro." Immediately northward and westward of Kilimanjaro is the Victoria Nyanza, and while Macqueen placed the Tanganyenka lake correctly the old Portuguese maps evidently placed the Victoria Nyanza correctly. In the same year (1856) Krapf and Rebman published their missionary map of Eastern Africa, compiled from oral accounts, and in this Nyassi and the Tanganyenka and Victoria lakes are run into a great slug from the equator to 15 deg. south. This remarkable map made quite a sensation, and it was the cause of Speke and Burton being sent into Eastern Africa in 1858. In the spring of that year they reached the Tanganyenka, and on the 2nd of August after, Speke discovered the Victoria Nyanza. Macqueen doubted its connection with the White Nile, and Speke's second adventure was made to refute Macqueen. I now come to my extracts from DeFoe's *Adventures of Captain Singleton*,

published in 1720. The edition is that of Edinburgh, 1810. My attention was first directed to this work, in connection with recent discoveries in Eastern Africa, by His Excellency the Governor about twelve months ago.

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And, to add to the exclamation I am making on the nature of the place, it was here that we took one of the rashest and wildest and most desperate resolution that ever was taken by man, or any number of men, in the world—this was to travel over land through the heart of the country, from the coast of Mozambique, on the east ocean, to the coast of Angola or Guinea, on the Western or Atlantic Ocean, a continent of land of at least 1800 miles, in which journey we had excessive heats to support, impassable deserts to go over, no carriages, camels, or beasts of any kind, to carry our baggage, innumerable numbers of wild and ravenous beasts to encounter with, such as lions, leopards, tigers, lizards, and elephants; we had the equinoctial line to pass under, and, consequently, were in the very centre of the torrid zone; we had nations of savages to encounter with, barbarous and brutish to the last degree, hunger and thirst to struggle with, and, in one word, terrors enough to have daunted the stoutest hearts that ever were placed in cases of flesh and blood.

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Our aim was for the coast of Angola, which, by the charts we had, lying very near the same latitude we were then in, our course thither was due west; and as we were assured we should meet with rivers we doubted not but that by their help we might ease our journey, especially if we could find means to cross the great lake or inland of the sea, which the natives call Coalmucoa, out of which it is said the river Nile has its source or beginning; but we reckoned without our host, as you will see in the sequel of our story.

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In this manner the river carried us up, by our computation, near 200 miles, and then it narrowed apace, and was not above as broad as the Thames is at Windsor, or thereabouts; and after another day we came to a great waterfall or cataract, enough to frighten us, for I believe the whole body of water fell at once perpendicularly down a precipice above sixty feet high, which made noise enough to deprive men of their hearing, and we heard it above ten miles before we came to it.

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Our negroes towing our canoes, we travelled at a considerable rate, and by our own account could not go less than 20 or 25 English miles a day, and the river continuing to be much at the same breadth, and very deep all the way, till on the tenth day we came to another cataract; for, a ridge of high hills crossing the whole channel of the river, the water came tumbling down the rocks, from one stage to another, in a strange manner; so that it was a continued link of cataracts from one to another in the manner of a cascade, only that the falls were sometimes a quarter of a mile from one another, and the noise confused and frightful.

We thought our voyaging was at a full stop now; but three of us, with a couple of our negroes, mounting the hills another way, to view the course of the river, we found a fair channel again after about half a mile's march, and that it was like to hold us a good way further. So we set all hands to work, unloaded our cargo, and hauled our canoes on shore, to see if we could carry them.

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We now set forward wholly by land, and without any expectation of more water-carriage. All our concern for more water was, to be sure, to have a supply for our drinking; and therefore upon every hill that we came near we clambered up to the highest part, to see the country before us, and to make the best judgment we could which way to go, to keep the lowest grounds, and as near some stream of water as we could.

The country held verdant, well grown with trees, and spread with rivers and brooks, and tolerably well with inhabitants, for about thirty days' march after our leaving the canoes, during which time things went pretty well with us; we did not tie ourselves down when to march and when to halt, but ordered those things as our convenience, and the health and ease of our people, as well as our servants and ourselves, required.

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From this part of the country we went on for about 15 days, and then found ourselves obliged to march up a high ridge of mountains, frightful to behold, and the first of the kind that we met with, and having no guide but our little pocket compass we had no advantage of information as to which was the best or the worst way, but were obliged to choose by what we saw, and shift as well as we could.

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It was the ninth day of our travel in this wilderness when we came to the view of a great lake of water.

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The next day, which was the tenth from our setting out, we came to the edge of this lake, and, happily for us, we came to it at the south point of it, for to the north we could see no end of it; so we passed by it, and travelled three days by the side of it, which was a great comfort to us, because it lightened our burthen, there being no need to carry water when we had it in view. And yet, though here was so much water, we found but very little alteration in the desert, no trees, no grass or herbage, except that thistle, as I called it, and two or three more plants, which we did not understand, of which the desert began to be pretty full.

But as we were refreshed with the neighbourhood of this lake of water, so we were now gotten among a prodigious number of ravenous inhabitants, the like whereof, it is most certain, the eye of man never saw. For as I firmly believe that never man, nor any body of men, passed this desert since the flood, so I believed there is not the like collection of fierce, ravenous, and devouring creatures in the world—I mean not in any particular place.

For a day's journey before we came to this lake, and all the three days we were passing by it, and for six or seven days' march after it, the ground was scattered with elephants' teeth, in such a number as is incredible; and as some of them may have lain there for some hundreds of years, so, seeing the substance of them scarce ever decays, they may lie there, for aught I know, to the end of time.

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However, we began to be weary of such company, and to get rid of them we set forward again two days sooner than we intended. We found now that though the desert did not end, nor could we see any appearance of it, yet that the earth was pretty full of green stuff, of one sort or another, so that our cattle had no want; and, secondly, that there were several little rivers which ran into the lake, and so long as the country continued low we found water sufficient, which eased us very much in our carriage, and we went on still sixteen days more without yet coming to any appearance of better soil: after this we found the country rise a little, and by that we perceived that the water would fail us,

so, for fear of the worst, we filled our bladder bottles with water. We found the country rising gradually thus for three days continually, when on the sudden we perceived that though we had mounted up insensibly yet that we were on the top of a very high ridge of hills, though not such as at first.

When we came to look down on the other side of the hills we saw, to the great joy of all our hearts, that the desert was at an end, that the country was clothed with green, abundance of trees, and a large river; and we made no doubt but that we should find people and cattle also: and here, by our gunner's account, who kept our computations, we had marched about 400 miles over this dismal place of horror, having been four and thirty days a doing of it, and consequently were come about 1,100 miles of our journey.

In three days' march we came to a river, which we saw from the hills, and which we called the Golden River, and we found it ran northward, which was the first stream we had met with that did so. It ran with a very rapid current, and our gunner, pulling out his map, assured me that this was either the river Nile, or ran into the great lake out of which the river Nile was said to take its beginning; and he brought out his charts and maps, which by his instruction, I began to understand very well, and told me he would convince me of it, and indeed he seemed to make it so plain to me that I was of the same opinion.*

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It was the 12th of October or thereabouts that we began to set forward, and having an easy country to travel in, as well as to supply us with provisions, though still without inhabitants, we made more despatch, travelling sometimes, as we calculated it, 20 or 25 miles a day; nor did we halt anywhere in eleven days' march, one day excepted, which was to make a raft to carry us over a small river, which, having been swelled with the rains, was not yet quite down. When we were past this river, which, by the way, ran to the northward too, we found a great row of hills in our way. We saw indeed the country open to the right at a great distance, but as we kept true to our course due west we were not willing to go a great way out of our way only to shun a few hills, so we advanced; but we were surprised, when, being not quite come to the top, one of our company, who, with two negroes, was got up before

* The ancient Ophir has been identified by some with the gold fields of Manica and the Mushinga hills, but no diggings that are productive now are likely to have been the Ophir of the Jews.

us, cried out, "The sea! the sea!" and fell a dancing and jumping as signs of joy. The gunner and I were most surprised at it, because we had but that morning been calculating that we were then above 1,000 miles from the sea-side, and that we could not expect to reach it till another rainy season would be upon us, so that when our man cried out "The sea" the gunner was angry, and said he was mad. But we were both in the greatest surprise imaginable, when, coming to the top of the hill, and, though it was very high, we saw nothing but water, either before us, or to the right hand or the left, being a vast sea, without any bound but the horizon. He went down the hill full of confusion of thought, not being able to conceive whereabouts we were, or what it must be, seeing by all our charts the sea was yet a vast way off.

It was not above three miles from the hills before we came to the shore, or water-edge of this sea, and there, to our further surprise, we found the water fresh and pleasant to drink, so that, in short, we knew not what course to take. The sea, as we thought it to be, put a full stop to our journey (I mean westward), for it lay just in the way. Our next question was which hand to turn to—to the right or the left; but this was soon resolved; for, as we knew not the extent of it, we considered that our way, if it had been the sea really, must be to the north, and therefore if we went to the south now it must be just so much out of our way at last; so, having spent a good part of the day in our surprise at the thing, and consulting what to do, we set forward to the north.

We travelled upon the shore of this sea full 23 days before we could come to any resolution about what it was, at the end of which, early one morning, one of our seamen cried out, "Land!" and it was no false alarm, for we saw plainly the tops of some hills at a very great distance, on the further side of the water, due west; but though this satisfied us that it was not the ocean, but an inland sea or lake, yet we saw no land to the northward, that is to say, no end of it, but were obliged to travel eight days more, and near 100 miles further, before we came to the end of it, and then we found this lake or sea ended in a very great river, which ran N. or N. by E., as the other river had done, which I mentioned before. My friend the gunner, upon examining, said that he believed that he was mistaken before, and that this was the river Nile, but was still of the mind that we were of before, that we should not think of a voyage into Egypt that way; so we resolved upon crossing this river, which, however, was not so easy as before, the river being very rapid, and the channel very broad.

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In the last three days of our travel we met with some inhabitants, but we found they lived upon the little hills, and not by the water-side ; nor were we a little put to it for food in this march, having killed nothing for four or five days but some fish we caught out of the lake, and that not in such plenty as we found before. But, to make us some amends, we had no disturbance upon all the shore of this lake from any wild beasta ; the only inconveniency of that kind was that we met an ugly, venomous, deformed kind of a snake or serpent in the wet grounds near the lake, that several times pursued us, as if it would attack us, and if we struck or threw anything at it it would raise itself up and hiss so loud that it might be heard a great way off ; it had a hellish, ugly, deformed look and voice, and our men would not be persuaded but it was the devil, only that we did not know what business Satan could have there, where there were no people.

It was very remarkable that we had now travelled 1,000 miles without meeting with any people in the heart of the whole continent of Africa, where, to be sure, never man set his foot since the sons of Noah spread themselves over the face of the whole earth. Here also our gunner took an observation with his forestaff, to determine our latitude, and he found now that, having marched about 33 days northward, we were in 6 degrees 22 minutes south latitude.

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Through all that inhospitable country we saw continually lions, tigers, leopards, civet cats, and abundance of kinds of creatures that we did not understand ; we saw no elephants, but every now and then we met with an elephant's tooth lying on the ground, and some of them lying, as it were, half buried by the length of time that they had lain there.

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On the further bank of this river we saw some sign of inhabitants, but met with none for the first day, but the next day we came into an inhabited country, the people all negroes, and stark naked, without shame, both men and women.

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At last we began to inquire our way, pointing to the west. They made us understand easily that we could not go that way, but they pointed to us that we might go north-west, so that we presently

understood that there was another lake in our way, which proved to be true ; for in two days more we saw it plain, and it held us till we passed the equinoctial line, lying all the way on our left hand, though at a great distance.

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Upon these considerations he advised us that as soon as we had passed this lake we should proceed W.S.W., that is to say, a little inclining to the south, and that in time we should meet with the great river Congo, from whence the coast is called Congo, being a little north of Angola, where we intended at first to go.

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But we had not marched above twelve days more, eight whereof was taken up in rounding the lake, and four more south-west, in order to make for the river Congo, but we were put to another full stop, by entering a country so desolate, so frightful, and so wild, that we knew not what to think or do, for, besides that it appeared as a terrible and boundless desert, having neither woods, trees, rivers, nor inhabitants, so even the place where we were was desolate of inhabitants, nor had we any way to gather in a stock of provisions for the passing of this desert, as we did before at our entering the first, unless we had marched back four days to the place where we turned the head of the lake. Well, notwithstanding this, we ventured ; for, to men that had passed such wild places as we had done, nothing could seem too desperate to undertake. We ventured, I say, and the rather because we saw very high mountains in our way at a great distance, and we imagined wherever there were mountains there would be springs and rivers, where rivers there would be trees and grass, where trees and grass there would be cattle, and where cattle some kind of inhabitants.

At last, in consequence of this speculative philosophy, we entered this waste, having a great heap of roots and plants for our bread, such as the Indians gave us, a very little flesh or salt, and but a little water. We travelled two days towards those hills, and still they seemed as far off as they did at first, and it was the fifth day before we got to them ; indeed, we travelled safely, for it was excessively hot, and we were much about the very equinoctial line—we hardly knew whether to the south or the north of it. As we had concluded that where there were hills there would be springs, so it happened ; but we were not only surprised, but really frightened, to find the first spring we came to, and which looked admirably clear and beautiful, to be salt as brine.

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The next day we mounted the tops of the hills, where the prospect was indeed astonishing, for as far as the eye could look, south or west or north-west, there was nothing to be seen but a vast howling wilderness, with neither tree or river, or any green thing. The surface we found, as the part we passed the day before, had a kind of thick moss upon it, of a blackish dead colour, but nothing in it that looked like food either for man or beast.

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Upon this terrible prospect I renewed my motion of turning northward, and making towards the River Niger or Rio Grand, then to turn west towards the English settlements on the Gold Coast, to which every one most readily consented, only our gunner, who was indeed our best guide, though he happened to be mistaken at this time.

And at length they reached the Gold Coast.

It would be unreasonable to insist on the details of this adventure. All I would draw attention to is that Captain Singleton's party went into Africa about 12 deg. south, and got out of it on the Gold Coast, and that they describe three great lakes on the road. A line drawn between 12 deg. south and the Gold Coast passes by Nyassi, through the Tanganyenka lake, and south of the position on the maps of the great lake of the river Congo or Zaire.

Either DeFoe's story may be founded on popular knowledge of Central Africa in 1720, or it may be a strange coincidence, or an actual adventure. Each critic must judge for himself.

I believe the story of this African journey must have been taken from one who had made it.

In conclusion—Has the head of the Nile been found? No great river begins in a lake, and we must look beyond the Nyanza for the springs of the Nile, and I believe they will be found in the position indicated by Bruce, D'Abbadie, and Macqueen.

And does the Nyanza after all empty into the Nile? It is unfortunate that Speke and Grant could not track the river which falls out of the lake to the Nile, but there can be no doubt of the Victoria Nyanza being the great reservoir of the Nile, the river of Egypt. Macqueen doubted their connection in 1859. In that year Le Père Leon gave

some very curious information regarding the Amara. He states that there is a frequented road from Brava, on the sea-coast, to Caffa, the journey occupying 24 days; twelve days' journey south of Caffa dwell a people called Amara,* nearly white. They have written books, and build houses and villages, and cultivate the ground, and are conjectured to be the remains of a Christian nation; four days' journey from the Amara there is a lake from which an affluent of the Nile is said to flow. Le Père Leon supposes it to be the Seboth, but Macqueen thought it more probable that it is the main stream of the Nile. But the inundation of the Nile cannot be explained except by assuming a feeder below, as well as above, the line; and there is literally *no room* to doubt that the Nyanza is the great southern feeder of the Nile. The only question is whether the northern affluents all reach the Nile direct, or any of them through the Victoria lake. As this Nyanza is now proved not to extend to 2 deg. north, as Speke was first told, my argument in 1859 for the Habaiah entering it no longer holds water. It is just possible, however, that the south-flowing rivers of Caffa and Narea may run into the Nyanza, and its chief tributary, from whatsoever quarter, is the true *Caput Nili*.

The Tanganyenka may yet be proved to communicate with the Nyassi, and there may be a portage between the former and the Nile.

Note, December 5th, 1865.—Mr. Baker has found the lake Luta Nzige, of which Speke took home the rumour, and yet the source of the Nile is as great a mystery as ever. All that Speke proved by his two journeys in search of it is the fact of a vast lake in Central Africa in the meridian of the Nile, and flowing out northwards. All that Mr. Baker has proved by his journey is the fact of a second lake, north-west of the Victoria Nyanza, and still nearer than it to the Nile at "Miani's tree" the southmost point to which the river has been tracked. By neither has the river been tracked into or out of either of the lakes. Our absolute knowledge of the source of the Nile is no more, therefore, than Herodotus and Ptolemy had. The enigma of the Nile is still unsolved. Past Khartoum, past Miani's tree, the river still flows up from the silent south, and never perhaps shall its secret come up out of that silence; and who would not have it so?

(See *Bombay Saturday Review* Sept. 2nd, 1865, "THE CAPUT NILI," by G. B.)

* Speke places a negro territory of this name on the north-east of his lake.

The Honorable the *President* observed that it was highly probable that the adventures were founded on fact. The country had been opened up by the Portuguese previous to DeFoe's time, and nothing was more probable than that it might have been crossed by a shipwrecked crew. No doubt, if De Barros' Geography were at hand, confirmation would be found of the adventures of Singleton; all his efforts to procure a copy had, however, failed. The Honorable the *President* concluded by moving a vote of thanks to the Secretary for his paper.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 8th October 1863, on the motion of the *Honorary President*, seconded by the Honorable the *President*, the best thanks of the Society were voted to the Honorable Mr. Justice Newton for his most valuable and interesting communication on the Sáh, Gupta, and other Ancient Dynasties of Kattiawar and Guzerat.

The Honorable the *President* in seconding this motion remarked that it would be in the recollection of many of the members present that Government had in 1858 sent a number of coins of the type on which Mr. Newton has deciphered the word "Bhallaraha" to the Society with a request that we would report upon them. The Society, however, even with the assistance of Vishnu Shastri, were obliged to declare themselves baffled, and recommended Government to send the coins to England, in hopes that some of the learned there might be able to read them, but no better success attended the inquiries in England than in Bombay. He would therefore congratulate the Society on its having been reserved to one of their body to decipher this legend, and to discover the coins of the Valabhi dynasty. Extracts from Mr. Newton's paper ought, the *President* thought, to be sent to Government, in continuation of the correspondence to which he had referred above, and he would not conclude his remarks without thanking Mr. Newton for the honour he had thus done to the Society. He must, however, at the same time, observe that there was still much left for Mr. Newton to do, in examining all procurable coins of Valabhi type, and ascertaining whether they were all of one reign, and he hoped that the Honorable Judge would complete the interesting work which it had been reserved for him to commence, and which the *President* trusted he would carry out to the end.