



TANGANYIKA NOTES AND RECORDS

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TANGANYIKA NOTES AND RECORDS

JOURNAL OF THE TANGANYIKA SOCIETY

This Society came into being on 8th August, 1947. Its objects are to promote the study of ethnology, history, geography, natural history, and kindred sciences in relation to Tanganyika; to co-operate with the King George V Memorial Museum to this end; and to encourage and facilitate the publication of records and studies in these subjects.

A major activity of the Society is the publication of *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, which was founded in 1936. The journal is issued quarterly, and is priced at Shs. 6/- to non-members.

A lecture by an authority on some aspect of Tanganyika is arranged each month by the Society, to which members and their friends are cordially welcomed.

The Society enjoys the hospitality of the King George V Memorial Museum as its headquarters and members are privileged to use the Museum Library, in return the library is enriched by the exchange journals and reports donated by the Society.

The subscription rate for ordinary members is Shs. 20/- per annum, and Shs. 200/- for life membership.

For further particulars write to the Honorary Secretary/Treasurer, P.O. Box 511, Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, East Africa.

THE TANGANYIKA SOCIETY

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BURTON AND SPEKE CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS TANGANYIKA, 1957

At the request of His Excellency the Governor, a committee was formed in December 1956, to consider suitable ways of celebrating the centenary of the expedition of Richard Burton and John Speke across Tanganyika in 1857.

The committee was composed of:

- (i) the Representative of the British Council (Mr. J. F. C. Springford) as Chairman;
- (ii) the Commissioner for Social Development (Mr. J. P. Moffett);
- (iii) the Curator of the King George V Memorial Museum, Dar es Salaam (Miss Harding);

and representatives of the Ministry of Social Services, the Tanganyika Society, the Public Relations Department, the East African Literature Bureau and the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation.

It was eventually decided that the celebrations should take the form of the following activities:—

EXHIBITION

An exhibition, arranged with great care and skill at the King George V Memorial Museum, Dar es Salaam, by Miss Harding, the curator, was opened by His Excellency the Governor on 29th July. This consisted of relics of Burton and Speke (i.e. Speke's sextant and ornithological notebook, from the Royal Geographical Society, and Burton's "housewife", carbine pistol, scarf pin, pen and ink case and pen, from the Camberwell Public Libraries), 44 reproductions of maps and enlargements of prints from their books collected by the British Council in London; photographs and tribal exhibits from Mr. R. C. H. Risley (a great-great nephew of Isabel Burton), the Museum and the Dar es Salaam Club; letters from the Zanzibar Museum; and a large relief map lent by East African Railways and Harbours, on which the route of the explorers was marked.

The relics and reproductions were subsequently shown at the Gandhi Memorial Hall, Mwanza, in October 1957, at the British Council in Moshi in November 1957, and at the Government Secondary School at Tabora in March 1958. They were also lent to the British Council in Kampala for display during January 1958. All the 44 reproductions were presented by the British Council to the Museum in Dar es Salaam in April 1958.

PLAQUES

On 7th August 1957, in the presence of a large number of people of Bagamoyo and from Dar es Salaam, His Excellency the Governor unveiled a plaque set in a pillar in the grounds of the District Office, Bagamoyo, overlooking the sea. The words on the plaque are:—

"On the 27th June 1857, Burton and Speke set off from Kaole near this site on their expedition to Lake Tanganyika."

On 14th October, at the beginning of the Mwanza Show, a plaque was unveiled by the Acting Provincial Commissioner in Mwanza. The plaque is mounted on a plinth erected by the Town Council and the wording on the plaque is:—

“On 3rd August 1858 from Isamilo Hill, one mile from this point, Speke first saw the main waters of Lake Victoria, which he afterwards proved to be the source of the Nile.”

Plaques have also been set up at Tabora and Ujiji, bearing the following inscriptions:—

TABORA:—“On 7th November 1857 Burton and Speke reached Kazeh (Tabora) on their way to Lake Victoria.”

UJJI:—“On 14th February 1858 Burton and Speke reached Ujiji whence they explored Lake Tanganyika.”

LECTURE TOURS

Professor Vincent Harlow, C.M.G., Beit Professor of History of the British Empire at Oxford University, was invited by the British Council to lecture in Tanganyika during July and August 1957. His three subjects were “Burton and Speke, Explorers of Tanganyika”, “Historical Background to the Development of East Africa” and “Tanganyika, looking backward and looking forward”, and he addressed audiences in the following places:—

Dar es Salaam:

The Cultural Society
St. Andrew's College, Minaki
The Tanganyika Society
The Rotary Club

Tanga:

Public audience

Moshi:

Teacher Training Centre, Marangu, (including girls from Ashira).
The Chagga Council.
Public audience at the College of Commerce.
Government Secondary School, Old Moshi.
Holy Ghost Secondary School, Umbwe.

Morogoro:

The Morogoro Society.

Iringa:

Secondary School, Tosamaganga.

Malangali:

Government Secondary School.

Mbeya:

Loleza Government Girls' School.
The Indian Secondary School.

Chidya:

St. Joseph's College.

Ndanda:

Teacher Training College.

Professor Kenneth Ingham, Professor of History at Makerere College, was invited to lecture on Burton and Speke, and on the history of Tanganyika and East Africa. He carried out a lecture tour as follows:—

Dar es Salaam:

H.H. the Aga Khan School.

Government Indian Secondary School.

Morogoro:

Government Secondary School.

Mpwapwa:

Government Teacher Training Centre and Secondary School.

Dodoma:

Alliance Secondary School.

Tabora:

Government Secondary School.

Government Girls' Secondary School.

St. Mary's Boys' Secondary School.

Government Indian Public School.

Mwanza:

Government Boys' and Girls' Secondary Schools, Bwiru.

Government Teacher Training Centre, Butimba.

Bukoba:

Public audiences.

Kahororo School.

BROADCASTING

Broadcast talks were recorded and broadcast as follows:—

R. C. H. Risley and J. F. C. Springford—"Burton and Speke".

Dr. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville—"Burton and Speke".

Professor Ingham—"Tanganyika, earlier history".

Professor Harlow—"Tanganyika, looking forward".

H. N. Chittick—"The Antiquities Department".

Outside Broadcasts:

Opening of the Exhibition.

Unveiling of the plaque at Bagamoyo.

PUBLICATIONS

(i) *East African Literature Bureau:*

Mr. Charles Richards, Director of the Bureau, wrote a book on Burton, a companion to that on Speke in the same series, and this was published in September 1957.

An exhibition of E.A.L.B. books on East African history was displayed at the Museum.

(ii) *"The Arrow"—Middle School magazine.*

Articles on Burton and Speke, written by Mr. J. F. C. Springford.

EXCHANGE OF LETTERS WITH THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

The following exchange of letters took place between the Royal Geographical Society and the Tanganyika Society:—

THE PRESIDENT,
TANGANYIKA SOCIETY
DAR ES SALAAM,
TANGANYIKA

ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY,
KENSINGTON GORE,
LONDON, S.W. 7
7TH JUNE 1957

Dear Sir,

I have been asked by the President and Council of our Society to send you the following message to be delivered on the occasion of the Centenary of the explorations by Burton and Speke.

"The President and Council of the Royal Geographical Society send their best wishes for the Centenary celebrations in honour of Captain Richard Burton and Captain John Hanning Speke. They recall with pleasure the Society's support of 'our clever and adventurous travellers', as Sir Roderick Murchison called them in his Presidential Address to the 27th Annual Meeting in 1857, and the subsequent award to Captain Burton of the Society's Gold Medal. As the first Europeans to reach the 'great inland sea' of Lake Tanganyika, Burton and Speke made a notable contribution to the history of Africa's development and progress. The Society confidently expects that the Centenary celebrations will be most successful, not only in spreading knowledge of Tanganyika's past but in promoting interest in her future."

Yours sincerely,

L. P. KIRWAN,
Director and Secretary

DIRECTOR AND SECRETARY,
ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY,
KENSINGTON GORE,
LONDON, S.W. 7

THE TANGANYIKA SOCIETY,
P.O. BOX 511,
DAR ES SALAAM
4TH JULY 1957

Dear Sir,

On behalf of the Tanganyika Society I request you to thank the President and Council of the Royal Geographical Society for the message conveyed to me in your air letter of 7th June, 1957, on the occasion of the Centenary Celebrations in Tanganyika in honour of Captain Richard Burton and Captain John Speke.

I think I may speak on behalf not only of the Tanganyika Society, but of all the inhabitants of Tanganyika in expressing gratitude to your Society for the far-sighted and generous support it gave to the two great explorers whose achievement we are now celebrating. The Tanganyika Society shares your confident expectation that the Centenary Celebrations will succeed not only in spreading knowledge of Tanganyika's past but in promoting interest in her future.

Yours sincerely,

W. WENBAN SMITH,
President

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

To the Honorary Treasurer,
THE TANGANYIKA SOCIETY,
P.O. Box 511,
DAR ES SALAAM

Please enrol me as a member of the Tanganyika Society.

Full Name(s)
(IN BLOCK LETTERS)

Address

*I enclose cheque for £10 for Life Membership.

*I enclose cheque/cash for Shs. 20 on account of the subscription for.....

*I enclose a banker's order for the amount of my subscription from.....

(*Delete as applicable.)

Date..... (Signed).....

Note: All copies of the journal for the current year will be issued irrespective of the date of joining).

Please forward completed form to the Honorary Treasurer, The Tanganyika Society,
P.O. Box 511, Dar es Salaam.

Date.....

To the Manager,

.....
(insert name of bank and branch)
.....

Please pay the Honorary Treasurer, The Tanganyika Society, the sum of Shs. 20 and thereafter the sum of Shs. 20 every year commencing 1st January,.....being my subscription as a Member of the Tanganyika Society.

30 CTS.

Signature.....

Address

STAMP

NOTES ON THE EXPLORATION OF THE SOURCES OF THE NILE

Summarized by A. H. Pike, C.M.G., O.B.E., from the "Encyclopaedia Britannica"

The earliest traces of men are stone implements found in many parts of the basin, some of which were made perhaps 100,000 years ago. The most recent in Egypt are found with early pottery and come down to c. 4,500 B.C. The historical period begins c. 3,400 B.C. and follows a period known as predynastic in which metal instruments began to be used as well as those of stone. When the early flint-implement people lived, the climate of North Africa was warm and humid. Lakes and rivers existed in what is now desert and the country was covered with vegetation and inhabited by animals now only found in tropical Africa. The mildness of the climate allowed men to live in shelters made of reeds or branches and did not force them to live in caves, as in northern countries, where traces of their occupation would have been preserved. Consequently the only remains of these early men are their durable flint instruments which are widespread over north-eastern Africa. Gradually the climate became drier, the rivers shrank and ultimately, perhaps 20,000 years ago, desert conditions were established as they are at present. The result of this change was to concentrate people on the edges of the Nile valley. In the valley itself the river probably covered most of the land when in flood and left huge marshes when it fell again and retired to its trough. In these marshes primitive people living on the edges of the valley hunted hippopotami, water-loving antelopes and wild fowl. As the rainfall over North Africa decreased and the country became arid, the Nile shrank to something like its present volume, and the beginnings of agriculture probably started on the edges of the valley.

Actual history in the basin begins in Egypt 5,000 or 6,000 years ago and is based on deductions from pottery, and utensils found in tombs. Later there are the inscriptions, pictures and carvings on the monuments which record contemporary events, and so down through ancient Egyptian, Greek, Roman and Arab times to the present. Little is known of the early history of the Nile basin outside Egypt and this comes from the excavations in the northern Sudan and occasional references on Egyptian monuments to people farther south. It seems likely that the ancient Egyptians, although they traded down the Red Sea as far as Somaliland and up the Nile beyond Khartoum, knew nothing of the source of the river. Herodotus, who visited Egypt c. 460 B.C. and travelled up to Aswan, has left some account of the country and a little about what lay to the south as far perhaps as the beginning of the Sudd region. Eratosthenes, one of the mathematicians and geographers of the Alexandrian school in the third century B.C. says that the Nile is formed by three streams, two of which issue from lakes in the east and the third from some lakes to the south. By the first century A.D. trade down the Red Sea to India and the east coast of Africa was well established, and this must have led to trade with the interior. It was probably due to this that rumours of snow-capped mountains and great lakes in the interior reached the Mediterranean. Because of the difficulties of travel in the Sudan it seems unlikely the connection of the Nile with these was actually established; it was probably an intelligent guess. Strabo about the beginning

of the era says that it was well known that the annual rise of the Nile was due to the rain on the high mountains of Ethiopia. Claudius Ptolemaeus, who lived in Alexandria in the second century A.D. and wrote treatises on astronomy and geography, thought that the White Nile came from the high snow-covered mountains in central Africa, called the Mountains of the Moon, and passed through two lakes. His map corresponds in a general way with what actually exists and must have been a collation of information then current as travellers' tales.

With Portuguese expeditions to Ethiopia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries more definite knowledge was obtained, and the first European to see the source of the Blue Nile was Father Pedro Paez, a Portuguese Jesuit, who visited it in 1613. Later, about 1700 James Bruce spent some time near Lake Tana and the headwaters of the Blue Nile and then returned from Gondar to the Blue Nile at Sennar and so down the Nile to Cairo.

Modern exploration of the Nile basin begins with the conquest of the northern and central Sudan by Mohamed Ali Pasha and his sons from 1821 onward. As a result of this the Blue Nile was known as far as its exit from the Ethiopian foothills, and the White Nile as far as the Sobat mouth. During his last visit to the Sudan about 1837 Mohamed Ali gave orders for the exploration of the White Nile so as to solve the problem of its origin, which had interested the civilized world for 2,000 years. Three expeditions under a Turkish officer, Selim Bimbashi, were made between 1839 and 1842 and two got to the point about twenty miles beyond the present port of Juba, where the country rises, and rapids make navigation very difficult. These expeditions were accompanied by George Thibaut (Shawki Ibrahim), Jacques Pons d'Arnaud (Arnaud Bey) and Ferdinand Werne who published accounts of their journeys. After these expeditions traders and missionaries penetrated the country and established stations in the southern Sudan. From an Austrian missionary, Ignaz Knoblecher, in 1850 came reports of lakes farther south. In the 1840s the missionaries Johann Ludwig Krapf, Johannes Rebmann and J. Erhardt travelling in East Africa saw the snow-topped mountains Kilimanjaro and Kenya and heard from traders of a great inland sea which might be a lake or lakes.

These reports led to fresh interest in the Nile source and to an expedition by Richard Burton and J. H. Speke who followed a trade route of the Arabs from the east coast and reached Lake Tanganyika. On the return journey Speke went north and reached the southern end of Lake Victoria, which he thought might be the origin of the Nile. This was followed in 1860 by another expedition by Speke and J. A. Grant under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society. They followed the previous route to Tabora and then turned towards Karagwe, the country west of Lake Victoria. Here they saw the high Mfumbiro mountains 100 miles to the west (they thought that they might be the Mountains of the Moon) and discovered the Kagera river. From the information that he was able to collect Speke thought that the Kagera must be the principal tributary of the lake. Continuing around the lake he finally reached the Ripon falls (1862), at which point he wrote "I saw that old Father Nile without any doubt rises in Victoria Nyanza". Speke then made his way northward with Grant, for part of the way along the Nile, until they reached Gondokoro, nearly opposite the present Juba. They heard rumours on the way of another large lake to the west but were unable to visit it and passed the information to Sir Samuel Baker,

who met them at Gondokoro, having come up from Cairo. Baker then continued his journey south and discovered Lake Albert. Neither Speke nor Baker had followed the Nile completely from the Ripon falls to Gondokoro, and Baker, who saw the northern half of Lake Albert, was told that it extended a very long way to the south. The discoveries of Speke and Baker are now commonly held to have settled the origin and course of the Nile, but at the time the unexplored gaps and the very elementary state of the science of hydrology led people to think that there was still an element of doubt. The question was settled when between 1874 and 1877 Gen. C. G. Gordon and his officers followed the river and mapped part of it. In particular Lake Albert was mapped and Col. Charles Chaillé-Long an American discovered Lake Kyoga. In 1875 H. M. Stanley travelled up from the east coast and circumnavigated Lake Victoria. His attempt to get to Lake Albert was not successful, though he travelled up the Katonga swamps and got as far as the escarpment above Lake George, from which he was forced to turn back by threat of war. Finally he marched to Lake Tanganyika and travelled down the Congo to the sea. In another memorable journey in 1889 to relieve Emin Pasha, Stanley travelled up the Congo and across to Lake Albert, where he met Emin and persuaded him to evacuate his equatorial province, which had been invaded by the K̲h̲alifa's forces. They returned to the east coast by way of the Semliki valley and Lake Edward, and Stanley saw the snowy peaks of Ruwenzori for the first time.

Thus by 1890 the main features of the Nile basin were known though there still remained much to be explored and also the business of map-making, which sixty years later was still not fully complete in detail.

TRADING EXPEDITIONS FROM THE COAST TO LAKES TANGANYIKA AND VICTORIA BEFORE 1857

By Sir John Gray

About the middle of the first century of the Christian era a Greek merchant named Diogenes gave a geographer named Marinus of Tyre an account of a voyage made by him in the Indian Ocean. Marinus reproduced that account in one of his geographical treatises. All the writings of Marinus disappeared many centuries ago, but fortunately the portion relating to the voyage of Diogenes was reproduced more or less *in extenso* in about the year A.D. 150 by the Greek-Egyptian geographer, Claudius Ptolemaeus (commonly known as Ptolemy). Diogenes told Marinus that on a return voyage from India to Egypt he landed on the east coast of Africa at a place named Rhapta, which may possibly be identifiable with Pangani or at any rate with some place in that vicinity. He alleged that thence he "travelled inland for a twenty-five days' journey, and arrived in the vicinity of the two great lakes, and the snowy range of mountains whence the Nile draws its twin sources".⁽¹⁾ If Diogenes actually made a twenty-five days' journey into the interior of the continent, it is exceedingly doubtful whether he arrived anywhere near the vicinity of any of the great lakes of Central Africa. But what appears to be certain is that, however short may have been the distance that he may have proceeded from the coast, he got in touch with persons, who were able to speak from their own personal knowledge of the existence of the two lakes and the range of mountains.

Though for many centuries after Diogenes called at Rhapta we have little or no information regarding intercourse between the coast and the central African lakes, there can be little doubt that it continued. It may have been on a relatively small scale, intermittent at times and even on certain routes somewhat spasmodic, but the fact remains that, despite possible interruptions due to a variety of causes, such as local inter-tribal wars, famine and pestilence, it none the less appears to have persisted down the ages.

It is a far cry from Marinus of Tyre to the end of the eighteenth century, but during all that tract of years geographers and cartographers appear to have nothing new to tell us about the approach to the central African lakes from the east coast of Africa. Such information about those lakes as was obtained during this period was evidently gleaned from information which had been passed from mouth to mouth down the Nile until it reached Egypt.

⁽¹⁾Sir Harry Johnston—*The Nile Quest* (London, 1903) pp. 23, 24. In his *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (London, 1863) p. 13 Speke referred to a paper in Vol. III (1801) of *Asiatic Researches* in which Lieutenant Wilford, relying on what he believed to be authentic passages from the Purana suggested that "the ancient Hindus must have had some kind of communication with the northern and southern ends of Lake Victoria". In Vol. VIII of the *Researches* Wilford had to acknowledge that, when writing his earlier paper he had been the victim of an elaborate imposition by a pundit, who, aware that Wilford was anxious to know whether the ancient Hindus had any knowledge of Egypt, had produced forged manuscripts to him showing the existence of such a connection. (See *Uganda Journal* Vol. I, p. 707). In a letter to Colonel Rigby of 20th April, 1864, Speke wrote that "the Hindu map published by Wilford has turned out a forgery, so in the second edition it will be left out". (Russel—*General Rigby; Zanzibar and the Slave Trade* (London, 1932), p. 230). Unfortunately, Speke's untimely death prevented the publication of the second edition of his *Journal*.

In 1616 a certain Gaspar Bocarro made an adventurous journey from Tete on the banks of the Zambezi to Kilwa. In the course of it he must have passed very close to Lake Nyasa, but he failed to discover it or even to realise its existence. After crossing the Rovuma into what is now Tanganyika, he came to the domains of a chief called Manhanga who sent a present of garments to a sub-chief, "which had come there from the coast of Malindi".⁽²⁾ "The coast of Malindi" at that date embraced the whole East African littoral from Cape Delgado to Cape Guardafui and there is strong ground for believing that these garments had reached the interior from Kilwa, where the Portuguese had a factory.

In 1776 a Monsieur Morice compiled a *Projet d'un Etablissement à la Côte Orientale d'Afrique*, which is now in the Rhodes House Library at Oxford. The establishment was to be set up at Kilwa. In his *Projet* he referred to the existence inland of a sea which was obviously Lake Nyasa, and that "on the other side was a vast country, which has been crossed by natives of the country, who after a journey of two months have reached the (Atlantic) Ocean and have seen there vessels which are navigated by Europeans. There is every reason to believe that this is the coast of Angola".⁽³⁾

The lesser distance, terrain, and comparative friendliness of the local inhabitants made the journey from Kilwa to Lake Nyasa a less serious undertaking than that to the north of the Rufiji River from the coast to lakes Tanganyika and Victoria. Consequently it is not surprising to find that the progress of the Arab and Swahili trader from the coast to these two last mentioned lakes was slower than that to Lake Nyasa. Nevertheless, it is interesting to find that at about the time that Morice penned his *Projet* goods in small quantities were reaching the shores of Lake Victoria from somewhere on the coast in the region of Zanzibar.

For many years Buganda, like other lacustrine kingdoms in Central Africa, for reasons partly geographical and partly political, appears to have had little or no connection with the east coast. According to Sir Apolo Kagwa, however, Kyabagu, who ruled Buganda from about 1763 until his death in about 1780, was the first of his line to purchase cups and plates. His son Semakokiro, who ruled Buganda from about 1797 to 1814 used to exchange ivory for *kaniki* (coarse dark blue Indian calico), copper bracelets and cowries. We are told that he had a special trader named Mangagala, whom he used to send to Karagwe to make these purchases. Towards the close of Semakokiro's reign Mangagala was killed in the course of a quarrel in Buzongola in Kiziba territory.⁽⁴⁾ Evidently this *kaniki* and the other articles reached Karagwe by the same route as that by which half a century later Speke and Grant were to eventually to reach Buganda, namely, by proceeding from Bagamoyo or some other adjacent coast town to what is now Tabora and thence in a direction more or less NNW. into Karagwe.

One can only guess as to race of the traders who brought these goods to Karagwe, but one feels that a fairly safe guess is that they were in all probability inhabitants of Unyamwezi, whose caravans proceeding from the interior of the continent to the east coast outnumbered those of any other race as late as the days of Burton and Speke.

⁽²⁾Bocarro—*Decada 13 da Historia da India* (Lisbon, 1876) Chapter CXLV.

⁽³⁾Rhodes House Ms. Afr. R. 6.

⁽⁴⁾Sir Apolo Kagwa—*Ekitabo kya Basekabaka be Buganda* (London, 1912, pp. 88–90). (For the conjectural dates of the reigns of Kyabagu and Semakokiro see *Uganda Journal*—Vol. 16, No. 2, p. 149).

The first non-Africans to reach the land of Unyamwezi would appear to have been two Khojas from Surat in India. The elder of these, named Sayyan, arrived in Zanzibar some time before 1823. He was followed there in about 1823 by his brother, who in after-life was known as Musa Muzuri ("Handsome Moses"). Said El Lakbri, governor of Zanzibar, equipped the brothers for an expedition into the interior. In those days no Arab had proceeded any farther into the interior than the districts of Usungu and Usungu, distant about a dozen marches (120 miles) to the SSE. of Tabora. In 1825 the two Khojas reached the land of Unyamwezi. They had "bought up a little venture of forty frasilas, or twenty men's loads of cloth and beads, and returned with a joint stock of 800 frasilas ($800 \times 35 = 28,000$ lb. avoirdupois) in ivory. As Sayyan died on the road all fell to Musa's share".⁽⁵⁾ After this venture Musa went from strength to strength and, as will be seen, was one of the pioneers in opening trade between the coast and the regions of Lake Victoria.

At the end of 1827 Said bin Sultan, ruler of Oman, personally led an expedition against the Mazrui of Mombasa. After having arranged a temporary *modus vivendi* with the Mazrui, he proceeded in January 1828, to Zanzibar. On arrival he found there the American brig *Mary Anne*. On 27th January 1828, Edmund Roberts, the supercargo of that vessel, presented a lengthy memorial to Seyyid Said setting out his many complaints about his treatment at the hands of the Seyyid's officers in Zanzibar. Here, we are not concerned with Mr. Roberts's alleged grievances except to say that to his mind he does not appear to have obtained entire satisfaction regarding them. What is of interest is that on his return to the United States he sought to interest Senator Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire in his affairs. In a letter addressed to the Senator on 26th December 1828, Roberts said that, whilst at Zanzibar, "I have frequently seen the elephant hunters return from thirty days' journey into the interior and the governor of Zanzibar occasionally sends presents to negro kings a long distance inland and he said they considered themselves as slaves of the Imam. (sc. Seyyid Said)".⁽⁶⁾

Seyyid Said left Zanzibar for Oman a few months later after receiving Roberts's memorial, but he left behind him his favourite son, Khalid, as governor of Zanzibar, and it was very evident that this—his first-glimpse of the island—had made him decide to make it the seat of his second capital. In after years he was to spend a great deal of time in Zanzibar and, as will be seen, took very active steps further to promote the trade between Zanzibar and the interior of the continent.

It is evident that these African ivory caravans arriving in Zanzibar often travelled in large numbers. When Burton was passing through Ugogo in 1857 he was told how "within the memory of a man one Kafuke of Unyamwezi, a great merchant, and an *Mtongi* or caravan leader, when traversing Ugogo with some thousands of followers, became involved in a quarrel about paying for water. After fifteen days of skirmishing, the leader was slain and the party was dispersed".⁽⁷⁾ It is possible that the numbers of the Wanyamwezi as given to Burton were very much exaggerated, but even if we substitute "hundreds"

⁽⁵⁾Burton—*Lake Regions of Central Africa* (London, 1863) pp. 223, 224.

⁽⁶⁾Edmund Roberts Papers in Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

⁽⁷⁾Burton—*Lake Regions* 1. 307.

for "thousands" it is easy to understand that with its demands for food, fuel, and water a caravan of this size was like an invading army to the dwellers in the land and that it was more than probable that disputes of this nature would lead to bloodshed.

At the same time it is interesting to note that, even before the advent of Seyyid Said to Zanzibar, the governor of that island had already been trying to establish a *modus vivendi* whereby in exchange for a suitable present local chiefs would allow caravans to pass and repass through their territories without let or hindrance.

In the earlier forties of last century an officer of the Indian Navy visiting Zanzibar obtained from a certain Lief bin Said the journal of a caravan expedition which he had made from Zanzibar to Lake Tanganyika some ten years previously. The officer in question subsequently gave the journal to the geographer James Macqueen, who subsequently reproduced a summary thereof in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (1845) XV. 371-376.

Macqueen tells us that Lief bin Said was apparently a very intelligent man, about forty years of age and born at Zanzibar of the Nyamwezi tribe. He had been twice to Lake Tanganyika, the second occasion being in 1831, when in the month of September he crossed over from Zanzibar to "Boramy" (apparently Mboamaji), situated a little to the southward of the south end of Zanzibar. After remaining there for some days, he left with a caravan, or *kafila*, of about five hundred persons. He had about seventy of his own followers; the rest consisted of returning Wanyamwezi. His itinerary from the coast to Lake Tanganyika appears to have been very much that followed by Burton and Speke a quarter of a century later. He gave an interesting account of Unyamwezi, which he described as being under four different sovereigns. Of these chiefs one lived on the eastern boundary of the country at Sangara. Another eight days' march took him to Shesha, where was another sultan. The residence of the third sultan is not given by Macqueen, but twenty days' march from Shesha brought him to Lake Tanganyika and "on the banks of the lake is the great sultan of the Wanyamwezi, whose minister's name is Kegaw". It had taken him one hundred and forty days to reach the lake, but only sixty days of those days had actually been spent on the march. He learnt that "across the lake there is a great trade of ivory, oil of red colour, and slaves like those of the Nubians. There is a trade carried on from the west bank of the lake to the west coast; it consists of white and blue cotton cloths, and some broad cloths which are bartered for ivory. The time taken to reach the coast is six months. For two trassalors (sc. *frasilas*) of beads you get four of ivory; the beads costing about five dollars a trassalor (35-36 English pounds). Some of the boats on the lake were about six fathoms long, but had no sails".

As to the people whom Lief bin Said met on his journey, "the appearance of the people near the lake is that of the Abyssinians. . . . The people nearer the lake are fairer than those near the coast.

" The Wanyamwezi are pagans; and both sexes go nearly naked. . . . In travelling from the east side to the lake there is no danger; and from the west, by paying a little to the sultans, they would forward you with the greatest safety. During the whole distance the people with the caravan were healthy; they got plenty of good and cheap food and water. The houses on the road and at the

lake are made of wood, and thatched with grass; no upper stories, nor is there any chimney. Dogs are numerous and very troublesome, some of a very large kind". Food was in fact so cheap that one dollar would buy eight sheep or four bullocks, "but they prefer quarter of a dollar's value of cotton cloth".

Throughout this journey Lief bin Said found that "the people are very honest and civil to strangers; no instance has occurred of ill treatment or injury". Possibly as an Mnyamwezi, travelling in company with other members of his own tribe, found the people more friendly and less given to extortion than did other travellers with non-African blood in their veins. An invasion of five hundred travellers must have been an alarming event for the inhabitants of some wayside village on Lief bin Said's line of march and one can only conclude that what appears to have been the more or less entire absence of friction between visitors and villages must have been due to the fact that visits of caravans of the size of that of Lief bin Said must by that date have become familiar to dwellers on the trade route with the result that a recognized *modus vivendi* had been established between the parties.⁽⁸⁾

By 1838 Seyyid Said, Sultan of Zanzibar, had personally begun to take a very active interest in this inland trade and was taking direct measures to foster and encourage it. On 3rd July 1839, the Salem brig *Waverly* dropped anchor in Zanzibar roadstead on its way to India. The vessel had on board a party of missionaries, who had been sent out under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners to work amongst the Mahrattas. During their short stay in Zanzibar they got in touch with Richard Palmer Waters, the first United States Consul to be posted to Zanzibar. With Waters's assistance one of the missionaries, Ebenezer Burgess, got in touch with two men, who had recently returned to Zanzibar from an expedition into the interior in order to ascertain whether the mainland held out any prospects as a field for missionary enterprise. Burgess sent a report to the Board of Commissioners, which was subsequently printed in the *Missionary Herald*, the Society's official organ.

One of the two caravans had returned to Zanzibar in about January 1838, after having been absent five months and eleven days, seventy-five days of which had been occupied in reaching its final destination. "The other expedition, by a more direct route attained nearly the same distance in forty-five days". The final destination of both expeditions was the land of "the Manomoises (Wanyamwezi), whose country extends to a great lake". In other words, Burgess learnt of the existence of Lake Tanganyika some four and a half years before any C.M.S. missionary arrived in East Africa. The starting point, on the mainland, of the two expeditions is not named in Burgess's report, but as "one day only" was occupied in passing "the Zamzam territory" (Uzaramu) it may perhaps be safely be inferred that it was at some spot between Mboamaji and Saadani.

Burgess learnt that "the Sultan sends every cool season trading expeditions some hundreds of miles into the interior, to which I was told that travellers might join themselves for protection. A party left Zanzibar on one of these expeditions just before we arrived". The party had in fact left on 21st June 1839. Three days after their departure the American Consul recorded in his diary that "last

(8) J. Macqucen—*Visit of Lief Ben Saeed to the Great African Lake* (J.R.G.S. (1845) xv. 371–376).

Friday two hundred men had departed for the interior of Africa. They go to trade for His Highness and will be gone about a year". One of Burgess's two informants had been sent by the Sultan with one of the recently returned caravans "for the express purpose of exploring". It was apparently he who brought to Burgess five Wanyamwezi for purposes of interrogation. "They were not slaves but had come to Zanzibar at the request of the Sultan to make some form of treaty for the safety and success of his subjects when on their trading expeditions. One of them was the heir apparent to the throne, that is to say, he was the most popular man in the nation after the king". History appears to be silent as to whether or not any binding pact was concluded between the two contracting parties or as to whether, if any such pact was made, it was mutually honoured in the observance.

As a log kept by Michael W. Shepard on a voyage to Zanzibar in the Salem bark *Star* shows, some of the Sultan's trading expeditions were attended by great loss of life. An entry in that log informs us that "His Highness every year sends one hundred men into the interior to explore and obtain what ivory and produce of the country as they can and seldom more than twenty to thirty return, the rest dying on the road". These figures are possibly exaggerated, but there can be no doubt that at times the casualty list was a heavy one. Sometimes the local inhabitants would fall upon the caravan and inflict heavy losses. Stragglers were more than once intercepted and killed. At times too the climate took as heavy a toll as an ambush of hostile natives. Sanitary arrangements on the march were often most primitive or almost non-existent with the result that many succumbed to dysentery. Other tropical diseases also claimed their victims. But whatever the fortunes of individual caravans, the trade with the interior slowly, but gradually expanded, and with it to some measure the Sultan's political influence with the inland tribes.⁽⁹⁾

Lief bin Said evidently made no attempt to navigate Lake Tanganyika. It was not in fact till some ten or more years later that we hear of any Arabs exploring its waters. Burton tells us that in about 1841 or 1842 "a large Arab caravan of two hundred armed slaves, led by Mohammed bin Salih and Suleiman bin Nassor, with four codajutors, Abd el Al and Ibn Habib, Shias of Bahrain, Nasser and Rashid bin Salim el-Harisi (who died soon afterwards at Mpulungu), took boat to Mpulungu (at the southern end of the lake), and in due time arrived at Usenda", the land of the chief known as Kazembe in what is now Northern Rhodesia. Arrived there, "they completed their cargo and were returning in a single boat, when they were persuaded by the Sultan Mtumbara (who lived near the western shores of the lake) to land, and to assist him in annihilating a neighbour, Sama or Kipyoka, living at one day's march from the lake. The Arabs, aided by the Africans, attacked a boma, or palisade, . . . Sama's people fled, but presently returning they massacred the slaves of the Arabs, who were obliged to take refuge in the grass till aid was afforded by their employer Mtumbara. Sama, thus victorious, burned the Arabs' boat, and compelling the merchants to return to Usenda, seized the first opportunity of slaying his

⁽⁹⁾"Letter from Mr. Burgess, dated 11th September 1839" in the *Missionary Herald* of the American Board of Commissioners (1840), Vol. 85, p. 118; Phillip E. Northway—*Salem and the Zanzibar-East African Trade* in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* Vol. xc (April, 1954) p. 143. Ebenezer Burgess's letter also contains detailed information regarding the inhabitants &c. of Tanganyika, the details of which are far too long to be inserted here. He remained in India until 1855, when he was invalided owing to ill health.

rival. The Arabs have found means of sending letters to their friends", but in 1858 they appeared to be unable to leave Kazembe's country and were apparently living there from hand to mouth, "cultivating the land with scant prospect of quitting it."⁽¹⁰⁾

In about 1844 Said bin Habib el-Affi set out from Zanzibar to trade on the mainland. He afterwards told Colonel Rigby, British Consul at Zanzibar, that he "went partly to trade in ivory and partly for the purpose of visiting unexplored regions in that great country". He certainly had all the dogged perseverance and pluck of the true merchant adventurer. Unfortunately he kept no journal or record of his travels, but on his return after sixteen years' absence from Zanzibar, Colonel Rigby was able to elicit a certain amount of information from him by dint of interrogation. In due course he had reached Ujiji. Crossing Lake Tanganyika he made a twenty-seven days' journey down its western shore to Mpulungu at its southern end. Thence he made his way to Kazembe on the bank of the Luapula in what is now Northern Rhodesia. After residing some time at Kazembe, he visited the copper mines at Katanga in what is now the Belgian Congo, which he described as "a great peaceable place with very few robbers". After two months' stay at Katanga he eventually made his way by devious routes to Linyanti on the banks of the Zambezi in what is now the Caprivi Strip in South-West Africa. There in September 1855, he met David Livingstone after his return journey from Loanda on the west coast. On learning of Livingstone's exploit, Sekeletu, the chief of Linyanti, arranged that Said bin Habib should conduct a fresh party with a load of ivory to the west coast. For this purpose he was supplied by Sekeletu with ninety-five porters. He was also the bearer of letters from Livingstone. He eventually reached Loanda, which he claimed to have visited on at least two other occasions. He eventually made his way back by way of Lake Nyasa, to Zanzibar, where he arrived early in 1860. He informed Rigby that "I suffered but little inconvenience in travelling from any ignorance of the languages of the various countries through which I passed, because the negroes who accompanied me from Zanzibar acquired the languages with surprising rapidity and always made themselves understood," thereby paying a very just tribute to those very humble folk, who patiently and silently bore the heat and the burden of the day and played so prominent a part of the opening up of trade in the heart of Africa. Livingstone strongly suspected Said bin Habib of being a slave dealer on a fairly large scale. Certainly at a much later date he took sides in those internecine wars between Africans, which helped to promote and foster the slave trade. But in these earlier days it is to his credit that, like Livingstone himself, he was able to lead free Makololo as carriers from the western to the eastern shores of the continent of Africa.⁽¹¹⁾

As already mentioned, Said bin Habib el-Affi claimed to have visited Loanda on three separate occasions. If the first of these was that on which he met Livingstone at Linyanti in 1855, three Arabs could claim to have anticipated

⁽¹⁰⁾Burton—*Lake Regions* ii. 151, 152.

⁽¹¹⁾Rigby to Bombay Government, 20th March 1860 (Zanzibar Archives): David Livingstone—*Journeys and Researches in South Africa* (London, 1851) pp. 501–508. Said bin Habib revisited the regions of Lake Nyasa in 1862 and 1863 (D. and C. Livingstone—*Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi* (London, 1865) p. 613; Mrs. G. E. B. Russel—*General Rigby, Zanzibar and the Slave Trade* (London, 1935) pp. 227, 228. A last record of him appears to be in a letter of 29 Shawwal 1304 (22nd July, 1887) from Tippu Tib to Vice Consul Holmwood that "If anything new happens about Said bin Habib el-Affi, I shall let you know. He is in the act of spoiling my work". (Zanzibar Archives).

him in making the transcontinental journey by some three years. In 1852 a certain Bernardino, *Frère F. A. de Castro*, reported that on 3rd April of that year a caravan of forty carriers had arrived at Benguela under the leadership of three Arabs, bringing ivory and slaves to exchange for merchandise.

The leader was an Arab named Abdel belonging to a family from Muscat. He himself had been born at Surat in India and had for some time worked as a pilot on vessels sailing between the Persian Gulf and India. After a time he had gone into partnership with a "Moor" named Nassolo. The two had agreed to go to Zanzibar, where one of them had a relative, who joined their partnership, and set out in company with them about October 1851, on a trading expedition into the continent. They crossed over to Bagamoyo, "where", according to them, "white men were met with who can write, and who go there". There is no record in Zanzibar Archives or other records suggesting that at this date any European trader was settled at Bagamoyo or anywhere else on the continent, but it is conceivable that European trading vessels from time to time left one of their number temporarily at such places to barter merchandise for local commodities, whilst the vessel proceeded farther up or down the coast in search of profitable cargoes.

To return to Abdel and his companions, on arrival at Bagamoyo they "obtained carriers to take their goods, exchanging them in succession for ivory and slaves" all their way across the continent. Following much the same route as did Burton and Speke six years later, they eventually reached Ujiji, where they were delayed by having to construct a boat wherewith to cross Lake Tanganyika. It took them a day and a night to make their crossing to a place called Manguro. (? Mpulungu). Thence they made their way to Kazembe on the banks of the Luapula, "where one of the Moors, a native of Muscat, by name Said Gerad, remained with two mulattoes to guard the ivory, which they left at this place, whilst the rest of the party went on to Katanga, where they had the good luck to meet with Major Coimbra's men", in company with whom they eventually reached Benguela. At times, when travelling through uninhabited territory, they had "suffered some privations" and three members of the caravan had died.

Their motive for eventually deciding to cross the continent was that, "having got into the interior, and bartering away all the goods which they had in succession provided, having exchanged them for the above articles (sc. ivory and slaves), they then found it difficult to retrace their steps from the want of articles to trade with, and resolved on proceeding on their journey in the hopes of meeting with such articles as they had been told they would find farther inland in exchange for ivory".

The travellers were well treated at Benguela. According to information given to the British Ambassador at Lisbon, the Governor-General of Angola had proposed to apply for a sum of money from the Colonial Treasury "to encourage some enterprising persons to accompany the Moorish traders on their return to Zanzibar, in the hope of thus acquiring correct information respecting the intervening country". History appears to be silent as to whether his approach to the Treasury met with any success. We likewise have no record as to the subsequent movements of the Arab caravan.⁽¹²⁾

⁽¹²⁾Sir R. Pakenham to Earl of Malmesbury, Lisbon, 8th August, 1852—*Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. 31, p. 343
"Notice of a Caravan Journey from the East to the West Coast of Africa"—P.R.C.S. (1853) xxiv. 266-271)

At about the same time as Said bin Habib el-Affi set out upon his wanderings, the Khoja, Musa Muzuri, of whom mention has already been made and who in 1844 could account himself a veteran with twenty years of caravanning behind him, became associated with the first European in modern times to try to make the transcontinental journey. The European in question was a young French naval officer, named Maizan, who had visited the African coast in 1843 in the French man-of-war *La Dordogne*. In November 1844, he arrived in Zanzibar to carry out the ambitious project, which had received official approval, of crossing Africa from east to west. He stayed in Zanzibar for eight months, learning Swahili and equipping himself for his journey. Seyyid Said bin Sultan, ruler of Zanzibar, was very anxious to have the interior of the continent properly surveyed and gave every possible encouragement to Maizan's project as did Colonel Hamerton, the British Consul. On Seyyid Said's advice Maizan consented to entrust himself during the first stage of his expedition to the safe conduct of Musa, who was about to set out with a caravan to Unyamwezi. The expedition left the coast after the rains of 1845. In due course they arrived at Dege la Mhulo, a village on the Ruvu River towards the south-western corner of the present Uzaramo District. Here one of Maizan's servants fell ill. Maizan insisted on halting till his recovery. Musa did in fact wait eight or ten days, but declined to wait any longer. For him, quite understandably, business came first. Time was for him of the essence of his contract. He could not afford to keep a large establishment stationary and eating their heads off waiting for one sick man to be able to resume the march. Neither could he afford to arrive late at his destination and to find that he had been forestalled by rival traders. So by mutual agreement Musa and Maizan parted company. "This separation", wrote Speke, "was, I believe, Maizan's death blow". As Sir Reginald Coupland has said, "there is no reason to suppose that a plot was hatched for his destruction by the Arabs or Swahili on the coast in the belief that he was bent on exploring the ground for French trade or even annexation. In any case, those heavy boxes, those fascinating instruments were strong and direct enough temptation for any chief who dared to rob a white man". Maizan was left with only a few porters, and the local chief seized him, tied him to a fence and cut his throat. Some seventeen years later this chief told Speke he had murdered Maizan on the written instructions of a Diwan of the coast, but there is no corroboration of this story and robbery was an obvious motive for the crime.⁽¹³⁾

Other adventurous Arabs besides Said bin Habib el-Affi and Abdel may have made, or attempted to make, the journey from the shores of Lake Tanganyika to Angola, but we have no record of them. Any such ventures must have been few and far between. On the other hand the ordinary trader, who was in search of merchandise rather than adventures began to look for markets to the west of Lake Tanganyika. As Speke wrote in his journal on 13th March

⁽¹³⁾Speke—*Journal of the Discovery of the Sources of the Nile* (London, 1863) pp. 29, 30; Coupland—*East Africa and its Invaders* (Oxford, 1939) pp. 353, 354; Sillery—*Maizan* (T.N.R. No. 40, pp. 89-91.); Krapf—*Travels, Missionary Researches and Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1860), pp. 420, 421.

In 1837 a Mr. W. Bollaert laid before the Royal Geographical Society in London a plan for an expedition from Zanzibar across Africa to the west coast. "The plan was approved, instructions were drawn up by Mr. Cooley and the Society offered to subscribe towards the expenses; but, in the absence of public aid a sufficient sum could not be raised and the project was ultimately abandoned". (J.R.G.S. xxiv. 271). Desborough Cooley has been not inaptly described by Sir Harry Johnston as "a wearisome person, . . . who published fine-spun theories bare on a fantastic interpretation of African etymology". In the circumstances, one is disposed to think it was just as well that the expedition was still-born.

1858, "it may appear odd that men should go so far into the interior of Africa to procure ivory when undoubtedly much is to be found at places not half so distant from Zanzibar: but the reason is simple. The nearer countries have become so overstocked with beads and cloth that ivory has risen to so great a price that it does not pay to transport. Hence every succeeding year finds the Arabs penetrating further inland".⁽¹⁴⁾ The Arab traders were embarking at Ujiji and, sailing south-west, were landing at Kasenge, an island close to the western shore of the lake. Crossing the arm of the lake separating the island from the mainland, the traders proceeded about one hundred miles south-west to Uruwa, which Burton described as "at present the western terminus of the Zanzibar trade". Kiyombo, the Sultan of Uruwa was described as being "at present friendly to the Arabs; he trades in ivory, slaves and a little copper from Katanga", but the inhabitants of the country on the route between Uruwa and Lake Tanganyika were described as "dangerous". Shortly after Speke's visit to Kasenge in 1858 it was reported to Colonel Rigby, British Consul at Zanzibar, that an entire caravan had been massacred on its way to Uruwa and its property seized by the natives.⁽¹⁵⁾

It was reported to Burton in 1858 that one of the chief difficulties encountered in the territories on the western shores of Lake Tanganyika was that of portage. "On the Uruwa route caravans are composed mainly of private slaves; the races of the Tanganyika Lake will not carry loads, and the Wanyamwezi . . . refuse to advance beyond Ujiji. On account of its dangers, the thriving merchants have hitherto abandoned this line to debtors and desperate men". It was for that reason that some traders wishing to proceed to Kazembe and the Katanga copper field struck overland south from Unyanyembe (Tabora) through the Fipa country and made their way to their destination round the south end of the Lake.⁽¹⁶⁾

The first traders to reach the shores of Lake Tanganyika found difficulty in obtaining adequate transport to convey themselves, their armed escort and their goods across the lake. The locally made dug-out canoes could not safely carry the bulky bales of merchandise which the traders needed, for purposes of barter in the countries on the western side of the lake or for transport back to Ujiji of the ivory and other merchandise obtained in exchange for such goods. Consequently the earliest arrivals found themselves under the necessity of constructing their own water transport. By 1858 there was at least one substantial dhow on the lake, which was the property of Sheikh Ahmed bin Sleyyim, who had built himself a comfortable dwelling on the island of Kasenge, adjoining the western shore of the lake to the south-west of Ujiji, where he transacted most of "his worldly business in purchasing ivory, slaves or any commodities worthy of his notice". But life in so isolated a spot was not always safe. Very shortly after Speke's visit to Kasenge, Ahmed and the whole of his caravan were massacred whilst on their way to Uruwa.⁽¹⁷⁾

⁽¹⁴⁾Speke—*What led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (London, 1864) pp. 240, 241.

⁽¹⁵⁾Burton—*Lake Regions* ii. 147, 148; Speke—*op. cit.* pp. 199, 240, 241.

⁽¹⁶⁾Burton—*Lake Regions* ii. 147. Shortly before Burton left Tabora in 1858, he was supplied by Hilal bin Nasser el-Harisi "with a list of stations and a lengthy description of his various experiences in the southern provinces", which were reproduced by Burton in J.R.G.S. Voi. xxix (*Lake Regions* p. 228).

⁽¹⁷⁾Speke—*What led to the Discovery* pp. 229–241.

Such transport as the traders were able to construct for themselves was exposed to precisely the same hazards and risks as vessels plying upon the high seas, including destruction by hostile natives. As already seen, the earliest voyagers to the south end of the lake had their vessel destroyed in the course of a war between two rival chiefs, in which they had been rash enough to participate.

Ameri bin Said El-Shaksi, who met Burton at Tabora in 1858 and is described by him, as "a strong-framed and stout-hearted greybeard", albeit somewhat given to garrulity, had once lost his vessel on the lake either owing to storm and tempest or unseaworthiness and only saved his life by swimming. All his goods went down with his ship and few of his slaves survived. For five months he had to live on roots and grasses until he was rescued by an Arab canoe from Ujiji. (18)

Dhow building on Lake Tanganyika was still in its infancy in 1857 and neither Ujiji nor any other place on the shores of the lake had yet earned the dignity of being styled a port. When Burton and Speke arrived there, they found nothing worthy of the name of "town" at Ujiji. Around the landing place were "a few scattered huts in the humblest beehive shape". A few hundred yards inland there was "a relic of Arab civilization called the Bazaar", which was no more than an open air market of the ordinary African type. Near by was "a ruinous *tembe* built by an Arab merchant Hamed bin Salim, who had allowed it to be tenanted by ticks and slaves". Accordingly, Burton proceeded half a mile farther inland to "the little village of Kawele, whose mushroom huts barely protruded their summits above the dense vegetation". The practice was that "the Sultan, after (receiving the) offering of *magubiko* or presents, provided his guests with lodgings, which, after a time sufficient for enabling them to build their huts, they must vacate in favour of newcomers". In other words Ujiji was in 1857 little more than a camping ground. (19)

As already mentioned, by the end of the eighteenth century merchandise was being conveyed from the east coast to Karagwe and thence to Buganda. The route taken by the traders conveying those goods was evidently very much the same as that taken by the railway today. It followed the track leading from the coast to Unyamwezi. Today the railway branches off at Tabora to the northwards to the southern shore of Lake Victoria. When Burton and Speke reached Tabora in 1857, that place had already become the road junction for traffic to the north but, as will be seen, it would appear that it had only very recently become the base for such trading operations. Furthermore, though some traffic went to the southern shore of Lake Victoria, the bulk of it continued, as previously, to keep well to the west of that lake and make for Karagwe.

There were a number of reasons why traders preferred to proceed overland and not make use of the lake. The same difficulties in regard to water transport confronted them as they did traders reaching Lake Tanganyika. The ordinary lake canoes were unsuited for the carriage of the bulky and heavy merchandise and the entourage of the traders, and the lake was especially liable to sudden storms. Larger vessels were needed to make the passage safe. As late as 1875, when Stanley reached the southern shores of that lake, transport on its waters was

(18) Burton—*Lake Regions* ii. 228.

(19) Burton—*Lake Regions* i. 354, ii. 46, 47.

still confined to canoes. About a year before Stanley's arrival a coast native, named Songoro, had begun to construct a dhow at Kageyi, but it was still unfinished when the first C.M.S. missionaries reached that place in 1877.⁽²⁰⁾

In following the Karagwe route, Arab and Swahili traders were apparently following what had formerly been a well trodden track, which had once linked Bunyoro with Unyamwezi by way of Buddu. When Junju of Buganda wrested Buddu from Bunyoro at the end of the eighteenth century, the trade along this route was in all probability to a very large extent diverted from Bunyoro to Buganda. In this connection it is interesting to note that Rumanyika, ruler of Karagwe in 1857, "sometimes got beads forwarded to him by Kamurasi, king of Bunyoro", which had been obtained from Nilotic tribes to the north of Bunyoro. Moreover, Abdulla, eldest son of Musa Muzuri, by a slave girl, spoke to Speke "of a wonderful mountain to the northward of Karagwe, so high and steep that no one could ascend it. It was, he said, seldom visible, being up in the clouds, where white matter, snow or hail, often fell". It is not clear whether Abdulla claimed to have seen the mountain himself or only described it on information received from others, but the mountain in question would appear to have been Ruwenzori.⁽²¹⁾

It would appear that in about 1842 a number of Arabs established a settlement at Kigandu, a place which Burton describes as being in "a district of Usukuma, one long day's march north of Kazeh (Tabora)". This suggests that they wanted the place as a base for their trading operations towards the southern shores of Lake Victoria, Karagwe and Buganda. Certainly Thiney bin Amir and Musa Muzuri, two of the earliest visitors to the court of Suna, ruler of Buganda, were originally settled there. In about 1852 the local chief, Mpagamo, induced these Arab settlers to assist them in an attack upon a rival chief named Msimbira. According to an account given to Burton, after five or six days of desultory fighting, the Arabs suddenly found themselves deserted by their armed slaves. Thereupon they beat a hasty retreat only to learn that Mpagamo declared himself unable any longer to defend them. They accordingly withdrew to Kazeh, "then a desert", and established a settlement there.⁽²²⁾

It was probably from Kigandu that Ahmed bin Ibrahim el-Ameri set out on his first visit to the court of Suna, ruler of Buganda. Some thirty years later he told Emin Pasha that he was the first Arab to reach Buganda by way of Karagwe and that he arrived there in 1260 A.H. (A.D. 1844). He further informed Emin that he had visited the court of Suna (who died in 1856) on two other subsequent occasions.⁽²³⁾

Ahmed bin Ibrahim ended his days in Karagwe late in 1885 or early in 1886, when he was murdered during a war of succession following on the death of Rumanyika, ruler of Karagwe.⁽²⁴⁾ At least one incident in his life deserves to be recorded here in full. It is best told in the words of Sir Apolo Kagwa, for many years Katikiro of Buganda.

⁽²⁰⁾*Church Missionary Intelligencer* (August, 1877) p. 467.

⁽²¹⁾Speke—*Journal of the Discovery of the Nile* (London, 1863) p. 89.

⁽²²⁾Burton—*Lake Regions* i. 327.

⁽²³⁾Stuhlmann—*Die Tagebücher von Dr Emin Pascha* i. 139, 154.

⁽²⁴⁾Stuhlmann—op. cit. iii. 59; Casati—*Ten Years in Equatoria* (London, 1898) ii. 282.

"It came to pass in the days of Kabaka Suna II that these Arabs came to visit him; Ahmed bin Ibrahim, Kyera, Amulane, Muina, Nakatukula the Comorian, and Zigeze the Baluchi.

Of these Arabs he was most fond of Ahmed Ibrahim and gave him many things, ivory, women and slaves. But afterwards Ahmed Ibrahim said to Kabaka Suna, 'My lord, you are always killing your people. There is a God who created them and likewise created you and gave you this kingdom so that you might rule His people'. When Kabaka Suna heard these words of his friend Ahmed Ibrahim, he disputed with him, saying 'I know that my own gods gave me this kingdom'. Then Ahmed Ibrahim repeated to Kabaka Suna the same words on every day that he saw him. But Suna could not understand them but could not choose but hear them.

At length Kabaka Suna asked Ahmed Ibrahim, 'This God of whom you speak, where is he and is he greater than I am?' He then told him that God was in Heaven and that he would raise up all whom he loved from the dead.

When Kabaka Suna heard these words, it is said that he realised that they were true, and he secretly arranged with Ahmed Ibrahim gradually to teach him the word of God. He began to teach him and he learnt four Suras (of the Koran). When he had learnt by heart the words of these four Suras, Ahmed Ibrahim went to the coast, and before his return Kabaka Suna died (in 1856)."⁽²⁵⁾

Other foreign traders followed Ahmed Ibrahim into Buganda. An Arab half-breed, named Saim, whom Speke first met at Kazehe (Tabora) in 1858, claimed that he had lived ten years in Buganda and had crossed the Nile and had traded eastward as far as the Masai country.⁽²⁶⁾

About the same time a Baluchi, named Isa bin Hussein, arrived in Buganda. Burton tells us that he obtained the nickname of "the hairy one", from his long locks and bushy beard. He is evidently the Zigeze mentioned in the above cited passage from Sir Apolo Kagwa's *Ebika*. In February 1862, shortly after Speke crossed the frontier into the country of Buddu in Buganda he reached an estate which had once belonged to this individual. Speke was informed that Isa "came to this country with merchandise, trading on account of Seyyid Said, late Sultan of Zanzibar; but having lost it all on the way, paying *mahongo* or taxes, and so forth, he feared returning, and instead made great friends with the late king Suna, and who raised him to the rank of *Makungu* (chief). A few years ago, however, Isa died, and left all his family and property to a slave named Uledi, who now in consequence is the border officer."⁽²⁷⁾

At about the time that Saim, and Isa bin Hussein arrived in Buganda, Suna sent an expedition into Busoga. Sir Apolo Kagwa tells us that the expedition was accompanied by three coast Africans, to whom Sir Apolo Kagwa gives the somewhat unlikely names of Muina, Sitokisi, and Lukabaya, who had four guns with them, the first recorded use of firearms in what is now the Uganda Protectorate.

⁽²⁵⁾*Ekitabo kye Bika bya Buganda* (Mengo, 1949) pp. 115-116.

⁽²⁶⁾Speke—*Journal of the Discovery* pp. 154, 155.

⁽²⁷⁾Speke—op. cit. p. 276. Burton—*Lake Regions of Central Africa* ii. 193 tells a much more picturesque story about Isa bin Hussein, which he obtained from Arab informants at Tabora in 1858. Speke's later information obtained on the spot would, however, appear to be more reliable. According to Le Veux—*Premier Essai De Vocabulaire Luganda—Francais* (Maison-Carrée, Alger, 1917). Zigeze means a fleece.

With the aid of these "secret weapons" the Baganda were able to storm and take a stockaded village at some place unnamed. Almost immediately afterwards plague broke out and the expedition came to an abrupt end.⁽²⁸⁾

On 24th March 1861, when on his second journey to Lake Victoria, Speke came across "a broken-down ivory merchant, named Sirboko," who told him "he used to trade in ivory on account of some Arabs in Zanzibar. On crossing Usui, he once had a fight with one of the chiefs of the country and killed him; but he got through all right, because the natives, after two or three of their number had been killed, dispersed and feared to come near his musket. He visited Buganda, when the late king Suna was still living and even traded with Busoga; but as he was coming down from those northern countries he lost all his property by a fire breaking out in a village he stopped in, which drove him down here a ruined man."⁽²⁹⁾ One wonders whether Sirboko with his musket was one of the coast men, who joined the expedition into Busoga referred to by Sir Apolo Kagwa and whether Saim was a companion.

In about 1854 the Khoja, Musa Muzuri, was staying at the court of Rumanyika who had only recently become ruler of Karagwe. His succession was disputed by a rival claimant, who proceeded to lay siege to Rumanyika's palisaded villages. We are told that "on this occasion Musa, in company with the king, endured great hardships and incurred no little risk, when both parties were weary of fighting, he persuaded by a large bribe of ivory, Suna, the powerful despot of the neighbouring kingdom of Buganda to raise the siege by throwing a strong force into the field". Two years later Musa proceeded to Buganda, where Mutesa had recently ascended the throne, to recover part of the ivory which he had thus expended on behalf of Rumanyika. He returned fifteen months later to Kazeh, where he met Burton and Speke. Burton tells us that "he brought back with him about a score of splendid tusks, one weighing two hundred pounds". Though he appears to have obtained full satisfaction of his demands, it would appear that his insistence on them was not popular with the newly appointed Kabaka or his ministers or chiefs. Shortly after his departure from Buganda a ban was placed on the entry of foreign traders "by order of the king, as the Arabs were interfering too much with his subjects".⁽³⁰⁾

Whilst Suna and Mutesa upon occasion allowed foreign traders to enter Busoga from Buganda, both appear to have set their faces most determinedly against allowing them to use Buddu as a corridor for purposes of entry into Bunyoro. In the words of Emin Pasha, "Mutesa, the king of Buganda, would never allow Arabs to go to Bunyoro in spite of their repeated requests, and perhaps a little jealous of Kabarega, the ruler of Bunyoro, whom he liked to represent as his vassal, especially to strangers and others unacquainted with the real state of affairs. It was much more to his advantage to claim possession of the weapons and ammunition brought into his country by the Arabs and to send by his own people with 'presents' of cloth, copper and brass, and glass beads to Kabarega, who in return for his neighbour's Greek gifts, readily sent ivory

⁽²⁸⁾Sir Apolo Kagwa—*Ekitabo kya Basekabaka be Buganda* (London, 1912) p. 109. This may have been "the plundering expedition (which was a failure)" to which Dr. Kyengo once referred in conversation with Grant *Summary of Observations on the Lake Regions of Equatorial Africa* (P.R.G.S. (1872) p. 261).

⁽²⁹⁾Speke—*Journal of Discovery of the Source of the Nile* pp. 101, 102.

⁽³⁰⁾Burton—*Lake Regions* i. 327, ii. 223-226; Speke—*What led to the* pp. 257-259, *Journal of the Discovery* p. 120.

and slaves, and with these Mutesa made fresh purchases". It was not until about 1874, that two enterprising traders, an Arab and a freedman, succeeded in reaching the capital of Kabarega and establishing direct communication with Bunyoro.⁽³¹⁾

Long before 1874, however, there was a traffic in slaves from Bunyoro to Karagwe and beyond, which was presumably accompanied by a traffic in ivory. When on 26th December 1857, Burton reached Kirira in Unyamwezi and met Ahmed bin Ibrahim El-Ameri, the first Arab to reach Buganda, he found there "a large gang" of slaves, who were said to have come from Bunyoro. To judge from Burton's description of them, some of these slaves appear to have been Nilotes, whom the Banyoro had doubtless captured in wars with the tribes to the north of their country and had traded to the Baganda for other commodities, but those whose "inferior excisors had been extracted" were evidently Banyoro captured in the perennial wars between Baganda and Bunyoro. On Burton's return to Kazeh in 1858 he met the Khoja, Musa Muzuri, who had just returned from Buganda with "a number of slaves fresh from Karagwe and Buganda", who included slaves from Bunyoro and Busoga, from whom the ruler of Buganda was said to derive a considerable portion of his revenues.⁽³²⁾

The rulers of Ruanda and Mpororo appear to have set their faces firmly against allowing foreign traders into their countries. When Grant met a trader named Juma in Karagwe in late 1861, Juma "abused the Ruanda people because they refused to allow any coastmen into their kingdom". When Ahmed bin Ibrahim El-Ameri met Stanley at Kafuro in Karagwe in February 1876, he told him that he had "endeavoured several times to open trade with the powerful Empress of Ruanda, but has each time failed. Though some of his slaves reached the Imperial court only one or two managed to effect their escape from the treachery and extraordinary guile practised there. . . . The Wanyaruanda are a great people, covetous, malignant, treacherous and utterly untrustworthy. They have never allowed an Arab to trade in their country, which proves them a bad lot. There is plenty of ivory there, and during the last eight years Khamis bin Abdulla, Tippu Tib, Said bin Habib El-Afifi and I myself have frequently attempted to enter there, but none of us has ever succeeded. . . . Because something happened there when the *Wangwana* (coastmen) first tried to go there, they never tolerate strangers. A strange people and full of guile verily". He was equally condemnatory of the people of Mpororo. "You cannot", he told Stanley, "proceed through Mpororo, as the people are *Shetani*". Though neither of these informants had anything to say about Ankole, there is no record of foreign traders entering that country until possibly about 1874 when the first Arab and coastman made their way from Karagwe to Bunyoro.⁽³³⁾

So far I have dealt only with the caravan routes from the coast towns and villages on the mainland opposite to Zanzibar. But as Erhardt's famous "Slug Map" shows, there was yet another trade route leading to the central African lakes from Mombasa, Tanga and other adjacent coast towns. This route was

⁽³¹⁾*Emin Pasha in Central Africa* (London, 1888), p. 115 being a translation by Mrs. R. W. Felkin of an article by Emin entitled "Trade and commerce among the Waaganda and the Wanyoro" published in *Ausland*, 1883.

⁽³²⁾Burton—*Lake Regions* ii. 196, 223.

⁽³³⁾Grant—*A Walk across Africa* (London, 1864) p. 161; Stanley—*Through the Dark Continent* (London 1868) i. 453, 455, 469. The "Empress" of Ruanda and the *Shetani* of Mpororo would appear to have been *soi disant* reincarnation of the Nyabingi, who all had strong xenophobic tendencies and see Bessel—*Nyabingi* (Uganda Journal, Vol. 6, p. 73).

travelled in 1852 by one Juma bin Mbwana, whom Speke describes as a "semi-Hindu-Swahili" and Grant as "a trader of Mombasa, the agent of a house in Zanzibar, who speaks a little Hindustani" and as being "of East Indian origin". In all probability Juma set out from Mombasa, but made his way south-west into the Bondei and Usambara countries and thence struck westwards to the south of Kilimanjaro into the Masai country. Afterwards he told Grant that the Masai, "having no chief Sultan, are split up into small states, each one demanding of the traveller cruelly large taxes. . . . Though Juma had sixty-four guns with him, this number did not keep off the troops of natives who attacked him. But at last terms were made, Juma got away, and he never could be induced to go there again".

In the *Notice* which accompanied the publication of the "Slug Map" Erhardt tells us that:—

"The last point to the west in the Masai country is Burgenei; at the foot of the slopes of the mountains the country becomes arid, and the soil stony, mixed with sulphur and full of hot springs until one reaches Burgenei. A caravan of about twenty men left this spot and proceeded west in search of ivory, and came at the end of eight days, after a great deal of trouble, to a large lake, on the shores of which dwelt the Wanyamwezi. It stretched to the north, south and west beyond the horizon."

Erhardt wrote this in London in January 1856, and must have obtained his information before he left Mombasa at the end of 1855. It is impossible therefore to say whether or not this party preceded Juma's caravan. Evidently it reached the lake somewhere in the region of first degree of south latitude, the present boundary at this point between Kenya and Tanganyika. Juma's party on the other hand, which comprised himself and twenty-one followers, appears to have made its way more or less due west across the Serengeti Plain. They reached Mwanza in 1852. There Juma obtained a canoe with twenty-four paddlers who conveyed him in five hours to an island, which Grant calls "Woezee" (? Vesi). Next day Juma continued his journey to Ukerewe, where he was most hospitably received by the sultan, named Machunda. Thence he struck across the lake to its western shore. Near the mouth of the Kagera he was attacked and driven for shelter to an island which he called *Kisiwa* (sc. island), "at the mouth of the Kitangule (Kagera)", which would appear to have been Busungwe and which belonged to a chief named Lohangazaree. Grant does not tell us whether on this occasion Juma continued his journey into Buganda. As the permission from the then ruler Suna (d. 1856) was a *sine qua non* to entry into that country, it may be that he had perforce to turn back. It may even be that the attack upon him at the mouth of the Kagera was intended as an intimation that he was a *persona non grata*.⁽³⁴⁾

Burton was told by Arabs at Kazeh (Tabora) that in about 1853 a caravan from Tanga, "consisting of about four hundred or five hundred guns, and led by Arab merchants, at the end of a journey which had lasted nearly two years, happened to quarrel with the Masai near the lake. The subject was the burning down of some grass required for pasture by the wild men. Words led to blows;

⁽³⁴⁾Burton—*Lake Regions of Central Africa* ii. 24; Speke—*Journal of the Discovery of the Sources of the Nile* p. 243; Grant—*A Walk across Africa* pp. 159–164; *Summary of Observations on . . . the Lake Regions of Equatorial Africa* (P.R.G.S. (1872) pp. 257, 258); Erhardt—*Notice sur les découvertes récentes des Missionnaires Anglais dans l'Afrique Equatoriale* pp. 23–24).

the caravan, having but two or three pounds of gunpowder, was soon dispersed and a few made their escape to Unyanyembe (Tabora). Before our departure from Kazeh the slaves of Salim bin Rashid, having rescued one of the wounded survivors who had been allowed by the Masai to wander into Urundi, brought him back to Kazeh. He described the country as no longer practicable".⁽³⁵⁾ This would appear to have been the same caravan as that referred to by Ahmed bin Ibrahim el Ameri in 1877 in a conversation with the C.M.S. missionary, Shergold Smith, as having about twenty-five years previously "tried to force a passage through the Masai country. They did so, but arrived in Buganda with a loss of six Arabs killed and three hundred men, killed, captured or unable to proceed."⁽³⁶⁾ If this surmise is correct, it is evident, that after the disaster the caravan split into two parties, one making its way north towards Busoga and the other south towards Tabora. But it would appear doubtful whether Ahmed bin Ibrahim was correct in saying that the northern party reached Buganda. In November 1861, when Speke was in Usui, he was told that "shortly after the late king of Buganda died (sc. in 1856) and before Mutesa had been elected by the officers of the country to be their king, an Arab caravan came across Masai as far as Busoga and begged for permission to enter Buganda; but as the country was disturbed by the elections, the officers of state advised the Arabs to wait, or come again when the king was elected". Speke told his informant that he had this before, "but also that those Arabs had met with great disasters owing to the turbulence of the Masai", a statement which his informant had to admit was true".⁽³⁷⁾ Whilst in Karagwe in the same year, Speke's companion Grant learnt that "two of our followers had gone from Zanzibar via Kilimanjaro to within three days journey of Busoga . . . and had seen a salt lake, called by them Leebassa, probably the Naivasha of Wakefield".⁽³⁸⁾ There may have been some confusion regarding the fortunes of different caravans travelling through the Masai country but it seems clear that the hostility of the Masai was not the only obstacle to entry into Buganda overland from the east, as Bishop Hannington was to learn to his cost in 1885, because the ruler of Buganda steadfastly banned entry into their kingdom by way of Busoga. As Mwanga told Lugard in 1890, "Busoga was the cooking pot of Buganda without which his country could not exist".⁽³⁹⁾ Strangers could not be allowed into the royal presence by way of the kitchen entrance.

Apart from obstruction at this kitchen entrance, it is clear that difficulties with the Masai and the one hundred and twenty mile march across uninhabited Serengeti Plain made the approach to Lake Victoria by way of Tanga and Usambara exceedingly unattractive and explains why this route was little used. It also serves to explain the inscription on Erhardt's "Slug Map" which shows a track from Pangani, abruptly ending a very short distance inland and inscribed as being "former route to Uniamesi endangered by the Wafiomi".

In these days of metalled roads designed for motor traffic in all weathers it is hard to realise the nature of the tracks along which many of these caravans had to plod. Doubtless, as time passed, parts of the more frequented tracks assumed

⁽³⁵⁾Burton—*Lake Regions* ii. 217, 218, 228.

⁽³⁶⁾*Church Missionary Intelligencer* (March, 1878) p. 159.

⁽³⁷⁾Speke—*Journal of the Discovery* p. 187.

⁽³⁸⁾Grant—*Summary of Observations on . . . the Lake Region of Equatorial Africa* (P.R.G.S. (1872) pp. 257, 258).

⁽³⁹⁾Lugard to Administrator I.B.E.A. Company, 24th December 1890—Report of I.B.E.A. Company, 1891. (Zanzibar Archives).

the width of an English country lane, but in the early days and on the less frequented or hitherto unexplored routes they were just narrow winding foot-paths. As late as 1874 Stanley found it necessary to subdivide the sections of a boat, which he was taking with him into the interior, so as to make them no more than three feet wide and thus rendered portable along paths which were often no more than eighteen inches wide and hemmed in on either side by long grass.⁽⁴⁰⁾ But whatever the width of the track, in the rainy season its surface was quickly transformed into more or less liquid mud, which made the track impassable for porters carrying loads of any size or weight. In addition, streams which in the dry season were easily fordable, became at times raging torrents when the rains set in. The result was that most caravans set out in the dry period between the "greater rains" of April and May and the "lesser rains" of October and November. This interval did not allow sufficient time for a large, slow moving caravan to reach the central lakes or some other distant destination, transact its business, and make its way back to the coast. Consequently caravan leaders and their entourage used often to settle down during the wet weather at some place up country and thus absent themselves from their homes for two years or even longer.

In course of time small Arab or Swahili colonies grew up at various points on the more well beaten tracks. The largest best known of these was Tabora. Others might consist of no more than a couple of Arab or Swahili traders or even one solitary individual. Sometimes, it was a down and out trader, like the broken down ivory merchant Sirboko, whom Speke met in Usui in 1861, who had lost his goods through robbery or by fire and was afraid to go back to Zanzibar and face his creditors. Sometimes it was a trader, getting on in years, who felt that the time had come when he should go no more a-roaming, but should settle down to store-keeping at some suitable spot, where "the traveller can always recruit his stock of country currency—cloth, beads and wire—and his requirements of powder and ball, and his supply of spices, comforts and drugs without which travel in these lands usually ends fatally. He will pay, it is true about five times their market value at Zanzibar. But though the prices are exorbitant, they preserve the buyer from greater evils, the expenses of portage, the risk of loss, and the trouble and annoyance of personally superintending large stores in a land where *vir* (man) and *fur* (thief) are synonymous terms".⁽⁴¹⁾

Tabora, that is to say, the centre of the scattered settlements which are variously described in the writings of European travellers as Kazeh or Unyanyembe, was about the only trading settlement which could by 1857 be described as having assumed a more or less permanent character. Other settlements were liable to be broken up either owing to the hostility of local chiefs or else because the original settlers either died or else decided to move on to pastures new. As already mentioned, Tabora had only assumed the character of an important settlement when a number of settlers moved there from Kigandu in Usukuma in 1852. About ten years prior to that one Abdulla bin Salim, "a merchant from Zanzibar, with his body of two hundred armed slaves, kept the whole community in subjection", but he died in 1852 just about the time of the exodus from Kigandu. Five years later Burton reported that since his death "the society has suffered from all the effects of disunion where union is

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Stanley—*Through the Dark Continent*. (London, 1878) i. 61.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Burton—*Lake Regions* i. 334.

most required". The trouble was that the Arab settlement was not concentrated in one single centre, which made it deserving of the name of "town". It comprised clusters of separate "little hamlets, each comprising at the most some half dozen fairly substantial Arab houses surrounded by clusters of native huts". The aggregate number of Arab traders in residence numbered only about twenty-five at the most and in the dry season this number might be reduced to no more than three or four, the rest being scattered about the country "in trading trips". Those in residence lived, in Burton's words, "comfortably and even splendidly".

"The houses" he wrote, "though single-storied, are large, substantial and capable of defence. Their gardens are extensive and well planted; they receive regular supplies of comforts and luxuries from the coast; they are surrounded by troops of concubines and slaves whom they train to divers crafts and callings. . . . There are itinerant *fundis*—blacksmiths, tinkers, masons, carpenters, tailors, potters and robe-makers, who come up from the coast with Arab caravans. . . . Provisions are cheap and plentiful; the profits are large; and the Arab, when wealthy is disposed to be hospitable and convivial. Many of the more prosperous merchants support their brethren who have been ruined by the chances and accidents of trade." (42)

Burton divided the kinds of caravans into three classes. Firstly, there were those composed entirely of Nyamwezi. Secondly, there were those in charge of Swahili or freemen and lastly those commanded by Arabs.

It is interesting to note that even in Burton's days the average number of Nyamwezi caravans annually visiting the coast was "far greater than those commanded by stranger merchants". Moreover in a Nyamwezi caravan there was "no desertion, no discontent and, except in certain spots, little delay. The porters trudge from sunrise to 10 or 11 a.m., and sometimes, though rarely, they will travel twice a day, resting only during the hours of heat. They work with a will, carrying uncomplainingly big tusks, some so heavy that they must be lashed to a pole between two men—a contrivance technically called *Mzigo-zigo*. Their shoulders are often raw with the weight, their feet are sore, and they walk half or wholly naked to save their cloth for displays at home. They ignore tent and covering and sleep on the ground. . . . They sometimes suffer severely from exposure to a climate, which forbids long and hard work upon short and hard fare. Malignant epidemics, especially smallpox, often attack caravans as they approach the coast; generally, however, though somewhat lean and haggard, the porters appear in better condition than might be expected" (43).

Arab caravan leaders found their porters less easy to handle, more exacting in their demands and less amenable to discipline, with the result that desertions were far more frequent.

On the other hand, the Swahili caravan was led by "kindred souls with the Wapagazi (porters), understanding their languages and familiar with their habits, manners and customs. . . . Their porters are neither starved like those of the Nyamwezi, nor pampered like those headed by the Arabs. There is less fatigue during the march and more comfort at the halting place, consequently there were fewer cases of disease or death" (44).

(42) Burton—*Lake Regions* i. 328, 329, 341.

(43) Burton—*Lake Regions* i. 341, 342.

(44) Burton—*Lake Regions* i. 342–344.

Burton found it impossible to give the average numbers of the ordinary caravan. According to him they varied in size from half a dozen to two hundred porters, but "in dangerous places passengers halt till they form an imposing force; five hundred is a frequent figure, and even bodies of one thousand men are not rare. The only limit to the gathering is the incapability of the country to fill more than a certain number of mouths". Krapf reported that Swahili caravans proceeding into the Masai country were from six hundred to a thousand men strong and mostly "armed with muskets". In 1850 when sailing down the coast he came across two caravans of Nyamwezi encamped in close vicinity to what is now Dar es Salaam. One party had arrived at Mtotana. They had come with their wives and children from the interior and lived in small huts by the sea-shore. They told Krapf that "they had spent three months on the journey; and had brought slaves and ivory". They not only supplied him with information about Lake Tanganyika but appeared also "to be acquainted with the west coast of Africa". The members of the other caravan had built themselves huts on the islet of Sinda. From them Krapf learnt that "the Nyamwezi caravans consist generally of from three to four thousand men, that they may be strong enough to defend themselves on the way from the attacks of hostile tribes. These people had been here for several months; for they leave Unyamwezi in September and arrive in December at the coast; and return home again in March and April.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The figures given to Krapf by the members of this second caravan would appear to have been very much exaggerated, but there would appear good reason to believe that in the case of Nyamwezi caravans they often come very near indeed to four figures, more especially if the men were accompanied by their families. This wholesale temporary migration of men, women and children is explainable by the fact that, if the vast majority of able bodied men left their families at home, their women and children might become an easy prey to hostile neighbours and slave raiders.

Joseph B. F. Osgood of Salem, Massachusetts, who visited Zanzibar some time after his graduating at Harvard University in 1846 in the publication of his *Notes on Travel* in 1854 tells us that "the ivory obtained at Zanzibar is considered whiter, larger and straighter than ivory brought from Ceylon and other Indian ports. Every year large caravans of Arabs and their slaves start from Zanzibar to be absent two or three years in pursuit of elephants and ivory in the interior of Africa. The encouraging success of these adventurers, the increasing demand for ivory, and the fact both male and female elephants are killed, go to favour the opinion that before long this valuable and noble animal will be exterminated in this part of Africa. The Wanyamwezi come to the coast in caravans, thus making a three months' journey from their country with their valuable gatherings of ivory, borne upon the backs of slaves. Frequently these caravans of traders and slaves may be computed by thousands. The traders say that they collected much of the ivory in the large swamps of their district, into which the elephants have entered during the dry season in search of food and there, being overtaken by the heavy rains of the ensuing wet season have perished by drowning. The Wanyamwezi are met at the coast by Banyan traders from Zanzibar town, by whom they were formerly much imposed upon and duped to pay away a valuable tusk of ivory weighing several frasilas for a handful of paltry beads or small roll of brass wire. But of late, when Banyan meets

⁽⁴⁵⁾Burton—*Lake Regions* i. 341; Krapf—*Travels, Missionary Labours and Researches during Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa* (London, 1860) pp. 361, 421, 422.

Mnyamwezi, then comes the tug of the trade. A cotton cloth being produced by the appointed agent of the Banyan traders, the agent of the Wanyamwezi places one tooth thereon as a sample of the ivory they offer for sale; the quantity to be sold not being made known until the trade is completed and the price fixed which is to regulate the sale of the whole. Over this tooth the Banyan and Wanyamwezi agents continue chaffering for several days until terms are made agreeable to both parties. Meanwhile opportune junkets are given to the assembled Wanyamwezi at the expense of the Banyans. Banyan shrewdness at the present day is satisfied to obtain a tusk in barter for four or five dollars' worth of brass wire, beads and trinkets. A high duty exacted by the governor of the coast and another paid the collector at Zanzibar serve to make up the the exorbitant price which ivory commands when purchased at Zanzibar for exportation. The slaves upon whose shoulders the ivory is brought from the interior are generally purchased with their burdens and taken to Zanzibar.⁽⁴⁶⁾

⁽⁴⁶⁾J. B. F. Osgood—*Notes of Travel on Recollections of Majunga, Zanzibar, Muscat, Aden, Mocha and other Eastern Ports* (Salem, 1854) pp. 55, 56; C. S. Osgood and H. M. Batchelder—*Historical Sketch of Salem, 1626–1879* (Salem, 1879) p. 59.

DIARY OF THE 1857-1858 EXPEDITION TO THE GREAT LAKES

Compiled by W. Wenban-Smith, C.B.E.

What follows is the bare bones of the great journey of Burton and Speke from the coast to Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria in 1857-58, of which there are full accounts in Burton's *The Lake Regions of Central Africa* (1860) and Speke's *What led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (1864). The original spelling used in these works is retained, except where no possible confusion can result from using the modern spelling, e.g. "Mwanza" for "Muanza". Nearly all the places mentioned can be found on the map showing the routes followed by Burton and Speke opposite page 300. The way in which this map was prepared is described at the beginning of Mr. Risley's "Appreciation of Burton" on page 257 of this number of *Tanganyika Notes and Records* and I add my thanks to Messrs. Guy, Mason and Owens of the Survey Division of the Department of Lands and Surveys to his for the trouble they have taken in preparing it. In the few cases where the spelling on the map differs from the original accounts this is noted.

The expedition originally left England in September 1856 and arrived at Zanzibar on 19th December. After a preliminary journey northwards from Zanzibar which penetrated inland as far as Fuga (Vuga) and occupied the first few months of 1857 the main expedition left Zanzibar on 14th June and Kaole on 27th June. Burton's account divides the journey from Kaole on the coast to Ukaranga on the shores of Lake Tanganyika into five regions and his division is retained in the diary which follows.

FIRST REGION

(From Kaole on the Coast to Zungomero, Chief District of K'hutu)

<i>Date</i> 1857	<i>Marching time</i> <i>hrs. mins.</i>
27th June, Kaole to Mgude or Kuingani	1 30
30th June, Kuingani to Bomani	1 30
1st July, Bomani to Mkwaju la Mvuani (Mvuara on map)	0 30
2nd July, Mkwaju to Nzasa (of Uzaramo)... ..	3 20
3rd July, Nzasa to Kiranga-Ranga	6 00
5th July, Kiranga-Ranga to Tumba Ihere (Thumba There on map)	3 30
6th July, Tumba Ihere to Muhonyera	4 40
8th July, Muhonyera to Sagesera	2 45
9th July, Sagesera to Tunda	7 00
10th July, Tunda to Dege la Mhora	2 30
12th July, Dege la Mhora to Madege Madogo	3 00
13th July, Madege Madogo to Kidunda	3 00
14th July, Kidunda to Mgeta Ford	7 00
15th July, Mgeta Ford to Kiruru in K'hutu	6 00
18th July, Kiruru to Dut'humi	6 40
24th July, Dut'humi to Bakera	2 00
25th July, Bakera to Zungomero	7 00

It will be seen that the First Region was covered in 17 stages totalling 67 hours and 55 minutes marching time and occupying 28 days.

SECOND REGION

(From Zungomero over the Mountains of Usagara to Ugogi)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Marching time</i>
1857	<i>hrs. mins.</i>
7th August, Zungomero to Mzizi Mdogo (in Usagara)	5 00
9th August, Mzizi Mdogo to Cha K'henge (Shya Khenge on map)	4 30
11th August, Cha K'henge to Rufuta River	4 30
12th August, Rufuta River (up the Goma Pass) to Mfu'uni	1 50
13th August, Mfu'uni to "Overshot Nullah"	6 10
14th August, "Overshot Nullah" to Zonhwe	2 00
17th August, Zonhwe to Muhama	4 45
21st August, Muhama to Makata	6 30
22nd August, Makata to Myombo River	4 30
23rd August, Myombo River to Mbuni	4 30
24th August, Mbuni to Kadetamare	5 55
25th August, Kadetamare to Muinyi	8 10
27th August, Muinyi to Nidabi (Nidabi on map)	4 50
29th August, Nidabi to Rumuma	5 30
2nd September, Rumuma to Marenga Mk'hali	3 30
3rd September, Marenga Mk'hali to camp in bush	5 00
4th September, Camp in bush to Inenge	4 00
10th September, Inenge to first gradient of Rubeho Pass	6 30
12th September, First gradient to second gradient	2 00
13th September, Second gradient to summit of Rubeho	1 45
14th September, Summit to camp one-quarter of the way down the counterslope	3 00
17th September, From camp on slope to camp below half way	5 00
18th September, From camp below half way to Ugogi at the base	4 00

The total marching time for the Second Region was 103 hours 25 minutes spread over 23 stages occupying 43 days. The altitude of the Rubeho summit was calculated by boiling point thermometer to be 5,700 feet.

THIRD REGION

(From Ugogi, through Marenga Mk'hali, Ugogo and Mgunda Mk'hali to Tura of Unyamwezi)

22nd September, Ugogi to camp in bush	4 00
23rd September, Camp in bush to Marenga Mk'hali (the second of that name)	4 40
24th September, Marenga Mk'hali to camp in bush	4 10
25th September, Camp in bush to camp in bush	5 00
26th September, Camp in bush to Ziwa (on borders of Ugogo)	2 00
1st October, Ziwa to Kifukuru (Kifukura on map)	3 00
3rd October, Kifukuru to camp in bush	5 40
4th October, Camp in bush to Kanyenye	1 25
5th October, Kanyenye to Kanyenye (Magomba's)	2 45
10th October, Kanyenye (Magomba's) to camp in bush	5 00
11th October, Camp in bush to K'hok'ho (K'hoko on map)	7 40
17th October, K'hok'ho to Mdabura	6 20
20th October, Mdabura to camp in Mgunda Mk'hali bush	6 30
21st October, Mgunda Mk'hali to Mabunguru	6 00
22nd October, Mabunguru to Jiwe la Mkoa	7 00
23rd October, Jiwe la Mkoa to Kirurumo	3 10
24th October, Kirurumo to Jiweni of Uganzi	4 30

Date	THIRD REGION— <i>contd.</i>	Marching time
1857		hrs. mins.
25th October, Jiweni to Mgongo T'hembo		2 20
27th October, Mgongo T'hembo to camp in Tura <i>Nullah</i>		7 00
28th October, Camp to Tura in Unyamwezi		5 30

The total marching time for the Third Region was 93 hours 40 minutes spread over 20 stages occupying 37 days.

FOURTH REGION

(Through Unyamwezi, Ugara, Uwende and Uvinza, to the Ford of the Malagarazi River)

30th October, Eastern Tura to Western Tura	1 30
1st November, Western Tura to Kwale <i>Nullah</i>	6 30
2nd November, Kwale <i>Nullah</i> to Eastern Rubuga	5 45
3rd November, Eastern Rubuga to Western Rubuga	2 40
4th November, Western Rubuga to Ukona	2 15
5th November, Ukona to Kigwa	5 05
6th November, Kigwa to Hanga Village	6 30
7th November, Hanga to Kazeh (i.e. Tabora)	5 00
7th December, Kazeh to Zimbili Hill	1 40
15th December, Zimbili to Yombo	2 00
18th December, Yombo to Pano (clearing in bush)	4 00
19th December, Pano to Eastern Mfuto	1 40
20th December, Eastern Mfuto to Western Mfuto	2 00
23rd December, Western Mfuto to Eastern Wilyankuru	6 30
24th December, Eastern Wilyankuru to Central Wilyankuru	2 50
25th December, Central Wilyankuru to Western Wilyankuru	2 00
26th December, Western Wilyankuru to Masenge	2 30
27th December, Masenge to Eastern Kirira	2 00
28th December, Eastern Kirira to Western Kirira	3 00
29th December, Western Kirira to Eastern Msene	4 00
30th December, Eastern Msene to Western Msene (Arab camp)	2 00
1858	
10th January, Western Msene to Mbhali (Mbhale on map)	1 30
11th January, Mbhali to Sengati	2 00
12th January, Sengati to Sorora (or Solola)	0 45
16th January, Sorora to Ukungwe	2 15
17th January, Ukungwe to Panda	1 50
18th January, Panda to Kajjanjeri	1 30
21st January, Kajjanjeri to Eastern Usagozi	3 45
25th January, Eastern Usagozi to Western Usagozi	1 00
26th January, Western Usagozi to Masenga (Msenga on map)	2 00
27th January, Masenga to Mukozimo	2 45
28th January, Mukozimo to Uganza	3 15
29th January, Uganza to Usenye	4 00
30th January, Usenye to Rukunda (or Lukunda) (Ukunda on map)	2 20
31st January, Rukunda to Wanyika	3 00
2nd February, Wanyika to Unyanguruwwe	4 50
3rd February, Unyanguruwwe to Ugara on the Malagarazi River	3 00

The expedition took 37 stages totalling 111 hours and 10 minutes to traverse the Fourth Region, the time spent, including the wait of over a month in and near Tabora, being 97 days. The altitude of Kazeh (Tabora) was calculated to be 3,490 feet (the official height of Tabora Railway Station today is 3,930 feet).

FIFTH REGION

(From the Malagarazi Ferry to Ukaranga on the Tanganyika Lake)

Date					Marching time	
					hrs.	mins.
1858						
4th February,	Ugaga on left to Mpete on right hand	...	...	...	0	23
5th February,	Mpete to Kinawani	...	...	...	5	20
6th February,	Kinawani to camp in bush	...	...	...	5	25
7th February,	Camp in bush to Jambeho	...	...	...	1	40
8th February,	Jambeho to salt pans of Rusugi River	...	...	...	5	15
9th February,	Salt pans to camp in bush	...	...	...	4	20
10th February,	Camp in bush to Ruguvu River	...	...	...	3	30
11th February,	Ruguvu River to Unguwwe River	...	...	...	4	40
12th February,	Unguwwe River to Camp in bush	...	...	...	7	35
13th February,	Camp in bush to Ukaranga on Lake	...	...	...	6	35

The Fifth Region was covered in 10 consecutive stages totalling 44 hours and 45 minutes, giving a grand total of 107 stages totalling 420 hours and 55 minutes marching time from Kaole to Ukaranga. The total time spent on the journey was however 231 days.

Burton's description of his first view of Lake Tanganyika is as follows:—

"Nothing, in sooth, could be more picturesque than this first view of the Tanganyika Lake, as it lay in the lap of the mountains, basking in the gorgeous tropical sunshine. Below and beyond a short foreground of rugged and precipitous hill-fold, down which the foot-path zigzags painfully, a narrow strip of emerald green, never sere and marvellously fertile, shelves towards a ribbon of glistening yellow sand, here bordered by sedgy rushes, there cleanly and clearly cut by the breaking wavelets. Farther in front stretch the waters, an expanse of the lightest and softest blue, in breadth varying from thirty to thirty-five miles, and sprinkled by the crisp east-wind with tiny crescents of snowy foam. The background in front is a high and broken wall of steel-coloured mountain, here flecked and capped with pearly mist, there standing sharply pencilled against the azure air; its yawning chasms, marked by a deeper plum-colour, fall towards dwarf hills of mound-like proportions, which apparently dip their feet in the wave. To the south, and opposite the long low point, behind which the Malagarazi River discharges the red loam suspended in its violent stream, lie the bluff headlands and capes of Uguhha, and, as the eye dilates, it falls upon a cluster of outlying islets, speckling a sea-horizon. Villages, cultivated lands, the frequent canoes of the fishermen on the waters, and on a nearer approach the murmurs of the waves breaking upon the shore, give a something of variety, of movement, of life to the landscape, which, like all the fairest prospects in these regions, wants but a little of the neatness and finish of Art—mosques and kiosks, palaces and villas, gardens and orchards—contrasting with the profuse lavishness and magnificence of nature, and diversifying the unbroken *coup d'oeil* of excessive vegetation, to rival, if not to excel, the most admired scenery of the classic regions. The riant shores of this vast crevasse appeared doubly beautiful to me after the silent and spectral mangrove-creeks on the East African sea-board, and the melancholy, monotonous experience of desert and jungle scenery, tawny rock and sun-parched plain or rank herbage and flats of black mire. Truly it was a revel for soul and sight! Forgetting toils, dangers, and the doubtfulness of return, I felt willing to endure double what I had endured; and all the party seemed to join with me in joy."⁽¹⁾

Speke's account of his first sight of the lake is less ecstatic:—

"Here you may picture to yourself my bitter disappointment when, after toiling through so many miles of savage life, all the time emaciated by divers sicknesses and weakened by great privations of food and rest, I found, on approaching the zenith of my ambition, the Great Lake in question nothing but mist and glare before my eyes. From the summit of the eastern horn the lovely Tanganyika lake could be seen in all its glory by everybody but myself. The fact was, that fevers and the influence of a vertical sun had reduced my system so, that inflammation, caught by sleeping on the ground during this rainy season, attacked my eyes, brought on an almost total blindness, and rendered every object before me enclouded as by a misty veil."⁽²⁾

One wonders whether temporarily failing eyesight had anything to do with the curious error in calculating the height of the lake above sea-level. Speke records that he "ascertained by the temperature of boiling water" that the surface level was "only eighteen hundred feet" and Burton's map shows 1,844 feet. The true level is of course some 700 feet higher.

On 14th February the expedition coasted by canoe to Kawele, a small village in the Ujiji district and took up their abode in a deserted house "which had been left to decay by some Arab merchants".⁽³⁾ Speke went off on his own on 3rd March to try to hire a dhow from an Arab living at Kasenye Island on the far shore of the lake. Here is his itinerary:—

3rd March, To the mouth of the Ruche (Luiche) River.

4th March, Halted by heavy seas.

5th March, To Mgeti (Mgeti *Khambi* on map).

6th March, To Luguvu.

7th March, To Insigazi

8-9th March, Night crossing to Kivira.

10th March, To Kabizia.

11th March, To Kasenge.

12th-22nd March, At Kasenge (haggling for dhow).

23rd March, To Kivira.

24th-26th March, Delayed by bad weather.

27th March, Across Lake.

28th March, To Mgeti.

31st March, To Kawele (Ujiji).

Speke was unsuccessful in his attempts to obtain the use of a dhow and Burton was not pleased when he returned empty-handed after being away for the best part of a month. They set off on 12th April to explore the northern part of the lake by canoe.

12th April, To Kigari.

13th April, To Nyasanga.

14th April, To Kagunga.

15th April, To Wafanya ("Southern limit of Urundi").⁽⁴⁾

18th April, Moved camp to Nulwawa.

19th April, Crossed lake to Ubwari peninsula (believed by Burton and Speke to be an island).

21st April, To Mtuwua (on W. side of northern tip of Ubwari).

23rd April, To Murivumba.

24th April, "After 10 hours paddling, halts included, we landed at the southern frontier of Uvira in a place called Mamaletua, Ngovi and many other names".⁽⁵⁾

25th April, "After another long stretch of 15 rainy and sunny hours a high easterly wind compelled the hard-worked crews to put in to Muikamba of Uvira".⁽⁶⁾

26th April, "A paddle of 3 hours and a half landed us . . . at the sandy baystand where the trade of Uvira is carried on".⁽⁷⁾

27th April to 5th May, At Uvira.

6th May, To Muikamba.

7th May, To Ngovi.

8th May, To Murivumba

9th May, To Mzima.

10th-11th May, Night journey to Wafanya.

12th May, To Nyasanga.

13th May, To Bangwe Bay (Kawele).

The travellers remained at Kawele until 26th May when they left for Unyan-yembe "by the northerly route".⁽⁸⁾ Here is Burton's description of his last morning by Lake Tanganyika.

"I shall long remember the morning of the 26th May, which afforded me the last sunrise-spectacle of the Tanganyika Lake. The charm of the scenery was perhaps enhanced by the reflection that my eyes might never look upon it again. Masses of brown-purple clouds covered the quarter of the heavens where the sun was about to rise. Presently the mists, ruffled like ocean billows, and luminously fringed with Tyrian purple, were cut by filmy rays, whilst, from behind their core, the internal living fire shot forth its broad beams, like the spokes of a huge aerial wheel, rolling a flood of gold over the light blue waters of the lake. At last Dan Sol, who at first contented himself with glimmering through the cloud-mass, disclosed himself in his glory, and dispersed with a glance the obstacles of the vapourous earth; breaking into long strata and little pearly flakes, they soared high in the empyrean, whilst the all-powerful luminary assumed undisputed possession of earth, and a soft breeze, the breath of the morn, as it is called in the East, awoke the waters into life."⁽⁹⁾

The description of the return journey is, understandably, less complete than that of the outward journey, but here is the itinerary as far as it can be reconstructed from the travellers' accounts:—

26th May, Left Kawele.

29th May, Arrived Unyonwa.

1st June, Forded Rusugi River (at Parugerero).

2nd June, Jambeho.

4th June, Malagarazi Ferry.

9th June, Neighbourhood of Usagozi.

17th June, Irora.

18th June, Yombo.

20th June, Arrived at Kazeh (Tabora).

The travellers remained at Tabora together until 9th July, when Speke went northwards alone "to visit the Ukerewe Lake, of which the Arabs give grand accounts".⁽¹⁰⁾ His itinerary, which is fairly fully described in his book, was as follows:—

9th July, Left Kazeh (Tabora).

10th July, Halted.

11th July, Crossed Gombe River to Ulekampuri (Ulikumpura on map).

- 12th July, To Unyambewa 1.
- 13th July, To Unyambewa 2.
- 14th July, Visit to *Sultana* Ungugu.
- 15th July, To Ibanda.
- 16th July, To Ukamba (Msalala).
- 17th July, To Uyombo (*Sultan* Mihambo).
- 18th July, To Ukuni.
- 19th July, Re-entered Msalala.
- 20th July, To Mgogwa (*Sultan* Kurua).
- 22nd July, To Senagongo (*Sultan* Kanoni).
- 24th July, To “a deserted village called Kahama”.⁽¹¹⁾
- 25th July, Camped in district of Nindo.
- 26th July, To a village with granite pillars in the cultivated plain of Salawe.⁽¹²⁾
- 27th July, To Nera.
- 29th July, To an unnamed iron-smelting village.
- 30th July, “The Caravan started at 6 a.m. and travelled four miles northwards, amidst villages and cultivation. From this point, on facing to the left, I could discern a sheet of water, about four miles from me, which ultimately proved to be a creek, and the most southern point of the Nyanza, which, as I have said before, the Arabs described to us as the Ukerewe Sea. This, I maintain, was the discovery of the source of the Nile”.⁽¹³⁾
- 31st July, To Urima.
- 1st August, To Ukumbi.
- 2nd August, To Isamiro.

On 3rd August “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 N’yanza 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 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 of 200 or 300 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 farther 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 distance, 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 several 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 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 debouchure 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 above the trees, which here and there partially concealed villages and hamlets, their brown thatched roofs contrasting with the emerald green of the beautiful milk-bush, the coral branches of which cluster in such profusion round the cottages, and form alleys and hedgerows about the villages as ornamental as any garden 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."⁽¹⁴⁾

Speke calculated that the lake was 3,750 feet above sea level which was a good deal more accurate than his calculation for Lake Tanganyika. He spent only three days at Mwanza, starting back to Tabora on 6th August, his itinerary being as follows:—

- 6th August, To Ukumbi.
- 7th August, To Urima.
- 9th August, To Nera 2.
- 11th August, To Nera 1.
- 12th August, To Salawe.
- 13th August, Through the Nindo "wilderness".
- 14th August, To Kahama.
- 15th August, To Senagongo
- 16th August, To Mgogwa.
- 17th August, Msalala.
- 19th August, To Ukuni.
- 20th August, To Uyombo.
- 21st August, To Ukamba.
- 22nd August, To Ibanda.
- 23rd August, To Unyambewa.
- 24th August, To Ulekampuri.
- 25th August, To Kazeh (Tabora).

The return journey to the coast began on 26th September but it is not possible to construct a complete itinerary from the narrative. Ugogi was reached on 6th December and from this point the travellers took a more southerly route to Zungomero as follows:—

- 7th December, To Murundusi.
- 8th December, To Kinyanguku (Kinyangguko on map).
- 9th December, To Rudi.

- 10th December, To Mporota.
- 12th December, To Ikuka (Ikuko on map).
- 13th December, To Inena.
- 14th December, To Ginyindo.
- 15th December, To Maroro (Malolo).
- 17th December, To Mwega (?Maroro on map).
- 18th December, To Kiperepeta (Hiperepeta on map).
- 19th December, To Kisanga.
- 22nd December, To Ruhembe (stream).
- 23rd December, To Makata Plain.
- 24th December, To Mwimbi (Kikoboga).
- 25th December, To Mabruki Pass (Uziraha).
- 29th December, Arrived Zungomero via Mbwigwa, Marundwe and Kirengwe.

Burton wanted to march to Kilwa from Zungomero but the porters refused and so after visiting Maji ya W'Heta, "the jetting spring" near Zungomero, the travellers finally left Zungomero on 21st January 1859 by the same route by which they had first arrived there nearly eighteen months previously. After passing Tunda however they took a more southerly route through Mkumbi, Mzeguo, Chya Khenge (the second of that name), Kisewa and Ruisi, sighting the sea on 2nd February. On 3rd February "winding through the poles decorated with skulls—they now grin in the Royal College of Surgeons, London—a negro Temple Bar which pointed out the way into the little maritime village of Konduchi"⁽¹⁵⁾ they reached the coast. So ended one of the great journeys in the history of African exploration.

SOURCES

- ¹⁾ Burton, "The Lake Regions of Central Africa" (1860) Vol. II, pp. 42-44.
- ²⁾ Speke, "What led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile" (1864), pp. 202-3.
- ³⁾ Speke, *op. cit.* p. 204.
- ⁴⁾ Burton, *op. cit.* p. 106.
- ⁵⁾ ⁽⁶⁾ & ⁽⁷⁾ Burton, *op. cit.* p. 115.
- ⁸⁾ Burton, *op. cit.* p. 160.
- ⁹⁾ Burton, *op. cit.* pp. 156-7.
- ¹⁰⁾ Speke, *op. cit.* p. 265.
- ¹¹⁾ Speke, *op. cit.* p. 291.
- ¹²⁾ Speke, *op. cit.* pp. 293-5.
- ¹³⁾ Speke, *op. cit.* p. 298.
- ¹⁴⁾ Speke, *op. cit.* pp. 305-7.
- ¹⁵⁾ Burton, *op. cit.* p. 276.

BURTON: AN APPRECIATION

By R. C. H. Risley

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INTRODUCTION

Burton came to Tanganyika as an explorer and it is on that aspect of his life that most emphasis is laid in the pages which follow. His three great journeys, to Mecca, to Harar and to Lake Tanganyika are described in some detail; the rest of his life is sketched in briefly.

The map, showing the routes taken by Burton and Speke, is reproduced from the map in Burton's "Lake Regions of Central Africa"; this was plotted on to the 1:300,000 series of German maps of the time of the first World War. In many parts names and footpaths corresponding to Burton's route could be traced. This was then reduced and superimposed on the 1:4,000,000 map of Tanganyika.

Burton's spelling of place names has been followed except where a modern alternative is more generally accepted.

The two illustrations of Burton have been chosen for their contrast; the aggressive photograph of him in his early forties and the too majestic portrait of him in his fifties. Isabel Burton's photograph is included as she played a more important part than is apparent in the following pages, devoted as they are chiefly to Burton's life as an explorer.

EARLY YEARS: 1821-1842

Initiative, confidence and a remarkable habit of hard work were characteristics of the Victorian age which produced so rich a flowering of great men. Richard Francis Burton possessed these qualities in abundance, and, judged by his achievements, must rank amongst the greatest of his day.

1821-40

Most men know where they were born; Burton, of all people, with his lifelong pursuit of facts, did not. In his brief autobiography he tells us that he was born on 19th March 1821, at Barham House, Herts; in fact he was born at Torquay*. His father was a soldier of moderate talent whose refusal to testify against Queen Caroline resulted in his being placed on half pay; this, coupled with chronic asthma and marriage to a well-endowed young woman, led to his early retirement. With his wife and three children, of whom Richard was the eldest, Col. Burton settled at Tours in the hope that he would recover his health. There was a large British colony here and English schooling was readily found for the children, albeit at an early age, for Richard was six, Maria four and Edward three when they were first packed off to school. After some years at Tours, during which the two Burton boys got progressively more out of hand, their father decided that they should all return to England. They took a house at Richmond and Richard and Edward were sent to a preparatory school. This, from Burton's account, was a model and expensive Dotheboys Hall at which he learnt nothing but ruffianism and how to use his fists. Within a year Col. Burton had grown tired of England and decided to return to the Continent, taking a tutor and a governess to attend to the children's education.

For the next nine years the family was constantly on the move; Col. Burton and his wife had become confirmed, if somewhat robust, invalids and sought unenthusiastically for a neighbourhood or climate to rid them of their ills. They settled at Blois, then moved to Pisa, then Siena, Florence, Sorrento, Naples. An outbreak of cholera, and Richard and Edward in constant trouble, brought the family back to France; they took a house in Pau, then Argelès, then back to Pisa where there was more trouble, and Edward spent a night in the police-cells, and finally to Lucca (where Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning's clothes were a source of merriment to the young Burtons).

Richard, now nineteen, and Edward had become unmanageable and Col. Burton decided they must be sent to the University.

Col. Burton, for all his apparent vagueness, was intent that his sons should have the best possible education. His own education had been cut short when he joined the army at seventeen and he was determined that his children should be better provided for. Throughout their wanderings in France and Italy he went to much trouble and expense to employ a succession of teachers for them, though the brunt of instruction was given by Mr. Du Pré, the tutor brought out from England. The two boys hated him from the start, set themselves methodically to a study of fighting, in the hope that one day they would be able to thrash him, and eventually achieved their ambition. Poor Mr. Du Pré; he possessed, I fancy, more character and courage than his unruly pupil allowed him in his memoirs and emerges as the unsung hero of those wandering years.

It is interesting to find that Col. Burton, so much concerned about the education of his children and with money to provide the best, should have decided to educate them privately and abroad; for while Government expenditure on education was at this time, and for very many years to come, a mere £20,000 a year, this was the heyday of Dr. Arnold's headmastership of Rugby which was to

*Thomas Wright, in his "Life" first quotes Torquay as Burton's birthplace. As this biography is highly misleading and frequently inaccurate, I have sought and obtained confirmation from the Elstree Parish Church Register.

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have such far-reaching effects on English education. Burton in after life was to regret his father's decision and declare that his upbringing abroad prevented his ever really understanding English society or the latter understanding him; even more, perhaps, did he feel the want of a home in England to return to from his wanderings.

In the summer of 1840 the young Burtons arrived in England, Richard to go to Oxford, his younger brother to Cambridge. The former was set to lodge with a tutor in Oxford to coach him till the long vacation was over when he was to enter Trinity. At nineteen and a half his knowledge of the classics was moderate, French and Italian he spoke fluently, Spanish, Bearnais and Provençal adequately; he was already an accomplished swordsman in both the French and Neapolitan schools and knew how to use pistols or his fists. He barely knew the Lord's Prayer or the Creed and had never heard of the Thirty-nine Articles. This did not deter the ever-optimistic Col. Burton from hoping that his son would take orders.

Burton's approach to college life was characteristic if somewhat unusual. He arrived sporting an enormous moustache at a time when England and English youth in particular was largely clean shaven (the rash of Victorian beards and whiskers was to come in later with the Crimean War). A fellow undergraduate laughed at the moustache, was promptly challenged to a duel, and explained to a chagrined Burton that duels simply did not occur. Nevertheless it was in the fencing room that Burton was to spend some of his happiest hours at Oxford with foil and broadsword or boxing.

Initially he worked hard at classics, hoping to acquire a first; blessed with a remarkable memory and an infinite capacity for sustained application his chances were good. But he tried unsuccessfully for two scholarships and when his tutor told him that he could still get a first but might well fail to, he lost interest. From then on he read for amusement and decided to leave Oxford at the earliest opportunity and join the army. Some of Burton's comments on the Oxford of those days are of interest. The nearest railway station was Abingdon; dances or balls were unknown; Brasenose was then famous for drinking heavy beers, while Oriel he declared to be the best college of his day. He once met Newman and Dr. Arnold at dinner and expected memorable conversation; this, however, was limited to a discussion on the size of the Apostles in St. Peter's about which both gentlemen were hazy. Nevertheless Burton attended and enjoyed Newman's sermons, though Pusey's, which lasted an hour and a half he regarded as nightmares.

At the end of his first year Burton joined his family at Wiesbaden, whence they had moved from Pisa, and the long vacation was spent travelling in Germany. The two brothers visited Heidelberg, anxious to join one of the well-known student fencing clubs. The padding and muffling of the contestants disappointed the Burtons who made it clear that they wished to fence without protection. A member tried them out and their admission to the club was refused; fencing, unprotected, with a broadsword against either of the Burton brothers held little appeal for the students of Heidelberg.

Both brothers now made a last and unsuccessful appeal to their father to allow them to join the army but both were duly packed off to their universities, inwardly vowing that they would get themselves rusticated as soon as possible. In this

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they were completely successful. Burton became studiously irresponsible and finally overstepped the mark by attending a steeplechase which authority had put out of bounds; his insistence that he was right to attend and authority wrong to forbid ensured that he alone, of several offenders, was rusticated.

He told relations in London, with whom he now went to stay, that he had been given an extra vacation for obtaining a double first of the greatest distinction; this afforded him a few days peace but presently the truth had to emerge and his father, with surprisingly little demur, obtained for him a commission in Her Majesty's Indian Army. It was decided that he should sail in the following year and he now settled down in London to put in some work on languages. He gave up his boxing and fencing which occupied too much of his time, bade farewell to a recent friend, old John Varley the water colour painter, now nearing the end of his days, and set to work on Hindustani and Arabic, which he had been teaching himself towards the end of his time at Oxford.

INDIA: 1842-1849

Burton was sworn in at the India House and in June 1842 set sail for India. With the help of some Indian servants who were on board, he worked hard at Hindustani but found time to put on gloves with the captain of the ship and knocked him "into a cocked hat". One is not, perhaps, surprised at his remark that discipline in the ship was not of the best. The voyage round the Cape by sail took over four months and it was not till 28th October that Ensign Burton, at the age of twenty-one, stepped ashore at Bombay to follow his chosen career.

He was gazetted to this rank two days before his ship sailed and posted on arrival to the 18th Regiment of Native Infantry (Bombay). His commission he held from the Honourable East India Company as opposed to the Queen's Commission in the home army; the latter assumed precedence in India and enjoyed sundry privileges which were the source of much petty jealousy. At this time the pay and allowances of an ensign in the Indian Army came to 180 rupees a month, which at 13 rupees to the £ sounds modest enough*. It was sufficient, however, to indulge a surprisingly large staff, including the many *munshis* or language-teachers he was to employ; for Burton, from the day he arrived, threw himself heart and soul into learning all that he could of India. After six weeks in Bombay, spent studying Hindustani rather than enjoying the limited amusements of the town, he was ordered to join his regiment at Baroda. He had arrived just after the Afghan war had ended, and, hoping that he would yet see action, he worked steadily at his military duties; though these were light enough in all conscience and left a junior officer with plenty of spare time. Burton, while he enjoyed riding, pigsticking and shooting, devoted most of his leisure to studying languages and the customs of the people. At Baroda he was working as much as twelve hours a day at Hindustani. Since his gift for languages, made up in large measure of remarkable application and memory, was, in due course, to make him one of the greatest linguists of his day, it is of interest to note in his own words his method of setting about a new language. "My system of learning a language in two months" he wrote "was purely my own invention, and thoroughly suited

*The retail price index was only started in 1850; £1 today is the equivalent of 4/7d. then. The whole-sale price index for 1842 gives 5/3d. then the purchasing power of £1 today. Multiplication by four would therefore give a fair approximation and Burton's pay by 1957 standards would be about £670 per year.

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myself. I got a simple grammar and vocabulary, marked out the forms and words which I knew were absolutely necessary, and learnt them by heart by carrying them in my pocket and looking over them at spare moments during the day After learning some three hundred words, easily done in a week, I stumbled through some easy book-work and underlined every word that I wished to recollect, in order to read over my pencillings at least once a day. Having finished my volume, I then carefully worked up the grammar minutiae, and I then chose some other book The neck of the language was now broken, and progress was rapid When I read, I invariably read out loud, so that the ear might aid memory and whenever I conversed with anybody I took the trouble to repeat their words inaudibly after them, and so to learn the trick of pronunciation and emphasis”.

How easy it sounds put like that, and how difficult in fact; but with Burton it worked. Six months after landing in India he sailed down to Bombay to take his Hindustani examination and passed first. He returned to Baroda just before the rains came and settled down to study Gujarati, Sanskrit and all that he could learn of Hinduism and was presently appointed regimental interpreter.

In October 1843, a mere five months after passing in Hindustani, he again visited Bombay and this time passed an interpretership in Gujarati, coming first, and ahead of Lieut. C. P. Rigby. As we shall meet the latter again it is of interest to note now that he was already regarded as the outstanding linguist in the service. A year older than Burton, he joined the Indian Army in 1836, had passed as an interpreter in Hindustani, Marathi and Persian, and his passing of a fourth language examination was a distinction which no other officer had achieved. He had just come from nearly four years spent in Aden, had written a paper on African exploration and ethnology of the north-east coast which was well received and had made a study of the Somali and Amharic languages and customs. All this, and not yet twenty-four. To pass first above Rigby was indeed no small feather in Burton's cap.

Meanwhile the battles at Miyani and Dubar earlier in the year had been followed by the annexation of Sind and Sir Charles Napier was at work establishing peace and order in a country which knew neither. But his genius for organizing was taxed to the utmost by lack of staff. Burton's regiment was ordered to Karachi, at that time no more than a village of some 2,000 inhabitants, and presently to Gharra, a bleak camp some forty miles north. Here he spent a hot season under canvas, working steadily at Sindi and Marathi, passed his interpretership in the latter language and at once started on Persian. Posted back to Karachi he found to his delight that he had been selected as an assistant in the survey of Sind.

Then began one of the most interesting periods of Burton's life, and one about which, unfortunately, all too few details have survived. For it was now that he began to perfect his already extensive study of native life; travelling throughout the country on survey duties he lived as an oriental. In Karachi itself he opened three small shops and as a trader, always ready to listen to the gossip of his customers, began to amass that encyclopaedic knowledge of eastern customs and lore which was to distinguish in later years his famous translation of the “Arabian Nights”. His favourite and most successful rôle was that of a half-Arab,

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half-Iranian from the northern shores of the Gulf, with long beard and hair falling to his shoulders. His dark, piercing eyes and the cast of his features lent themselves to eastern disguise while a romantic leavening in his otherwise uncompromising nature made the practice of disguise as enjoyable as it was useful. In one of his early books* there is a brief but fascinating description of "many and many a trip" carried out by Burton as Mirza Abdullah of Bushire. The value of such a man to Napier at this time can readily be imagined and of Burton he made full use. But these days were not to last. After a journey through North Sind the outbreak of the Sikh War prompted Burton, now gazetted Lieutenant, to rejoin his regiment. The hoped-for march to Multan began but was never completed; the battle of Sobraon and peace of a sort intervened. In April 1846 Burton and his regiment were back in camp kicking their heels. Over-tired and no longer fit, reaction set in; he quarrelled with his Colonel and years later was to refer to this period as the least satisfactory of his life. He became ill, left his regiment in September, and was granted two years' leave of absence.

Early in the new year he set off down the coast to visit Goa, Calicut and the Nilgiri Hills but returned after six months of leave suffering severely from rheumatic ophthalmia. This holiday was the subject of his first book; lighter and slighter than most of those which followed, it is arch and jocose with the "gentle reader" but shows a surprising lack of sympathy with the people amongst whom he travelled. This trait was to become more marked in later years and is hard to account for in a man with such a passion for the study of native life.

In October 1847 he was back in Bombay to take an interpretership in Persian; again he passed first and was rewarded by the Court of Directors with an honorarium of 1,000 rupees. He reported again to the headquarters of the Survey at Karachi but his eyes and health were no longer fit for the field-work in which he had taken such delight three years earlier. Once more he drove himself to further studies; Sindi and Punjabi, rewarded by two more interpreterships; Islam and Arabic, for already he was beginning to think of exploration in Arabia; and, of course, more reports for Napier. Of these one, written probably somewhat earlier, was to have serious consequences. Napier had asked for a report on vice in Karachi. Burton made the report, which was to go to Napier only. In error it was forwarded, with other reports, to the authorities in Bombay. Burton never did anything by halves; with his passion for the accurate recording of facts he left nothing to the imagination. Authority was thunderstruck. It was already well aware of his clashes with senior officers; but the report was the last straw. When hostilities again broke out in Multan, Burton, who had now passed examinations in six native languages, and had for some time been studying Multani, applied for the appointment of interpreter to the force being raised for the campaign. This was refused and an officer who had passed in Hindustani only was appointed to the post. "This last misfortune broke my heart" wrote Burton. His prospects of promotion were gone. Rheumatic ophthalmia returned; he became seriously ill and in March 1849 sailed from Bombay on sick leave to England.

The formative years were now over and I take the pattern of Burton's character to be already cast when he left India; it seems, therefore, appropriate at this stage to take stock of him. His university career and his first seven years in India had

*"Falconry in the Valley of the Indus" 1852.

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both ended in failure and it is worth while trying to examine the causes. His earlier biographers are of little help here as almost all wrote from the pre-determined standpoint, "Burton is a good thing" or "Burton is a bad thing" and those who came after have tended, I think often unwittingly, to follow suit. I say this in no sense of criticism as it is difficult, even after a slight study of Burton, to regard the man disinterestedly; the astonishing variety and vigour which distinguish his life make him no easy subject to assess impartially.

The roving and largely undisciplined childhood spent on the Continent gave him nothing in common with his fellow undergraduates when he went up to Oxford; this, coupled with a good brain, a forceful character and, I suspect, a far more sensitive nature than he has been credited with, resulted in his retreating behind a defensive barrier of intellectual arrogance which few penetrated. If the undergraduate of Trinity had a totally different outlook on life from Burton it meant that he was a fool and Burton wasn't. I do not want to be guilty of oversimplifying Burton's complex character, but it does seem to me that this thread of mental arrogance runs through his life and was the cause of most of his disappointments. It is apparent in much that he wrote and is reflected not only in his clashes with authority but also in his general relations with his fellow-men.

I am not suggesting that this was caused solely by a wandering childhood. The Victorian age when black was black and white was white, to an extent unknown today, certainly abetted an authoritarian attitude of mind. His service in India further contributed; the field officer who served John Company commonly had nothing but contempt for the Court of Directors in London. This reaction to authority made a natural appeal to Ensign Burton and was undoubtedly strengthened by his service under Napier. Burton recounts of him that "he was utterly deficient in prudence, he did not care a fig how many enemies he made, and his tongue was like a scorpion's sting". He had a deep admiration for Napier.

On the credit side let it be said that Burton worked as hard as any young officer who ever took service in India; he devilled out facts, facts and more facts. Indeed the pursuit of facts, or, as he would have it, truth, became almost an obsession. But having based an opinion on these facts there was no room for anyone else's opinion. For the other man's point of view he had neither sympathy nor understanding.

It may be contended that Burton's failing did no one any harm but himself. This is almost, but not quite, true; for the fact must be faced that what I have termed intellectual arrogance is no small failing. It is the cancer of disloyalty growing in loyalty*.

In Burton's case this attitude made him many enemies and certainly prevented him, during his lifetime, from receiving the recognition which his services and abilities merited.

For years now he had over-worked and taken little care of his health and when he was invalided home from Bombay he was seriously ill. This, however, was no unusual end to the long tours of those days. I have the manuscript diary of an ancestor who served John Company as a contemporary of Burton's and in this the constantly recurring entries of the sickness or deaths of his colleagues bring home

*It is hardly necessary to point out that its extreme modern manifestation is the betrayal of atom secrets.

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to one forcibly the grim conditions of Indian service in those days. Burton proved luckier than many, his brother Edward included, for the long voyage round the Cape, coupled with his immensely strong constitution, partially restored him to health. Arriving in England in the summer, he journeyed to Pisa to rejoin his parents. He spent the next year in England undertaking various cures and then, greatly recovered, crossed to Boulogne, to economize, to improve his fencing and to bring out three more books on India.

It was here that he first saw Isabel Arundell walking with her sister on the ramparts; here that he chalked on the wall "May I speak to you?" and received the chalked rejoinder "No; Mother will be angry". But they did meet and, if Isabel's considerable beauty at twenty made only a passing impression on Burton, very different was his effect on her. After their first meeting she was already resolved that they would marry; she stood by this resolution with such determination, despite family opposition, that ten years later she did marry Burton.

MEDINA AND MECCA: 1853

At this time Burton himself had no thoughts of marriage for he was already busy planning an expedition to Arabia; with this in mind he had renewed his Arabic studies in Sind towards the end of 1847, learnt all that he could of Islam and committed a quarter of the Koran to memory. In the autumn of 1852 he asked the Royal Geographical Society to sponsor his request for three years' leave to explore the then unknown central regions of Arabia. This the Society did, but the Court of Directors refused to grant three years' leave, allowing Burton, instead, one year in which to pursue his Arabic studies. His original intention had been to land at Muscat and travel inland; but with only a year's leave he decided instead to try and cross Arabia from Medina to Muscat, dressed in his old disguise of Sind days. He was eventually obliged to abandon this plan after reaching Medina, and it was not till sixty years later that the crossing of central Arabia from coast to coast was first accomplished*.

Burton left nothing to chance and planned in meticulous detail for every contingency that he could think of. Dr. Wallin, a Swede, had visited Medina and Mecca in 1845 and to him Burton sent many questions, only to learn that Wallin was dead. It is of interest to note here that Burton was by no means the first European to enter Mecca; at least ten had preceded him, the first as far back as 1503. But he was the first Englishman who was not a Muslim to reach Mecca and his description of the pilgrimage was at once the most detailed and the most exact that had been brought back. Indeed his "Pilgrimage"† published after his return, remains far and away his best book of travel. Apart from the interest and excitement inherent in so dangerous a journey, his book is written in a personal style, and with a sympathy and understanding for the people amongst whom he travelled, which is not recaptured in his later works.

On 3rd April 1853, Burton left London as Mirza Abdullah and the next day sailed from Southampton for Alexandria. Here he stayed six weeks in an outhouse lent to him by a friend, spending part of his time practising as a Persian doctor, the rest studying Islam under the instruction of a sheikh. After a month he assumed the character of a wandering dervish, obtained from the British

*By H. St. J. Philby in 1917.

†The best edition of this, being the fullest, is the "Memorial Edition" of 1893.

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Consul a passport as an Indo-British subject and laid in his outfit for the pilgrimage. This included a pea-green medicine chest decorated with red and yellow flowers, part of his stock-in-trade as a purveyor of simples and remedies, and also used for concealing the sketches and plans which he made at Medina and Mecca, cut into small squares, numbered and hidden amongst the bottles. The pocket Koran in a case slung over the pilgrim's shoulder, Burton dispensed with, using the case instead to hold a watch, compass and writing materials, the latter consisting of small slips of paper which could be held in the palm of his hand to make notes unostentatiously. These he transcribed into his diary, a long, thin volume which he had made for him in Cairo and carried in an inner pocket. Also carried in a secret pocket was a small pistol with a spring dagger.

About the end of May he took a deck passage for Cairo, arriving there three days later and lodged with an Indian merchant whom he had met on the voyage. After ten days his company palled and Burton took to a *wakalah* or lodging-house in the Greek quarter. Here he fell in with another traveller off the same ship, Haji Wali, with whom Burton struck up a firm friendship which was to last many years. It was on his advice that Burton changed his Persian disguise for that of a Pathan, "born in India of Afghan parents, who had settled in the country, educated at Rangoon". His fluent knowledge of Persian, Hindustani and Arabic supported the rôle while "any trifling inaccuracy could be charged upon my long residence at Rangoon". This was his final disguise and served him well. He studied with the Shafi'i school as the least rigorous of the orthodox schools and nearest to Shi'a theology, which he had worked at in Sind. This later made him suspect of being a Persian, a highly unpopular race at that time in Medina and Mecca; Haji Wali had warned him of this and only vigorous denials by Burton saved him from greater embarrassment. Meanwhile he continued to practise as a doctor, (earning the gratitude of a slave-dealer for curing some of his Abyssinian slave-girls of the price-lowering habit of snoring), engaged a Surat boy, Shaykh Nur, as a servant (he remained with him till Burton returned to Egypt at the end of the pilgrimage), observed the fast of Ramadhan, and studied endlessly for the rôle he was to play as a pilgrim. His departure was hastened by his engaging in a hilarious drinking bout with a rascally Albanian soldier in the *wakalah*, which greatly scandalized the other inmates and lost the Afghan doctor his hard-earned reputation for piety.

At the beginning of July he took leave of his friends in Cairo and set out by dromedary on the eighty-four miles ride to Suez. On the way he fell in with a Meccan lad, Mohammed al Basyuni, from whom in Cairo he had bought his pilgrim garb, and who accompanied him throughout the pilgrimage till Burton sailed from Arabia at Jidda. Mohammed, who had travelled in India, suspected Burton from the start, but he was hard up and needed help. This Burton gave him and in exchange Mohammed, except on one occasion, kept his own counsel, played host to Burton in Mecca, and was of great service to him. They arrived in Suez the following evening, took a room in a *wakalah* and got passages to Yanbu, the port for Medina, in a fifty-ton lateen-rigged ship. In the *wakalah* Burton struck up an acquaintance with four travellers returning to their homes in Medina, joined them and they journeyed together to Medina. This was a stroke of good fortune for Burton, who, I suspect, was not yet part-perfect in the rôle he was playing. His four companions were not pilgrims, cared little for religion, and were short of money; they borrowed from Burton, made him a man of

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consequence on the journey and afforded him every help. There was a difficult moment before leaving Suez when his companions found a sextant in his luggage. Mohammed at once declared Burton to be an infidel from India but the others, after discussion, dismissed the suggestion; Burton however had to leave the sextant behind and without it any effective exploration of central Arabia would have been impossible. Before leaving Suez Burton had to ensure that his passport would allow him to land at Yanbu. Difficulties ensued and finally he had to go to the British Consul. The latter had heard that Burton was to attempt the pilgrimage, recognized him, and at once provided him with a passport. His disguise was never again seen through.

On 6th July Burton and his friends set sail in the pilgrim ship, the *Silk al-Zahab*. They had obtained for themselves squatting space on the poop; this was thoroughly overcrowded but amidships a large band of Maghrabis from north-west Africa were even more tightly packed and invaded the poop. A lively fight ensued; Burton was in the thick of it, swinging a quarter-staff and finally settled matters by overturning a large water-jar on the invaders, after which peace was restored. The hardships of this journey, with the days spent in blazing sun, were very great; the only relief came in the evenings when the ship anchored and the pilgrims slept on the beach. They also relieved their feelings by giving the captain a good beating for careless navigation. The voyage endured for eleven days till on 17th July they landed at Yanbu. Burton was now suffering from a badly poisoned foot, having trod on a spiny sea-urchin when wading ashore. Accordingly he hired a camel with a *shugduf*, or covered litter, for the 130 miles journey to Medina, which had the advantage of allowing him to write up his notes unobserved. They left the day after arriving at Yanbu, in a caravan of some 200 camels. The marches were mostly performed at night and the heat of the day spent resting. They joined forces with a caravan from Mecca and presently had news of marauding tribes ahead; at dawn one morning they were ambushed in a gorge and twelve of their number killed in the engagement which followed. After six days they arrived in Medina and Burton was taken to lodge in the house of Shaykh Hamid, one of the four friends with whom he had travelled from Suez.

Here he spent over a month as Hamid's guest, awaiting the arrival of the Damascus caravan. He visited the Prophet's tomb and all the places of Muslim veneration in Medina and its neighbourhood, and for the rest lived a quiet life, sinking himself deeper and deeper into the rôle he had set himself to play. It was while here that he finally decided not to attempt the journey across Arabia; Bedawin tribes in the neighbourhood were at war, he was unable to find anyone to accompany him and, even if he did, the journey would take at least ten months, whereas, under forfeit of losing his commission, he was required to be in Bombay before the end of March. He decided, therefore, to go on to Mecca.

The quiet life of Medina was suddenly quickened by the arrival, ahead of time, of the Damascus caravan; Burton made haste to join it and left Medina on 31st August.

Once more he travelled in a *shugduf*, precariously attached to a camel, but this time without friends, except for Mohammed and the boy Nur. The huge caravan, 7,000 on foot, horse and camel, escorted by 1,000 irregular horsemen, set out by the Darb-el-Sharki, the most easterly of the four roads to Mecca; the

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journey of 150 miles was to take them eleven days, including three without water, and was travelled mainly at night. At the end of the ninth march the pilgrims' heads were shaved and they assumed for the first time their pilgrim garb. The following evening they were attacked by robbers, who opened fire on them as they threaded the Zaribah Pass, but after an hour's confusion they were eventually driven off by the Wahabi escort. Burton, with calculated bravado, primed his pistols and called for his supper. More than once during this journey he had occasion to seize his sword or pistol; the gesture was always sufficient.

On 11th September, in the early hours of the morning, the caravan reached Mecca. Burton and his companions rode straight to the house of Mohammed's mother, where he stayed while at Mecca. Soon after sunrise they went to the Harim or Sanctuary and Burton at last stood in sight of the Bayt Allah; with feeling he wrote that, "of all the worshippers who clung weeping to the curtain, or who pressed their beating hearts to the stone, none felt for the moment a deeper emotion than did the Haji from the far-north". He performed all the pilgrim devotions, kissed the Black Stone, journeyed to Arafat, five pilgrims dying of exhaustion on the road, took part in the stoning of the Devil, where he was trodden underfoot by a dromedary, returned to Mecca and, crowning moment of all, was admitted into the Ka'abah itself. After attending the ceremonies at Muna he listened to the sermon in the Harim at Mecca, the vast quadrangle crowded with pilgrims. "I have seen" he writes, "the ceremonies of many lands, but never—nowhere—ought so solemn, so impressive as this". On 18th September he performed the Little Pilgrimage, the next day visited the holy places, and, the pilgrimage now completed, decided to return to Egypt. While at Mecca he had sounded acquaintances on the prospects of journeying east to central Arabia, but they at once dissuaded him. As he still had six months of leave he decided to return to Cairo, make a new journey into Arabia via Muwaylah, and explore the interior. Illness was to prevent him from making the attempt.

He set out by donkey on the forty-five miles ride to Jidda and there took ship to Suez on 26th September 1853, having accomplished the first of his three great journeys. Of the dangers of this journey there can be no question. "The amount of risk", he wrote, "which a stranger must encounter at the pilgrimage rites is still considerable". And here, perhaps, it is appropriate to dispose of the old story that Burton, while at Mecca, killed a man who discovered him to be an infidel. He dismisses this as an "absurd scandal" in a footnote to the "Nights"* and Isabel Burton quotes a further occasion on which he refuted the tale in her "Life"† of Burton.

I have suggested that Burton's identity was not above suspicion in the early stages of his journey, and to avoid any possibility of misunderstanding I feel that a note on this is necessary. In the first place it must be remembered that Burton only began to study Islam at the end of his time in India, that is between October 1847 and March 1849, and not in the most suitable locality, for he found it necessary to import a *munshi* from Bombay. He was already a very sick man but says there were painless intervals when he found himself able to work; he studied Sindi at the same time and also "relieved his nerves" with a course in Sikh religion and literature. Then four years in Europe supervened. Making full allowance for even Burton's remarkable memory and capacity for work I regard it

*Volume II, page 326. †Volume II, page 394.

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as reasonable to assume that his knowledge of Islam was not profound when he stepped ashore at Alexandria. This is endorsed by his original plan to travel as a Persian. Passages in the early part of the "Pilgrimage" suggest that he was suspect on a number of occasions, nor in the circumstances could one expect it to be otherwise; it is no disparagement of Burton to say that it was as much a tribute to his wise choice of companions as to his own tremendous personality that he successfully reached Medina. When he arrived there he had been four months in the rôle of an oriental, endlessly learning and studying and all the time perfecting the part he had to play. He spent a further month there and the complete, dyed-in-the-wool pilgrim, who could pass muster anywhere, even gaining admission to the Ka'abah itself, finally emerged, I believe, with his departure from Medina when, on 31st August, he set his face towards Mecca.

Inevitably Burton has been accused of belittling Islam and "profaning the sanctuaries". A glance at the "Pilgrimage" is sufficient to refute the charge; throughout his life he maintained his close interest in Islam while his sympathy for the pilgrims is evident from the attempt he made in England to promote a company, "The Hadjilik, or Pilgrimage to Mecca, Syndicate, Limited" to improve the conditions under which they travelled.

Burton's name was made by this exceptional journey and, had he returned to England now, he would have had his full share of fame. Instead he landed at Suez, journeyed overland to Cairo, and spent there the remaining months of his leave, writing up his "Pilgrimage" and composing a long and erudite poem, "The Kasidah", which he did not publish till 1880. With its effective use of the refrain "the tinkling of the camel-bell" and the thumb-nail self-portrait in the notes, it is also the nearest Burton came to committing to paper his philosophy of life and has, in the event, received scant attention from his biographers. After examining the different beliefs he declares all to be unproven and enjoins man to seek truth and do good.

SOMALILAND AND HARAR: 1854-1855

Early in the new year Burton returned to Bombay and rejoined his regiment; but after the excitement of the pilgrimage he was unable to settle to routine life and was already full of plans for another expedition. I suspect that at heart he was disappointed in the results of the pilgrimage; he had set out to explore central Arabia, but his journey, remarkable though it was, had done nothing to fill in the blanks on the map of Arabia. This next time he was determined to break new country.

His first plan was to land on the Somaliland coast with two officers and travel inland by Harar and Gananah to Zanzibar. This the Resident of Aden would not approve, as being too dangerous. Burton, with the expedition to Zanzibar still in mind, decided to have two officers at Berbera for some months collecting information about the Somali, a third was to land half way between Berbera and Guardafui, journey inland and explore the Wadi Nogal, while he himself would make the journey to Harar and back. If these preliminary sorties were successful he hoped that the experience and knowledge gained would enable them later to undertake the expedition through Somaliland to Zanzibar.

Herne, a lieutenant in the Indian Army, landed at Berbera in November 1854 and was joined in January by Lieut. Stroyan of the Indian Navy; they remained at Berbera till April. Lieut. Speke of the Indian Army landed at Bunder Guray late

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in October 1854, spent three months in the coastal area, but, through the duplicity of his guides, failed to reach the Wadi Nogal and returned to Aden in February. Burton left Aden at the end of October, spent a month at Zeila, was in Harar at the beginning of January, returned to Berbera at the end of the month and went on to Aden a few days later. The preliminary plan had, in fact, worked well. Burton's part was of course the most difficult and full of danger, as Harar was a closed city to strangers and no European had ever yet entered it. He landed at Zeila in the disguise of an Arab merchant from Aden; and here one must note the curious instructions he gave to his three brother officers that they should all wear oriental dress. The thought of lanky Jack Speke with his fair hair and blue eyes and sketchy knowledge of Hindustani, masquerading about the Somali coast in a huge turban, gown and baggy drawers is ludicrous in the extreme. Had anyone but Burton given this order one would infer that he was surprisingly naïve about disguise and had greatly underestimated the coastal Somali. But with Burton, of all people, some very different explanation must be sought. My own is no more than a guess. What Burton wanted from his subordinates was information about the Somali and if they were to obtain that they must cease being officers of the Hon. E.I.C. forces, and live with, and at the level of, the people they were studying; he was in fact harking back to his own early and highly successful lessons in Sind, where he started his studies of native life.

Burton had brought with him from Aden two Somalis from the Aden police force and a lugubrious holy man. After a month at Zeila he set out with these three, two gargantuan female cooks and sundry servants and guides for Harar. It was a hard journey as the tribes through which they had to pass were hostile to the people of Zeila and smallpox was raging at Harar. The small caravan of five camels and four mules set off down the coast on 27th November before striking west into the hills. The dry season was hard on the animals and Burton himself suffered twice from illness which he attributed to bad water and extremes of temperature; this at times ranged in twenty-four hours from 50° to 121°. One must recall that at this time the causes of malaria were not known. Burton remarks of the Somali belief that the mosquito bite brings on deadly fevers, that this superstition probably arises from the fact that mosquitoes and fevers become formidable about the same time; he recommends oil or butter used as an ointment to neutralize "the Proteus-like malaria poison". At the end of December he was near Harar, decided to leave his goods and followers in a friendly village, and with the two Somali policemen to enter the town as a representative of the Political Resident of Aden. He then wrote a letter to the Amir of Harar purporting to come from the Resident and entered the town on 3rd January, still dressed as an Arab trader. His reception was hostile and it was not till the end of his first interview with the Amir that he felt reassured about the outcome of his visit. Required to kiss the Amir's hand on arrival he bent low over the fingers, "which however, I did not kiss, being naturally averse to performing that operation upon any but a woman's hand". How like Burton that, at a moment of extreme personal danger, he remained completely uncompromising.

After ten days in Harar, spent in amassing information about its people and history, he decided to return to the coast. Here he was helped by the arrival at Harar of a youth who reported that three brothers had landed in Somali country dressed as Muslims, but were really English, and two were waiting at Berbera for the return of the third from Harar. The Amir, fearing that caravans from

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Berbera would be cut off if he delayed Burton, agreed to his departure. Burton set off with his two Somali companions and rejoined his followers at Wilensi. Here he spent a week recouping his stores and compiling a Harari vocabulary and mentions that "one Mohammed, a Shaykhash, gave me his itinerary of fifteen stages to the sources of the Abbay or Blue Nile: he confirmed the vulgar Somali report that the Hawash and the Webbe Shebayli both take rise in the same range of well wooded mountains which gives birth to the river of Egypt" (Speke was to claim later that he himself first heard of the Victoria Nyanza from the Somali while at Berbera).

They set out for the coast, Burton intent on going to Berbera, but his guides, and others who had joined the caravan, anxious to avoid their enemies the Habr Awal and to go instead to Zeila. They agreed to divide, Burton, with his companions and a guide, to make forced marches through the desert to Berbera, while his goods, servants and camels were to continue with the main caravan to Zeila. His goods reached him safely in Aden two months later. The journey to Berbera was a hard one, avoiding villages and travelling over thirty miles a day; for twenty-four hours they were without water and all were exhausted when at 2.00 a.m. on the morning of the sixth day they reached the house in which Herne and Stroyan were living at Berbera.

Five days later Burton sailed for Aden, arriving there on 9th February. The preliminaries had been satisfactorily completed; now it remained to plan the main journey. At the beginning of April all four officers were again camped at Berbera with a caravan of forty followers and over fifty camels, which Speke had bought further along the coast. Some ten days later, in the early hours of the morning, they were attacked by Somali. Stroyan was killed, but Burton, Speke and Herne fought their way out of their tents, the last two with their revolvers, and Burton cutting a way through his enemies with his sabre. Speke was severely wounded and Burton received a spear in the face which carried away four back teeth and part of his palate. The survivors managed to get to a boat and reached Aden safely a few days later. Speke attributed the attack to animosity caused by Burton's decision not to employ *abbans*, (local guides or agents responsible for the safety of a caravan) and also to the suspicion of the local Somali that Herne's and Stroyan's long residence at Berbera was the prelude to annexation of the town either by the British or by their old enemy, the Governor of Zeila.

Burton returned to England, recovered quickly from his wound and read a paper on Harar before the Royal Geographical Society; in the following year he published an account of the expedition which contains a very great deal of accurate information about the people, customs and country of Somaliland. Not, however, as much as he intended; Appendix IV was to have contained "a brief description of certain peculiar customs noticed in Nubia," Instead it consists of a single page with the publisher's laconic note, "it has been found necessary to omit this Appendix". Meanwhile, England was still engaged in the Crimean War and Burton's exploits at such a time passed almost unnoticed. He quickly volunteered for service and set out for the Crimea where he was appointed Chief of Staff to General Beatson who commanded the Irregular Cavalry or Bashi-Bazouks, with headquarters at the Dardanelles. This force, however, never came into action and Burton in October 1855 returned to England with his chief.

TANGANYIKA: 1856-1859

1856-57

Burton remained in England for a year, busy as always at his writing and already planning another expedition to East Africa; In the summer he met Isabel Arundell again; for six years she had followed every detail of his adventurous career from afar. Before he left England in the autumn of 1856 they were unofficially engaged and Burton had undertaken on his return to retire from the army and take a post in the consular service. Meanwhile he had proposed to the Royal Geographical Society that he lead an expedition to explore the lake regions of East Africa; the Society agreed to sponsor Burton's plan and recommended that the Foreign Office and the Court of Directors of the East India Company should cover the costs. The Foreign Office contributed £1,000 while the Court of Directors allowed Burton two years' leave from regimental duties. It should be noted here that searching for the source of the Nile was not one of the objects of the expedition; the primary aim was to ascertain the limits of the "Sea of Ujiji or Unyamwezi Lake", to determine the exportable produce of the interior and the ethnography of its tribes. Unfortunately an energetic member of the Mombasa Mission had been in London the previous year and offered to land with an outfit of 300 dollars at Kilwa, journey inland and explore the vast inland sea which he had placed in the midst of the map of East Africa. I say unfortunately, as 300 dollars would have been quite inadequate and this low estimate resulted in Burton being granted only £1,000. His expedition was under-financed from the very beginning, and he was to remark later that with £5,000 he could have explored the whole central area of East Africa. Compared with the sums of money which later expeditions were to spend Burton achieved wonders on very little; and, being first in the field, he provided for those who followed all the basic information on travel in East Africa. Indeed his two-volume account of the expedition, published in 1860, is so full of reliable detail that it became the standard *vade mecum* of early travellers and as late as the first World War parts of it were quoted in Admiralty handbooks as being still the most accurate guide to the country.

In October 1856 he left England for Bombay with instructions to report there to the Governor; through the latter he obtained leave for Speke to accompany him again as his assistant and for Dr. Steinhäuser, an old friend, now serving as staff surgeon at Aden, to join him in Zanzibar. Unhappily Steinhäuser could not get a passage to Zanzibar so crossed to Berbera and set out to walk to Zanzibar; he only abandoned this brave attempt when it became obvious that he could never reach there in time. Had he been able to, the whole outcome of the expedition might have been very different. Burton and Speke sailed together from Bombay and reached Zanzibar on 19th December; here they were welcomed by Lieut.-Col. Hamerton, whose knowledge of the coast after fifteen years at Zanzibar as British Consul and Agent of the H.E.I. Company was of the greatest help to them. He advised against trying to land at Kilwa and arranged for an early voyage up the coast to give them experience of local conditions. Meanwhile their arrival in Zanzibar had already caused resentment amongst the trading community who assumed that their impending visit to the interior must lead to the setting up of new trading posts and the collapse of their own businesses. Fortunately Burton found a friend in the young Sultan who was prepared to give them every help, provided they undertook not to proselytize.

On 5th January they sailed in an Arab dhow, accompanied by the two Goan servants whom they had brought from Bombay and a guide, Said bin Salim, provided by the Sultan. They stopped off Pemba for two days and then went on

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to Mombasa where Burton was anxious to see Rebmann, the last survivor of the Mission which Dr. Krapf had established there in 1846. Rebmann had made several short journeys into the interior, on one of which he first sighted Kilimanjaro, and, as an experienced African traveller, he would have been a most useful member of the expedition. But he was naturally not prepared as a missionary to subscribe to the undertaking which Burton had given to the Sultan of Zanzibar and finally declined to join Burton. Towards the end of January the dhow sailed south from Mombasa, touched at Wasin Island* and reached Tanga on 27th; here the Sultan's representatives met Burton and Speke and conducted them round the settlement. Stopping a day at Tangata to look at the ruins, which disappointed Burton, they entered Pangani on 3rd February. Here they decided to pay off the Arab dhow, shed the many followers of the Sultan, and, on the pretext of a fortnight's shooting trip, make a journey inland to Vuga, the headquarters of the chief of the Wasambaa. They hired a canoe and set off up the Pangani; Burton, years later, was to recall the beauty of the river and his enjoyment of the journey. They paddled through the night till they reached Chogwe, some thirteen miles up-river, where a detachment of the Sultan of Zanzibar's Baluchi troops was stationed. A small escort of these was provided and the next day they continued on foot, with local guides and porters. One of the escort from Chogwe was Sidi Bombay, of whom more will be heard; on this trip he served as head gun-carrier. They had reduced their kit to the minimum, and, going by Tongwe, reached Vuga on the evening of 15th February. The climb from the plains into the hills was not made easier by frequent showers of rain, while Burton, Speke and their guide got separated from the rest of their party one evening and spent the night in a sandy gully. Vuga consisted of some 500 huts and Burton estimated its population at 3,000. In Kimwere, the chief, he found few vestiges of the royal description which Krapf had given him in 1848; he was now emaciated and bent and dying of old age. Burton reports that his chieftdom was built up by his father, Shebugwe, whose family came from the Nguu hills and who extended his territory to the Pare Mountains and across the coastal plain to the sea. On his death the division of the chieftdom amongst his children led to bloodshed and Kimwere's influence was now confined by Masai raiding-parties to the Usambara mountains.

After two days at Vuga they left again for Pangani, following the Ruvu river (or Pangani as it becomes in its lower stretches) once they had left the mountains; this took them south of their previous route, and they returned, via the Pangani falls, to their camp on the coast a week before their boat was due to arrive on 1st March. They spent a day hunting hippo near Chogwe, and then both Burton and Speke went down with severe attacks of fever. Their boat did not arrive till 5th March and they sailed the next day for Zanzibar. Speke was sufficiently recovered to go aboard unaided but Burton had to be carried on to the boat, and both were abed for a week on reaching Zanzibar. There was no doctor on the island and Hamerton, with whom they stayed, put them on a course of quinine beginning with twenty grains a day and tapering down to two grains. By the end of the month they were fit again. Burton for his part welcomed this bout of fever believing that it would "salt" them against further attacks; in this he was disappointed, as they suffered constantly from fever, though never again so

*Opposite the present Tanganyika/Kenya boundary.

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severely as on this first occasion. It is of interest to note here that, although Burton carried quinine, he was not sure of the quantities or time at which it should be taken and disliked using it, as he believed that overdoses induced death from apoplexy*. He preferred the use of "Warburg's drops", compounded of aloes, quinine and opium, which he declared to be the best specific for fever.

Burton and Speke now pushed on with preparations for their journey, Burton, in particular, being impatient to start as he was disturbed by rumours of several other expeditions directed towards Africa. Early in May he made a brief visit to Sadani, on the mainland coast, north of Bagamoyo, as he had been asked to examine the production of gum copal, at that time one of the most important exports of East Africa. Its price had been rising in Europe and it was remarked that he would earn more gratitude from the people of England by lowering the price of coach varnish than ever he would by measuring the Mountains of the Moon or finding the source of the Nile. His visit was sufficient to show that there was no immediate likelihood of his succeeding.

At the beginning of June Said bin Salim, the half-caste Arab guide provided by the Sultan, was sent to Kaole, near Bagamoyo, with a Hindu customs clerk, Ramji, to recruit porters for the expedition; about 170 men were required, the chief loads being cotton cloth, brass wire and beads, the indispensable but bulky currency of the country. In Zanzibar Burton completed his arrangements and on 16th June he and Speke, accompanied by Hamerton, sailed in the Sultan's corvette for Kaole. With them sailed the two Goan servants, and an escort of seven Baluchi under a Jemadar, to whom a further five were added from the small garrison at Kaole. Sidi Bombay, who had joined them at Chogwe as gun-bearer, had relinquished his service with the Sultan, and, with a fellow countryman, Mwinyi Mabruki, was engaged as gun-bearer and general servant.

Bombay and Mabruki are, as far as I am aware, the first recorded examples we have of that now well-known figure in Tanganyika, the Yao "career servant" and as such their subsequent history deserves attention. They served throughout the expedition and returned with it to Zanzibar and were amongst the few of whom Burton spoke highly. In August 1860 they joined Speke at Zanzibar and accompanied him and Grant through Tanganyika and Uganda, and down the Nile to Cairo, whence, in 1863, they came back to Zanzibar. In 1871 they both joined Stanley, travelled with him to Ujiji where he met Livingstone†, and returned with him to the coast the following year. Stanley then sent porters back to Livingstone at Tabora and Mabruki was one of these, but fell sick at Tabora and Livingstone left him there; Bombay should have been of this party but illness prevented him starting from the coast, for which Livingstone was not altogether sorry (Bombay was now past his best. "I got a clear view of his failings" said Livingstone). But in January 1873 he joined Cameron ("he rather presumed on our ignorance") and with him walked across Africa to Benguela and from there,

*Quinine had first been isolated from cinchona bark in 1820 by a French pharmacist and factories for its manufacture were started in various parts of the world soon afterwards. Howards began to make it in 1827 and by the 'fifties it was coming into wide use in India. Writing later, Burton was to regret that on the Tanganyika journey he did not know "the prophylactic treatment of quinine" which he used with much success on the West Coast (1861-1864).

†Incidentally Livingstone's Chuma (who joined him at Zanzibar in March 1866 and returned in February 1874 bringing Livingstone's body to Bagamoyo) was also a Yao.

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early in 1876, was shipped back to Zanzibar. With him on this journey was a Mabruki, but whether the same is not clear; possibly not, as Mabruki had almost lost the use of one hand before joining Stanley. These were all hard, dangerous, journeys and constitute a remarkable record of service*.

Arriving off Kaole, Burton met with his first disappointment. Said bin Salim and Ramji had collected only thirty-six men; traders had spread every sort of rumour about the objects of the expedition and porters were unobtainable. Donkeys had to be found instead, delays and difficulties overcome and many of the loads, including the greater part of the ammunition stocks, some of the trade goods and a sectional, iron boat, left behind†. The Hindu traders on the coast undertook, after payment in advance, to forward the more necessary of these loads with twenty-two porters in ten days' time (Burton received them nearly eleven months later). Thirty donkeys were mustered with drivers, Ramji provided ten of his personal slaves as porters, referred to by Burton as the "Sons of Ramji", and sufficient order was gradually established for a start to be possible. Speke and most of the caravan were sent on to Kuingani, a village one and a half hour's walk from Kaole, and on 26th June Hamerton, who had long been seriously ill, took leave of the expedition to return to Zanzibar. The following day Burton set out for Kuingani. Here a further day was spent trying to bring order out of chaos and the next day another short march of an hour and a half brought them to Bomani. The Baluchi caused further delay and it was not till the afternoon of 1st July that the caravan moved slowly on. "It was like driving a herd of wild cattle" wrote Burton. They covered a mere two miles and that night the first desertions began. They were now drawing out of the jurisdiction of Bagamoyo and coming into Uzaramo and fear of attack began to knit together the caravan which at this stage numbered some ninety men. Earlier starts were made and longer distances covered.

Before they had entered the Ruvu valley (referred to by Burton as the Kingani river) Speke was ill with fever and Burton suffered similarly a few days later. Following the Ruvu they passed Dege la Mhora, the scene in 1845 of the treacherous murder of Maizan, a French explorer, by the Wazaramo, and reached the Mgeta river; in crossing this Burton's double-barrelled elephant gun was dropped and, despite one of the Goans diving for it, was not recovered. They were now clear of the Zaramo, parties of whom had twice held them up and been bought off with gifts of trade-goods, and had so far made the slow rate of 118 miles in eighteen days. At Dutumi they were detained for a week, Burton with malaria and Speke with an attack of what Burton thought to be sunstroke. Here also the Baluchi escort from Kaole was paid off to return to the coast. Constant fever had depressed Burton and his description of the country and people to the south of the Uluguru mountains reflects the state of dejection he had reached. He writes of the inhabitants as lean with intoxication, their limbs distorted by ulcerous sores and paints a grim picture of the countryside. Nevertheless he provides his usual detailed anthropological notes of the tribes through whose country they passed,

*I make no apologies for this digression. For fifteen years it was my good fortune to enjoy the loyal service of a Yao.

†It is not often that the early explorers tell us what they took with them. Burton, with his usual thoroughness, does. His lists of provisions, camp furniture, instruments, etc., I have reproduced in Appendix II. It should be noted that the mosquito curtains were to keep out mosquitoes and miasma; at this time the latter was believed to be the sole cause of malaria.

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the collection and writing up of which must have imposed a heavy strain on him. It is interesting to find that he here reports the Wadoe as extending formerly from Sadani down to the Ruvu river and lording it over their neighbours until the Wakamba broke their power, but so weakened themselves in the fighting, that they were themselves compelled to emigrate and settle north-west of Mombasa.

On 25th July they reached Zungomero, the chief caravan centre of the eastern region, and spent nearly a fortnight here trying to refit; both Burton and Speke were weak with fever; they were short of porters and had lost nine donkeys on the way. In addition they had to reorganize the control of their stores as it was clear that Said bin Salim, who had till now acted as quartermaster, was dishonest and the Baluchi escort, as well as the "Sons of Ramji", had pilfered freely. The latter were becoming daily more tiresome, refusing to carry loads and claiming that, like the Baluchi, their duties were those of armed escort only. The ominous pattern of the expedition was now emerging; its leader and his assistant were already too sick to attend to the immense amount of day-to-day detail needed to keep the caravan moving smoothly and were obliged to rely in part on undependable subordinates. Under-manned and under-financed as they were, close attention to their men and careful control of the stores were at this time of vital importance, and this they were unable to give. Few of those who joined in the puerile controversy which later raged round Burton and Speke after their return to England appear to have appreciated the terrible difficulties under which the expedition laboured. At times the caravan was kept moving simply by Burton's unshakable determination to keep on; at no time in his career is one more aware of the tremendous strength of his personality than during the Tanganyika expedition when, for nineteen months, he drove, cajoled, bullied and led this unwieldy caravan through 2,000 miles of unmapped country.

On 7th August they moved on again, Burton and Speke so weakened by fever that they could barely sit their donkeys, but the caravan strengthened by the addition of the thirty-six Nyamwezi porters who had been recruited at Kaole and sent ahead to Zungomero. Moreover they had left behind them the showers, the rain-soaked countryside and the river valley which had so undermined their health. They now struck north-west in a straight line for the present-day Kilosa, through hilly country till they debouched on the northern end of the Mkata plains. A caravan from up-country, which had lost fifty of its men from smallpox, passed them in the hills and for the next two days they met the dying and the dead on their path; a few of their own party contracted the disease but it spread no further. Unconfirmed rumours had come through of Hamerton's death (he had in fact died on 5th July aboard the Sultan's corvette just after its return to Zanzibar from Kaole) and the Baluchi, believing that this would determine Burton to turn back, increased their demands under the threat of returning to the coast. In health or out of it, Burton was not an easy man to browbeat; he bade the Baluchi a peremptory farewell and left them behind. Some hours later they overhauled the caravan and, duly penitent, continued as escort. Speke was attacked again by fever, and both he and Burton when presently they began to see game, including buffalo, in plenty on the Mkata plains were too exhausted to go after it and get meat for the caravan. Their donkeys were now reduced to nineteen and they had to pass through an area where African slave-raiders had attacked the villages and supplies were hard to obtain. At

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Rumuma, however, food became plentiful again and the Sagara came in crowds to sell it to the caravan. Burton halted here two days to replenish stocks, before moving on; at Inenge, which he reached on 4th September, they obtained, for the first time since leaving the coast, milk, honey and clarified butter. Here too they stopped to rest before facing the pass over Rubeho mountain and met an Arab caravan of 400 porters bound for the coast. The Arab merchants helped them with porters and donkeys (they were by then reduced to fifteen) and took mail down to the coast for them. Burton's own riding donkey was beginning to fail and the Arabs now sold him a husky animal which carried him to Lake Tanganyika and back to Unyanyembe.

On 10th September they began to climb Rubeho. "Trembling with ague" he wrote, "with swimming heads, ears deafened by weakness and limbs that would hardly support us, we contemplated with a dogged despair the apparently perpendicular path. . . . My companion was so weak he required the aid of two or three supporters; I, much less unnerved, managed with one". As they climbed, parties of raiding Humba streamed into Inenge to attack the villages they had just left. It took the caravan six hours to reach the top of the pass; Speke was almost in a coma and presently became delirious. A two days' halt was called, during which he became so violent with fever that Burton thought it prudent to remove his weapons. When they moved on he had to be carried in a hammock. They began now the drop from the Usagara mountains to the plains of Ugogo. Burton was so far recovered that for the first time for many days he was able to inspect the porters' loads; he found that in three months they had used half the trade goods which were intended to last for a year. During the descent the box containing Speke's reserve of boots and a chair and table were lost; these were found by another caravan and returned some months later in Unyanyembe. The porters, while prepared to pilfer where opportunity offered, never stole a load and it was a point of honour amongst deserters to jettison their loads intact in camp or on the march.

At Ugogi they were faced with long marches ahead and no prospect of buying food on the road and accordingly halted for three days to lay in rations. There were only nine donkeys left and to carry these additional loads imposed a further strain on their porters. Luckily Burton was now able to engage fifteen Nyamwezi porters and they reached Ziwa on the sixth day after their departure from Ugogi. Here they found that *hongo*, the levy imposed by chiefs on caravans passing through their territory, began in earnest. With this in mind Burton had chosen the central route through Gogo country as only four chiefs had to be paid. The proper practice was to levy *hongo* only on caravans bound up-country and allow them free return, but Burton found himself charged both ways. Although later travellers complained of the system, Burton was amenable to it as a reasonable form of customs-dues which the chief was required to distribute amongst his dependants and subordinates.

Four days were spent at Ziwa, resting and buying food; here they were joined by a large Arab caravan from Mboamaji on the coast, the comfort and good organization of which impressed Burton. Before reaching Ziwa a porter had deserted leaving by the path one of Burton's most indispensable loads, the box containing surveying books, including the Nautical Almanack for 1858, and writing materials, and, despite sending men back to search for it, the box was not

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recovered. To Burton's delight the Arab caravan had found it and returned it to him. The Arabs now proposed that they should all travel together; as the brother of the Arab caravan-leader was married to the daughter of Fundikira, the Chief of Unyanyembe, they could expect a friendly reception in his territory, while their joint forces should ensure safe travel through Gogo country. They set out together on 1st October; at Kanyenye they haggled for four days over the amount of *hongo* to be paid, but were allowed to proceed when agreement was reached. There followed on 10th October a long day's march and the by-passing at night of Isseke, as the Arabs wished to avoid paying *hongo*; a dangerous experiment which only succeeded through forced marches and increased discontent and desertions; arrived at Nkonko, five days were spent arguing the amount of *hongo* to be paid. The Baluchi again threatened to leave and the last of the Zanzibar donkeys had to be left behind. But the worst misfortune was the desertion of the fifteen Nyamwezi porters recruited at Ugogi, which Burton feared would mean having to abandon their loads. However, in Burton's words "the men seemed to behave best whenever things were palpably at their worst" and on 17th October they went forward again, the porters shouldering the extra loads.

The march to Mdaburo tested Burton's strength to the utmost but was reached with relief as it marked the western border of Gogo influence. Burton's notes on the Gogo reflect far more sympathy with the tribe than might be expected considering the anxiety he had experienced in their country. Their curiosity and interest in the caravan were greater than that of other tribes, and he judged this to be "a proof of improbability,—of power to progress". Surprisingly he found them the best dressed of the tribes he met, cotton being the rule, even with children, and a skin garment a rarity. He reports them as being averse to selling their own people into slavery, again an unusual feature of the tribes on this route. He concludes that it would be difficult after midday to find a chief who was not either drinking or drunk.

A week's stores had to be laid in now to traverse the unpeopled and reputedly difficult country between Mdaburo and Mgongo Tembo. In fact the journey turned out somewhat less arduous than was expected although Speke again fell sick and had to revert to riding one of the few surviving donkeys. Four boxes of ammunition and the bullet moulds were lost on the way but on 25th October Mgongo Tembo was reached, and the caravan had the satisfaction of knowing that the onward journey, through Unyanyembe to Kazeh, would be in easier and friendlier country. The Arab caravan, grating at further delay, now went on ahead; a week later Burton found it stranded for lack of porters.

Easy stages now took them to Tura, the border of Unyanyembe, and on to Rubuga where they were hospitably received by Maula, the chief, most treacherously murdered four years later by the Arabs of Kazeh. One last danger remained, the Kigwa forest; Manwa*, chief of this area, had robbed a number of Arab caravans passing through his territory and Burton decided to go through the forest at night. The Baluchi escort was sent ahead but one of the porters was nevertheless attacked and robbed of his load, which contained, amongst other things, journals and botanical collections. Without further incident the caravan entered the Arab trading centre of Kazeh on 7th November, and was given a friendly welcome by the Arab merchants.

*His depredations eventually led to the devastating war with the Arabs of Kazeh which was being fought when Speke and Grant arrived there in 1861.

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Arabs from Oman had first come to Unyanyembe from the coast about 1830 and ten years later had reached Ujiji. The two chief trading settlements were at Puge and Msene, the latter being the preserve of coastal rather than Omani Arabs. At Puge, some twenty-five miles north-east of Kazeh, they became involved in quarrels between local chiefs and were forced to abandon their settlement. Snay bin Amir and an Indian Khoja, Musa Mzuri, about 1852 moved from Puge to Kazeh, then uninhabited, and founded the new settlement. Burton estimated the number of Arabs, when he visited Kazeh, at about twenty-five, but points out that, since they were trading visitors rather than colonists and constantly moving with their caravans of trade-goods between the coast and their up-country depots, their numbers were constantly changing. At Kazeh they were on friendly terms with Chief Fundikira of Unyanyembe whose headquarters were at Itetemia and had established themselves in large and strongly-built *tembe* opening onto a central courtyard and capable of defence. Here again they presently became involved in local politics and when Speke returned three years later the Arabs were constantly engaged in fights with the Nyamwezi.

Musa Mzuri, probably the earliest explorer of Unyanyembe, was away on a trading journey but his agent, Snay bin Amir, gave Burton and Speke every help while at Kazeh. Burton's fluent Arabic and rich knowledge of Arab life, after the pilgrimage, here served him well. It was from Snay that Burton first learnt that the "Sea of Ujiji", the "Sea of Nyassa" and the "Sea of Ukerewe" were three separate lakes. Speke goes further and says "I asked Snay, through Captain Burton, whether or not a river ran out of that lake? To which he replied he thought the lake was the source of the Jub river; . . . Captain Burton and I argued that we thought the lake in question, which was the Victoria N'yanza, would more likely prove to be the source of the Nile"

At Kazeh the expedition stayed for a month and recouped stores and trade-goods. The rains started in mid-November, and Burton, who had paid off his porters on arrival there, had the greatest difficulty in finding replacements in the cultivation season. His followers got fever and presently Burton himself succumbed to a severe attack which lasted a month. The Baluchi and the "Sons of Ramji" caused constant trouble and finally Burton, in desperation, and despite his illness and the shortage of porters, decided that only by moving on could peace be restored. He sent Speke forward to Zimbili on 5th December to prepare a camp and three days later was himself carried there in a *machela* or litter. Here news reached him that the loads left at Kaole, to be forwarded by the Hindus, had at last arrived. He sent Speke back to collect them and went on through Yombo, where he had the good fortune to hire twenty porters, to Irora. Speke joined him there on 22nd December with the loads from Kaole; these had been heavily pilfered, no mail had been forwarded and, worst of all, the drugs, for which Burton had asked, had not been sent. The caravan moved on the next day to East Ulyankulu, Burton still carried in a *machela*; here Speke's gang of porters, newly recruited at Kazeh, complained of the slowness of their progress and wanted to go by the direct route to Msene. Speke went with them, and was joined by Burton at Msene on 30th December. Burton had not been able to remount his donkey till Christmas Day and the Baluchi and "Sons of Ramji", believing him to be dying, had behaved at their worst.

*"What led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile", page 198.

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At Msene twelve days were spent; although most of the Arab traders were away there was a large number of Swahili and Tusi about the settlement and the caravan was loath to leave the security they felt here and face imagined dangers farther west. Not least of these was the possibility of meeting Watuta raiders. Both Mabruki and Bombay were with difficulty persuaded to continue and at Sorora the "Sons of Ramji" had so far lagged behind the rest of the caravan that Burton dismissed them, and sent them with a letter to Snay at Kazeh to return them to the coast. Of Watuta nothing was seen although they had been active in this area. These were in fact a part of the celebrated Ngoni tribe which left Natal about 1824, fought and raided their way north, crossed the Zambezi in 1835 and reached Ufipa in south-west Tanganyika. Here, with the death of one of their leaders in 1845, the tribe split into groups, of which one, under Chief Tuta continued north, crossed the Malagarasi, laid waste to Buha and in 1858 attacked the villages of Ujiji but was beaten off. Part of this group went as far north as Lake Victoria, moving south again, and engaging in war with the Nyamwezi and later the Germans until they were finally defeated and driven back into the Runzewe area of the present Kahama District, where they settled and where their descendants remain to this day.

On 18th January the caravan reached Kajjanjeri and here Burton became seriously ill; he suffered from partial paralysis of the limbs, which he believed to be caused by malaria, and for nearly a year was unable to walk any distance, while the numbness in his hands and feet took even longer to wear off. He refused to remain here and after three days insisted on the caravan moving on, being again carried in a *machela*. A caravan guard, who had joined him, said that his illness was caused by eating poisoned mushrooms and that in ten days he would be well; whatever the cause, he did in fact remount his donkey on the tenth day. Speke, also, was ill, suffering from inflammation of the eyes which induced almost total blindness; the Goan servants, as well as Burton, contracted this in lesser degree. And so, beset by illness and with constant portage troubles, the caravan dragged slowly on through Msenga, Uganza and Ukunda (Lukunda in Burton's text) to the valley of the Malagarasi river.

At Wanyika they paid *hongo* of £50 to the envoys of the chief of Uvinza and on 3rd February reached the river and saw a herd of elephants disappear into the reeds on the river banks. The river-crossing was made in bark canoes without mishap and they camped on the farther bank. For the next four days they travelled through country, once populous and cultivated but now laid waste by the Watuta, till they reached Jambeho. In this, the Uvinza area, excellent salt was produced and bartered far afield. During these last stages to the lake it was difficult to buy food in a country which had been so devastated, and long marches had to be made to reach more plentiful districts; this brought a fresh outbreak of desertions by the porters. At last on 13th February they climbed a steep hill and paused on the top to rest; and there below them stretched the waters of Lake Tanganyika, "an expanse of the lightest and softest blue, in breadth varying from thirty to thirty-five miles. . . . The background in front is a high and broken wall of steel-coloured mountain . . . Truly it was a revel for soul and sight! Forgetting toils, dangers, and the doubtfulness of return, I felt willing to endure double what I had endured; and all the party seemed to join with me in joy". So wrote Burton. Speke, less fortunate, describes his bitter

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disappointment at seeing nothing but mist and glare before his eyes. "From the summit of the eastern horn the lovely Tanganyika Lake could be seen in all its glory by everybody but myself". They dropped down to a lakeside village in Ukaranga and the next morning were rowed, in an Arab boat, to Ujiji.

Burton, from Arab descriptions, had expected a town and harbour at least the equal of Zanzibar; instead he found a hole in the reeds which led to a flat landing place on a shingle beach and the "town" no more than "a few scattered hovels of miserable construction, surrounded by fields of sorghum and sugar-cane. . . ." Ujiji at this time was in fact an area consisting of scattered villages under the jurisdiction of Mwami Rusimbi, the Chief of the Ha, whose headquarters were at Kalinzi and who was the last of the Ha chiefs to rule over Ujiji. Kannena, a former slave, was the local headman; drunken and dishonest, he was to cause the expedition much trouble. For the Wajiji Burton had little good to say; "a race of burly barbarians", "as ready with a blow as with a word", "they are never sober when they can be drunk" and "are considered by the Arabs to be the most troublesome race in these black regions".

Lodged in an Arab *tembe* by the lake-shore Burton lay for the first fortnight too blind to read or write and too ill to converse, while Speke, suffering from a painful ophthalmia, was in little better shape. But, with dwindling stocks of trade-goods, time was against them. They needed a dhow to explore the lake and Speke set out on 3rd March by canoe, to cross over to the western shore, to try and hire one from an Arab trader who lived on Kasenge island. He was away for nearly a month and, though hospitably received by the Arab, he returned, to Burton's annoyance, without the dhow, and deaf in one ear from a beetle which was lodged there. Burton was now much recovered and they hired two large canoes and set off on 10th April, despite many difficulties made by Kannena, for the north end of the lake. They coasted up the east shore to Wafanya, the northern limit of Buha, and, for fear of the Rundi further north, crossed the lake to the peninsular of Ubwari, which they took to be an island, and continued up the western shore till they reached Uvira. Their chief object on this voyage was to discover whether the Rusisi river, which they had heard flowed from the lake, could be the Nile. At Uvira Burton learnt from the chief's sons that they knew the river and had visited it, but were unanimous that it flowed into, not out of, the lake*. This was a sore disappointment to both men; they were unable to reach the river as their crews flatly refused to go any further north and Burton was now suffering from an ulcerated tongue which made speech almost impossible. They turned south and, despite the rain and the difficulties attendant on having Kannena travelling with them, they reached Ujiji again on 13th May, both greatly improved in health.

Burton's stay at Ujiji had produced the usual detailed anthropological and geographical notes; just as at Kazehe the settlement was placed with great accuracy on the map, so at Ujiji, but in the altitude of the lake Speke's single reading with an inaccurate thermometer places it nearly 700 feet too low. It is interesting to find that the technique of flare-fishing at night on the lake has changed little in a hundred years and that even in those days the dried product, *dagaa*, was exported

*Final confirmation of this was not forthcoming till December 1871 when Livingstone and Stanley reached the mouth of the river.

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as far afield as Kazeh. Tsetse Burton found continuously from the Usagara mountains to the lake and a specimen which he took to England was identified as *G. morsitans*; he noted that in cleared, cultivated, ground it was not seen and remarks, "It is difficult to conceive the purpose for which this plague was placed in a land so eminently fitted for breeding cattle and for agriculture, which without animals cannot be greatly extended, except as an exercise for human ingenuity to remove" and adds that its exterminator will be "the greatest benefactor that Central Africa ever knew".

The expedition's resources were now running very low. Burton realised that any exploration of the southern waters of the lake was no longer possible and pressed on with arrangements for the return to Unyanyembe. A few days before their departure a caravan arrived bringing the first mail they had received since they left the coast, also some trade-goods and a letter from Snay to tell Burton that he was holding further loads for him against his return to Kazeh. They were now adequately stocked for the return journey and left Ujiji on 26th May. Burton and Speke were both fit again and the caravan moved steadily towards Unyanyembe without incident; they followed a more northerly route, through the foothills of Buha, their porters and followers accompanied by slaves they had bought at Ujiji, many of whom seized the first opportunity to escape. The Nyamwezi guide who had led the expedition from the coast, finding a slave girl whom he had bought was foot-sore and lagging, cut off her head to prevent her falling into the hands of another.

Instead of making the long northern detour to Msene, the caravan held due east to Irora, and at Yombo met porters bringing another eight loads for them, as well as their second packet of mail. In this Burton learnt of the death of his father the previous year. Little has come down to us except the idiosyncrasies of Burton's parents; in fairness to them it should be recorded that Burton, throughout his life a stern critic, used to say of them "Nice to be able to feel proud of one's parents".

On 20th June the caravan entered Kazeh again and was welcomed by the Arab merchants. Reaction set in and many of its members were again laid low with fever, but by 9th July Speke was well enough to start for the northern lake with ten of the Baluchi escort, twenty porters and supplies for six weeks. Speke first stated that Burton did not come on this journey because he was busy making preparations for the return journey to the coast;* he later changed this to Burton being "most unfortunately quite done up, but most graciously consented to wait with the Arabs and recruit health"†, and finally to Burton saying ". . . we had done enough, and he would do no more"‡. Burton's own explanation was that he was occupied preparing for the homeward journey and that a visit to the northern lake, to form estimates of its size, was a fitting task for Speke whose presence at Tabora he found an embarrassment. In short the two men had got thoroughly on each other's nerves. Burton's decision was a very natural one in view of their shortage of trade-goods, and the amount of work needed to refit the expedition, but in the event it was to have tragic consequences.

*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, 24th January 1859.

†Blackwood, October 1859.

‡"What led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile" 1864.

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Speke was away for six weeks during which time Burton overhauled the caravan's equipment and completed arrangements for the return journey. Had he had more trade-goods when he was at Ujiji he would have sailed to the south end of the lake and gone from there to Kilwa. He was still anxious to visit Kilwa and asked the Kazeh Arabs for their advice on the best route; but they advised against his attempting the journey. He now occupied himself with compiling Swahili, Zaramo and Nyamwezi vocabularies, until on 25th August, Speke returned and confirmed that he had reached the lake. On 30th July he had first seen the southern end of Smith Sound, then followed up the eastern side of Mwanza Gulf, until, early on 3rd August, the great expanse of the southern waters of the lake became visible. He remained at Mwanza until 6th August* when he began the return journey to Kazeh. Immediately on arrival he told Burton that he was confident that he had discovered the source of the White Nile. Burton in his travels was an accurate and well-informed observer; to this he added a great deal of knowledge in a wide range of subjects. Indeed none of the early explorers of East Africa was as well qualified as he was for the task. He was moreover, as his writings reflect, something of a pedant. Speke's claim therefore, supported by intense personal conviction, rather than any geographical proof, shocked him profoundly. He was quick, too quick, to pour scorn on the idea, to remind Speke of other inaccuracies in his map-work and the matter at once became a personal issue. They agreed to avoid the subject for the time being and to push on with their return journey.

In this the chief difficulty was going to be the obtaining of sufficient food for the caravan. Early in September Musa Mzuri, one of the founders of the Kazeh settlement, returned from a long trade-journey to the north. He had first visited Unyanyembe thirty years previously and had travelled extensively in Tanganyika and Uganda. Despite this and his success as a trader, Burton describes him as far more ignorant of Africa and all things African than the Arabs. Musa proved most friendly and helpful to both Burton and Speke; he and Snay were the last of the Kazeh traders they saw, for they came out to their first camp east of the settlement to bid them farewell. Speke was to meet them again when he returned to Kazeh in 1861, but Snay was killed in March of that year and Musa died four months later.

The caravan did not get under way until the end of September and moved slowly eastward with continual delays. At the end of the second march from Kazeh Speke became seriously ill with what appears to have been pleurisy and pneumonia. Half delirious, he poured out to Burton a long string of grievances which he had harboured against him; trivial incidents, under the stresses of sickness and climate, had become magnified and distorted into major injustices. Burton himself was not fit and the two men for the next fortnight were each carried in a *machela*. By the end of October they were much recovered and the caravan got into its stride; it took them three weeks to cross Ugogo and they reached Ugogi early in December to learn that their former route through the Rubeho mountains was closed. They now struck further south in a wide deviation through Kisanga. Here Kiringawana, a Nyamwezi, after long residence in Zanzibar, had become chief of the area and controlled the route

*He recorded the altitude of the lake with remarkable accuracy as 3,740 feet above sea-level; an error of some 20 feet only.

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south-east to Kilwa. Although he was friendly, Burton could not obtain his permission to go on from there to Kilwa and they continued across the southern end of the Mkata plains to Zungomero. Burton was now determined to proceed to Kilwa, which from this point was little further than the Bagamoyo coast. But he had reckoned without his porters who, as soon as the proposal was made, deserted in a body.

For three weeks the caravan was held up at Zungomero waiting for more porters, who were finally obtained from a caravan coming from up-country, and on 21st January they moved on again, abandoning the attempt to reach Kilwa by the overland route. Twelve marches took them to Kunduchi* on the coast which they reached on 3rd February 1859. After so long and eventful an expedition, so much sickness and difficulty with porters, such constant shortage of supplies and trade-goods one would expect Burton to hurry thankfully to Zanzibar and take the first ship back to England. He did, of course, nothing of the sort. The R.G.S. had asked him to go to Kilwa and to Kilwa he was determined to go. The day he reached Kunduchi he found a dhow bound for Zanzibar, embarked his Baluchi escort in it with delight, and directed a letter to the British Consul asking him to consign him a ship to explore the Rufiji and visit Kilwa. He then settled down at Kunduchi to await its arrival and passed the time writing his reflections on the East African as he found him.

Stanley on his first visit to Tanganyika was to express his surprise at finding the country and people so much more amiable than Burton's writings had led him to expect; he had imagined the interior to be "an immense swamp, curtained round about with the fever" In fairness to Burton it must be remembered that Stanley travelled a dozen years later, with a full purse and excellent health, and never knew the worries and uncertainties to which Burton was subject, as leader of an expedition under-financed and first in the field. Burton saw the African, as he met him on the slave route, at his worst. "He unites the incapacity of infancy with the unpliance of age; . . . he is cut off from the pleasures of memory and the world of fancy is altogether unknown to him . . . the slave of impulse, passion and instinct, faintly modified by sentiment, but ignorant of intellectual discipline The main characteristic . . . is . . . selfishness. He is exceedingly improvident; . . . his wants still await creation, . . . consequently improvement has no hold upon him. . . . Much of this moral degradation must be attributed to the working, through centuries, of the slave trade; the tribes are no longer as nature made them; and from their connection with strangers they have derived nothing but corruption".

Dr. Roscher, the young German explorer, arrived at Kunduchi while Burton and Speke were awaiting a ship. Although the first European either had seen since they started on their expedition, his self-confidence and his criticism of other explorers riled Burton; his independence was to cost him his life some months later near Lake Nyassa†. Meanwhile the British Consul at Zanzibar had dispatched a dhow to take them south and on 10th February they set sail, touching at Mafia, the Rufiji delta and finally Kilwa, where they found the town

*A few miles south was the fishing village of Msizima where some three years later the Sultan of Zanzibar was to found the new settlement and port of Dar es Salaam.

†Speke and Grant were in Zanzibar in 1860 when his murderers were beheaded outside the Fort.

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ravaged with cholera. Burton paints a grim picture of the desolation caused by the disease which had swept down the east coast, was said to have caused 10,000 deaths in Zanzibar and reached as far inland as Ugogo.

After visiting the ruins at Kilwa Kivinje, Burton turned north again and reached Zanzibar on 4th March. Here all was in turmoil. The Sultan's elder brother at Muscat was preparing a fleet to invade Zanzibar and depose his brother; the latter was organizing his forces to resist the expected invasion, no easy task in a town where deaths from cholera had in the last few weeks reached 250 a day and cost the islands some 30,000 lives. Burton and Speke were received by Rigby, the new British Consul, who had arrived to take up his duties in Zanzibar the previous July*. He was now preoccupied with the crisis which faced the Sultan and the arrival of Burton and Speke at this moment was something of an embarrassment to him; aware of this they left for England as soon as they could. This was the same Rigby whom Burton had out-distanced in a Gujarati examination sixteen years before and the old rivalry flared into a strong mutual dislike at Zanzibar.

One is tempted to speculate on what caused the breach between two men whose interests and background had been so similar. Rigby spoke fluent Persian and was two years in Bushire, finally becoming Military Commandant there. A fleeting gibe at "Mirza Abdullah of Bushire", who had never been to Bushire, would have been more than sufficient to provoke Burton in his present state of exhaustion. Or did they quarrel over the slave-trade, for the abolition of which Rigby, a man of much compassion, worked so hard? Burton, with a strong romantic streak in his nature, combined with this the not uncommon paradox of dislike and distrust of sentiment. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that, whatever his inner feelings may have been, the humanitarian approach to the suppression of slavery evoked little sympathy in his written works; on the contrary, he remarks that the horrors of the slave-trade rarely meet the eye in East Africa and that the fat, lazy, slave is often seen stretched at ease in the shade, whilst the master toils in the sun. He was equally convinced of the necessity for abolition, but on economic rather than humanitarian grounds. This attitude could well have exasperated Rigby who had the practical problems of slavery at his doorstep and did not hesitate to deal with them with a firm hand. Whatever the causes, the animosity between the two men was, and remained, very evident. This, from Burton's point of view was unfortunate; Rigby was highly thought of at the India Office, enjoyed a distinguished reputation for his work against slavery and was for many years on the Council of the Royal Geographical Society. In the dispute between Burton and Speke his sympathies were entirely with the latter; and when, after Burton's departure, some of the followers of the expedition complained that they had not been fully paid, Rigby reported the matter to Government recommending payment. Burton replied that he had paid them neither more nor less than they were entitled to, but Rigby's recommendation was accepted, and another black mark entered against Burton's name.

Towards the end of March Burton and Speke sailed from Zanzibar, reaching Aden on 16th April. Here they stayed with Burton's old friend, Dr. Steinhäuser, who had tried so hard to join the expedition at Zanzibar. Speke left Aden ahead

*From July 1857, when Col. Hamerton died, till Rigby's arrival a year later there was no British Consul in Zanzibar. As a result orders from Burton sent to Zanzibar for trade-goods and, more particularly, drugs when he was in Tanganyika were ignored, delayed or improperly carried out.

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of Burton and reached England on 9th May; according to Burton the last words he ever spoke to him were an assurance that he would await Burton's return to announce the results of the expedition.

Burton arrived in England on 21st May to find that Speke, the day after his return, had called at the Royal Geographical Society; he had been given the command of a new expedition to explore the Victoria Nyanza, had lectured at Burlington House and was everywhere being hailed as the discoverer of the source of the Nile. This latter had captured the public imagination, just as in later years the Pole and Everest were to do, and aroused interest out of all proportion to its geographical importance. The detailed information which the expedition had brought back concerning a vast new area attracted little attention; the claim, as yet supported by no proof, that the Nile sprang from the Victoria Nyanza created intense excitement.

Burton, hard hit in health* and purse (he had had to find nearly £1,400 over and above the grant of £1,000 made by the R.G.S.), found the ground swept from under his feet; he at once set to work on his account of the expedition and it was published the following year. Ten years later he was to admit that this was written "smarting under injury", that "much might have been omitted and that more might have been modified" but that he could "find nothing in it unfair, unreasonable or in any way unfaithful". It remains a great record of a memorable expedition.

One wonders whether Burton appreciated the full significance of what his expedition had started when he later wrote, "wholly ignorant of the country, its language and trade, its manners and customs, preceded only by a French naval officer, who was murdered shortly after he landed on the coast, and but feebly supported by my late lamented friend Lieutenant-Colonel Hamerton, Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar, whom nearing death prevented from carrying out the best of intentions, I led the most disorderly of caravans into the heart of Eastern Africa, and discovered the Tanganyika and the Nyanza lakes. I brought home sufficient information to smooth the path for all who chose to follow me".

In the matter of the leadership of the second expedition and much of the glory of the first it is hard to escape the conclusion that Speke had pressed button "B" and pocketed Burton's coppers. It is ironical to reflect that in the course of six years Burton had now carried out three major feats of travel, any one of which would have established his fame, and yet, through his own uncompromising nature and the accidents of mistiming which seem to have dogged him during these years, he had achieved rather more notoriety than fame. The Tanganyika expedition marked the last of his great journeys of exploration, though he remained, to the end of his days, an indefatigable traveller.

FERNANDO PO, SANTOS AND DAMASCUS: 1861-1871

In April 1860, his leave having been further extended, Burton left England on a visit to America; before going he gave an ultimatum to Isabel Arundell that she must decide, once and for all before his return, whether, despite parental opposition, she would marry him. He was away for nine months, visited Salt Lake City, where he met Brigham Young, the law-giver of the Mormons, made a

*"He was a mere skeleton, with brown yellow skin hanging in bags, his eyes protruding, and his lips drawn away from his teeth" (Isabel Arundell's description of him on his return).



Richard Burton in 1862
(aged 41)

1860-64

detailed study of Mormonism, crossed the Rocky Mountains, went on to San Francisco and thence home by Panama. For the Mormons he foretold a great future, made a study of Red Indian scalping and remarked of American soldiers that, "after a sound flogging, for the purpose of preparing their minds to admit the fact that all men are not equal, they might be used by sea or land wherever hard, downright fighting is required".

In December he was back in England and the following month married Isabel Arundell. They lived for some months in London, Isabel taking Burton on a round of town and country-house visits which she hoped would help him to build up influential friendships. After all her hard work, including dinner with the Prime Minister (Lord Palmerston), it must have been somewhat disappointing to Isabel to find that the only lasting friendship Burton made was with Swinburne, then in his twenties, and busy shaking a rebel fist at Christianity, Victorian convention and all that Isabel held most dear.

Burton was only gazetted as Captain shortly after his marriage; and it was already apparent that the transfer of the Indian Army from the old Court of Directors to the India Office was unlikely to bring any change for the better in his army career. He accordingly accepted the offer of the post of British Consul at Fernando Po and a salary of £700 a year; not a princely sum, but a great deal more than his Captain's pay. He asked at the same time that his name be allowed to remain on the Army List. This was refused and at a stroke of the pen his nineteen years of army service was lost. He suffered another serious blow at about the same time; the loss of all his books and manuscripts in Grindlay's fire. This included a large collection of Oriental works which he had made during his many years in the East.

Undismayed at starting a new career at the age of forty, he sailed for West Africa in August 1861, leaving Isabel in England. At Fernando Po he was to remain, apart from a brief leave in England at the end of 1862, for three years. His consular duties were not exacting and he travelled widely, collecting a mass of information about the countries he visited. He made journeys to Abeokuta, and to the Cameroon mountains, went up the Congo and Gaboon rivers, and was sent on a mission to Abomey, the capital of Dahomey, to remonstrate with the King against the slave trade and the annual "customs", at which numbers of his subjects were killed. If this last mission achieved rather less than the Foreign Office had hoped, at least it afforded Burton an opportunity for careful study of the people of Dahomey and resulted in one of his best anthropological works.

In August 1864 he arrived in England on leave. Speke and Grant had returned from Africa the previous summer and in January Speke published his "Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile"; this was shortly followed by "What led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile", a reprint of contributions made to Blackwood's Magazine by Speke in 1859 and 1860, describing the Somaliland and Tanganyika expeditions on which he had accompanied Burton. The latter, since the publication of his own book on the Lake Regions, had, except for a solitary letter to the *Athenaeum*, avoided all reference to Speke or the Nile controversy. But Speke's two books were too much for him and in September 1864 he went to Bath to meet Speke at the British Association Meeting. Burton's chief point was that the Speke-Grant expedition, by failing to follow the Nile continuously from Lake Victoria, had not proved that it was the Nile.



Isabel Burton in 1869
(aged 38)

1864-71

Speke's death on the afternoon of the first day of the meeting forestalled the long-awaited discussion, and the Nile controversy was not finally ended till Stanley's exploration of the lake ten years later.

Burton was now offered the post of Consul at Santos in Brazil, a transfer which he and Isabel welcomed. Before his departure the Anthropological Society of London gave a farewell dinner in his honour, at which Lord Stanley proposed his health in a speech which sketched Burton's career as both explorer and anthropologist; after alluding to the comparative unimportance of a river's source in geography he continued, "the real test of the value of this kind of work is, what is the quantity of land previously unknown which the discoverer has gone through, and which he has opened up to the knowledge of civilized man? Judged by that test, I do not hesitate to say that the African Expedition of 1856 has been the most important of our time".

In May 1865 Burton sailed for Santos; in August Isabel, carrying out the first of the many orders of "pay, pack and follow" which were to be given in the ensuing years, set out to join him. Burton's duties at Santos were not heavy: he had a Vice-Consul to carry out the routine work, divided his time between Santos and Sao Paulo, eighty miles inland, and had ample opportunity to indulge his love of travel. He undertook one prolonged journey through the mining areas of Minas Geraes and down the Sao Francisco river to the coast, but severe illness, early in 1868, killed his love of Brazil and he sent Isabel home to try and engineer a transfer for him. He was granted sick leave and instructed by Lord Stanley, then Foreign Secretary, to use it in visiting Paraguay to report on the war in which Brazil and Paraguay had been engaged for many months. Burton set out via Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo, up the Parana and Paraguay rivers to Asuncion. After making his examination of the battlefields he crossed the Andes into Chile, went on to Peru and was in Lima when he heard that Isabel had succeeded beyond all expectations and he had been appointed Consul at Damascus. He left for England at once, arriving early in 1869.

Damascus, with a salary of £1,000 a year, was a stepping-stone to higher posts. Success here could lead to Morocco or Constantinople; Burton and Isabel were delighted. The former set off for a holiday on the Continent with Swinburne and Lord Leighton and was presently joined by Isabel. By October Burton had taken up his duties in Damascus and Isabel arrived shortly afterwards. For a while there ensued the happiest period of their life. Again Burton had a Vice-Consul to perform his routine duties and was free to travel. With a house at Salahiyyah, on the outskirts of Damascus, and another at Bludan in the mountains, some miles to the north, they entertained much and made lasting friendships with two remarkable personalities; Abd el Kadir, the former leader of the struggle for independence in Algeria, a man of wide learning, and Jane Digby el Mezrab, formerly Lady Ellenborough, now in her sixties and married to a Bedawin sheikh. Often these two joined the Burtons on the rooftop of their Salahiyyah house and the conversation would range for hour after hour up and down the eastern world. Then Burton and Isabel would be off into the desert on an archaeological trip, mapping the little-known country away from the main roads.

But these pleasant days were not to last. Damascus, under a corrupt Turkish governor, was a web of intrigue; Burton, honest, able, tactless and completely uncompromising, tried to slash his way through this. The fact that he was generally

1871-72

right was offset in the eyes of the Foreign Office by the embarrassing number of complaints which followed his unusually direct attack of abuses. In August 1871 he was recalled and superseded. This was almost certainly the greatest set-back he ever suffered. Deeply mortified and greatly worried about the future he returned at once to England leaving Isabel to "pay, pack and follow".

Burton was now aged fifty; during the last ten years his expenditure was usually double the amount of his pay and the small patrimony he had received at Col. Burton's death was almost exhausted. There was grave doubt whether he would be offered a further appointment. Nevertheless he and Isabel harried the Foreign Office and public opinion began to rally in his favour; at length the Foreign Secretary relented and in June 1872 offered him the Consulate of Trieste. It had been a frightening year but the tide had turned again. Admittedly Trieste was only worth £700 a year, but there was a Vice-Consul.

At the end of 1871 Burton was called as a witness for the Claimant at the first Tichborne Trial. His evidence was damaging to the Claimant, and is not without wider interest. Thomas Wright in his "Life of Sir Richard Burton" quotes*, apparently verbatim, a number of sentences from Burton's evidence. Through the kindness of the firm of shorthand writers who have the full record I have obtained a transcript of Burton's evidence and find that not a single sentence attributed to him by Wright was in fact uttered by Burton. Two of his other biographers quote a highly coloured extract from the diaries of Wilfred Scawen Blunt† which contains the following sentences: ". . . the notorious Sir Roger Tichborne, in whose company Burton had arrived and with whom he chiefly consorted during his two months' stay at Buenos Aires. They were a strange disreputable couple. Burton was at that time at the lowest point I fancy of his whole career . . ." Now Burton was quite palpably not at the lowest point of his career at this time; as for the rest, Burton giving evidence under oath, can speak for himself. "I met the Plaintiff, not at Buenos Aires, but at a place called Villa Nueva . . . between Rosario and Cordova. . . . We passed one evening together. . . ." Cross-examined by Sir John Duke Coleridge: "That was the first, and, except for the purpose of seeing him in Court, perhaps the last interview you had with him?" Burton: "The first and last." So much for the accuracy of Messrs. Wright and Blunt.

While still awaiting the decision of the Foreign Office in 1872 Burton was invited by a mining concern to visit Iceland and report on some sulphur deposits; he accepted with alacrity, was away from June till September, and presently wrote a two-volume account of the visit under the title "Ultima Thule". At the Royal Geographical Society he had a last brush with Rigby when the latter contradicted him at a meeting; "I never saw Richard so angry in my life" wrote Isabel.

TRIESTE: 1872-1890

In October Burton left for Trieste. His biographers make much of this exile to a third-rate seaport and of Government's neglect of one of its greatest servants. But looking back over his long career, nineteen years in the army and twenty-nine

*Vol. I, p.227.

†It was this passage, so at variance with my own estimation of Burton, which prompted me to seek the transcript of his evidence in the Tichborne Trial.

1872-90

years in the consular service, it is difficult to think of two other professions in which he could so freely have indulged his own inclinations and great talents with such little interference from those in authority. Leave was readily available for the explorations undertaken in his army days; later, as a Consul, with age and worsening health, the travels became less important and the emphasis moved to scholarship. For both he was allowed ample time and opportunity. Indeed the Burtons, Isabel in particular, had so berated the Foreign Office over neglect of Burton and England's undischarged debt to him that the Trieste consulate, especially during the latter years, became tacitly regarded as a sinecure for the distinguished services he had rendered to his country. He himself would strongly have resented the word sinecure; for him the consulate of Trieste was in effect a research scholarship and a travelling fellowship. But as usual the funds were not quite sufficient for his needs. He toyed with various projects for increasing his earnings, from gold-mining to the manufacture of "Captain Burton's Tonic Bitters", which, amongst other virtues claimed for them, "completely took away the consequences of drinking overnight". But he was no businessman, and fortunately for posterity, if not for his Vice-Consul, it was to his pen that he again turned with increased energy.

His output was as remarkable as the variety of his subjects*; indeed the extent of his publications during the years 1872-1890, when he was at Trieste, suggest that his time was now wholly devoted to scholarship and the days of travel were over; nothing could be further from the truth. He went six times to England, spent a long holiday in India, went on three abortive mining expeditions, twice to Midian† and once with Lovett Cameron to West Africa, twice visited Egypt and North Africa, twice spent a holiday in Switzerland, once in Malta and made innumerable excursions into Italy and Austria. Indeed, during the last years, he was constantly travelling.

Burton, despite his official position, remained a stern and by no means silent critic of anything of which he disapproved, and this included all too frequently his Government's policies. To say that he believed in "gun-boat diplomacy" is something of an understatement. "I hate half-measures," he wrote, "and I would have bought the Canal wholly out and out, and put a fortress at each end, and taken a mild nominal toll to show my right. I would annex Egypt and protect Syria, occupy the Dardanelles, and after that let the whole world wrangle as much as it pleased. What is the use of having a Navy superior to all the united navies of the rest of the world, if we can't do this?" These and similar sentiments twenty years previously would have earned him a severe reprimand. But now they were allowed to pass; Burton had become a character and he was accepted as a celebrity. He was just as uncompromising as he had been all his life, but more people were beginning to realize the truth of King Gelele's remark to him at Abomey that he was "a good man but too angry"; and a growing circle of friends was finding that beneath the anger there was a kindly nature. On his visits to

*At Appendix I is given a chronological list of the books Burton wrote. This takes no account of the immense number of articles which he contributed to the journals of learned societies or of letters to the press on a wide range of subjects.

†In the course of which he sought out his old friend Haji Wali, with whom he had stayed in the *wakalah* in Cairo before starting on the Pilgrimage.



**Richard Burton in his early fifties
(from the painting by Lord Leighton)**

(Reproduced by kind permission of the Director of the National Portrait Gallery, London)

1872-90

England he was increasingly lionized, though his popularity never extended to the general public. The nation liked its heroes to be godly men; Mr. Gladstone and General Gordon*, but decidedly not Captain Burton.

His biographers are fond of referring to him as living out of his age, as being a typical Elizabethan. And yet, was he? The characteristics of Victorian England, that tremendous industry, that robust self-confidence, that thirst for, and pride in, knowledge (reflected in the innumerable museums, dictionaries, encyclopaedias and schools which came into being during the century) are predominant in Burton. It has been said that the first half of the nineteenth century was the age of the all-rounder, the second half the age of the expert. Burton contrived to be both and combined, in unusual degree, the qualities of man-of-action and scholar. He seems to me essentially a product of the Victorian rather than the Elizabethan age. Frank Harris, comparing him to Raleigh, wrote, "Young Lord Pembroke once smacked Raleigh's face; no sane man would have thought of striking Burton."

In the 'seventies Lord Leighton's portrait of Burton was hung in the Academy; to be painted by the P.R.A., that paragon of all the Victorian virtues, was distinction indeed. Georgiana Stisted, Burton's niece, refers to it in her "True Life. . . ." as a "magnificent portrait—Burton's living image" and then adds, "With Burton's marked look of race he never could have been taken, unless purposely disguised, for other than an English gentleman". One almost hopes she saw Muther's comment on Leighton, "Undoubtedly there has never been anything upon his canvas which could be supposed ungentlemanlike . . . the result is a classicity foregoing the applause of artists, but all the more in accordance with the taste of a refined circle of young ladies"†. A brief life of Burton appeared in 1880, was brought up to date and reprinted in 1886, and in the following year Hitchman's biography of him was published in two volumes. But the honour which brought the greatest joy to both Burton and Isabel was Lord Salisbury's telegram addressed to "Sir Richard Burton" informing him of his knighthood. Burton characteristically exclaimed "I shall not accept it," but did, with pride.

For Isabel this was the culmination of all that she had worked for; a timely reward for Burton at a time when she was deeply worried about his health. At first, with all the confidence of a good sergeant-major, she had applied herself to care of the poor and prevention of cruelty to animals. She had done it at Sao Paulo and Damascus and now at Trieste her immense energy was fully employed. But presently she was beset by a new anxiety. From the time she had first met Burton she had devoted her whole life to him; she had fought his battles for him, pleaded with authority for him and fussed over his health. And now his health was beginning to break down; even worse, so was hers, at a time when she most needed it. She was suffering from cancer; a fact which she never allowed Burton to know. Finally she was no longer able to give him the attention he needed and a resident doctor had to be engaged to look after him. For her courage and devotion Isabel has not, I think, received the credit she deserved. This is partly

*Gordon, surprisingly, was a great admirer of Burton and offered him £5,000 a year to give up Trieste and take command of Darfur. Burton replied "You and I are too much alike. I could not serve under you, nor you under me".

†"The History of Modern Painting" by Richard Muther (transl. Hillier) London 1896, Vol. III pp. 118 and 121.

1872-90

due to the public ill-feeling generated by her burning of the "Perfumed Garden" manuscript on which Burton was working at the time of his death, and even more to the malicious attacks made on her by Miss Stisted in her popular "True Life . . .", published immediately after Isabel's death.

Much nonsense has been written about the "burnt manuscript". It was a manual of Arabian erotology which Burton had first translated and printed for private circulation in 1886, issuing a second edition in the same year. He was working on a third edition with expanded notes and knew that Isabel disapproved of it. At his death he left her all his works and entire discretion as to their disposal. When he died she was offered a considerable sum for the unfinished manuscript and could ill-afford to refuse it. She did refuse it and burnt the manuscript. I do not think that anyone would seriously charge Isabel with being a prude after thirty years of married life with Burton. As the work was to have been published for private circulation the reading public lost nothing and, from all accounts, the genuine orientalist lost little more.

Far more serious, but less widely known, was her destruction of Burton's journals and note-books, though the massive list of Burton's publications suggests that there cannot have been very much left in his journals which had not already found its way into print. Moreover it is probable that the earlier journals and note-books had already been destroyed in Grindlay's fire; I hope so, for it is not easy to think forgivingly of the deliberate burning of the journals covering the Sind survey or the Pilgrimage.

It was at Trieste that Burton, who had long been recognized as one of the greatest linguists of his day (in an official letter dated 1886 he states that he had learnt twenty-nine languages and passed official examinations in eight Eastern languages), turned seriously to works of translation. He translated six volumes of the poems of Camöens and then returned to a work to which he had applied himself at intervals during the last twenty-five years, a plain and literal translation of the "Arabian Nights". Thirty years earlier he had written of the Nights "that about one-fifth is utterly unfit for translation; and the most sanguine orientalist would not dare to render literally more than three-quarters of the remainder"*.

Burton not only dared but added voluminous notes and a long terminal essay embodying his encyclopaedic knowledge of oriental life†. The whole work was produced over five years and occupied sixteen volumes (varying between 300 and 600 pages each); an astonishing output for a man whose health was failing rapidly and who was at the same time occupied on several other books. Circulation was private and limited to a thousand subscribers only. Each volume was separately dedicated as a compliment to one of Burton's old friends or collaborators (Henry Irving's name comes as a slight surprise amongst a list of men whose common link is for the most part knowledge of the East), with the exception of that dedicated to the curators of the Bodleian Library, which was accompanied by a withering reference to their refusal to lend him the Wortley Montague manuscript of the "Nights"; at Isabel's suggestion it was photographed page by page, an unexpected solution in 1886. With the issue of the first volume Burton became a celebrity overnight; more important to him, the "Nights" brought in a profit of £10,000 and his last years were entirely free of financial care.

*"First Footsteps in East Africa", First Edn., page 36.

†One wonders whether Watts Dunton, then engaged on his depressingly successful brain-washing of Swinburne, allowed the "Nights" to be read at No. 2, The Pines, Putney Hill.

1890

Burton was now a chronic invalid; but, like his father before him, travelling as his health failed became almost an obsession and, accompanied by Isabel and his doctor, he moved restlessly about Europe. In the autumn of 1890 they returned to Trieste and Burton began to plan a visit to Greece; he was now very frail, subject to frequent attacks of illness and a constant anxiety to Isabel and the doctor. Despite a buoyant optimism that next year he would retire on pension one suspects that he knew already that the end was drawing close. What memories from that long, adventurous, life must have flooded the old explorer's mind during those last days. The night breeze on the Fulaili river as Mirza Abdullah of Bushire set out for the house of Khanum Jan, and those sweltering days at Karachi as he grappled with languages; Isabel and her sister walking on the ramparts at Boulogne; the fight with the Maghrabi on the *Silk el Zahab* and the fierce joy of Haji Abdullah as he pressed his lips to the Black Stone; the triumph of Harar and the searing pain of the Somali spear at Berbera and Jack Speke laughing at the antics of Bombay as he splashed into the Pangani river; the bright gleam of the waters of Tanganyika as he looked down on them from the heights of Ukara and the woodsmoke and chatter of so many, many campfires; the wonderful talk of Jane Digby and Abd el Kadir on the roof at Salahiyah; and young Swinburne giggling over a tale from the "Nights"; and Isabel talking to her sick animals; and the long tyranny of his journals and manuscripts; and always, and enveloping all, the keen night wind in the desert and the tinkling of the camel-bell.

The end came suddenly on the morning of 20th October 1890, and Richard Burton set out on his last great journey.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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APPENDIX I

LIST OF WORKS OF SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY

	<i>Title</i>	<i>No. of Volumes</i>	<i>First Edition</i>
1	Goa, and the Blue Mountains	One	1851
2	Scinde; or the Unhappy Valley	Two	1851
3	Sindh, and the Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus	One	1851
4	Falconry in the Valley of the Indus	One	1852
5	A Complete System of Bayonet Exercise	One	1853
6	A Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah	Three	1855-6
7	First Footsteps in East Africa	One	1856
8	The Lake Regions of Central Africa	Two	1860
9	The City of the Saints	One	1861
10	The Prairie Traveller	One	1863
11	Abeokuta and the Camaroons Mountains	Two	1863
12	Wanderings in West Africa	Two	1863
13	A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahome	Two	1864
14	The Nile Basin	One	1864
15	Wit and Wisdom from West Africa	One	1865
16	The Guide-book . . . to Mecca	One	1865
17	Stone Talk	One	1865
18	The Highlands of the Brazil	Two	1869
19	Vikram and the Vampire	One	1870
20	Letters from the Battlefields of Paraguay	One	1870
21	Unexplored Syria	Two	1872
22	Zanzibar	Two	1872
23	The Lands of Cazembe	One	1873
24	Hans Stade of Hess	One	1874
25	Ultima Thule	Two	1875
26	Etruscan Bologna	One	1876
27	A New System of Sword Exercise for Infantry... ..	One	1876
28	Two Trips to Gorilla Land	Two	1876
29	Scind Revisited	Two	1877
30	The Gold Mines of Midian	One	1878
31	The Land of Midian	Two	1879
32	The Kasidah	One	1880
33	The Lusiads	Two	1880
34	Camôens: his Life and his Lusiads	Two	1881
35	A Glance at the "Passion Play"	One	1881
36	To the Gold Coast for Gold	Two	1883
37	Camôens, the Lyriks	Two	1884
38	The Book of the Sword	One	1884
39	The Thousand Nights and a Night	Sixteen	1885-8
40	Iraçema	One	1886
41	Priapeia	One	1890
<i>Posthumous Publications:</i>			
42	Marocco and the Moors	One	*
43	Il Pentamerone	Two	1893
44	Caullus	One	1894
45	The Jew, the Gipsy and El Islam	One	1898
46	Wanderings in Three Continents	One	1901
<i>Kama Shashtra Society Publications:</i>			
47	Kama Sutra	One	1883
48	Ananga Ranga	One	1885
49	Perfumed Garden	One	1886
50	Beharistan	One	1887
51	Gulistan	One	1888

Note—This list of books does not include any of the vast number of articles, pamphlets, reviews, etc., written by Sir Richard Burton.

*Edited but not written by Burton.

APPENDIX II

EQUIPMENT OF THE TANGANYIKA EXPEDITION (SEE PAGE 274)

Provisions, etc. 1 dozen brandy (to be followed by 4 dozen more); 1 box cigars; 5 boxes tea (each 6 lbs.); a little coffee; 2 bottles curry stuff, besides ginger, rock and common salt, red and black pepper, one bottle each, pickles, soap, and spices; 20 lbs. pressed vegetables; 1 bottle vinegar; 2 bottles oil; 20 lbs. sugar (honey is procurable in the country).

Arms and Ammunition. including 2 smooth bores, 3 rifles, a Colt's carbine, and 3 revolvers, spare fittings, etc., and 3 swords. Each gun has its leather bag with three compartments, for powder-flask, ball, caps, patches, etc. 100 lbs. gunpowder (in 2 safety copper magazines and others); 60 lbs. shot; 380 lbs. lead bullets, cast of hardened material at the Arsenal, Bombay, placed in boxes 40 lbs. each for convenience of carriage, also to serve as specimen boxes, and screwed down to prevent pilfering; 20,000 copper caps; wadding.

The Baloch are armed with matchlocks, shields, swords, daggers and knives. They have for ammunition—40 lbs. gunpowder (4 kegs); 1,000 lead bullets; 1,000 flints for slaves' muskets, and are to be followed by about an equal quantity of ammunition.

Camp Furniture. 1 sepoy's rowtie; 1 small (gable-shaped) tent of two sails joined, to cover and shelter property in this land of perpetual rains; 1 table and chair; 1 tin Crimean canteen, with knives and forks, kettle, cooking-pots, etc.; bedding, painted tarpaulin cover, 2 large cotton pillows for stuffing birds. 1 air pillow, 2 waterproof blankets (most useful), 1 Maltese blanket (remarkably good), and 2 other blankets; 1 cork bed, with 2 pillows, 3 blankets, and mosquito net. The Goanese have thick cotton padded mattresses, pillows, and blankets, and all the servants have some kind of bedding. 3 solid leather portmanteaus for clothes and books; 1 box, like an Indian petarah, for books; 1 patent leather bag for books, washing materials, diaries, drawing-books, etc.; 1 small couriers' bag, for instruments, etc.; 5 canvas bags for kit generally; 3 mats, used as carpets.

Instruments. 1 lever watch; 2 chronometers; 2 prismatic compasses, slings, and stands; 1 ship's azimuth compass; 2 pocket compasses; 1 pocket thermometer; 1 portable sun-dial; 1 rain gauge; 1 evaporating dish; 2 sextants and boxes, with canvas bags to be slung over porters' shoulders; 2 artificial horizons with a little extra mercury, to be followed by more; 1 pocket lens; 1 mountain barometer lent by Bombay Geographical Society (very delicate); 3 thermometers; 1 measuring tape (100 ft.); 1 sounding lead; 2 boiling thermometers; 1 box of mathematical instruments; 1 glass; 1 telescope; 2 ft. rule with brass slide; 1 pocket pedometer by Dixie; 1 parallel ruler.

Stationery. Foolscap paper; 1 ream common paper; 6 blank books; 3 Letts' diaries; 2 dozen pencils; 6 pieces caoutchouc; 6 metallic note books; 3 memorandum ditto; 1 box wafers and sealing wax; 2 field books; steel pens; quill ditto; ink powder which makes up well without acid; 3 bottles ink; 1 bottle native ink; 2 sets meteorological tables, blank; 4 tin cylinders for papers (very bad, everything rusts in them); Nautical Almanacs for 1857 and 1858; charts, Mr. Cooley's maps; "Mombas mission map"; skeleton maps; table of stars; account book; portfolio; wooden and tin cylinders for pens, etc.

Tools. 1 large turnscrew; 1 hand saw; 1 hammer; 20 lbs. nails; 1 hand vice; 1 hone; 9 hatchets (as a rule every porter carries an axe); 2 files; 9 Jembe or native hoe; 9 Mas'ha or native dibbles; 1 cold chisel; 1 heavy hammer; 1 pair pincers. To be followed by 1 bench vice; 1 hand ditto; 12 gimlets of sizes; 1 18-inch stone grinder, with spindle and handle; 6 splitting axes; 12 augers of sizes; 2 sets centre-bits, with stock; 12 chisels; 4 mortise chisels; 2 sets drills; 24 saw files; 6 files of sorts; 4 gouges of sizes; 50 lbs. iron nails; 2 planes, with 2 spare irons; 3 hand saws; screws. These things were expected to be useful at the lakes, where carpenters are in demand.

Clothing, Bedding, and Shoes. Shirts, flannel and cotton; turbans and thick felt caps for the head. (N.B. not looking forward to so long a journey, we left Zanzibar without a new outfit; consequently we were in tatters before the end, and in a climate where flannel fights half the battle of life against death, my companion was compelled to invest himself in overalls of American domestics, and I was forced to cut up blankets into coats and wrappers)

The best bedding in this country would be a small horsehair mattress with two blankets, one thick the other thin, and mosquito curtains that would pack into the pillow. A simple carpet-bag without leathern or other adjuncts, should contain the travelling clothes, and all the bedding should roll up into a single bundle, covered with a piece of waterproof canvass, and tightly bound with stout straps.

As regards shoes, the best would be ammunition boots for walking and jack boots for riding. They must be of light colour, and at least one size too large in England; they should be carefully protected from external air which is ruinous to leather, and they must be greased from time to time,—with fat not with oil—otherwise they will soon become so hard and dry, that it is impossible to draw them on unless treated after the Indian plan, viz. dipped in hot water and stretched with a stuffing of straw.)

Books and Drawing Materials. Norie; Bowdich; Thompson's "Lunar Tables"; Gordon's "Time Tables"; Galton's "Art of Travel"; Buist's "Manual of Observation"; Jackson's "What to Observe"; Jackson's "Military Surveying"; "Admiralty Manual"; Cuvier's "Animal Life"; Prichard's "History of Man"; Keith's "Trigonometry"; Krapf's "Kiswahili Grammar"; Krapf's "Kinika Testament"; Ambaric Grammar (Isenberg's); Belcher's "Mast Head Angles"; Cooley's "Geography of N'yassi"; and other miscellaneous works; 1 paint-box complete, soft water colours; 1 small ditto, with Chinese ink, sepia and Prussian blue; 2 drawing books; 1 large drawing book; 1 camera lucida.

Portable domestic Medicine Chest. Vilely made. Some medicines for natives in packages. Application was made to Zanzibar for more quinine, some morphia, Warburg's drops, citric acid, and chiretta root.

Miscellaneous. 10 pieces scarlet broad-cloth for presents (3 expended); 3 knives for servants; 4 umbrellas; 1 hank salmon gut; 1 dozen twisted gut; 1 lb. bees' wax; courier's box with brass clasps to carry sundries on the road; 2 dozen penknives; 2,000 fishing hooks; 42 bundles fishing line; 2 lanterns (policeman's bull's eye and common horn); 2 iron ladles for casting lead; 1 housewife, with buttons, needles, thread, silk, pins, etc.; 12 needles (sailor's) and palms; 2 pair scissors; 2 razors; 1 hone; 2 pipes; 1 tobacco pouch; 1 cigar case; 7 canisters of snuff; 1 filter; 1 pocket filter; 1 looking-glass; 1 small tin dressing-case, with soap, nail-brush and tooth-brush (very useful); brushes and combs; 1 union jack; arsenical paste for specimens; 10 steels and flints.

[The Lake Regions of Central Africa: Vol. I, pp. 151-156]

JOHN HANNING SPEKE

A Victorian and his Inspiration

By K. Ingham, M.C., Professor of History, Makerere College

As the waters of the Nile rose behind the Owen Falls dam which Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II inaugurated in 1954, they covered a small stone tablet at the river's former edge which bore the following inscription:--

SPEKE
DISCOVERED THIS
SOURCE OF THE
NILE

ON THE 28 JULY 1862

But they could not wash out the memory of Speke's moment of inspiration which, in his lifetime, subjected him to the criticism and scorn of many of the leading geographers of the nineteenth century. For the discovery of the source of the Nile was undoubtedly due to a flash of inspiration which crowned years of mental and physical preparation and perseverance.

John Hanning Speke was born at Orleigh Court near Bideford on 4th May, 1827, of a family tracing its connection with the west country back to Saxon times. After attending Barnstaple Grammar School Speke sailed to India as a cadet in the East India Company's service at the age of seventeen, and in 1844 he obtained a commission in the 46th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry. Here began a career of action and adventure which was yet at all times controlled by sound reason and a clear purpose. There was nothing about the fastidious, even priggish young man to associate him with the gay adventurers of popular romance. Although his achievements were romantic enough he belonged more to the school of modern scientific explorers typified by the antarctic expeditions of the International Geo-Physical Year than to the colourful free-booters of an earlier Elizabethan Age. As an officer, according to the companion of his later travels, James Grant, Speke won the respect of his fellow-officers and of the sepoys who served under him both by his soldierly qualities, displayed in the Punjab campaign, and by the quiet, conciliatory manner in which he dealt with those who came in contact with him. But one can sense that it was indeed respect, rather than popularity, that Speke engendered. For, although he excelled in the sporting activities likely to win him the acclaim of his contemporaries, he was never involved in any of the escapades which bring warmth to the character of a young man. His great hobby was hunting. But, again according to Grant, he was no mere slayer. He collected and preserved the animals that he shot, and the natural history collections in the museums of England and India profited from his interest in the fauna of the countries that he visited.

It was this interest in rare birds and animals that first turned Speke's attention to Central Africa. In 1849, at the end of the Punjab campaign, he conceived the plan of striking into the interior of Africa from the east coast until he reached the headwaters of the Nile which he thought might be in the snowcapped Mountains of the Moon of classical legend. He would then sail downstream

to Egypt. He was aware that others had already almost exhausted the investigation of the fauna of northern and southern Africa. But he knew that no one had penetrated into the equatorial regions where he hoped there might be animals until then unknown to hunter or scientist. It was, therefore, with the desire to build up the natural history museum in his father's house rather than with any fundamentally geographical objective in mind that Speke began to plan to go to Africa.

With characteristic attention to detail he recognized that lengthy preparations would be required. His pay was small and exploration could not be undertaken without money. He would need to prepare himself both by increasing his powers of endurance and by developing his geographical knowledge. Fortunately he found a solution to all these aspects of his problem in wandering in the Himalayas and the unknown territory of Tibet. For the last five years of his stay in India all his leave was spent in this way. As he himself pointed out, in the backwoods and jungles no ceremony or etiquette provoked unnecessary expenditure. He was able simultaneously to gratify his hobby of collecting rare birds and animals and to practise the, to him, newer science of recording his topographical observations. Here again his attention to detail stood him in good stead, for his early sketch maps, although based upon readings taken only with a watch and compass, contained valuable information of a hitherto unknown country as those who were to use the maps later testified. What is more, they captured the attention of his Commander-in-Chief. Speke's pride in this fact encouraged him to indulge in a little moralizing at the expense of his fellow officers which, although not entirely foreign to his age, it must have required all his excellence as a horseman and marksman to counter-balance. For, observing some surprise among his colleagues at the fact that he was able to get so much leave he pointed out that "the Commander-in-Chief, Sir William Gomm, observing to what good account I always turned my leave, instead of idling my time away, or running into debt, took great pleasure in encouraging my hobby, and his Staff were even heard to say that it would be a pity if I did not get leave, as so much good resulted from it".⁽¹⁾

The very day after completing his ten years' service in India this single-minded young man left Calcutta determined to put into effect his plan to explore Central Africa. He had three years' leave, and a stock of cheap articles of barter to the value of £390 with which to tempt the "simple-minded negroes of Africa". As usual his objective was clear. He would spend only two years in Africa, leaving one to be spent "in indulgent recreations after my labours should be over". The self-controlled Victorian was on his way.

Arriving at Aden, however, Speke met an obstacle. The political resident, Colonel Outram, on hearing of the African scheme and being requested for letters of introduction to the coastal chiefs on the African mainland returned a firm refusal. He further added that he would prohibit Speke from visiting Africa at all, since the country opposite Aden was so difficult and dangerous to travel in. But Speke had no intention of wasting his five years of preparation. Subjected to constant requests the kind-hearted Outram eventually suggested that the young man should try to attach himself to an expedition which was being fitted out by Lieutenant (later Sir Richard) Burton, under the auspices of

⁽¹⁾J. H. Speke: *What led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*. Blackwood, Edinburgh and London, 1864. pp. 1-4.

the Bombay Government, with a view to investigating Somaliland. This scheme had originally been proposed in 1849 by Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm, Honorary President of the Bombay Geographical Society, in conjunction with the President and Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society. There had been some delay in putting the proposal into effect, however, and the Royal Geographical Society was no longer actively supporting the expedition although it maintained a general interest in its work.⁽²⁾ To Speke, this seemed an excellent opportunity; the more so when, having obtained Burton's approval, he was able through the good offices of Outram to join the expedition on service duty, thereby saving his furlough for later schemes of exploration. In October, 1854, therefore, little more than a month after his departure from India he was dispatched to Bender Gori with instructions to explore if possible the celebrated Wadi Nogal and to visit the Dulbahantas, the most warlike of the Somali. Burton himself, meanwhile, was to travel in disguise to Harar.

It was undoubtedly a respect for each other's experience and enthusiasm which bound together the disparate characters of Burton and Speke. For Burton might very well have been one of the characters out of his own translation of the *Arabian Nights*. His journey to Mecca in disguise had been typical of the man, and in disguise he intended that the Somali expedition also should be carried out. Whatever the wisdom of assuming Moslem dress, there is little doubt that to the more conventional Speke the idea was distasteful as much on account of the foreign character of the garments as of their actual discomfort. There is no doubt whatever that he was wholly in sympathy with Outram's view that to travel in disguise would lower him in the estimation of the natives. Nevertheless, even the horrors of a huge hot turban and "baggy loose drawers" and the theatrical effect of a silk girdle decorated with pistol and dirk could not entirely damp his enthusiasm. And, since funds for the expedition were temporarily restricted, he even agreed to advance enough money for his own expenses until aid arrived from the Bombay Government.

After all his anticipation and enthusiasm it was unfortunate that Speke's first exploits in Africa were largely unsuccessful. Unable to speak Arabic he was at the mercy of his *Abban*, or protector, who was responsible for his relations with the peoples of the Somali coast. The *Abban*, however, proved completely untrustworthy, and in January, 1855, Speke returned to Aden with little accomplished. In March he set out again and joined some of the other members of the expedition at Berbera on 3rd April and they were met by Burton four days later. Here the more tender side of Speke's nature, never far from the surface, was demonstrated by his attempt to help a Somali girl who had contracted smallpox, and had been abandoned by her parents when the great caravans had left Berbera for the interior. Yet once again the Victorian in him played its part, for as he himself pointed out, he had already had smallpox and was therefore in no danger.

Where, a few days earlier, a lively, bustling fair had been in progress, the Somali shore was now desolate. But the party was not to be left in peace for long. On the night of 18th April they were attacked and scattered; their goods were seized and Lieutenant Stroyan, one of their number, was killed. Speke himself was knocked unconscious by a club and taken prisoner. The following day he was speared several times by his captors before making good his escape.

⁽²⁾Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XXV, 1855. pp. 136-50. "Narrative of a Trip to Harar", by Richard F. Burton, Lieut., Bombay Army.

He was later rescued by some of his former servants who had themselves escaped being killed, and returned to Aden in a desperately weak condition through loss of blood and with his arms and legs crippled by the spear wounds. The doctor decided that he should be sent to England on furlough which pleased Speke well enough. But to the would-be subaltern explorer the decision of the Bombay Government to have nothing to do with financial restitution but instead to blockade the coast until the murderers had been handed over and a treaty of friendship signed was a serious disaster.

Speke's recovery was surprisingly quick, due, as Speke himself carefully stated, to the spare manner of living to which he had been accustomed for some time previously. Soon after returning to England in June, 1855, he volunteered and was accepted for service with the Turkish Contingent in the Crimean War. Barely a month later he was in Constantinople where he was posted to the regiment of Turks with which he served until the end of the campaign. When hostilities ceased the normal duties of a soldier in peace-time no longer appealed to him and the prospect of returning to Africa appeared unlikely. So he decided to try to get permission to enter the Caucasus to collect specimens of the fauna of that area. He was informed by the Royal Geographical Society, however, that there was little likelihood of obtaining the necessary passports, but it was suggested that he might like to join a new expedition to Africa, once again under the leadership of Burton. By the same mail he received an invitation from Burton himself and without a second thought he disposed of the equipment he had assembled for the Caucasus expedition and took passage to England, travelling night and day to get there speedily. On his arrival he discovered that the main object of the expedition was to discover whether there was any truth in the rumours encountered some years earlier by two C.M.S. missionaries, Messrs. Krapf and Rebmann, of an enormous lake in the centre of the African continent. Speke's interest in the expedition, however, was still, mainly, that of a natural historian although Burton's chief reason for inviting him to join the expedition, apart from any factors of personality, was his knowledge of physical geography and astronomical surveying.

Once again there were difficulties in arranging Speke's participation in the expedition, and it was only after a personal appeal to the Governor of Bombay, Lord Elphinstone, that permission was granted for him to join Burton. After six months of preparation on the East African coast, however, the party started inland at the end of June, 1857. Since this was really Burton's expedition it is unnecessary to describe the journey in detail. The hardships, however, tested the physical endurance of the two men to the limit and when, in February, 1858, they eventually became the first Europeans to reach Lake Tanganyika both were suffering from extreme exhaustion. Speke himself was almost blind as a result of the privations he had undergone and found "on approaching the zenith of my ambition, the Great Lake in question nothing but mist and glare before my eyes".⁽³⁾

Already, however, during their stay in Tabora in November of the previous year Speke had been touched by the magic which was to lure him onwards for the remainder of his life. He never lost his interest in unusual birds and animals and his sketches were both beautiful and scholarly. But his imagination had been captured by the information received from an Arab trader that a sheet of

⁽³⁾Speke: *Op. cit.* p. 203.

water far greater than Lake Tanganyika lay several days' journey to the north of Tabora. After exploring Lake Tanganyika for some weeks Burton decided to return to Tabora and Speke at once suggested that they should then investigate the rumours of a further lake to the north. Burton was unwilling to do this but agreed to Speke's travelling on his own. Back in Tabora Speke listened again to the views of the Arab traders and became still more firmly convinced of the need to make further investigations. Relations between the two men had already become strained under the stress of travelling so long in difficult conditions in each other's company. Each in his way was a man of determination and two men so fully imbued with the spirit of leadership could scarcely exist indefinitely in one party on good terms. The expedition to the north, therefore, gave Speke the opportunity to undertake a task of his own and allowed both a little respite from each other's company. On 9th July he set out to the north and on the 30th he first set eyes on the mighty lake to which he gave the name Victoria. Here it was, on 3rd August, that inspiration took hold of him. A more romantic character might have regarded the experience as having some mystical significance. But Speke with unshakable restraint described his feelings thus:—"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. . . . I now have 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 that in its general outlines I had nothing whatever to alter".⁽⁴⁾ To what extent his conclusion was born of wishful thinking and to what extent it was based upon the cold reasoning which characterizes Speke's work in general it would be hard to say. But neither could alone account for this amazing prognostication since he was standing at the southern extremity of the lake and had no opportunity of making further investigations at that time. August 3rd, 1858, was Speke's day of destiny. From that day onwards he had to face an endless stream of criticism, not least from his colleague and companion, Burton, yet he never wavered in his conviction and was prepared to back his views by undertaking an even more hazardous journey through the heart of Africa to the shores of the Mediterranean.

That Speke should have hurried home to England to claim credit for his good news while his still ailing leader, Burton, was left behind in Zanzibar has been the grounds of much subsequent criticism. In justification it might be argued that the Nile theory was entirely Speke's own and had, in fact, been discounted by Burton on the journey to the coast. There can be no doubt, however, that something of the self-righteousness of his generation must have moved Speke to act as he did, putting what he believed to be justice before generosity. If this was indeed the case he was to pay a big price for it.

On his arrival in England, however, he was received with acclaim by the President of the Royal Geographical Society, Sir Roderick Murchison, and it was not long before he had enlisted the aid of the Society and of the British Government in organizing a new expedition to prove his theory. On 27th April, 1860 he set out once again, embarking on board the new steam-frigate *Forte* in Portsmouth harbour, accompanied by his new travelling companion, Captain J. A. Grant, whom he had known well in India. Sailing round the Cape they reached Zanzibar on 17th August, and after six weeks of preparation the march

⁽⁴⁾*Ibid.* pp. 307-8.

into the interior began early in October. The journey was far from easy, although for a considerable distance Speke was covering the ground that he had traversed in the course of his earlier expedition.

Meanwhile, in Britain, Burton's account of the earlier expedition had been published, containing a thorough attack upon Speke's views on the size of Lake Victoria and its claim to be the source of the Nile.⁽⁵⁾ Four thousand miles from the scene of dispute, harrassed by demands for *hongo*, the duty levied from travellers by all chiefs who felt themselves strong enough to risk the displeasure of the caravans, preyed upon by perfidious porters, delayed by local wars, stricken with sickness, Speke could do little to vindicate himself. A last communication reached England bearing the date 30th September, 1861, and stating that he was still south of Lake Victoria. Then there was silence for more than a year. A telegram from Alexandria brought the further distressing information, later proved to be false, that Consul Petherick, upon whom Speke was depending for supplies when he reached Gondokoro after one of the most difficult parts of his journey, had died somewhere to the west of the Nile in the southern Sudan. Apprehension concerning Speke's well-being attacked even his staunch supporter, Sir Roderick Murchison.

After months of suspense there arrived a further telegram from Alexandria stating that Speke and his party had reached Khartoum. This was followed by a telegram from Speke himself stating simply, "The Nile is settled!" The brief announcement marked the end of a journey of exceptional courage and endurance, and it marked the beginning of a new phase in the geographical dispute which did not end even with Speke's death. For, during the months which had elapsed since he was last heard of in Tabora, Speke had travelled north-westward round the western shore of Lake Victoria. He had met the refined, gentle Rumanika, King of Karagwe, the boisterous young Mutesa, monarch of Buganda, and Kamrasi the grasping ruler of Bunyoro-Kitara. He had followed the north-western shore of the lake and had mapped it with care. After several months' delay at Mutesa's capital he had at last struck eastward and had found the Nile at Bulondoganyi, some thirty miles north of the Lake. He had followed the river upstream to the mighty "stones", as the Baganda called the waterfall which marks the dividing line between the lake and the river which emerges from it. He had named the falls after the Earl de Grey and Ripon, who had been President of the Royal Geographical Society when Speke left England. And here, at the Ripon Falls, he had been struck by the wonderful opportunity which might be offered to Christian missionaries in this populous and fertile land, an idea which, on his return to England, he took up with the Church Missionary Society who, however, considered Buganda too remote from the coast to present a feasible starting point for their work.⁽⁶⁾

Any hopes Speke might have had of sailing down the Nile to its mouth had been quickly shattered by an encounter with hostile Banyoro which had forced him to travel across country to Kamrasi's headquarters near the present Masindi Port. This diversion was to have serious repercussions in England, as too was the fact that, owing to the many delays which he had encountered, he had considered it inadvisable to explore the north-eastern shore of Lake Victoria. After further delays at Kamrasi's headquarters, where the importunities of

(5) Richard F. Burton: *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*. Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, London, 1860.

(6) C.M.S. Archives. C.A5/L1, Henry Venn to J. Rebman, 26th February, 1864.

Kamrasi himself drove Speke almost to distraction, he had been able to push on again down the Nile in November, 1862, crossing the river at the Karuma Falls. He then struck across country to Afuddu, near the present Nimule, and on again to Gondokoro where he was met by that great explorer and sportsman Mr. (later Sir Samuel) Baker who had come there from Khartoum to render what help he could. It was at Gondokoro, too, that Speke received the news that he had been awarded the founders' medal of the Royal Geographical Society for the discovery of Lake Victoria in 1858.⁽⁷⁾

Speke's return to England was soon overshadowed by attacks upon the success of his journey. It was pointed out by Burton and others that Speke had touched the shores of what he claimed to be the great Lake Victoria only at the extreme south and north-west. This, it was claimed, was no proof that there was one big lake. Indeed, there was every likelihood that there were several lakes, since the opinion of Arab traders and African tribesmen could not be accepted as authoritative. And had not Speke himself admitted that he had been unable to trace the Nile down its course? As if apparently logical criticism was not enough the publication of Speke's account of his travels under the title *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* produced a vituperative attack from James Macqueen, a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, in which Speke's character as well as his scientific accuracy were called into question. "It is with disgust", Macqueen wrote, "that we want proper words to express, to find the first names in Europe prostituted, and especially the name of our great and gracious Sovereign insulted and degraded, in giving names to places in this most barbarous and degraded country. We earnestly hope that the Royal Geographical Society will in future denounce with the greatest severity all such proceedings on the part of anyone they patronize and employ. Nothing can be so absurd as to impose English names on any part, but especially upon places in the remote interior parts of Africa. . . . The eminent characters seized upon to give names to Ripon Falls, Murchison Creek—a stagnant puddle—can scarcely feel gratified by the appropriation of their names."⁽⁸⁾ Towards the end of his tirade the writer commented sarcastically upon a suggestion that a public-house should be built on the Equator. "Well", he wrote, "by all means let us have the hotel, say thus:—

THE RIPON FALLS HOTEL

SPEKE AND MTESA

Pombe and Mbugus Always Ready

A hotel . . . would be sure to draw a fashionable array of visitors, as a railway will follow"⁽⁹⁾ Prophetic words, if unintentionally so, although the name of the Ripon Falls Hotel followed many years after the arrival of the railway at Jinja.

Worse was to follow. So strongly did Burton feel about Speke's inaccuracy that he quoted Macqueen *in extenso* in his book, *The Nile Basin*, alongside his own more scientific criticisms. And even the work of Baker unintentionally cast further doubt upon Speke's theories. For after Speke had left Gondokoro

(7) J. H. Speke: *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*. Blackwood, Edinburgh and London, 1863, p. 470.

(8) Richard Burton: *The Nile Basin* (Part II, Captain Speke's Discovery of the Source of the Nile. A review by James Macqueen, F.R.G.S., reprinted by permission from the Morning Advertiser), Tinsley Brothers, London, 1864, pp. 109–10.

(9) *Ibid.* pp. 167–68.

Baker had pressed on southwards in search of a further lake of which Speke had been told during his travels but which he had not had time to investigate. This lake Baker duly discovered, giving to it the name of Lake Albert. He was able also to prove by the evidence of his own eyes and by information from Kamrasi and others that a river which he had no hesitation in assuming to be Speke's Victoria Nile flowed into the northern end of Lake Albert and almost immediately flowed out again from which latter point it was said to be navigable to Afuddo. But so impressed had Baker been by what he had seen of his new lake that, although he was only able to traverse a small part of it, he came to the conclusion that it extended southwards for a very great distance. This suggested to Speke's detractors only too clearly that the Nile was probably fed by another and greater river running into Lake Albert from the south. Had not Livingstone already advanced the view that the Nile rose far to the south, and was not this theory supported by Burton? Even Livingstone himself wrote: "Poor Speke has turned his back upon the real sources of the Nile . . . his river at Ripon Falls was not large enough for the Nile". A debate between Speke and Burton in the presence of the British Association seemed the obvious way of allowing the scientific minds of the age to form an unbiased judgment of the merits of the conflicting opinions. A meeting was therefore arranged for 16th September, 1864, in Bath. Burton and Speke actually met at midday on the 15th but at tea-time Speke was found shot dead. His death was presumed to be accidental and although there have been some who believed that the great strain to which he had been subjected resulted in his suicide it is a solution which does not accord well with his determined character. Now, however, even more completely than in 1861 and 1862 the field was left open to those who denied Speke's success and the circumstances of his death did nothing to restrain their attacks. Even Sir Roderick Murchison was forced to bow to the weight of criticism. In his presidential address to the Royal Geographical Society on 22nd May, 1865, he delivered an obituary speech full of genuine praise. But he concluded by stating that he proposed, with the approval of the council, to send Livingstone to examine the region between Lake Nyasa and Lake Tanganyika in an attempt to dispel the doubts and uncertainties which still prevailed concerning the watersheds of Central Africa. Among other things Livingstone was to try to discover whether any river flowed northward out of Lake Tanganyika to join the Nile.⁽¹⁰⁾ Speke, therefore, was still on trial.

But Livingstone's last journey failed to solve the problems which confused the geographers. For more than ten years after Speke's death the doubts prevailed. A map drawn by E. Stanford to accompany *Livingstone's Last Journals*, published in 1874, still showed the shore of Lake Victoria from Mwanza westward, round to the Ripon Falls, as delineated by Speke but with the opposite shore generally parallel to it at a distance of from thirty to fifty miles, and the lake bore the name of Okara. East of Lake Okara was placed another lake, named Lake Kavirondo, sixty miles long and fifty broad, and connected with Lake Okara by Kidette River. Earlier, a sketch-map appearing in *The Heart of Africa* by Dr. Schweinfurth which showed Schweinfurth's routes during the period 1868-71 depicted a series of small lakes connected by rivers instead of Lake Victoria.

The period 1874 to 1877 was, however, the era of Speke's vindication, when the scientists acknowledged his achievements and gave them belated praise. But this triumph was not achieved all at once. The first stage in solving the

(10) *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. XXV, 1865. pp. clxxvi-clxxviii.

problem was accomplished by an American, Colonel Chaillé Long, attached to the staff of Colonel Gordon who was Governor of Egypt's Equatorial Province. In the middle of 1874 Long was sent by Gordon to visit Mutesa of Buganda. In the course of his return journey in August of the same year he sailed down the Nile from Bulondoganyi, the point reached by Speke, to Lake Kyoga, thus becoming the first foreigner to discover that lake. At the same time, his journey verified one of the doubtful sections of Speke's map. It was Gordon, too, who, early in 1876, and with the assistance of two Italians, Gessi and Piaggia, surveyed the Nile all the way from Dufile to the point where it enters Lake Kyoga from the south. With justification he was able to write "It may be considered settled that the general direction of the Victoria Nile is correct, there may be a turn or two in the River which is not shown, but this will be rectified hereafter".⁽¹¹⁾ So the course of the Victoria Nile was now established as being very much as Speke had surmised. Equally important, however, was the circumnavigation of Lake Albert by Gessi in April, 1876. This proved that Baker's estimate of the size of the lake was unduly exaggerated and that the only river of any consequence which entered it, apart from the Victoria Nile, could not be regarded as of any real significance as a likely source of the Nile.

But even greater discoveries were being made farther south by Henry Morton Stanley, that other much criticized traveller who was yet, perhaps, the greatest explorer of them all. Sent by the *Daily Telegraph* and the *New York Herald* upon yet another African Odyssey, Stanley, who travelled with all the organization and drive of his adopted nation, had made the 720 mile journey from the east coast to the southern shore of Lake Victoria in the amazing time of 103 days including halts. This was in spite of incredible privations. He had also carried with him in sections a boat, the *Lady Alice*, which he launched on Lake Victoria, and in the course of the next few months he sailed round the whole lake. In a series of letters to the *Daily Telegraph*, accompanied by maps of his travels, he proved to the World that Speke had once again been right, this time in his surmise that Lake Victoria was one great lake. This was of particular value since Stanley himself had previously been among those who believed that he would probably find several lakes. But now that he had seen for himself he took up the cudgels on Speke's behalf in his usual forthright fashion and with his customary journalistic skill. In a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, written with the authority of his address at Ubagwe, Western Unyamwezi, Central Africa, and dated 24th April, 1876 he said, "In the *Pall Mall Gazette*"⁽¹²⁾ I read a more startling statement, which deserves from me as flat a contradiction as no doubt it has received from Colonel Grant. The article stated that Colonel Long, of the Egyptian service, had declared that he had just returned from a visit to the King of Uganda, and had discovered to his surprise that Lake Victoria was a body of water about 12 miles in width! Now, I do not know it as a fact that Colonel Long, or Long Bey, was in Uganda in July, 1873; but if he states that the Victoria Nyanza is only 12 miles in width, he states what every snub-nosed urchin in Uganda would declare to be most astounding nonsense. The width of 12 miles is what I would give to Murchison Bay—a portion of which is visible from Kibuga, one of the emperor's capitals. If Monsieur Linant de Bellefonds, of the Egyptian service, who *discovered* me in Uganda, is

⁽¹¹⁾Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XLVI, 1876. p. 431. Map attached to "Notes to accompany a Survey of the White Nile from Lado to Nyamyungo", by Colonel C. G. Gordon, R.E., C.B.

⁽¹²⁾This had been sent to him, along with other newspapers, by Colonel Gordon.

now in Europe, he is requested to publish his opinion of Lake Victoria, even from what he saw of it from Usavara. The *Pall Mall Gazette* adds that it was always the opinion of Captain Burton that Speke had exaggerated the extent of Lake Victoria. Last year I sent you a map of the southern, eastern, northern and north-west coasts of Lake Victoria. Enclosed in this packet you will find a sketch-map of the south-west coast, with which you may compare Speke's hypothetical outline of the Victoria Lake, and judge for yourselves whether Speke has been guilty of much exaggeration".⁽¹³⁾

No one was more delighted by Stanley's vindication of his late companion than the former Captain, now Colonel James Grant. On the evidence of Stanley's earlier letters Grant had already read a paper on Stanley's explorations to the Royal Geographical Society on 29th November, 1875, in which he pointed out that Stanley's 1,000 mile voyage round the lake had not only proved it to be one vast inland sea, but had also demonstrated that Speke's estimate of its size had been remarkably accurate, based though it was as much upon information obtained from local tribesmen as upon his own observations.⁽¹⁴⁾



John Hanning Speke

There remained, however, still one great question. Was Lake Victoria indeed the source of the Nile or was the lake itself fed by some great river? On this point Stanley disagreed with Speke. In the course of his voyage round the lake he had first been impressed by the size of the River Simiyu (Stanley's Shimeeyu) which flows into Speke Gulf at the southern end of the lake. Later, however, he changed his mind when he saw the greater Kagera flowing into the lake from the west. Not unnaturally the *New York Herald*, whose agent

⁽¹³⁾Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XLVI, 1876. p. 33.

⁽¹⁴⁾Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XLVI, 1876, pp. 10-34.

Stanley was, took up this theme with vigour and wrote, "The grand problem of this geographical era, which may be said to have commenced with Ptolemy, has been the discovery of the sources of the Nile. To solve it many explorers essayed and failed, leaving to Henry M. Stanley the palm of the victor, the glorious prize of success". But unfortunately for Stanley, Speke had already seen the Kagera and after due consideration had concluded that it was too small to be taken into account as a factor in the Nile quest. The *New York Sun* was perhaps motivated as much by rivalry as by sound scientific reasoning when it criticized Stanley for trying to improve upon Speke's achievement. But the current was now running as strongly in Speke's favour as it had formerly run against him. The views of the *New York Sun* duly received the approval and authority of no less a person than Sir Rutherford Alcock who, in his presidential address to the Royal Geographical Society on 28th May, 1877, said, "One other remark regarding the Kagera. Mr. Stanley tells us that during the dry season it exceeds in volume the Thames and the Severn united, and is 70, 80, and 120 feet in depth, with a width of 150 to 200 yards; . . . But whether this river, or the Shimeeyu, or any other river flowing into the Lake, is to be considered a source or not—among so many, and all so distant from the Nile—the honour will still remain with the parent-mother Victoria".⁽¹⁵⁾ And, one might add, honour too, to John Hanning Speke, a Victorian in his careful, almost devoted attention to detail, in his meticulous regard for science and justice, who yet one day had a flash of inspiration and in so doing set scientific minds in tumult.

¹⁵⁾Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XLVII, 1877, p. xciv.

BURTON AND SPEKE EXPEDITION CENTENARY

Record of a lecture given by Professor Vincent Harlow, C.M.G., D.Litt., to the Tanganyika Society on 29th July, 1957

Your Excellency, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Let us consider first the personalities of these two men. Captain (afterwards Sir) Richard Burton was an "original". One can see that by looking at his portrait in the exhibition which was opened this afternoon. The tight-lipped mouth, aggressive jaw and piercing eyes mark him as a man out of the ordinary. Now the cliché that he was a restless adventurer does not get us very far; all kinds of riff-raff have been restless adventurers. He had other and more substantial reasons for his *wanderlust*. He had a passion for acquiring knowledge about unknown lands and peoples; and, more particularly, from a young man he was fascinated by and had a curious affinity with the way of life of the Arab world. He belongs, of course, to that select company of Englishmen who became expert in these things; who probed as it were, beneath the skin of the world of Islam and particularly the Arabic world. In the course of his life, as you know, he became a distinguished authority on Arab culture.

It was said of him that he "had a fine contempt for established authority", then again that "he was at heart an Elizabethan". Both these aphorisms are true up to a point. He certainly disliked routine discipline. He would never have fitted into any bureaucracy, military or civil. He found Victorian England stifling, and he had, as his career shows well enough, matchless endurance and courage. He also had his weak spots; was insensitive and indifferent to the feelings of others; and a great leader is not so insensitive or so indifferent. He made enemies by his quick imperious temper and by his rapier-like thrusts of rudeness and sarcasm, and those enemies at critical points in his career saw to it that he did not achieve his desire.

But that is not the whole complex of Richard Burton. One cannot understand Burton without, I think, attempting to appreciate why he made that extraordinary marriage with Isabel Arundell. It is said that people are inclined to marry their opposites and Burton certainly did so. In this case, as in so many others, it was a great success. His affection for the possessive Isabel was deep. At the same time her devotion, which I think saved his career from catastrophe, was a little suffocating.

Another part of his character was shown by his friendship with the poet, Swinburne. They delighted in each other's company, exchanging salacious stories to the horror of Isabel. But one of the stories about Burton which I think is perhaps the most illuminating is told by an Arab friend of his in Damascus. When he was British Consul there he went to visit a wealthy Arab friend and he was shown into a room to await his coming. His friend came noiselessly into the entrance of the room and there saw his son, aged about six, standing at one side of a table and Burton at the other. His little son was

looking at Burton transfixed, and Burton was making the most horrible faces at the boy. His eyes were protruding, his mouth was open and his jaws were contorted; and then suddenly the boy, with a wild cry of delight, rushed into the arms of Burton—a kindred spirit. Burton caught him up and kissed him on the head.

None of us are made on simple lines, but Richard Burton was an exceptionally complex person, and despite his failings he had elements of greatness.

Now let me quickly sketch in his career. Commissioned in the Army of the East India Company in 1842, he went out to India and quickly became proficient in Hindustani, Arabic and Persian. In Sind (after Napier's annexation) he went as an assistant in a survey of the country. By ceaseless study, his gift of imitation, and his extremely sensitive ear, he became familiar with the local tribes and learnt their dialects and customs so perfectly that he could pass as one of themselves. This gift of getting inside the mentality of other people was curiously combined with a lack of sensitivity with regard to his fellow Britons. An example of his skill, and at the same time perhaps of his lack of worldly wisdom, was when he was called by the Government to report on the manners and customs of Karachi. He produced such a faithfully recorded but hair-raising report about the brothels of that city that a black mark was put on his record. He then volunteered as an interpreter in 1848. He was at that time fluent in eleven languages, but he was curtly passed over. His enemies had seen to it that Richard Burton did not get advancement.

Leaving India, he went to Mecca in 1853 where that same mixture of tremendous courage and capacity to identify himself with the Arab enabled him to join the pilgrimage to Medina and then on to Mecca, where the slightest mistake in religious ritual or Arabic phrase would have exposed him to instant death.

Then came his preliminary exploration in Somaliland and that extraordinary dash of his, virtually single-handed: the first Englishman to get to Harar in Ethiopia.

Now we come to Captain John Speke. He is much more difficult, I find, to assess. I would say he was a typical product of his generation, less gifted and brilliant than Burton; a good fellow, popular with his fellow officers and a man who got on with people. He came of an ancient family with army traditions. He was brought up in Wiltshire and joined the Indian Army in 1844. In appearance and temperament he was in complete contrast to Burton. In India he quickly developed an ambition to become an explorer and every leave from the Indian Army was spent in exploration in the Himalayas and unknown parts of Tibet. He managed to join Burton on the preliminary expedition to Somaliland, and Burton, on the strength of that, invited him to join a new expedition to East Africa.

Before I come to the famous journey itself, let us consider for a moment the clash which took place between these two personalities, a clash which put an end to Burton's career as an explorer, and caused, as I believe, Speke to commit suicide. Speke, ambitious, sensitive, proud, became increasingly irritated in the course of that terrific ordeal, by Burton's domineering personality, and one can understand how the two men, suffering from recurring bouts of fever, plodding their way in a state of growing exhaustion, must have got on one

another's nerves. When it was all over, here is Burton's verdict on Speke: "Unaccustomed to sickness, he could not endure it himself nor feel for it in others, and he seemed to take pleasure in saying unpleasant things. Much of the change he explained to me by confessing that he could not take interest in an exploration of which he was not the commander".

That, as you will agree, is a heavy condemnation, written in bitterness of spirit, when his companion had stolen the *kudos*. But when Burton says that Speke could not take an interest because he was not the commander, he was also revealing his own defects as a leader. A really first-class leader always knows how to delegate; how to give sufficient responsibility to his subordinate, so gaining his co-operation and often his devotion. Here we see the results of Burton's insensitivity. He was utterly unconscious that he was being domineering. The situation has been aptly summed up by Deardon, Burton's latest biographer: "Speke must have found Burton's assumption of superior knowledge insufferable, while Burton must have been driven hard to keep patience with Speke's deliberate aggravations and pinpricks". There it is; incompatibility and fermenting hatred between two men who were under extreme stress. It was tragic for both of them.

Let me now survey the actual journey. Burton and Speke reached Zanzibar by way of Bombay in December, 1856. They arrived there at the wrong season. It was no time to try and move into the interior when the heavy rains were on, and they had six months' wait during which they did some coastal exploration and made their preparations from Zanzibar. It is important to remember that Burton ran this expedition on a shoe-string. He only received £1,000 from the Royal Geographical Society for all expenses. Twenty years later Stanley did this journey, and he spent £20,000 on it. The Sultan of Zanzibar, who was very helpful, provided a small armed escort, but unfortunately it proved to be far from efficient. I suspect that the Sultan's commander did not detail his best troops for this unwelcome job. After all, it is not unknown today for a Colonel, when asked to detail men for a course which does not appear to be particularly relevant or useful, to avoid sending the best of his personnel. This armed escort was the riff-raff of Zanzibar. They flourished their antique carbines when there was no danger. At the slightest hint of it they prepared to bolt. That was one weakness. Another was that Burton required 170 porters to carry baggage and the trade goods which could buy them rations and obtain entry at tribal frontiers. Instead of 170 they collected 36, and as a result all the heavy baggage had to be left behind. Commenting on that, Burton says: "I had only £1,000. I only had twelve months' leave. It was neck or nothing, and I risked it". Meagre resources proved a severe handicap throughout the journey.

The first stage of the journey began at Kaole, near Bagamoyo, whence they worked their way south-westward to Zongomero. They started on the 24th June, which was at least a month too soon, and they found the swampy valley which they were traversing extremely malarial. At once they went down with fever, and they lacked adequate medicinal resources even for the 1850's. They passed through the dangerous country of the Wazaramo, and then encountered a difficulty which nearly wrecked the expedition. That was the demand of every tribal chief whom they encountered for the payment of *hongo* or tribute. They were met at the first village of every tribal area, and the chief or his representative, having learnt that these people were coming with quantities

of trade goods, demanded what seemed an exorbitant amount of cloth and the best quality beads, and so it went on. It was very important for the chief that he should get a good rake-off. If he did not do so he lost face both with his own people and with rival tribes. And so, stage by stage, the unfortunate Burton, as Speke did in his later journey, had to spend hours, and sometimes days, arguing as to how much they should pay before they were given transit through the tribal territory. Before long both in turn became delirious with fever. Due south of Morogoro they reached the end of the first stage of that journey and here they had a week's halt.

Mr. Dearden in his biography, "The Arabian Knight", has described the scene which met the eyes of the travellers: "Slave caravans, huddled in the great central square, were a piteous sight, causing even the hardened Europeans to wince. Long strings of naked, diseased and starving natives—men, women and children—were yoked neck to neck with heavy poles, and driven by whips wielded ruthlessly by half-caste overseers. Captured in remote villages in the interior, or sold by starving parents, they were being hastened to the coast for sale". They were entering a tortured country.

The second stage was from Zongomero to Ugogo, then Uhimba and finally to Kazehe (Tabora), through barren country at first where there was a great scarcity of food and where the porters became mutinous. Then they encountered the ghastly spectacle of slave caravans coming down towards the coast which had been stricken with smallpox. They passed wrecked villages where the elderly and the very young had been massacred. The warlike Wagogo plundered the unfortunate travellers mercilessly, and Burton and Speke were helpless. They were in the hands of the tribes through which they passed and their escort was useless, so that they had to do the best they could and accept the demands made upon them. The straggling caravan made its slow way across a waterless region and then through a forest region into Unyamwezi—the "land of the Moon". On the 17th November, 1857, after 154 days of painful march, they reached Tabora, where they met with great kindness from the Arab merchants, particularly one Snay bin Amir, who gave them some valuable hints. Burton and Speke were the first Europeans to follow this track, but they were not explorers in the sense that Livingstone, Stanley, Thomson and Baker were. They were following a known caravan track. The greatness of their achievement lies elsewhere.

Talking to these Arab merchants in Tabora, they learnt that there was not one huge inland sea, but in fact three lakes—now known as Victoria, Tanganyika and Nyasa. They stayed at Tabora until 14th December, and then set off on the last stage of the journey to Lake Tanganyika. They were both sick men, pestered by desertions and the demands of the tribal chiefs. Burton fell gravely ill and a numbness attacked one of his legs, which did not leave him completely until a year after the end of the journey. Speke became almost blind. And so through wilderness and then through grassy plateau and finally through swamp, until on the 13th February they climbed a ridge and before them lay Lake Tanganyika. "Nothing in sooth could be more picturesque", writes Burton, "than this first view of the Tanganyika Lake, as it lay in the lap of the mountains, basking in the gorgeous tropical sunshine. Below and beyond a short foreground of rugged and precipitous hillfold, down which the footpath zigzags painfully, a narrow strip of emerald green, never sere and marvellously

fertile, shelves towards a ribbon of glistening yellow sand, here bordered by sedgy rushes, there cleanly and clearly cut by the breaking wavelets. Farther in front stretch the waters, an expanse of the lightest and softest blue, in breadth varying from thirty to thirty-five miles and sprinkled by the crisp east wind with tiny crescents of snowy foam". Their recovery at Ujiji was slow. Later they attempted to explore the northern end of the lake, looking for a possible source of the Nile; but the boatmen were too afraid of the hostile tribes to go farther, and they had to come back disappointed.

And then the journey back to the coast. Shortage of supplies compelled them to return to Tabora and wait there until the end of June, 1858; and while Burton with the help of the Arab merchants organized the return journey, Speke was permitted by Burton to take thirty-five followers and strike north to find the other lake of which the Arabs had spoken—Lake Victoria.

From the point of view of his career Burton made a great mistake in not going with him. Speke's story is that Burton said he had had enough of it and would not face this further task, but that seems extremely unlikely. I think it was that Burton, as the leader of the expedition, felt that if he did not devote himself to organizing the return with great care, they would never see the coast again. However, Speke, with great skill and to his great credit, found his way to a spot near Mwanza and there stood on the southern shore of Lake Victoria. He made his way back to Tabora, and to Burton's scorn and astonishment announced that he had quite certainly discovered the source of the Nile. How anyone standing at Mwanza could know where the source of the Nile was passes comprehension, but it was one of those intuitive guesses of Speke which happened to be right. I think that in normal conditions Speke would not have done the mean thing that he did after they had eventually reached the coast. He was a sick man, and he had developed a strong antipathy towards his leader. He hastened home before Burton, stole the praise, and secured the financial backing of the Royal Geographical Society to lead a second expedition to discover where the source of the Nile actually was. That expedition was much better found than the original. It was supported not only by the Royal Geographical Society, but by the British Government, the Government of India and the Government of Cape Colony. It was far better equipped in every way.

Speke had one quality of leadership that Burton lacked. Burton collected and recorded topographical knowledge which was amazing in its accurate detail, but Speke had a human touch which enabled him to smooth the quarrels in his caravan and to establish good relations with Africans—notably with Mutesa, the Kabaka of Buganda, then a very young man. After four months' stay and seeing the Ripon Falls, he followed the Nile northward. He could not follow the great westward bend because of tribal wars, and therefore cut across it, eventually meeting Samuel Baker and his gallant wife at Gondoroko, and so made his way home. He and his companion, James Grant, had discovered the real source of the Nile.

Let me now attempt an assessment of the achievement of Burton and Speke. Burton made this claim at the end of his two-volume work on the first journey:—

"I went into a country ignorant of it—its language, trade, manners and customs, preceded only by a French officer (Lieut. Maizan), who was murdered directly he landed. Without money, support, or influence, lacking

in the necessities of life, I led the most disorderly caravan that ever man could gather together into the heart of Eastern Africa and discovered the Tanganyika lake”

As I have said, Burton and Speke did not discover Lake Tanganyika. Arab traders had done that. Wherein, then, lies their importance? It lies in this. They opened the coastal door of Tanganyika to Western civilization. Without fully realizing it, they opened the way to an influx of principles, institutions, techniques and problems from the Western world, which itself was in violent ferment. Think of the ideas that crowded into Tanganyika behind Richard Burton and Jack Speke—the concept, for example, of the essential value of the freedom of the individual in thought and action, deriving from ancient Greece, and combined with the Roman genius for government, justice and self-discipline. This heritage, ripened in England in the seventeenth century by men like Hampden, Pym, Eliot, Cromwell, had been transported in little ships to North America; and from that great enterprise eventually emerged after much travail the democracies of the United States and then of Canada. These same ideas found their way to Australasia and across the Indian Ocean; and the upshot has been the establishment of Western parliamentary government in India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Malaya. This was the heritage for which Burton and Speke opened the way into Tanganyika; and not only political ideas but the dynamism of the Christian faith which in nineteenth-century England inspired a great outburst of humanitarian and missionary effort.

Furthermore, this England in ferment was producing new techniques in industry. An economic revolution was transforming the way of life of Europe and gradually of the world; and so machines and all the complex problems that machines bring with them were also brought into East Africa by the penetration of these two British travellers.

For the reflections with which I shall conclude I make no apology, because it seems to me that this occasion in 1957, one hundred years after the first European exploration, is a moment of the greatest significance in the history of Tanganyika. If we look back on the invasion of principles, institutions and techniques which has taken place and take stock of the situation now, it seems clear to me, as a visitor, that Tanganyika is entering the most critical stage of its development. The next few years may well decide what the peoples of Tanganyika do with the heritage which the followers-up of Burton and Speke have brought into this country; and just as we in Britain have passed through a succession of ordeals as the result of revolutionary change, a similar and more concentrated ordeal inevitably faces Tanganyika.

It imposes a test of the most searching kind, first upon the Europeans who are here, and next, because they also have a responsibility, upon the Europeans in Britain at home. What kind of test? The test is imposed upon us because we, however worthy or unworthy, are the channels of this tremendous heritage. We are the channels, too, of the problems imported by virtue of the heritage. It calls, therefore, not only for wise statesmanship in London and Dar es Salaam, but also (and no less) for a living up to the code of our civilization by individual Europeans here. If they can maintain wisdom, patience and tolerance under stress they will contribute mightily to this decisive stage.

I suggest, too, that a test is being imposed upon the Asians. It is not easy for them, while retaining the faith and culture of their fathers, to make this country of their adoption the object of their loyalty.

And the African is under test. What a test! He, after thousands of years of stagnation and barbarism, has been suddenly flung into a maelstrom. Circumstances which we cannot control are compelling him, for good or ill within a couple of generations, to learn and adapt a complex civilization which we have slowly and painfully evolved over many centuries. Inevitably the stress and strain upon the African is tremendous.

Out of that triple test, what is going to emerge? In this centenary year of 1957 the time has come to ask that question. You can assess the operative factors far better than I can. Tanganyika aspires to independence like every territory in the world, and in due course it will come. But there are two types of independence—negative and positive. By negative independence I mean freedom from control and guidance. That is a form of independence, but—like patriotism—it is not enough. If it is no more than that, if the peoples of Tanganyika seize upon the outward husk, the material things, of our civilization and throw away the kernel, they will probably lose even the material things, and then, without any question, the independence of Tanganyika will be only another way of describing its uncontrolled return into the slough of despond in which Burton and Speke found it.

And the alternative? A positive independence. And what is positive independence? It is to take the kernel, that is to say, the moral and spiritual values which have shaped the Western world. If these values are really adopted by the peoples of Tanganyika, whatever their race, they will have taken to themselves a formative influence which can integrate, which can enable tribal groups, while retaining their own identity (which is valuable), to draw together in partnership, and furthermore, to work with Europeans and Asians, as fellow citizens, believing in common ideals and sharing common interests.

I believe that within the next few years Tanganyika has no option but to make the choice between negative and positive independence for the future. On the one hand, group self-seeking and consequent disintegration; on the other hand, the evolution of a united Tanganyika nation, strong by virtue of mutual tolerance and faith in genuine freedom. This night, one hundred years after the first penetration of Tanganyika by the Western world, is an appropriate moment to take stock and to consider what the fundamentals are with regard to the future.

EDITORIAL NOTE

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