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THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

No. CCXL.

JULY, 1863.


The first volume of the 'Memorials of the Viscount Dundee' was given to the public three years ago; and as the two concluding volumes have appeared more recently, we have now the work before us as a whole, and are able to judge fairly of its merits. It is confessedly a successful account as to the author's "Life and Times of Montrose," a compilation of a Protean kind, which appeared at different times under various titles and as many different sizes, reminding us, by the ingenuity with which the same materials were made to assume a great variety of shapes, of the transformations of the kaleidoscope. The two works embrace the fifty troubled years stretching from 1610 to 1660, and they are designed not merely to clear the fame of the two Scotch Royalist leaders from the mists of prejudice and passion, but to throw a new light upon the history of events in Scotland prior to the Revolution. According to Mr. Napier, all previous histories of these times have been written wrong: Charles I. was a saintly martyr, Charles II. a perfect gentleman, James II. a good-natured, kindly man; and the Covenanters, who were hunted, hanged, drawn, and quartered, got only what they deserved. These opinions, conspicuous enough in the Life of Montrose, are stated with double energy in the Memorial Volumes.
The Sources of the Nile.

July.

The most striking popular fact to be deduced from the present exploration is, that the Nile is the longest river in the world, at least in one of the two senses of that epithet. When we measure its depositional precursor, the Mississippi, in a direct line between the head of the remol- lent tributary, we find the distance to be about 1,749 miles; the corresponding measurement of the Nile is no less than 2,580. If, on the other hand, we care to measure the course of either of the so-called 'verted' ships, in the same features, by following their principal bends with a pair of compasses, we obtain 2,450 for the Mississippi, against 2,560 for the Nile. We have no parallel with its immense meanderings of either stream; indeed, the exceedingly tortuous course of the upper part of the latter river is still unmapped with accuracy. There is no other on the globe that links such different branches as the Nile, none that is so remarkable for its physical peculiarities, none that is clothed with equal historical interest, and none that has so attracted or so baffled the theorist and the explorer. Let us state, in a few words, the slow steps by which its investigation had hitherto advanced, before we narrate the adventures of the party by whom it has, at length, been accomplished. In the world, indeed, the researches may say, really up the Nile from its mouth, if they wish, to the second cataract, a distance of 730 miles, neglecting the meanderings of the river; and it is also to be observed that a further course of 700 miles, partly navigable with ease and partly with great difficulty, takes the traveller to Khartum, where the Blue and White branches combine. Their united volume forms the identical stream that intersects the whole breadth of the Sahara with a thread of habitable land; for not a single tributary, except the Askhab—and that is almost dry in summer—the mouth is bare of 180 miles below Khartum—adds anything to its volume. Bruce reached Abyssinia at the end of the last century. He acted upon the erroneous conclusion that the Blue River was the more important of the two arms. He accordingly devoted himself to exploring the Lake Donge, whence it derives its source, and therefore he claimed the honour of having discovered the sources of the Nile. The Blue River was certainly the more important stream of the two, speaking socially, for it led to Abyssinia, and its banks were populous; while the White was the far less in the eyes of Europeans, and to the haunts of barbarians. There is life in the water of the former, as they swill past Khartum, clear blue, sparkling, like a vast salmon-stream, but the huge White has lost all color and meretricious character. The size of its mouth is regulated by its island; and when its undetected waters have been entered, they seem so stagnant as to suggest the idea of a backwater to the Blue Nile, rather than a sister affluent. But its breadth and depth more than compensate for the sluggishness of its current; and, we now know, by the comparative surmises rere the contemporaries of Bruce were enabled to take, that its greater volume, of water, as well as its far superior length, justify it to be the parent stream of Egypt.

The White Nile was wholly neglected until M. Lalande made a short expedition up it for one or two hundred miles, in 1827. His report of its size, and of the ivory, gums, and other savage products that were procured on its banks, inflamed the curiosity and the greed of the Egyptian Government, who were then bent on extending their dominions. They sent out expeditions during three successive years, in which Arnaud and Wurme took part, and explored the river for far more than 1,000 miles of water-way, terminating at or about Gondakoro, which we have at length ascertained, through Speke's observations, to be in lat. 4° 54' N. and long. 31° 46'. Fifty or sixty miles above Gondakoro, the navigation of the river is absolutely interrupted by rapids and rocks. Henceforward, and by slow degrees, the White Nile became a highway for competing traders, who formed stations near its banks, and traded in ivory and slaves, and little power to convey geographical knowledge, and, for the most part, they had strong prejudices in withholding what they knew; and so that acquaintance with the river, in a strict point of view, was out of all proportion inferior to its value and accessibility.

Praeatorvorous attempts have been made by individual explorers, who were mainly interested in the earliest appeals of the French Geographical Society, and especially of its late venerable President, M. Jomard, to explore beyond Gondakoro, and to map the neighborhood of the river, in a scale that they met with scanty success. Our maps of the high Nilotic countries are compromises of exceedingly different representations, mostly devoid of any Students of the specialty of the most successful traveller, Miani, reached only to a point which Speke has, as far as we can ascertain, to be in lat. 6° 34' N. As for the extraordinary length of his route, which that traveller laid down upon paper with a free hand, and without the slightest astronomical check, we dismiss it from our consideration. It is wholly unproved, and is, in many respects, impracticable.

The failure of travellers from Gondakoro
exploring party to Eastern Africa, to find out what they could: hence, Burton and Speke's expedition to Lake Tanganyika in 1858–9, it will be recalled that Burton, the leader of the party, suffered severely from an illness during the whole of the journey, against which he gallantly but unsuccessfully struggled. Consequently, on his arrival at Kalambo, 150 miles above the Lake Tanganyika and the coast, and an entrapment of some importance, whence a trading route diverges to the north, he despatched Speke on a solitary expedition. He was to follow that route and gain a great lake called Nyanza, which was clearly one of the separate lakes which the missionaries had believed to be united in a continuous sheet of water. Speke started on the Lake Masinga and, reaching the southern shores of an enormous island in lat. 2° 45' S. and long. 33° 30' E., and therefore at a distance of 480 geographical miles from Gondakoro, and about 400 from the highest point to which the White Nile had been ascended by Miani. Recollecting this fact, and being informed that the lake extended some 400 miles in that direction (it can only be more than 200), and that it had a northern outlet, a rare frequentation by white men, Speke came to the conclusion that that river must be the Nile, and therefore that the Nyanza (or as he pleased to name it after its great taste, the Victoria Nyanza) was, in a proximate sense, its long-sought source.

The present expedition of Captains Speke and Grant was planned to investigate that hypothesis. It was done with the help of Government aid, granted at the earnest solicitation of the Geographical Society, and has proved the truth of Speke's theory. We will now proceed to give the chief incidents and the geographical results of their protracted journey.

Captains Speke and Grant left Zanzibar in October, 1858, after having despatched a caravan of natives in advance, to form a depot of goods and travelling necessaries at Zanzibar. The expedition was arranged on a liberal scale, though it was prepared under certain circumstances, and to end, in order to suppose that the snow mountains of the missionaries were identical with the Mountains of the Moon, spoken of by Ptolomy, whence the Nile was said to have its source. They argued, therefore, that hypothesis, that an expedition should be sent from Zanzibar to seek the sources of that river. On the other hand, there were many who urged an investigation of the Lake question, as one of great geographical interest and apparently easy solution. In fine, the Geographical Society successfully exerted itself to procure the despatch of an

In the next incident that bears upon our subject was the appearance of a map, wholly compiled from native information by Mr. Rebmann, with the assistance of another missionary, Mr. Erhardt. It included a vast territory, reaching from the eastern coast to the upper Nile, and was founded on the statements of travellers by several caravan routes, which were said to run parallel to one another, from the coast to the interior, and there be connected by a coast path along the shores of a lake. Other information connected the route by cross sections, and made it probable that the three lakes were one continuous sheet of water, prolonging into the Lake Masavina, and known as the Lake Nyanga.

The memoir that accompanied the missionaries' sketch was composed with great ability, and could not fail to convince render that, not only the probability of the existence of a sheet of water of the egregious dimensions and unnatural outline ascribed to it in the sketch, there was undoubtedly a lake country of great extent at some sixty miles' journey from the eastern coast, and that more than one road led perfectly open to any traveller who chose to make the effort.

The labour of Mr. Cooley is too well known and too well founded for recital here. He had advocated a long narrow lake, stretching down Eastern Africa; but his arguments were based on travel that were little known to the English public, and were written on an entirely different critical basis. The same may be said, with more or less truth, of the arguments of the Abyssinian traveller, Dr. Beke, and of a crowd of others who entertained various hypotheses on the subject. The whole was a failure. The Victoria Nyanza was, in a proximate sense, its long-sought source.

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But when political causes are taken into consideration, it is found that the eastern route is the shorter. It passes through the territory of a warlike and dissatisfied people, the Massai, with whom no traveller has yet succeeded in making friends. They possess no paramount chief, whose goodwill can shield the explorer through an extensive country, but every tribe is independent in its own domain, and probably on ill terms with its neighbours. Thus, the Baron Von der Decken—adventurer and ascetic, and the missionaries’ “snow mountain,” Kilimanjaro, to a height of 10,000 feet, has recently been driven back by the Massai, on attempting to enter their territory from the eastern side. The two western shores of the lake are subject to very different political conditions. They are included in the territory of Uganda, and one despotic sovereign holds under his strict control. He also maintains a fleet of war-canoes on his lakes. He is, therefore, all-powerful to aid or to thwart a traveller, and it was to his court that Speke and Grant intended to proceed, in order to gain his assistance.

Thus far, a journey of 20 miles north-west of Karagwe, the travellers had journeyed among the Wanyamishi and other uninteresting negroes, who are said to have been formerly inhabitants of the region of the lake. They are now scattered in tribes and families, where each man does what is right in his own eyes, subject to no restriction beyond the self-imposed restraint of superstitions and the tyranny of the powerful neighbours. The single principle they possess, that attains to the dignity of a national policy, is a tacit understanding that travelling parties should be taxed and robbed by individuals, only so far as will fall short of putting a stop to the caravan trade altogether. It is cold comfort to acknowledge that this is the advance upon the doctrines of the Massai. Now, however, on the western shores of the lake, in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyassa, Speke and Grant came upon a series of strong governments, including that of Uganda, and found their history to be of constant warfare.

Scattered among the Wanyamishi, and neighbouring races, are found families of a superior type to the negro. They exist as a prosperous people, but their prosperity is so uncertain that they adopt the customs of the races of Abyssinia. They bear different names in different places, but we will describe them by that which has the true Abyssinian, namely, Wituwiti. Speke concludes his description of the people of Abyssinia, and of Asiatic origin. He believes they migrated in somewhat ancient times in bands from Abyssinia, and met with various fortunes. In some countries, as in

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The Sources of the Nile.

July.

be made, either when the road is freely open to caravans, as was the case in Burton and Speke’s expedition in 1858, or when the goodwill of a chief has been obtained in numbers, when compared to the negroes whom they ruled. Such was first found to be the case in Usumi, a small country governed by a chief, and containing 12,000 to 14,000 inhabitants. In 1830, 100 miles west of the Lake Nyassa, Speke and Grant traversed Usumi with the greatest difficulty, and thence made their way to the capital of the neighboring chiefs, Zambian, which lies 250 miles from Karagwe, and 70 miles west of the lake. Uganda lies north of Karagwe, and is rarely visited by traders. It presents a number of difficulties, and is less attractive. It is a very pleasant country with its hillside and forests. It is a very pleasant country with its hillside and forests.

Speke and Grant perceived the advantages of a friendly treaty with the country in the plains and forests, which at one time was visited by the traders from Zanzibar. The people there are friendly, and the trade is considerable. The people there are friendly, and the trade is considerable.

It is highly probable that the trade with the country in the plains and forests is considerable. The people there are friendly, and the trade is considerable.
The Sources of the Nile.

July, 1868.

It is a common conception of numerical data to measure them by simple standards; those that refer to the Nile are, for various reasons, extremely difficult to be exactly disposed of. The river spans, from south to north, very nearly one-fifth of the entire meridional arc, from pole to pole; and its general course is so strictly to the north, that its source in the river of Karang is due south of Alexandria. Khardam is the exact half-way between the sea and the exit of the Nile from the Nyanza, which lies almost exactly under the equator.

We have thus far arrived at the fact, that the high table-land, 120 miles across, of which M'budu is the center, is drained on the north by the tributaries of the Nyanza, and therefore of the Nile, and the south-westwards by those of the Tanganyika, and therefore of the Zambesi. There is also a very strong argument in the introduction of upland water, brought by the rivers, as the appearance of the map and the conclusion of previous African geographers, that the source of the Congo must be further north than is at present believed. Hence we may conclude that from this circumferenced district the waters drain into the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, and the Atlantic, and that the M'budu plateau is the key-stone, the amphitheater of African geography. We consider this fact as the great discovery made by Speke and Grant.

The theory of Sir Rodolfe Murchison, that the interior of Africa is an elevated plateau, whence all rivers escape by cutting a northward and southerly course, must now be received with some modifications. There is some indication of a plateau of the same character as the Zambesi, but facts are still wanting to test its strict applicability to the Congo; and, as to the Nile, the following remarks were made by Sir Rodolfe in his Anniversary address to the Royal Geographical Society:

"Modern discovery has indeed proved the truth of the hypothesis, which I ventured to suggest to you eleven years ago, that the true source of the Nile is a great elevated plateau, from which all the waters are drained by a series of rivers through the internal range of the continent." And, "I am not now prepared to detail the results of this investigation, which I hope will shortly be announced to the world." It is true that since the discovery of the Zambesi, the Nile source has been found, and the Nile is thus proved to be a true mouth of the river.

It is apparent that the Equatorial province, with its high table-land, is a great water-bed, and that the Nile is a great water-channel. The river, as we know, rises in the Nyanza, and from thence flows through a series of lakes and rivers, until it reaches the Mediterranean. The source of the Nile is therefore in the equatorial region, and the river is the result of the drainage of the interior of Africa.

The discovery of the source of the Nile is therefore a great step forward in the science of geography. It is the result of a long and laborious investigation, and it is the result of a careful and systematic study of the rivers of Africa. The Nile is therefore the result of the drainage of the interior of Africa, and it is the result of the study of the rivers of Africa.

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...
Johnston's 'Physical Atlas,' the chart of the distribution of rain ascribes an amount of precipitation to Africa, little in amount, but larger in region than any other continent. Set abstractly to the south, in contrast to the climatic latitudes elsewhere in the world. The humid climate of the coast of Africa corroborates this view, and the outpouring of water from its interior did not denote its extent. The river drainage of Africa was known to be large, while our imperfect knowledge of the river mouths along its coast made it probable that the outpour was still larger. It has been accurately determined. Africa used to be described as a land in which we knew of the existence of vast rivers, but were ignorant of their embouchures. The Niger and generation back, the Zambesi, and the Nile, are the great rivers of Africa. On Chalir, all are instances where the streams were known by exaggerated reports, but their mouths, where navigators voyaged, gained the water they poured into the sea, were undiscovered.

The hydrology of Eastern Africa is now pretty well understood; it depends upon well-marked geographical features. A narrow coastline is bounded by the rampart-like edge of a high plateau; the rain-bearing monsoons blow parallel to this ridge, and not across it; consequently there are heavy rains on the coast-line, and a comparative drought to the interior. On passing about a quarter of the distance across Africa, and on arriving at the meridian of the lakes, rain again begins to fall freely, but its amount, as measured by Grant's rain-gauge, bears no comparison to the deluge that descends in similar parallels, either on the great oceans, or on the islands that lie within them, else where in the world.

The climate of the rivers of a country may vary year by year in the sea, must have been derived from it, on the average, within the same periods. Now it is clear, from geographical considerations, that Africa is an endowment devoted to receiving rain-bearing currents from the ocean. The existence of the Sahara to the north, and the Kilimanjaro desert to the south, makes it impossible that the monsoon supplies should reach the interior in a straight line from the sea in either of those directions. Again; we have already said that the monsoons blow parallel to the coast, for the desert is an obstacle, that the trade winds blow parallel to the west coast; consequently, the vapour that reaches the interior must be derived from limited directions, and can only be conveyed by the comparatively narrow channel of outer atmospheric currents. We consequently find that the vegetation of Central Equatorial Africa is, on the whole, not so moist and steaming as that of its coasts; but that it is largely characterised by open plains and scraggy imous trees; and though the flatness of large portions of the surface, along with the easy formation of great lakes and rainy plains, there is an absence of that vast amount of suspended vapour which would arise from African temperatures, if the air were saturated with moisture. The chief cause of the rise of the White Nile must not be looked for in the swelling of the Nyassa Lake. The rain-fall was found to be too continuous this climate to produce any very marked alteration of its level; but south of the level of Gondokoro, the division of the rainy and dry season begins to be sharply defined. We should therefore mainly ascribe the rise of the Nile to the rainfall north of about 3° N. lat.

We will now turn from considerations of physical geography to the history and character of the races among whom Speke and Grant have been so long familiar. It seems clear to us that in no part of Africa do the negroes present so few points of interest, as in the countries which stretch between the lakes Tanganyika and Nyassa and the eastern coast. But on arriving at the three Wawuma kingdoms, which enclose the western and north-western shores of the latter lake, a race of people who are marked off by a picturesque life arrests the attention. Two at least of these Wawuma kingdoms have all the advantages of being ruled with a firm hand, and, as we have already stated, the three are governed by a small group of Englishmen and Dutchmen, as nobles, than the people who compose the bulk of their respective nations. This is an exceptional occurrence in Africa: the great kingdom of North African negroes which now, or formerly, stretched from the Sahara to the Nile, have been for the most part founded by alien races. It is hard to overstate the value of a political condition to a big population, who are servile, susceptible, and little able to rule themselves. The negro is plastic under the influence of a strong, if it be a sympathetic, racial influence, to an extent of which we in our northern experience can afford no instance. The recent growth of national dignity among the Italians is a feeble parallel to what may be effected, in the same time, by the conversion of negroes to the Mohammedan creed. The impressionable character of the negroes is such as may be seen in a school of European boys, which is immediately converted, though not necessarily to the same thing, the Virginian negroes have been converted to the Mahometan creed. The impressionable character of the negroes is such as may be seen in a school of European boys, which is immediately converted, though not necessarily to the same thing, the Mahometan creed. The impressionable character of the negroes is such as may be seen in a school of European boys, which is immediately converted, though not necessarily to the same thing, the Mahometan creed. The impressionable character of the negroes is such as may be seen in a school of European boys, which is immediately converted, though not necessarily to the same thing, the Mahometan creed. The impressionable character of the negroes is such as may be seen in a school of European boys, which is immediately converted, though not necessarily to the same thing, the Mahometan creed. The impressionable character of the negroes is such as may be seen in a school of European boys, which is immediately converted, though not necessarily to the same thing, the Mahometan creed. The impressionable character of the negroes is such as may be seen in a school of European boys, which is immediately converted, though not necessarily to the same thing, the Mahometan creed.
The Sources of the Nile.

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he struck fifty miles from the lake. Speke then ascended the river, and traced it to its exit from the Nyanza, and afterwards returned down its stream in canoes. We pass over the particulars of his journey, though it was, personally, of the utmost interest to him. His boats were unexpectedly attacked, while he was still in Uganda, and he forced his way through considerable dangers. Finally, he reached the last of the third and last of the great Wahuma kingdoms.

His reception by the king was unfriendly. The Ubyoro people are said to have been unhappy on account of the spirtuall and native dress of their neighbours in Uganda, whose clothes are compared to the French. He and Grant spent many dreary months at Nasinda, before they were allowed to proceed. The King would not permit them even to enter his palace; he was always at his witchcrafts. They were first threatened by the Ubyoro people and then by their Uganda escort, who endeavour to take them back. Half of their property deserted them. It would weary the reader to follow the travellers' narrative of their journey through this inhospitable land. They were often driven into the most inhospitable parts of Africa, and the traveller is murdered, like Vogel in Wadai.

Though Speke was treated with utmost kindliness at Uganda, his journey was made all the more difficult, as the King's expenses were enormous, and the women of his harem and a few thousand wives of the King inhabited the huts and quizzed Speke's party. There is plenty to do at these levées, built in a wild and enormous ways, and the inevitable pages are presented to the reader. Military commanders bring in the cattle and plunder they have taken; artists bring their chefs d'œuvre; hunters procure rare animals, and the first king, having established a menagerie. Pages are running about, literally for their lives, and the bands of drummers and pea-group rattlers, and artists writing on their fingers, with the other accomplishments, never cease to play.

The King has, however, some peace. He sits aside three days a month to attend to his religious ceremonies. He possesses a large collection of magic books, which he arranges and contemplates, and thereby communicates with a spirit who lives deep in the waters of the Nyanza. He also indulges in the instrument which makes pilgrimage, dragging his wife after him; on which occasions no common man dare look at the royal procession. If any person should happen to invite the inevitable pages, they hasten down and rob them of everything. Occasionally the King spends a fortnight yachting on the lake, and Speke was his companion on one of these occasions. M'tese, the King, is a young man of twenty-five, who dresses scrupulously well, and uses a pocket-handkerchief for a sporran. He has been a capital shot at flying game, under Speke's tuition. He told Speke that Uganda was his garden, and that no one might say nay to him. We may mention, in passing, that he received five months at Karagwe, while his colleague had gone forwards to see the way.

Speke established his position at the Court of Uganda by judicious action and conversation. He would not flounder on his horse, nor whine like a happy dog. He would not even consent to stand in the sun awaiting the King's leisure at the first interview, but insisted on sitting in his own chair, with an umbrella over his head. The courtiers have expected the heavens to fall upon such a man, but they did not; and, in the end, M'tese treated him like a brother, and the two were always together. Savage despots have to be managed like wild beasts. If the traveller is too compliant, he is oppressed, thwarted, and ruined; if he is too audacious, the sanction, and the traveller is murdered, like Vogel in Wadai.

The discovery of this great river springing from two lakes, does certainly outweigh the belief that the ancient knowledge of the Nile was more advanced than that of recent times; but the want of circumstantial precision with which the ancient accounts are conveyed, let an impression adverse to their truth. They strike in one great leap from Khartum to the sources, without any description of the intervening land, unless, except Strabo's, which is as follows, as we understand it. After clearly describing all the Nile, down to the Atrax and Blue River, he says,—'But the Atopus is to be another river which issues out of some of the sources of the Nile and forms the number of the Nile; it flows in a straight line, and is filled by the summer rains.' When we speak of geographical discovery, we rarely mean, even, the first sight of what no human eye had previously seen, but the visit of men who could observe geographically, and describe what they saw, so that a leave no obscurity as to their meaning. These conditions had
never previously been satisfied as regards the Nile; for geographers, working with the faintest intimations upon the same data, came to diverse conclusions, and no map made by any one of them bore either a rude or a childish resemblance to what is now asserted to be the truth.

The first person Speke saw when he reached Gondakoro was his old friend Baker, who had arrived there, bent on a self-promised journey of exploration and of relief to Speke. The interview, to use Speke's own words, intoxicated them both with joy. Baker gave him his return boat, stored with corn, and supplies for his journey; he could think of, and thus the journey ended. Mr. Consul Petherick, who had been furnished with 1,000l., the proceeds of a private subscription to bear risks of Speke, and who had undertaken to go to Gondakoro a year previously, had wholly failed in his mission. Strangely enough, he too arrived at Gondakoro, previous to Speke's departure from that place, but not in a condition to render that service which Baker had so happily and gratuitously afforded.

Gondakoro does not seem to be quite such a desert as Petherick had represented, where Speke himself, however successful, had thought the expedition was directed to meet him. On the contrary, a splendid Cossack Turk, Koorachid Pasha, had been governor of the place for fourteen months; he instantly gave the travellers a dinner of a fat turkey, concluded with claret and cigars.

Thus closed the tale of a journey that involved a voyage of 1,500 miles through the equatorial regions of Africa, and has solved almost the only remaining geographical problem of importance. It has been the Matterhorn of the Geographical Society, the grandest feat and the longest deserved. If Speke himself or Baker would come from the Loita Naiga to the Atlantic, and if some Gregory or Stuart would traverse Western Australia, the great secret chambers of the habitable earth would all be unlocked.


3. Popérs relative to the Royal Guard of Scottish Archers in France. (From Original Documents.) Printed at Edinburgh for the Maitland Club. 1 vol. 4to. 1855.

In the midst of international questions of every shape and shade, and when the value of every conceivable form of international relation is daily submitted to the test of fresh experience, it is interesting to know that the alliance, the direct effects of which have ceased for centuries to be appreciable to politicians, but which is still so important in the eyes of men of learning and ability as to entitle it to a little national attention, has been such a source of unity to France and Scotland was, indeed, a memorable friendship, standing out from all merely political arrangements not only by its warmth and fervour whilst it endured, but by the lasting effects which it left behind it. These, M. François-Michel has traced,—in the public history, and still more in the private and domestic annals of France. In Scotland they meet at every turn,—in the institutions, habits, and speech of the people, from the organisation of the Court of Session, the terminology of the law, and the constitution of the Presbyterian Church, to the baking of 'lochax'- (painted) and 'petticoatais' (petticoat-this), and the opening of an oyster. The high-roofed gable and the paper-box turn of the French chateau gave to Scotland a style of building which came domesticated with us in the eighteenth century, and which has been revived in our own days with great propriety and taste. We claim for the popular cookery of Scotland, distinguished by an enlightened use of vegetables and of broths, a marked superiority over the barbarous culinary preparations of South Britain; but it must be confessed that we owe this superiority to the legacies of the French allies. And, as we write, we are informed that in more than one Scottish village lingers the tradition of a French tourneset, which was probably imported when the newest fashions came from the Court of Blois or Fontainebleau.

M. Michel says that a sense of the disproportion between the small space accorded to the Scottish alliance in the ordinary annals of France, and the magnitude of the part which it really played in the history of his country, was one of his motives for undertaking the work to which he has devoted considerable attention. However the matter may have stood when M. Michel commenced his labours, five and twenty years ago, our countrymen will be extremely unreasonable if they are not more than satisfied with the amende honorable which has now been made to them. Of the class of writers—and compilers, rather than historians—by whom the task of revising this curious and interesting page in the history of the two countries has been accomplished, M. Michel has been the most industrious, and he is probably the most exhaustive. In the good work of restoring, as it were, to each other, two old schoolfellows and comrades in arms, whom the changes and chances of life drifted asunder, he holds, and probably will continue to hold, to the first place. He is so far from a fastidious writer, that,—taking into account that he is a Frenchman, and remembering the precision with which Frenchmen distribute their matter, and the clearness, sharpness, and brevity with which they write,—it is almost incredible that he should have produced so disorderly and dull a book. But the merits of M. Michel's performance altogether outweigh its defects; and, of the former, one of the greatest consists in the extent to which it has rectified and widened our conception of the subject of which he treats.

Hitherto this alliance between the most populous court of continental Europe and our northern allies had been viewed chiefly in relation to the only line of the league of Scotland and France grown up under the shadow of England, and was strengthened by common hatred or common fear. In the popular conception of it, in France more especially, these passions centre in the single person of Mary Stuart. Everybody knows the ties which bound the beautiful and unhappy Queen of France,—that her mother was a Frenchwoman,—that France was the land in which her own unhappy girlhood was spent—that for a brief period she sat upon the French throne (France and Scotland being then united by what would now be called a personal union)—that when she ultimately returned to her paternal kingdom she was accompanied by French attendants, and continued to be surrounded by them during her whole life, and up to the last she herself always both spoke and wrote by preference what was indeed her mother's tongue. So constantly are these facts present to the mind of the French, that they regard her less in the light of a beautiful exotic that flourished for a time in the rich soil of France, than as the fair and fragrant emblem of their country's destiny, by an adverse fate, to arid and useless Scotland. But the rough unkindness of Scotland is forgotten, and the cloy is seen only as crushed and broken at last by the jealousy and bigotry of England. M. Mignet has with entire justice and incomparable skill contested the prepossessions of his countrymen; but no Frenchman can forget that on the basis of Mignet's researches she has re-enforced her executions that it was on the Queen Dowager of France that they were about to lay their sacrilegious hands.

What has been of the powerful and indefatigable character of the Frenchman, poetry, might be said with equal truth of the sympathies and anticipations which arise from occasions that appeal strongly to the imagination. Scottish auxiliaries fought by the side of James of St. Victor under the banner, which, according to M. Michel, a Scotchman had painted; and Scotchmen stood around as sympathising spectators of her last sufferings at Rouen. In like manner Scotland shared the insults offered to France in the person of Mary Stuart. It is quite surprising to how great an extent these facts, and the many pathetic incidents with which they are connected, dwelt upon as they are in early youth, still colour the feelings with which Frenchmen in general regard the two divisions of the island.

But the marriage of Mary Stuart, and the occurrences which arose out of it, down to the latest generation of her male heirs, are not only a theme of interest, even in the popular imagination, but Scotchmen; M. Michel, and other royal marriages which preceded it are for the most part forgotten—even that of the fair and tender Madeleine de Valois. But the institution of the Order of the Thistle, for example, is popularly remembered; and Quentin Durward has as many readers in France as in Scotland. Then, by a more limited class of present, the Scottish colleges, and the numbers of Scotchmen who held learned appointments in the Universities of France, arc called to mind; and the intellectual relation between the two countries whose extended to a very recent period, if it does not still exist, is supposed to be the source at once of their national sympathies and of their political ties.

On all these subjects the researches of M. Michel have thrown a flood of light. The general information which most persons possessed has been enriched by details, till the skeleton has become a portable figure and not more. We have now a new table of French transactions after it as a mass of private occurrences and arrangements, not very important.

* Whilst Mr. Victor Consul lives, —the pupil of Reyer-Collard, the friend of Hamilton, and the eloquent expositor of the French school of philosophy,—we may surely hold the chain to be unbroken.