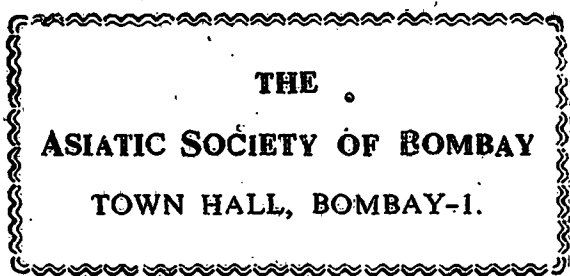


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SKETCH
of the BASIN of the
BAHR EL MAKADEN
OR
RIVER OF HABESH.

Drawn under M. d'Abbadie's direction by
Augustus Petermann

1850.

The Upper course of the River is taken principally from
M. d'Abbadie's Map used to correct in its best material
features, though doubtful facts in the details.
M. d'Abbadie's alleged route in 1825 and 1826 is marked.

AN ENQUIRY

From the An

INTO

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M. ANTOINE D'ABBADIE'S

JOURNEY TO KAFFA,

IN THE YEARS 1843 AND 1844,

TO DISCOVER THE SOURCE OF THE NILE.

60005

ac.

BY CHARLES T. BEKE, PH. D., F.S.A.,

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL, STATISTICAL, AND SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETIES OF LONDON;
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF FRANCE; AND MEMBER
OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY OF GERMANY;

Author of Origines Biblicæ; An Essay on the Nile and its Tributaries, &c.

LONDON:

JAMES MADDEN, 8, LEADENHALL STREET.

1850.

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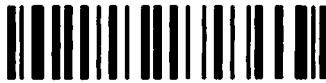
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LONDON:

THOMPSON AND DAVIDSON, PRINTERS,
GREAT ST. HELENS.



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ERRATUM.

Page 49; line 11, *between* to be *and* transported *insert* charged with felony under the 10th section of the Act above-mentioned, and, if convicted, to be.

PREFACE.

UPWARDS of three years ago, M. Antoine d'Abbadie became aware, through his friend Mr. Frederick Ayerton, that I entertained doubts respecting the reality of the journey which forms the subject of the following pages.

Instead of meeting those doubts in an open and candid manner, either by calling on me to substantiate them or by showing them to be unfounded, M. d'Abbadie commenced, in the columns of the *Athenæum*, a series of attacks on me respecting matters, both scientific and personal, which have no relation whatever to the subject of my doubts. These attacks gave rise to a lengthened controversy; which controversy was, after M. d'Abbadie's return to Europe last year, transferred by him from the *Athenæum* to the *Bulletin* of the French Geographical Society, where it is not yet finally closed.

It might perhaps have been more prudent to have allowed M. d'Abbadie's attacks to remain unnoticed, and merely published the evidence on which my doubts respecting his journey were based. But had I adopted that course, many of the proofs which I can now lay

before the public would not have been at my command,* as they have only been elicited by the controversy itself.

It is now, however, time that the real question between M. d'Abbadie and myself should be brought prominently forward. I believe that the journey to Kaffa, alleged to have been performed by him in the years 1843 and 1844, did not take place; and the reasons for this belief are here submitted to the public, with the conviction that they will be acknowledged to be conclusive.

Being desirous of not keeping up the controversy in the *Athenæum* longer than was absolutely necessary, I refrained from noticing several of M. d'Abbadie's letters inserted in that Journal. Those letters are now given in an Appendix, together with my refutation of their contents; which, while it will show that great forbearance has been exercised in allowing them to remain so long unanswered, will at the same time afford additional evidence of the little dependence to be placed on that traveller's statements respecting the countries which he professes to have visited.

C. B.

ST. MILDRED'S COURT,
London, October 10th, 1850.

AN ENQUIRY,

&c.

IN the year 1837, MM. Antoine and Arnauld d'Abbadie left Europe, "with the express intention"—as the former has recently asserted, though he says that they at first "kept it a secret"—"of visiting the source of the White Nile, which [they] believed with Bruce to be situated in Kaffa."¹

From that time till very recently, with the exception of some brief intervals, the two brothers were resident in Eastern Africa; and the reports of their proceedings, from time to time received in Europe from the elder of them, M. Antoine d'Abbadie, naturally attracted the attention of geographers and other men of science, and excited a well-founded desire to be made more fully acquainted with the results of so many years' observations and researches in that very interesting portion of the globe.

In the beginning of the year 1845, letters were received, both in France and in England, from M. d'Abbadie, containing many particulars respecting the countries lying beyond Abessinia to the south, and, among them, of the kingdom of Kaffa.²

This country was described by him as being a peninsula surrounded by the river Godjeb, which river he said he had ascertained to be the upper course of the Bahr el Abyad, the direct stream of the Nile, recently explored by the Turco-Egyptian expeditions fitted out by command of the late Mohammed Ali Pasha.³

¹ See M. d'Abbadie's declaration to that effect in the *Athenæum* of January 27th, 1849, No. 1109, page 93.

² See *Athenæum*, No. 906, p. 242; No. 911, p. 360; No. 918, p. 542; *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 3rd Series, vol. iii. pp. 52, 133,

311; *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1845, vol. i. pp. 260, 365; vol. ii. pp. 107, 218.

³ See D'Arnaud, in *Bulletin*, 2nd Series, vol. xviii. p. 367; vol. xix. pp. 89, 445; Werne, *Reise zur Entdeckung der Quellen des Weissen Nil* (Berlin, 1849), *passim*.

Had M. d'Abbadie's intelligence stopped here, it would have been but little more than a confirmation of what I myself had learned, while in Southern Abessinia in February, 1843, from an intelligent native merchant named 'Omar ibn Nedjât; whose map, giving a similar course to the Godjeb and making that river a tributary but not the head stream of the Bahr el Abyad, was exhibited by me to the Royal Geographical Society of London on the 13th of November of that year,¹ and was subsequently published in that Society's Journal.² But M. d'Abbadie's announcement went much further. He stated that, in the year 1843, he had actually succeeded in penetrating to Enárea, and thence into Kaffa by crossing the Godjeb—or Nile, as he asserted it to be—within only two days' journey, or about thirty miles distance, from its source.³

It is certainly not a little surprising that the traveller, when so near the interesting spot which he says he had then been upwards of six years in search of, should have neglected or abstained from visiting it, and should have contented himself with merely repeating to 'the scientific world the meagre details which he had picked up among the inhabitants of the country. From the information, however, thus obtained, the source of the Godjeb, which is held sacred by the natives of Kaffa and at which they yearly offer up a solemn sacrifice, is described as being "a small spring, issuing from the foot of a large tree of the sort which serves in Ethiopia for washing cotton cloths. To the right and to the left are two high hills, wooded to the summit, called Boshi and Doshi,"⁴ in a district named Gandjès, in the country of Gimiro or Gamru, adjoining Kaffa. And in furnishing these particulars, M. d'Abbadie expresses the opinion that, as "it is an historical fact that, prior to the sixteenth century, the Arabs were in constant communication with the countries of Hárrargie and Dáwaro, they probably derived from thence their information respecting the source of the Nile; and that, in speaking of the two mountains of Gandjès, they may have said the mountains of *Gamru* (Djabal al Qamr);"⁵ and, inasmuch as the Arabic word *gamr* or *qamr* signifies *moon*, he conjectures that "hence arose the curious error of the *Mountains of the Moon*."⁶

M. d'Abbadie's hypothesis respecting the Godjeb has already been discussed by me in various communications made to the

¹ See *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xiii. p. 255; *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1846, vol. jii. p. 225.

² Vol. xvii. part 1.

³ *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 313; *Nouv. Ann.* 1845, vol. ii. p. 112.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1845, vol. ii. p. 112.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 113.

⁶ *Ibid.* *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 315

scientific world; and I believe I have demonstrated that this river is not the upper course of the Nile, or Bahr el Abyad, explored by the Turco-Egyptian expeditions, but merely that of the Sobat, Telfi, Bahr el Makádeh, or River of Habesh, one of the principal tributaries of the Nile, which joins the main-stream in about $9^{\circ} 20'$ north latitude; and I have also adduced reasons for the opinion entertained by me, that the Nile itself comes from the unknown regions beyond the Equator, where Mr. Rebmann has lately discovered the snowy mountain, Kili-mandjaro,¹—forming, as I conceive, a portion of the snow-capped Mountains of the Moon, — τὸ τῆς Σελήνης ὄρος — in which the sources of the Nile were placed, as early as the second century of our era, by the Alexandrian geographer, Ptolemy.²

I shall not, however, enter here into any investigation of the general subject; it being my intention to confine myself to an enquiry into the circumstances of the journey to Enárea and Kaffa, which M. d'Abbadie has publicly asserted he performed in the years 1843 and 1844.

When the news of this journey first reached Europe, I at once saw reason to entertain doubts as to the correctness of several points connected with it. These doubts, instead of becoming weaker, were much strengthened when, in the course of the year 1846, while engaged in preparing the materials for my "Essay on the Nile and its Tributaries,"³ I had occasion to examine the various details of this journey published both in England and France. And since that time M. d'Abbadie's further statements, especially with reference to a second journey to Enárea alone said to have been performed by himself and his brother in the years 1845 and 1846, have supplied such a mass of evidence, as not only to satisfy me of the unreality of the former journey, but to warrant me in submitting to the judgement of the scientific world the objections to that journey which I now feel it to be my duty to make.

These objections may be classed under four distinct heads:—

1. The insufficiency of the time requisite for such a journey and for the various circumstances alleged to have attended it.
2. The repeated anomalies and contradictions in the traveller's statements at different periods as to matters alleged

¹ See *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, vol. i. *passim*.

² *Geographia*, lib. iv. cap. 9.

³ Printed in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xvii. pp. 1-84.

to have been ascertained not from oral information but from personal knowledge.

3. The errors and discrepancies in his recorded astronomical and geodetical observations, and the difficulties which they present.

4. The care with which the first journey to Enárea and Kaffa—the earlier and far more important of the two, and therefore the more deserving of notice—has been since kept out of sight; while the later and less important journey to Enárea alone has been brought prominently forward and made to supersede it.

FIRST OBJECTION.—*Insufficiency of Time.*

It was on the 6th of March, 1843, on my arrival at the town of Máhhdera Máriam in Biégamidr, a province of Central Abessinia, on my return from the peninsula of Godjam where I had been resident upwards of fifteen months, that I met M. d'Abbadie, then on his way for the first time into Godjam to join his brother, who had been some time there. On the following morning he left Máhhdera Máriam for Godjam, taking the road by which I had just arrived.

Of M. d'Abbadie's movements during some time after his departure from Máhhdera Máriam on March 7th, 1843, I cannot find any traces. But in a letter professing to have been written from Sakka in Enárea on the 16th of September of the same year, he announced his arrival in that kingdom, and stated that the journey thither from the town of Yejúbbi, in the south of Godjam, near which town the great market of Baso is held, had occupied him "more than two months,"¹ and that at the date of his letter he had been resident in Sakka "nearly two months"² more. The two periods together therefore may fairly be taken to be equal to four calendar months; so that he must have commenced his journey from Yejúbbi about the middle of May, and arrived at Sakka towards the end of July, 1843. For the present it is sufficient to bear in mind these two dates.

On his second visit to Enárea in 1845, M. d'Abbadie remarked³ that it is important for a traveller to take the precaution of obtaining an invitation from the king of that country; "as an invitation implies liberty to return," and that monarch is "in the habit of retaining all strangers [who are] not merchants." It is, however, not the less certain that on his

¹ *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 53.

² *Ibid.* p. 59.

³ *Athen.* No. 1041, p. 1056.

alleged first journey to that country our prudent traveller could not have taken this precaution; for, as he only arrived in the north of Godjam in the month of March, 1843, there was not possibly sufficient time for him to have announced himself to the king of Enárea and have obtained an invitation from him, before his departure from Baso in the south of the same province by the middle of May. Towards the end of July, 1843, therefore, he must have presented himself at the court of Abba Bógibo, an uninvited and unexpected guest. Under such circumstances, it was not unreasonable for the rash traveller to anticipate a fate similar to that of Pedro de Covilliam, the first European who visited Abessinia in the fifteenth century, who went and never returned; namely, that he would die, like him, in Ethiopia.¹ Accordingly in a letter dated from Sakka, October 19th, 1843, when he must have been resident there nearly three months, we find him complaining that he was "retained (*retenu*) in that country;"² and in another communication stating more explicitly that he "had wished to return to Godjam *with the November caravan*, only Abba Bógibo would not let him go."³

Down to the month of November, 1843, therefore, M. d'Abbadie was still a prisoner in Enárea. The date and manner of his departure from that country are nowhere mentioned by him. But in a letter written after his return to Godjam, he states that "in the month of December"⁴ of that year he "crossed the Godjeb, between Yigga and Kankatti,"⁵ at a distance of at least seventy geographical miles from Sakka, on his way into the kingdom of Kaffa. And as the map⁶ shows the spot at which he thus passed the Godjeb to be beyond the kingdom of Djimma-Kaka, the king of which, Abba Djifár, is the powerful enemy and rival of Abba Bógibo, king of Enárea, (the two princes being continually at war with each other,⁷) it is manifest that M. d'Abbadie had to pass through this hostile country of Djimma-Kaka before he could have reached the Godjeb.

From all these facts—as for the sake of argument we must assume them to be—derived from the correspondence of M. d'Abbadie himself, it results clearly:—1st. That that traveller, who, in November, 1843, was detained by the king of Enárea and prevented from returning to Godjam, did nevertheless,

¹ *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 65.

² *Ibid.* p. 67.

³ *Revue de l'Orient*, cited in the *Ausland* of December 26th, 1846, No. 360, p. 1438.

⁴ *Athen.* No. 918, p. 542; *Nowv. Ann.* 1845, vol. ii. p. 219.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Facing the Title-page.

⁷ Compare *Athen.* No. 1042, p. 1078, with the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xiii. p. 259; and see Appendix I. page 41.

in or previously to the month of December of the same year, obtain that monarch's permission to depart; and not merely so, but also the special favour of permission to enter the hostile country of Djimma-Kaka—a circumstance quite contrary to the usages and customs of those nations and their rulers. 2ndly; He must have traversed the kingdom of Djimma-Kaka without being molested or detained by Abba Djifár, notwithstanding that he was the first European who had ever ventured into his dominions, and that he had come without invitation after having been several months the guest of that king's enemy and rival—all which again is most unusual in that part of the world. And 3rdly; All this must have taken place *by the end of December*, at the very latest.

It must appear strange to the scientific world that M. d'Abbadie should not have favoured it with any particulars of his residence in Kaffa, a country which had never before been visited by any European, and that he should not even have mentioned the length of his stay there. He must, however, have remained in that kingdom several months. For, in one of his letters we are told that, "when proceeding to Kaffa, as the waters were high, [he] crossed the Godjeb on a suspension-bridge made of *lianes*;"¹ but that "when returning [he] waded across the stream,"² its "greatest depth being about 1·2 *mètre*,"³ or four English feet; which proves that a considerable time must have elapsed between the two events, so as to have allowed the waters of the river to fall. And, indeed, in another letter, in which some lengthened and minute details are given respecting the Godjeb and its numerous tributaries, the traveller states that "it required *several months' labour on the spot* to disentangle the elements of the vast basin"⁴ of that river, and also that he made various astronomical and geodetical observations in Kaffa and especially at Bonga, its capital;⁵ all which must of course have been the work of considerable time.

When and how he quitted Kaffa M. d'Abbadie has also left a secret. But we cannot sufficiently admire the forbearance of the monarch of that country, Kamo by name, who, following the example of his neighbour of Djimma-Kaka, Abba Djifár, appears not to have thought of detaining the first adventurous

¹ *Athen.* No. 906, p. 243.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* No. 918, p. 542. *Nouv. Annales*, 1845, vol. ii. p. 219. M. d'Abbadie says in another place, that "at the ford between Djimma and Woratta [a country adjoining

Kaffa], the waters of the Godjeb, even during the dry season, reach as high as the chest."—*Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 63.

⁴ *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 317.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 314. See also vol. xii. p. 152.

European that ever could boast of having "trod on Kaffa ground"¹—conduct to be fully appreciated by those alone who have travelled in Africa. However, leave Kaffa it appears he did; and after wading through the Godjeb and again traversing the hostile country of Djimma-Kaka without hindrance from its monarch, we find him voluntarily placing himself again in the power of the same tyrannical ruler of Enárea who had kept him so many months a prisoner before. And this second time he tells us he was detained by Abba Bógibo so long, that it was "only by threatening measures of retaliation on the part of [his] brother, who with a well-armed troop was ready to arrest, in Godjam, until [his] return, all the Limmu [*i. e.* Enárea] traders,"² that he at length succeeded in getting out of that prince's hands.

Unfortunately we have not been made acquainted with the precise dates of any of these extraordinary events. But an attentive examination of the traveller's correspondence will provide us with the means of determining very exactly *the period within which* they must all have taken place—these and others too, as will appear in the sequel, not less extraordinary. For, in one of his letters, containing the results of various observations made by him in Abessinia, he fixes the date at which he had already returned to Godjam from his Enárea and Kaffa journey, by saying:—"On the 9th of April, 1844, I observed these two thermometers [wet-bulb and dry-bulb] at the height of one *mètre* above the surface of the Abai or Blue River, at the ford of A'muru."³

As, however, it was at or near the ford of Gúderu, named Melka-Furi, where the direct caravan road from Enárea to Baso market passes the river, that M. Arnauld d'Abbadie must have been encamped with his well-armed troop, ready to retaliate on the merchants of Abba Bógibo's country for the detention of his brother; it might naturally have been expected that M. d'Abbadie's first and most anxious thought would have been to relieve his brother from further anxiety on his account and enable him to strike his tents, and that he would consequently have hurried to him by the direct and shortest road by Melka Furi. Instead of which, the traveller seems to have quite forgotten both that his brother was expecting him, and also that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points. For we find him taking a circuitous route on his way back from Enárea, through the territories of unknown princes and tribes,

¹ *Athen.* No. 1042, p. 1,078.

² *Ibid.* No. 1041, p. 1056.

³ *Nouv. Ann.* 1845, vol. iv. p. 109.

who, in conformity with Galla customs, would have been sure to retard his progress with all sorts of obstacles; and even when he had managed to get free from these and had reached the ford of A'muru, which (as it will be perceived by the map) lies at a distance of about sixty geographical miles westward from Melka-Furi, he is there occupied in making meteorological and other¹ experiments, among which that on the patience of his exemplary brother must have been far from being the most insignificant. As to the motives for this eccentric course, M. d'Abbadie, as usual, leaves us in the dark.²

But to return. Though we thus possess direct evidence of the presence of M. d'Abbadie at the ford of A'muru on the 9th of April, 1844, the precise date of his arrival at that spot is not indicated. But from a desire to afford him all the time possible for his return journey from Enárea to Godjam, it shall be assumed that it was not till the very day on which he made the experiments adverted to that he reached the ford of A'muru. If, then, we consider the time which he had occupied in performing the *direct* journey from Baso to Enárea by the caravan road to have been, as stated, "more than two months,"³ we may, without fear of falling into any material error, assign a similar period, at the least, for his return by the circuitous and unfrequented road from Sakka to the ford of A'muru. Consequently, we may fix the departure of M. d'Abbadie from Enárea, on his way back to Godjam after his second captivity, as early as at the beginning of February, 1844.

But on the hypothesis that M. d'Abbadie crossed the Godjeb on his way into Kaffa towards *the end of December*, 1843, and that he finally quitted Enárea on his return to Godjam *in the beginning of February*, 1844, there would remain only one month (that of January) for his stay in Kaffa,—his several months' labour on the spot in disentangling the elements of the vast basin of the Godjeb,—his return through Djimma-Kaka,—and his arrival in Enárea and second detention by Abba Bogibo, with its attendant difficulties, and negociations and communications with

¹ See *Athen.* No. 918, p. 542; *Novv. Ann.* 1845, vol. ii. p. 219. M. d'Abbadie says here—doubtless from an oversight—that he crossed the Godjeb on his way to Kaffa "in the month of December, 1842," instead of December, 1843; and that he crossed the ford of A'muru "in April, 1843," instead of April, 1844. But, of course, in an under-

taking like that of M. d'Abbadie, it is no easy task to remember everything.

² In a recent communication (see page 32, *post*) M. d'Abbadie states that the King of Enárea "*hastened* to send [him] back to Abessinia." How is this to be reconciled with the facts above mentioned?

³ See page 4, *ante*.

his brother, some 120 miles distant. As it would manifestly be absurd to comprise all these things in *one month*, we will assume, though this hypothesis is attended with equal difficulties, that M. d'Abbadie quitted Enárea on his way to Kaffa in the month of *November*, 1843, immediately after (or even before) the departure of the Baso caravan which he had been desirous of accompanying back to Godjam; and that, by means known to himself alone and not yet made public, he was enabled to traverse the territories of Abba Djíſúr and reach the Godjeb with a rapidity of which we can have no conception, so as to have crossed that river by the suspension-bridge between Yigga and Kankatti on *the very first day* of the month of December. Still this would give him only *two months*—namely, between December 1st, 1843, and February 1st, 1844—for all his adventures, difficulties and delays in Kaffa, Djimma and Enárea. And yet his “several months’ labour on the spot” necessarily implies a residence of “several months” in Kaffa; and this is corroborated by his account of the very different state of the waters of the Godjeb at the two different seasons of the year at which he says he crossed that river.

M. d'Abbadie is evidently in a dilemma; from which it is not possible to extricate him even by supposing that it was on the 1st of March, instead of on the 1st of February, that he made his second escape from the hands of Abba Bógibo; by which supposition he would acquire a latitude of *three months*—namely, from December 1st, 1843, to March 1st, 1844—between the date of his first passage of the Godjeb into Kaffa and that of his second departure from Enárea. For he would then have *only one month* and nine days—from March 1st to April 9th—to overcome all the difficulties and delays of the journey by the unfrequented route between Sakka and the ford of A'muru, which must inevitably have occupied a much longer time; while even the entire three months—from the 1st December to March 1st—would still be insufficient for all the events connected with the Kaffa episode and the second captivity in Enárea.

In coming to a conclusion on the subject, it must be borne in mind that travelling in Africa is not like travelling in Europe. The obstacles and delays to which a traveller is subjected at almost every step are quite beyond the conception of such as have never experienced them. M. d'Abbadie, when speaking of the first portion of this very journey to Kaffa, says:—“Though a person may easily go on foot from Baso to Sakka *in five days*, yet it took me *more than two months* to perform this little journey, of which the difficulties, the annoyances and the sufferings exceeded anything I had ever undergone on the least frequented

roads of Abessinia."¹ So, too, on another occasion he says, "Among the Gallas I negotiated *during six months*, but in vain, for permission to make a station [for geodetical purposes] on Mount Amhára."² And on his second journey to *Enárea alone*, he tells us that his stay in the countries to the south of the Abai was protracted "to the enormous space of *seventeen months*."³ No one, indeed, can bear stronger testimony than M. d'Abbadie himself does to the fact of "the *peculiar* difficulties of travelling among the Gallas;"⁴ and when we consider that all these Gallas are inveterate slave-takers, slave-holders and slave-dealers, and that from M. d'Abbadie's alleged excessive sensitiveness on this head, though he "often strove to contract at least a semblance of friendship with dealers in human flesh," yet "it would not do;"⁵ we can (if we are to believe him) well imagine how those difficulties would have been much greater in his case than in that of a traveller not possessing the same scruples of conscience.

It is useless, then, to strive to accommodate and reconcile dates and occurrences which are utterly irreconcilable. We have, on M. d'Abbadie's own distinct avowal, "the month of December, 1843"—the day of the month is not very material—for his first crossing of the Godjeb on his way into Kaffa, and we have "the 9th of April, 1844," for his passage of the Abai at the ford of A'muru on his return; and between these two dates it is in vain to think of heaping together such a multiplicity of events and circumstances as would indubitably have occupied any traveller upwards of a twelvemonth—if, indeed, his detention by one of the monarchs through whose dominions he passed for the first time, or some other not less disagreeable event, had not precluded their accomplishment altogether.

SECOND OBJECTION.—*The anomalies and contradictions in M. d'Abbadie's statements at different periods, as to matters alleged to have been ascertained, not from oral information, but from personal knowledge.*

On his first journey, after a lengthened and laborious investigation of the elements of the vast basis of the river Godjeb made "on the spot," M. d'Abbadie described "the Oshko or Baqo [Bako], which goes through Seka, the country of the Mashango,"⁶ as being a tributary of the Godjeb; and he stated that its source was situate "in the interior of the great

¹ *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 32.

² *Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 99.

³ *Athen.* No. 1041, p. 1058.

⁴ *Athen.* No. 1105, p. 1330.

⁵ *Ibid.* And see Appendix I. p. 48.

⁶ *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 317.

curve [of that river], at a day's journey [15 miles] from Bonga,¹ the capital of Kaffa, where, as it has been seen, he had long resided. On his second journey, however, the Bako became all at once the lower course and main-stream of the Godjeb itself,² and all notice of its separate source near Bonga was unaccountably dropped.³

So too, on the first journey the Baro was said to be "a tributary on the right bank of the Godjeb;"⁴ but after the second journey it was stated not less explicitly that "the Baro and Bako do *not* join the Godjeb on the right side."⁵

Again, the Kusaro-Gibbe, of which the source "near Gera"⁶ was said to have been visited by the traveller on his way to Kaffa in 1843,⁷ was then described by him as "joining the Godjeb to the west and south-west of Boshá;"⁸ but in his maps sent to Europe in 1847 after his second journey⁹ this river is made to join the Omo or Bórora far above the confluence of the Godjeb, and to the north-east of Boshá.

* Further, in his letter dated Sakka, September 16th, 1843, M. d'Abbadie identified "the *Nidus* of the ancients with the Baro, whose source, like that of the Dödösa [Dedhésa], is in Motcha, in about 6° north latitude;"¹⁰ but in his last maps he places the source of the Dedhésa close to that of the Gibbe of Enárea, in 8° north latitude, almost due south of Sakka, and at a distance from that "capital," of only twenty miles.¹¹ And as from the accompanying map¹² it will be seen that the source of the Dedhésa, as thus placed, is almost directly on the road between Enárea and Kaffa, it is manifest that M. d'Abbadie must of necessity have passed close by it, on his way to the latter country in 1843. Nevertheless, in a letter professing to have been written after his return from Kaffa, he described the source of the Dedhésa as lying "nearly under the eighth parallel

¹ *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 317.

² *Athen*. No. 1042, p. 1077.

³ In M. d'Abbadie's last map inserted in vol. xii. of the *Bulletin*, the lower course of the Godjeb is now called Paco, and the Bako is made to retake its place as a tributary of that river, with a course from north-east to south-west; all of which is quite irreconcilable with the results previously obtained by him.

⁴ *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 314.

⁵ *Athen*. No. 1042, p. 1077.

⁶ *Ibid.* No. 1105, p. 1330.

⁷ *Bulletin*, vol. ix. p. 115.

⁸ *Athen*. No. 906, p. 243.

⁹ *Ibid.* No. 1042, pp. 1077, 1080; *Bulletin*, vols. ix. and xii. In one of his sketch maps inserted in the *Athenæum* (No. 1042), M. d'Abbadie gives the names Baqo and Baca to the lower course of the Uma. And yet in a recent number of the *Bulletin* (vol. xii. p. 154), he has not scrupled to assert that Baka is "not the name of a river, as M. Beke imagines!" A fac-simile of M. d'Abbadie's map is given in Appendix II. page 47.

¹⁰ *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 63.

¹¹ *Ibid.* vols. ix. and xii.

¹² Facing the Title-page.

of latitude, and at a distance of seventy-five miles from Sakka, which is the capital of Enárea¹.”

Again, as to Sakka itself: as M. d'Abbadie was resident in that place from July to November, 1843, and was likewise detained there some indefinite period after his return from Kaffa in the beginning of 1844, he could not have failed to become well acquainted with it. We have seen him, in the passage just cited, style it “the capital of Enárea;” and in another of his letters, he describes it as being “the principal ‘bourg,’ in which are seen the ruins of a Sidáma [*i. e.* Christian] church.”² In commenting on this latter passage on a former occasion,³ I made use of the English word *town* as the equivalent of the French expression *bourg*. To this M. d'Abbadie has demurred, saying that “the French word *bourg* does not mean *town* . . . but has a more indefinite meaning, like the English *borough*.”⁴ He would however have been nearer the truth, had he said that it is the word *borough* which has a more definite meaning; inasmuch as a borough is “a town with a corporation.” Still, whether this “capital of Enárea” be a borough or only a town, M. d'Abbadie, on his second visit to Sakka, described it as being “nothing more than a straggling hamlet or village.”⁵ And this is not the last of the metamorphoses which that unfortunate place is made to undergo. In the latest and more explicit notes of the traveller even this “straggling hamlet or village” has disappeared, and in its stead we find nothing but a mere temporary assemblage of huts occupied by the traders frequenting the market of Enárea; for we are now told that “when the caravan is gone, most of the Sakka huts are taken down; and on the arrival of a fresh one, huts are bought and carried sometimes from the distance of several miles.”⁶

Such variations in the assertions of M. d'Abbadie at different periods would be perfectly natural and intelligible, if they were to be regarded as merely the results of native oral information, imperfectly expressed and not always correctly understood, collected by him in Godjam among the traders at the market-place of Baso, where I had previously myself obtained much valuable information respecting the countries of Enárea and Kaffa in 1842 and 1843. But they are altogether inexplicable, if the earlier statements of the traveller, not less than the later ones, are to be taken as the enunciation of facts, of which the knowledge

¹ *Novv. Annales*, 1845, vol. ii. p. 109.

² *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 56.

³ *Athen.* No. 1044, p. 1127.

⁴ *Athen.* No. 1105, p. 1330. And see Appendix II. page 50.

⁵ *Ibid.* No. 1042, p. 1077.

⁶ *Ibid.* No. 1105, p. 1331; and see Appendix II. pages 50, 51.

was acquired by himself in person, during a journey actually made to Enárea and Kaffa, as stated, in the years 1843 and 1844.

But this is not all. On his first journey, after having been settled nearly two months at Sakka on the banks of the river Gibbe, which river has since his second journey been made to supersede the Godjeb as the head-stream of the Nile, M. d'Abbadie stated that "the Göbe [Gibbe] flows into the Indian Ocean,"¹ and expressed the opinion that the Omo, of which the Gibbe is an affluent, "is probably identical with the Djöb [Juba] river, which falls into the Indian Ocean under the Equator."² Such an opinion would, in like manner, have been perfectly reasonable and intelligible as the result of *oral information obtained in Godjam*; but it is utterly inconceivable that an intelligent European, who had undertaken such a journey as that alleged to have been performed by M. d'Abbadie for the express purpose of discovering the source of the Nile, should have remained several months on the banks of this river, which he now affirms to be the head of the true Nile, with his eye resting every morning on its source in the forest of Bábia,³ and yet should not have entertained a suspicion of having there before him what he had gone so far and undergone so much in search of.

As some of these objections were, with several others, advanced by me in the *Athenæum*⁴ as long ago as November 1847, and M. d'Abbadie has since professed to answer them in the same Journal,⁵ I may give the following specimen of the character of his reply.

My Objection.

In a letter dated A'dowa, the 14th of October, 1844, (*Bulletin*, iii. 135; *N. A. des Voy.* 1845, i. 264,) written after his return from Kaffa, M. d'Abbadie said,—"J'avais l'intention de vous envoyer une esquisse de ma carte de Saku à Bonga, avec les lieux à droite et à gauche, fixés par renseignement; mais je viens de m'apercevoir que je l'ai oubliée à Gondar." In his present letter of the 5th of August, 1847, he says,—“In October, 1844, I came down from Gondar to the coast of the Red Sea, in order to replenish my purse, and send a few letters to Europe. . . . My letters were just gone when I attempted, with six observed latitudes and a great deal of oral information, to

His Answer.

I am as liable to oversights as many others, but Dr. Beke ought to have chosen a better case in order to prove my frailties. In speaking of a map, sketched not in Gondar but in Saka, comprising the country between Saka and Bonga, I had said, rather ambiguously it is true, that I wished to add to it places established by

¹ *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 54.

² *Ibid.* p. 55.

³ See *Athen.* No. 1041, p. 1057.

⁴ No. 1044, p. 1127.

⁵ No. 1105, p. 1330.

sketch a map of Great Damot¹ . . . My various notes were scarcely brought together, when I perceived that the basin of the Borora or Umo was much larger than that of the Gojab; and the idea that I had misled geographers in a matter of this importance so tormented me, that I resolved to retrace my steps to Inarya, visit, if possible, the actual source, and add to my previous and insufficient azimuthal angles a sufficient number of new ones to make the position of the famous sources a mathematical deduction from that of Gondar."² It is strange that, before sending off his letters from Massówa, M. d'Abbadie was not enabled to perceive this *from the map which he had previously made at Gondar*, and left behind him there.

All I need say respecting this "answer" is that it is a mere evasion of the question.

We have been told⁴ that the express object of M. d'Abbadie's journey to Abessinia and of his many years' stay in that country, was to visit the source of the Nile, which he believed, with Bruce, to be in Kaffa. And we have seen⁵ that, when he was only thirty miles off the source of the Godjeb, at the foot of the "large tree" between Mounts Boshi and Doshi, in the country of *Gamru*, which he then believed to be the source of the Nile in the *Djebel el Gamar* or Mountains of the Moon, he did *not* visit it. We are told also, in his letter of August 5th, 1847, just cited, that as soon as he had dispatched to Europe intelligence of his supposed discovery of the source of the Nile, he found out that he had grossly misled geographers, and that thereupon he immediately set out for Enárea; thus leaving them in the dark for a couple of years, when a short note placed before starting in the hands of M. Degoutin, the French consular agent at Massówa, would have explained his mistake and prevented them from being misled. And we see, lastly, that the result of his second journey deprives the sacred fountain of the Godjeb in the mountains of *Gamru* of the honour which he himself had attributed to it, and substitutes in its stead the unknown source of one of the branches of the *Gibbe* of Enárea, in the forest of *Bábia*, but in no mountains at all.

For the sake of argument it shall be assumed that the traveller

¹ Comprising, of course, the count¹ laid down in the "esquisse de la carto de Saka à Bonga."

² See *Athen.* No. 1041, p. 1056.

³ The italics are as in the original

oralevidence. But even had my French phrase, quoted by Dr. Beke, meant that my hearsay information had been already penned down right and left, the words "*à droite et à gauche*," do not inevitably imply that I had extended my information to the left bank of the Omo, or recognized fully the existence and dimensions of all its affluents.³

remarks, both of M. d'Abbadie and myself.

⁴ Page 1, *ante*.

⁵ Page 2, *ante*. And see Appendix II. p. 52.

was warranted in this gratuitous substitution. But then a question arises which is well deserving of a remark.

In speaking of his second residence at Sakka¹ in 1845 and 1846, during a period of four months, M. d'Abbadie expressly states that his "eye rested every morning on the forest of Bábia and the sources of the Enárea Gibbe."² Of course the same must have been the case during the four or five months of his previous residence at the same place, from July to November, 1843. And as, further, the source of the Gibbe is placed by him due south of Sakka,³ he must, on his journey to Kaffa in the month of December of the same year, and on his return to Enárea at some unascertained period anterior to the 9th of April, 1844, have passed close by this source, even if he did not actually visit the spot itself; so that its position must have been sufficiently determined in "the sketch of his route from Sakka to Bonga,"⁴ which he had prepared at Sakka and left behind him at Gondar when he wrote from A'dowa.⁵ It must, therefore, be confessed that his return from Massówa on the coast of the Red Sea all the weary way to the source of the Gibbe in Enárea, — a distance of 600 geographical miles at the very least, — for the sole purpose of revisiting a spot on which his eye had already rested during several months, and by which he had already twice passed in going to and returning from Kaffa, would have been a work of supererogation without parallel in the annals of geography.

As it is my intention to confine myself to the examination of M. d'Abbadie's first journey to Enárea and Kaffa in the years 1843 and 1844, I shall not investigate the particulars of the second journey to Enárea alone in 1845 and 1846 further than is rendered necessary by its bearings on the former journey.

However, it must be observed, that the description of the upper course of the Gibbe given by M. d'Abbadie even after his return from his *second* journey, and the position attributed by him to the source of that river, are quite at variance with what we are told respecting the same points by his predecessor Fernandez.

The description which this missionary gives of the Gibbe, under the name of Zebee, as recorded in the pages of Father Balthazar Tellez, is, that "it rises in a country named Boshá,"⁶

¹ In the *Athenæum* printed "Jaka."

² *Athen.* No. 1041, p. 1057.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 135.

⁵ See page 13, *ante*.

⁶ With respect to the position of Boshá, see page 11, *ante*.

in the kingdom of Enárea; and that, after running a few leagues towards the west, it turns to the north and passes round the kingdom of Gingiro [properly Yángaro or Djándjaro], of which it forms a peninsula, in like manner as the Nile [*i. e.* the Abai] makes one of the kingdom of Godjam; after which it leaves that kingdom and takes its course towards the south."¹ In M. d'Abbadie's maps,² however, while the peculiar spiral course attributed by him to the Gibbe of *Enárea* corresponds, to a certain extent, with that attributed by Fernandez to the Zeebe; the course of the Kúsaro-Gibbe of Djimma, *which M. d'Abbadie identifies with the Zeebe*,³ does not correspond with it at all.

When, on a former occasion, I alluded to this discrepancy,⁴ M. d'Abbadie contented himself with replying—"I am at a loss to understand Dr. Beke's argument relating to the Zeebe crossed by A. Fernandez in 1613; and I still retain my opinion that *one of these*⁵ *was the Kusaro*, which could not be avoided in going from Enárea to the Djándjaro without a devious and useless circuit round its source near *Gera*."⁶ But Fernandez expressly states that the source of the Zeebe is *in Boshá!* And on a comparison of Fernandez's description with that given by M. d'Abbadie, it is difficult to arrive at the conclusion that the Kúsaro-Gibbe of Djimma, *which runs from west to east at some distance from the southern frontier of Enárea*, is the Zeebe of the former traveller which was twice crossed by him,—the first time *on the eastern frontier of Enárea*, between that kingdom and Djándjaro, and the second time *on the eastern frontier of Djándjaro*, between it and Cambate, a country adjoining Gurágie.

It is only necessary to compare the account of the journey of the Portuguese Missionary, of which an abstract has been given by me in the seventeenth volume of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London,⁷ with M. d'Abbadie's most recent maps inserted in the Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Paris,⁸ to be satisfied of the impossibility of reconciling them with one another.

¹ *Historia de Ethiopia à Alta*, pp. 21, 310.

² *Bulletin*, vols. ix. and xii.

³ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 135; *Nouv. Ann.* 1845, vol. i. p. 263. And see *Athen.* No. 906, p. 243.

⁴ *Athen.* No. 1044, p. 1127.

⁵ I cannot comprehend the expression "one of these."

⁶ *Ibid.* No. 1105, p. 1330. And see page 11, *ante*.

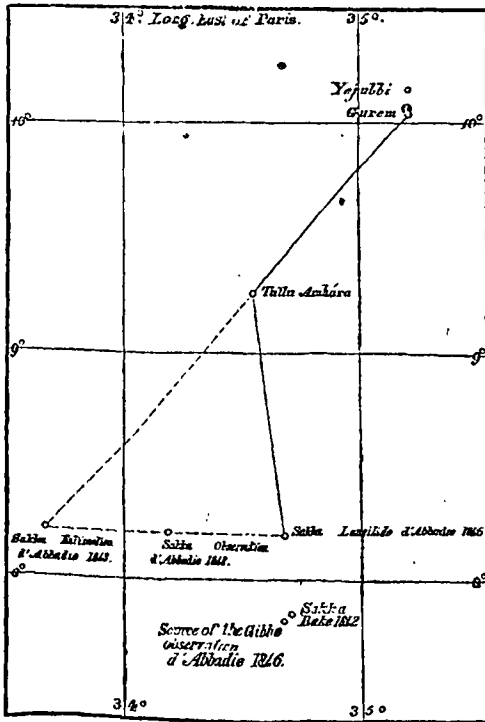
⁷ Pp. 55—57.

⁸ Vols. ix. and xii. And see the map facing the Title-page of the present Work.

THIRD OBJECTION.—*Errors and discrepancies in M. d'Abbadie's recorded astronomical and geodetical observations, and the difficulties which they present.*

In his account of his first journey to Enárea, M. d'Abbadie stated that on the road he passed "close to Tullu Amhára,¹ an isolated and remarkable peak, which, seen from the promontory of Gurem, near the town of Yejúbbi (Baso), bears true N. $219^{\circ} 30'$ E."²—which may be more intelligibly expressed as S. $39^{\circ} 20'$ W. And he added that he placed "Tullu Amhára in $9^{\circ} 15'$ north latitude from an observation made at the Lagga (river) Amhára" close by, and "in $34^{\circ} 33'$ longitude east of Paris by estimation."³

I fortunately possess the means of testing the accuracy of the position thus attributed to Tullu Amhára. In my map in



the fourteenth volume of the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Yejúbbi is placed in latitude $10^{\circ} 8' 45''$ N., and in longitude $37^{\circ} 32' 30''$ east of Greenwich, equal to $35^{\circ} 12' 8''$ east of Paris. It is so marked in the accompanying diagram, in which I have further laid down Gurem as being situated at about seven miles south of the former place. My reason for so doing is, that, as it will be seen, a line drawn from Tullu Amhára in the direction mentioned by M. d'Abbadie of S. $39^{\circ} 20'$ W. (or more properly speaking N. 39°

¹ "The mountain of the Amharas" or Christians. I was told in Godjam, that on this mountain are the remains of a palace built by the emperor Yásu

Talak, or Joshua the First, whence it derived its name.

² *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 54.

³ *Ibid.* p. 55.

20' E.) cuts the meridian of Yejúbbi precisely at the point thus attributed to Gurem, which may consequently be considered as its true position.

In my map in the thirteenth volume of the same *Journal* the bearing of Tullu Amhára from Gurem, as thus placed, corresponds precisely with that attributed to it by M. d'Abbadie; and it will also be seen that the caravan route to Sakka is marked on the map as passing close by that mountain. So far, therefore, M. d'Abbadie and I agree. The only difference on the subject existing between us is that I have estimated Tullu Amhára to be in latitude $8^{\circ} 57' N.$, or eighteen miles further south than he places it. But as I had not an opportunity of *seeing* the peak,—which, even with that traveller's shorter measurement, must be more than sixty geographical or seventy statute miles distant from Gurem,—and as I only estimated its position from oral information obtained at Yejúbbi and the neighbouring town of Yaush, I am far from pretending to accuracy in this particular. The difference is, however, of no great moment.

After having passed by Tullu Amhára and ascertained its position, as he states, from an observation made at the Lagga Amhára, M. d'Abbadie arrived at Sakka, of which place he, as a scientific traveller, lost no time in ascertaining the position. And, as he already possessed a fixed point in Tullu Amhára, and as the distance between the two places is so small, it is evident that the approximate determination of the correct position of Sakka could not have been a matter of difficulty, even for a traveller not making any pretensions to scientific acquirements.

The following is M. d'Abbadie's account of his proceedings:—"The want of ephemerides having hitherto prevented me from calculating my observations of longitude made at Sakka, I have provisionally placed this town one degree to the west of the meridian of the source of the Abai, which Bruce has fixed in $34^{\circ} 40'$ east of Paris."¹ (It should be more correctly $34^{\circ} 35' 8'' E.$, but so a small difference is not material.) This provisional estimation, it should be observed, is not at all to be regarded in the light of a mere rough guess on insufficient data, but as the deliberate conclusion of a practised astronomer, after having made various observations both for latitude and longitude on the spot, with a view to the accurate determination of its precise position. It will therefore not fail to strike the reader with astonishment when he learns that this estimation is erroneous to

¹ *Nouv. Ann.* 1845, vol. ii. p. 110.

the extent of not less than one entire degree of longitude. For, as it will be shown in the sequel,¹ the longitude of Sakka, as resulting from various laborious operations said to have been performed by M. d'Abbadie on his second journey to that place in 1845 and 1846, is in fact $34^{\circ} 40'$ instead of only $33^{\circ} 40'$ east of Paris—that is to say, Sakka is on about the same meridian as the source of the Abai, instead of being “one degree to the west” of it. And this “estimation” having been made at Sakka *after the position of Tullu Amhára had been correctly determined*, it follows that the error bears entirely and exclusively upon the distance between those two places.* In other words, on a distance of $1^{\circ} 2' 30''$ or $62\frac{1}{2}$ miles of latitude, there is an error of one whole degree of longitude, equal in that parallel to about 59 geographical miles! And this egregious mistake is made by a geometrician provided with geodetical and astronomical instruments of the first quality, and boasting of having “planted [his] theodolite in upwards of 200 stations in Ethiopia.”²

In order to render the error thus fallen into by M. d'Abbadie more palpable and appreciable, I will suppose an analogous case in our own country, though it is not very easy to find, within the narrow limits of England, a tract of country sufficiently extensive for the purpose. An Irish engineer, let us suppose, after having planted his theodolite in more than 200 stations in his native island, comes over to England, where he has occasion to lay down the road from Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire to Reading in Berkshire, by the way of Leicester; the position of the two latter towns being, under the supposition, unknown to him. Provided with all proper instruments, he first goes from Great Grimsby to Leicester, and determines its position with accuracy; and he thence proceeds to Reading, where he makes all the necessary observations, but without having an opportunity of calculating them. Under such circumstances, is it conceivable that this engineer could, even on the roughest estimation, commit the mistake of placing Reading in the position of Bristol? And yet, if we only change the names, and, instead of Great Grimsby, Leicester and Reading, read Gurem, Tullu Amhára and Sakka, our engineer will have done in England precisely what M. d'Abbadie has done in Southern Abessinia.

It is true that the prudent traveller takes the precaution of explaining that “many of [his] angles do not cross³ properly; and any man of science on viewing them can not suppose that

¹ Page 21, *post*.

² *Athen.* No. 1044, p. 1129.

³ Printed “crop” in the *Athenæum*.

all these observations are mere inventions."¹ But, assuredly, the veriest tyro in trigonometry would be incapable of committing so gross an error as this, subtending as it does an angle of *forty-four degrees*! And without for a moment supposing all M. d'Abbadie's observations to be mere inventions, it may, under the circumstances, be allowable to show how an observer might possibly "invent" those at Tullu Amhára and Sakka without moving a step beyond Yejúbbi or Gurem.

The process, which is a very simple one, is as follows:—The position, in latitude and longitude, of Gurem being known, this place would first be marked on the map. Then, the bearing of Tullu Amhára from Gurem having been *noticed*,—we can scarcely say *observed*, on account of its distance, which precludes any accurate observation,—and its distance having been estimated, there would be no difficulty in placing this mountain also on the map. Its latitude might then be noted down as if observed, and its longitude as if estimated on the spot. In the next place, it being well known at Yejúbbi and Gurem that Sakka lies *beyond* Tullu Amhára, and that the road thither passes close by that peak, nothing would be more natural, in the absence of more precise information, than to suppose that the road beyond Tullu Amhára continued onwards in the same direction as before reaching that mountain. Under this supposition, the following mode might be adopted to determine the position of Sakka. By ascertaining, from oral information, its approximate distance from Tullu Amhára or from Yejúbbi, we should be enabled to decide as to its latitude; and then its longitude might be fixed by merely continuing the line of the road from Gurem, beyond Tullu Amhára, but in the same direction, as far as the assumed parallel of Sakka.

All this has, in fact, been done in the above diagram; in which, having *assumed* the latitude of Sakka to be $8^{\circ} 12' 30''$ N., and having then continued the diagonal line between Gurem and Tullu Amhára southwards, it will be seen that this line cuts that parallel precisely in $33^{\circ} 40'$ E.—M. d'Abbadie's estimated longitude!

Nothing would now remain to be done but to note down the latitude of $8^{\circ} 12' 30''$ N. as having been *observed at Sakka* (subject to "corrections," &c.), and the longitude of $33^{\circ} 40'$ E. as having been *estimated on the spot*.

The above process will have shown how easy it would be to place Sakka in its estimated but erroneous longitude of $33^{\circ} 40'$ East of Paris, without having been there at all. And, in like

¹ *Athen.* No. 1044, p. 1129.

manner, the instance of the Irish engineer will have shown how difficult it would have been—if not impossible—for M. d'Abbadie, after having correctly determined the position of Tullu Amhára, to have attributed that erroneous longitude to Sakka from any "estimation" made on the spot.

I now come to the consideration of the observations for longitude said to have been made at Sakka, the results of which differ so widely from the "estimation" which has formed the subject of the foregoing remarks.

By his letter dated Sakka, September 16th, 1843,¹ M. d'Abbadie forwarded to Paris a note of several lunar distances alleged to have been observed at that place, which, having been calculated by M. Daussy, gave a mean result of $34^{\circ} 11' 38''$ E.—or better $34^{\circ} 18' 36''$ E., rejecting one which was presumed by M. Daussy to be erroneous in the reading off.² So that the difference between the *observed* longitude and that originally *estimated* ($33^{\circ} 40'$ E.) is $38' 36''$; a difference which is certainly greater than might have been looked for on the part of an astronomer aiming at such great precision in his observations and calculations.* It is, however, unnecessary to dwell on this point, inasmuch as the results of M. d'Abbadie's second journey are much more discordant.

We are here told that the source of the Bora, the principal head-stream of the Gibbe of Enárea, has been connected by azimuthal angles with Gondar, and that the result is $34^{\circ} 38'$ east of Paris, for its longitude;³ and Sakka being found to lie "due north of the source,"⁴ it follows that the longitude of this town is, in like manner, $34^{\circ} 38'$ E. At the same time, one of several sets of lunar distances observed at Sakka itself, is said to give $34^{\circ} 42' 24''$ E.⁵ Taking then the mean of these two results, we have $34^{\circ} 40'$ east of Paris (within a small fraction) for the longitude of Sakka, as determined on the second journey.

But this result, independently of its being one whole degree of longitude from the original "estimated" position of Sakka ($33^{\circ} 40'$ E.), is as much as $21' 24''$ from the mean of the observations on the former journey. Between the means of the "lunars" themselves, the difference is not less than $23' 48''$; and taking their extremes, but rejecting the one thrown out by M. Daussy, the difference is $55' 54''$; while, including the latter, it would be $1^{\circ} 26' 24''$. The subject will be rendered more

¹ *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 57.

² *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 231.

³ *Athen.* No. 1041, p. 1058.

⁴ *Ibid.* By mistake "source" is printed "Soura."

⁵ *Ibid.*

intelligible by the following Table, in which the several observations of the first journey are compared with the means of the first and second journeys respectively.

Mean of Observations on the First Journey— $34^{\circ} 18' 36''$ E.

Mean of Observations on the Second Journey— $34^{\circ} 42' 24''$ E.

	Observations on the First Journey.	Differences from the mean of the First Journey.	Differences from the mean of the Second Journey.
1st Set.	$34^{\circ} 48' 30''$	$+0^{\circ} 29' 54''$	$+0^{\circ} 6' 6''$
	34 30 45	+0 12 9	-0 11 39
	33 55 0	-0 23 36	-0 47 24
	33 46 30	-0 32 6	-0 55 54
2nd Set.	34 36 15	+0 17 39	-0 6 9
	34 25 0	+0 6 24	-0 17 24
	¹ 33 16 0?	-1 2 36?	-1 26 24?
	34 16 45	-0 1 51	-0 25 39
	34 10 0	-0 8 36	-0 32 24

From this table it will be perceived, that the individual observations stated to have been made on the first journey range symmetrically—half *plus*, half *minus*,—round a point which now turns out to be not the true position of the place at all; while, with one exception, they all lie (and some very far) to the west of the truth. I will ask what the probabilities are that such a result was obtained from a series of *genuine* observations.

It may be urged, by way of apology, that M. d'Abbadie is in reality but an indifferent observer; and that, with all his boasting of his excellent instruments, he does not understand their proper adjustment. But, unfortunately, even such an excuse is not available; for I have been assured by a most competent judge that he is thoroughly acquainted with the handling (at least) of the most complicated instruments; and he himself expressly states that the observations in question were made with a "Gambey's *reflecting circle* divided on platina,"² the effect of the use of such an instrument being to diminish considerably, if not to nullify, the errors both of the instrument and of the observer.

Without going further into the consideration of the observations of longitude, I will merely remark, that M. d'Abbadie appears not to have known in 1843 that the road beyond Tullu

¹ Assumed by M. Daussy to be an error in the reading off, and therefore not included in the means.

² *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 58; vol. ix. p. 98.

Amhára, instead of continuing onwards to Sakka in its previous direction of S. $39^{\circ} 20'$ west, turns round somewhat to the eastward of south, as is shown in the above diagram and also in the map in Volume XIII. of the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*.¹ Subsequently, however, he would seem to have become aware of the fact; and hence we find him correcting his previous error, by placing Sakka first in $34^{\circ} 18' 36''$, and eventually, by means of various operations, in $34^{\circ} 38'$ and $34^{\circ} 42' 24''$ E.

Nevertheless, in order to make these corrections, it was not necessary to have proceeded all the way to Sakka, either for the purpose of connecting that place with Gondar by means of azimuthal angles, or of observing lunar distances on the spot; inasmuch as almost precisely the same result might have been obtained without so much as crossing the Abai, either at Melka Furi or at Melka Abro. I will endeavour to explain this with a view of showing how accurate information may be obtained in a way too much despised or neglected by professed scientific travellers.

In my map, above adverted to, the town of Yejúbbi is approximatively placed in $37^{\circ} 23' 30''$ longitude East of Greenwich, and Sakka thirty miles to the West of the meridian of Yejúbbi. This is quite right as regards the position of Sakka relatively to the former place; only as, at the time when that map was drawn, the larger one of my routes in Abessinia, since inserted in the fourteenth volume of the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, was not completed, the precise position of Yejúbbi, and consequently that of Sakka, could not be definitively settled. In this larger map, however, Yejúbbi is placed in $37^{\circ} 32' 30''$ East of Greenwich, which is equal to $35^{\circ} 12' 8''$ East of Paris; whence it results that the longitude of Sakka, as determined by me in Godjam in 1842 and 1843, is $34^{\circ} 42' 8''$ East of Paris. Now, remarkably enough, this result differs only $4' 8''$, or a fraction more than four miles, from the longitude of the same place as determined by M. d'Abbadie in 1845 and 1846 by means of azimuthal angles connecting it with Gondar;—it is only $1' 56''$, or less than two miles, from the exact mean ($34^{\circ} 40' 12''$) of the scientific operations so carefully performed by him for the purpose of ascertaining the true position of the source of the Gibbe;—and, lastly, it is no more than $16''$, or just one quarter of a mile, from the result of his last set of lunar distances observed at Sakka. And yet, so far from pretending to have made any observations at Sakka, I never

¹ And see the Map facing the Title-page.

was nearer to that place than Melka Furi, the ford of the Abai near Yejubbi, a distance from Sakka of upwards of one hundred geographical miles; and my estimation of the longitude of this town, accurate as it now appears to be, is nothing but the result of oral information furnished by the natives, and especially by the merchants who trade between Baso and Enárea.

Those who have never had an opportunity of testing the value of native oral information, may, from this instance respecting the position of Sakka, form an idea of the accuracy of the results which it is possible to obtain from such a source alone, when the materials are judiciously collected and carefully collated. Another instance shall be adduced in the position of the source of the Godjeb. In my map of the 20th of November, 1843, inserted in Volume XIII. of the Royal Geographical Society's *Journal*, this source is laid down in $7^{\circ} 20'$ North latitude, and in $70'$ of longitude West from Sakka. In M. d'Abbadie's letter dated Massówa, November, 1844, being a twelvemonth later, in which he announced that he had crossed the Godjeb within about thirty miles of its source, he stated that its position was in $7^{\circ} 25'$ North latitude and $80'$ West of Sakka;¹ being a difference between us of only five miles of latitude and ten miles of longitude. And yet my nearest point of approach to the spot, on the 31st of December, 1842, was Mabil in Shínasha, near Melka-Abro, the ford of A'muru at which M. d'Abbadie made his meteorological observations on the memorable 9th of April, 1844, which place is 180 geographical miles distant from the source of the Godjeb.

It may, however, be objected that if M. d'Abbadie's journey to Kaffá be apocryphal, no great value is to be attached to his determination of the position of the source of the Godjeb as corroborative of my own. But to this I reply—and the same remark extends to the whole of his allegations with respect to his personal observations—that even if untrue, and therefore worthless as facts within his own personal knowledge; still, as the results of information obtained from intelligent natives who really were acquainted with the facts, their coincidence with results derived from totally independent sources imparts to them a value, to which otherwise they might not have any claim. I admit, however, the doubt that must always exist as to whether the native information itself is faithfully reported.

I will now proceed to the consideration of the latitude of Sakka, as determined by M. d'Abbadie.

Observations for this purpose are so easy and of so simple a

¹ *Nouv. Ann.* 1845, vol. ii. p. 113; 1846, vol. ii. p. 230.

a nature, that any common navigator with the most ordinary instruments is competent to make them with sufficient accuracy for all practical purposes. Consequently, there ought not to exist any room for question in those of a traveller professing to be an experienced astronomer, and using an excellent reflecting circle, or even a good sextant constructed by Gambey.¹

On the occasion of his first journey to Enárea, M. d'Abbadie expressed himself thus:—"My hut in Sakka is in $8^{\circ} 12' 30'$ North latitude, the star observed *not having been corrected for aberration and nutation.*"² Much as we had a right to expect accuracy on the part of the observer, it is difficult to refrain from smiling at this amusing pretension to scrupulous minuteness, which is useless in practice, and which—to repeat the remark of an astronomer of eminence on my mentioning it to him—is "very like using a lower-deck gun to shoot snipes."

From my inability to make the necessary "corrections," or from some other cause yet to be explained, my estimated latitude of Sakka does not altogether coincide with that observed with such unusual precision by M. d'Abbadie; for, in my map,³ I place this town in $7^{\circ} 51' N.$, which shows a difference between us of as much as $21' 30''$ —being $3' 30''$ more than the difference with respect to the latitude of Tullu Amhára. Nevertheless, I hope that eventually this difference will gradually disappear; and that for the following reason. In the account of his second journey, M. d'Abbadie, through some inexplicable negligence, omits to mention the latitude of Sakka. But, on the other hand, he does state that the source of the Gibbe is in $7^{\circ} 49' 48'' N.$;⁴ which, while it places that spot very close to my estimated position of Sakka, ($7^{\circ} 51' N.$) makes it to be as much as $22' 42''$, or rather more than 26 statute miles, away from that town as placed by him. We are further told that "the latitude [of the source] agrees well, by even [plane?] angles from Sakka and Goruqe, with that resulting from angles pencilled on a circumferentor;"⁵ and, again, that during "five months," from the "door of [his] little hut in Sakka," his "eye rested every morning on the forest of Bábia and the sources of the Enárea Gibbe."⁶ The meaning of all which, if I rightly understand it, is that M. d'Abbadie was able to measure plane (?) angles with his theodolite, and to pencil corresponding angles on his circumferentor, of a spot on which, notwithstanding its distance of upwards of twenty-six miles, his eye had rested during five months. It is, however,

¹ *Bulletin*, vol. iii. p. 57.

² *Ibid.* p. 56.

³ *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* vol. xiii.

⁴ *Athen.* No. 1041, p. 1058.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 1058.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 1057.

due to M. d'Abbadie to state that he admits that "these figures may undergo a trifling change when [he] shall have discussed all his azimuthal angles."¹

Under these circumstances, I may therefore be permitted to believe that Sakka is nearer to the source of the Gibbe than the observation for latitude at the former place would make it; and I confidently anticipate that the "correction for aberration and nutation," and the "discussion of his azimuthal angles," which the learned traveller intends making, will eventually result in *a sensible amount of error*, so as to permit the position of his "little hut in Sakka" to be shifted so far southwards, as to bring it more distinctly within sight of the source of the Gibbe in the forest of Bábia than it assuredly is at a distance of twenty-six miles, even in the clear atmosphere of the highlands of Eastern Africa.²

FOURTH OBJECTION.—*The care with which M. d'Abbadie's first journey to Enárea and Kaffa, with its results, has since been kept out of sight; while the second journey to Enárea alone, has been brought prominently forward and made to supersede the other.*

"In spite of my ill-health, resulting from a very fatiguing journey performed under circumstances altogether exceptional even in Ethiopia, I hasten to inform you that, on the 19th of January, 1846, my brother and I succeeded in planting the tri-coloured flag at the principal source of the White Nile:"³—such is the song of triumph in which the traveller announced to the Academy of Sciences of Paris the glorious event which had at length crowned the scientific labours of himself and his brother during a residence indefinitely prolonged in Eastern Africa, and their many wearisome and dangerous expeditions undertaken, as alleged, with the sole object of discovering the source of the Nile.⁴ Yet, if the solution of this great geographical problem was from the outset the constant and exclusive object of all their thoughts and all their labours, or even if their desire was merely to "plant the *French flag* at this source which [they] had been nine years in search of,"⁵—it certainly is not very intelligible why M. d'Abbadie should, during the first five years of his sojourn in Eastern Africa, have restricted his explora-

¹ *Athen.* No. 1040, p. 1058.

² According to the *last* accounts, the distance is only 20' or about 24½ statute miles! See page 35, *post*.

³ *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie*

des Sciences de Paris, vol. xxv. p. 485.

⁴ See page 1, *ante*.

⁵ *Comptes Rendus*, vol. xxix. p. 657.

tions to Northern Abessinia; and why, previously to the commencement of the year 1843, he should have passed a great part of his time in going backwards and forwards between Massówa on the coast of the Red Sea and Gondar; while his brother, on the other hand, proceeded without loss of time into Godjam, and there entered the service of Dedjach Goshu, the ruler of that province and now the Ras or Vizir of the Empire, a personage whom he was in the habit of styling his "prince and master," and by whom, as it is stated, he has been raised to the exalted dignity of "Grand Maréchal!"¹

But, after all, what is the occurrence for which M. d'Abbadie takes to himself so much credit? In the exploration of unknown countries, unquestionably, every mile that a traveller succeeds in penetrating further than those who have preceded him may legitimately be regarded as a victory gained by him, though it may be no defeat to them. On the other hand, should an explorer undertake a journey which falls short of one previously accomplished by another traveller,—and, *a fortiori*, should he not reach the point which he himself had previously attained,—such a result can only be looked on in the light of a failure. What real merit then can M. d'Abbadie claim for having, in January, 1846, visited and even planted the flag of his "chosen" country² at "the source of the Gibbe, in the forest of Bábia on the southern frontier of Enárea,"³—a spot on which, in the year 1843, his eye had rested during several months, and by which and far beyond which, he had already passed on his journey into Kaffa?⁴ Independently of this, Kaffa is a country in which no European ever pretended to have set foot before M. d'Abbadie himself; and the title of its *discoverer* and first explorer is one which surely ought to have been sufficient to gratify the ambition of the most adventurous traveller. Enárea, on the contrary, was visited more than two centuries ago by an intelligent European, Father Antonio Fernandez, who has given us an account, though brief, of his journey to that country and even beyond it;⁵ so that a subsequent journey thither by another traveller can only be looked on as a "reconnaissance," not as a discovery.

Considering these things, the desire manifestly evinced by

¹ See *Bulletin*, vol. vii. p. 274.

² M. Antoine d'Abbadie, or Mr. "Anthony Thomson D'Abbadie" as he called himself and signed his name when in England in 1839, has lately made the following declaration:—"My brother Arnauld and myself were born in Dublin—we left

Ireland under eight years of age—and we are Frenchmen by education, fortune, and choice."—*Athen. No.* 1109, p. 93.

³ *Comptes Rendus*, vol. xxix. p. 657.

⁴ See page 15, *ante*.

⁵ See D'Almeyda, *Historia de Ethiopia a Alta*, p. 314, *et seq.*

M. d'Abbadie to suppress this most important journey to Kaffa, and to substitute for it the more recent, less distant, less difficult, less interesting, and in every respect much less important one to Enáraea alone, appears to be more conclusive against the reality of the former journey than any other argument that has yet been adduced.

The preceding pages were written, in substance, upwards of a year and a half ago, but I had no suitable opportunity of making them public.

In the interval M. d'Abbadie has published two Papers; the one, entitled "*Note sur le haut fleuve Blanc,*" printed in the twelfth volume of the *Bulletin* of the Geographical Society of France,¹ and the other, styled "*Résumé des Voyages faits par MM. Antoine et Arnould d'Abbadie,*" inserted in the twenty-ninth volume of the *Comptes Rendus* of the Academy of Sciences of Paris.²

The perusal of these two Papers, so far from having induced me to retract a single tittle of my objections, has, on the contrary, afforded me both additional arguments and more powerful reasons for retaining my doubts of the genuineness of M. d'Abbadie's alleged first journey to Kaffa.

Besides this, the remarks made by him in his *Résumé* have given rise to a suspicion which, however strange it may appear, is in my mind so strong as to lead me to think that I can discern, even through the veil of mystery in which the matter is at present enveloped, *a reply by way of anticipation* to the objections which have already been here made. I could say more on this subject, and might perhaps be able to point out how what I had written respecting M. d'Abbadie became known to him. But this might be out of place here. All that I will say is, that whoever the individual may be who so intended to render M. d'Abbadie a service, he has, on the contrary, done him an irreparable injury. He has caused to be placed on record, by way of explanation, statements which tell against his friend even more than anything that has yet been adduced from his previous communications to the public.

I will briefly go through these explanatory statements in the order of the objections to which they seem intended to reply.

I. For the purpose of meeting my first objection grounded on the insufficiency of time requisite for the journey to Kaffa and back,³ M. d'Abbadie now calls into being a new solution of his

¹ Pp. 144—161.

² Pp. 654—657.

³ See page 4, *ante*.

difficulties, in the shape of a body of one thousand men at arms ! It will be remembered that, previously to the month of December, 1843, M. d'Abbadie had been for some time the prisoner of Abba Bógibo, king of Enárea,¹ whom he only a short time back styled his "royal friend" and would not permit to be disparaged in any way,² but whom he now describes as "a despot dreaded by all the tyrants who surround him in those regions of despotism."³ The following is a literal translation of that portion of M. d'Abbadie's present narrative, which relates to his first escape from the hands of this tyrant :—"For ten years past, the king of Kaffa had promised his sister in marriage to the king of Enárea. The ardent imagination of these semi-savages having related to the former monarch the wonders of my mysterious life, his curiosity was at length excited, and he refused to give the betrothed [to her promised husband] unless I went to fetch her. It was, therefore, in the midst of an escort of a thousand warriors that I visited a portion of Kaffa."⁴

The first thing that must strike every one here is, the extraordinary fact that such an extraordinary occurrence should never have been mentioned before. However, if the fact be only admitted, no one will think of denying that, with such an armed force, M. d'Abbadie might have been able, like M. Douville in his "*Voyage au Congo*,"⁵ to surmount all the obstacles opposed to him and all the delays inseparable from a journey in the interior of Africa;—to cross rivers without the aid of suspension-bridges;—to break through all "formalities on the frontiers of Kaffa;"—and even to traverse, without fear of stoppage, the hostile territories of Djimma-Kaka. Still, all the armies in the world have it not in their power to control the course of the seasons, or to command the waters of rivers to rise and fall at their pleasure; and our traveller, whose memory is in general not so good as it ought to be, has evidently forgotten his previous statement, that, when he passed the Godjeb in the month of December, 1843, on his way into Kaffa, *as the waters were high*, he crossed the river on a suspension-bridge formed of *lianes*; but

¹ See page 5, *ante*.

² See Appendix I. p. 41.

³ *Comptes Rendus*, vol. xxix. p. 656.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ That famous traveller, who received the large gold medal of the Geographical Society of Paris and was made a foreign honorary member of the Royal Geographical Society of London, on account of a

journey into the interior of Equinoctial Africa which had never taken place, only professed to have been accompanied by a body of 460 men.—See his *Voyage au Congo*, vol. iii. p. 1. His flagrant imposition on the scientific world was exposed by Mr. Cooley in a masterly article in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, vol. x. pp. 163—206.

that, on his return, he waded across the *Godjeb*, of which the greatest depth was then only about four feet.¹ He seems also to have forgotten that, only as late as September 10th, 1847, he wrote as follows:—"But it may well be supposed that the interminable formalities on the frontiers of Kaffa lengthen the journey by a day; as is the case with all merchants, and as it happened to myself between Sadara and Bonga."² M. d'Abbadie had better have trusted to his escort of *merchants*, even with their slower rate of travelling and their day's detention on the frontiers of Kaffa.

And now that this army of 1000 men has been raised for the purpose of fetching the Princess of Kaffa, it remains yet to be explained how it happened that her royal brother, "Gaésharoch Kamo," who had withheld her *during ten years* from her anxious but most patient lover,—the "despot dreaded by all the tyrants who surround him in those regions of despotism,"—and who at length only consented to part with her on being honoured with a visit from "the mysterious stranger," should have allowed himself to be so suddenly deprived of the society of two individuals whom he evidently so much valued. For sudden indeed must have been their parting, or M. d'Abbadie could never have reached the ford of A'muru by the 9th of April, 1844.³ Besides which, it has to be explained why, on M. d'Abbadie's arrival in Enárea with the long-looked-for bride, his "royal friend" should have been so ungrateful as to make him again a prisoner⁴ for his pains.

II. Under the head of my second objection, I have remarked⁵ that M. d'Abbadie's return from the shores of the Red Sea to Enárea, solely for the purpose of again feasting his eyes with the sight of a spot on which they had previously rested during several successive months, and by which he had already twice passed on his way to and from Kaffa, would have been a feat as useless as unprecedented. It now seems that M. d'Abbadie himself is conscious of the insufficiency of such a motive for his second journey to Enárea; and, hence, in his *Résumé* submitted to the Academy of Sciences of Paris, he assigns reasons for that journey totally at variance with those placed on record, in the year 1847, in the *Athenæum* in England and in the *Bulletin* of the Geographical Society of France.

In order that these different statements at different times may be fully appreciated, I will place them under one another.

The first is that in the *Athenæum*, and it is as follows:—

¹ See page 6, *ante*.

² *Bulletin*, vol. xii. p. 153.

³ See page 7, *ante*.

⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵ Page 15, *ante*.

Omokullu, [near Massówa,] August 5th, 1847.—In October 1844 I came down from Gondar to the coast of the Red Sea, in order to replenish my purse and send a few letters to Europe. I then announced that I had proved, by a variety of oral testimony [not a word now of his journey thither] that Kaffa is a peninsula (a *vóros* of old) encircled by the upper course of the White Nile, and that the main branch of this mighty river is the Godjeb, called Gódafo, or Gódapo, by the people of Kaffa. *My letters were just gone when I attempted*, with six observed latitudes and a great deal of oral information, to sketch a map of Great Damot. . . . *My various notes were scarcely brought together, when I perceived that the basin of the Borara or Umo was much larger than that of the Godjeb*; and the idea that I had misled geographers in a matter of this importance so tormented me, that I resolved to retrace my steps to Eñúrea, visit if possible the actual source, and add to my previous and insufficient azimuthal angles a sufficient number of new ones to make the position of the famous sources a mathematical deduction from that of the Gondar.—*Athenæum*, No. 1041, of October 9th, 1847, p. 1056.

The second statement was made to the Geographical Society of France, and is to the following effect:—

Gola, Agáme (Abessinia), September 10th, 1847.—In writing three years ago to the *Journal des Débats*, I described the source of the Godjeb as being that of the White Nile. Having written this letter *I went to Gondar, where I set to work to prepare* with the help of my multifarious information [here too not a word of his journey to Kaffa,] *a sketch of the course of the Uma. My brother and I perceived that the basin of this river was much larger than that of the Godjeb*; and rather than make you acquainted with our doubts, we resolved to visit Great Damot, separating from one another, so as to be able to verify at the junctions of the several rivers their respective sizes. We came to this resolution with much regret, for we were pining to revisit France[!] Unfortunately, we could not carry out the whole of our plan, in consequence of two Englishmen [*i. e.* Messrs. Bell and Plowden] having, in a most extraordinary manner, attacked and fired on the tribe of Nunu, who form a portion of Djimna-Rare. . . . After this, not only did it become impossible for us to set foot in Djimna-Rare, but Europeans generally were proscribed by most of the independent Gallas. We were therefore obliged to content ourselves with visiting the principal source, and establishing its pre-eminence by means of oral information.—*Bulletin*, vol. ix. pp. 110, 111.

In this second statement, though made little more than a month after the one published in England, there is already no slight variation. The preparation of the map, which according to the English statement had been attempted when his "letters were just gone" to Europe from "the coast of the Red Sea," is in the French statement said to have been deferred till after his return to Gondar, where (as the reader will bear in mind¹) he had left behind him the map which had been drawn at Sakka many months previously, but which had failed to show the great error that now, for the first time, presented itself to the mind, not only of himself but of his brother. We will, however, let these

¹ See page 13, *ante*.

discrepancies pass, especially as the two statements agree in the one main point; namely, that it was in the year 1844, while still in Abessinia and before undertaking his second journey to Enárea, that M. d'Abbadie detected his error respecting the Gódjeb, and resolved in consequence to return to that country, for the purpose of there visiting the true source of the Nile, which he then believed to be that of the Omo or Bórara:—in other words, the detection of this error was the *cause* and not the *result* of the second journey to Enárea.

In the statement now given in his *Résumé des Voyages*, which was communicated to the Academy of Science of Paris on the 3rd of December, 1849, M. d'Abbadie presents us with a totally different version of the motives for his second journey. After describing the remarkable incidents connected with his excursion from Enárea to Kaffa just related,¹ he goes on to say:—

Meanwhile my brother, uneasy at my delay, threatened in 1844 to have all the merchants who traded with Enárea arrested, whereupon the king of that country hastened to send me back to Abessinia. On my arrival there I heard of the expedition sent by Mohammed Ali towards the source of the Nile, and that M. d'Arnaud, the chief of that expedition, had ascertained that above the island of Jéankor, in 4° 42' N. latitude, the principal branch of the Nile comes from the east. *After having discussed the statements of the natives, my brother and I came to the conclusion that among the various affluents in the vicinity of Kaffa THE GODJEB IS THE PRINCIPAL ONE.* My brother however was of opinion that the question merited a new exploration, and we returned into the Galla country towards the middle of 1845. This time we separated, in order to study on different roads these countries in which it is so difficult to deviate from a route traced beforehand,² and often impossible, without long delays, to retrace one's steps. *We met together again in Enárea at the end of 1845: OUR INTENTION WAS TO GO TO THE SOURCE OF THE GODJEB; but the discussion of our observations made us decide that the river Omo is the principal affluent of the White River, and that its source is in the forest of Babia on the southern frontier of Enárea.—Comptes Rendus, vol. xxix. pp. 656, 657.*

In this last statement we find all that had been so distinctly and circumstantially related only two years before unceremoniously set aside. We have here no sketching of maps, whether at Massówa or at Gondar;—no consequent detection of the error with respect to the Godjeb, either by M. d'Abbadie alone or with the aid of his brother;—no tormenting idea of having misled geographers in a matter of so much importance;—no resolution to retrace his steps to Enárea *for the purpose of visiting the source of the Omo* and making its position a mathematical

¹ See page 20, *ante*.

² And yet on his first journey, M. d'Abbadie would appear to have made no difficulty in "deviating from the route traced beforehand," on

which his brother, "uneasy at his delay," was anxiously expecting him, and by which the King of Enárea had "hastened to send him back."—See pages 7, 8, *ante*.

deduction from that of Gondar;—no deep regret at having to do so on account of the pining to revisit France. All these stated facts, these strong motives, these deep feelings, are to be considered—dreams! We are to look at the last account as the authoritative revelation on the subject; and according to this last announcement it would appear that the two brothers, after a calm and deliberate consideration of the entire question, came to the conclusion that the Godjeb was, as the elder had always believed and as he had written to Europe in October, 1844,¹ the principal branch of the Nile. But because *M. Arnauld d'Abbadie* entertained the opinion that “the question merited a new exploration,” off they both started with the “intention to go to the source of the Godjeb” in the neighbourhood of Kaffa; and it was only when they “met again together in Enárea at the end of 1845,” that “the discussion of [their] observations made [them] decide that *the river Omo was the principal affluent of the White River* ;”—and this although we have a most explicit previous statement that, it was just after he had sent off his letters to Europe from Massówa, in Northern Abessinía, in October, 1844, that he had “perceived that the basin of the Borora or Umo (Omo) was much larger than that of the Godjeb, and the idea that [he] had misled geographers in a matter of this importance so tormented [him], that [he] resolved to retrace [his] steps to Enárea, visit if possible the actual source, and add to [his] previous and insufficient azimuthal angles a sufficient number of new ones to make the position of the famous sources a mathematical deduction from that of Gondar.”

I will not stop to inquire how it will be attempted to reconcile these improbable and directly contradictory statements, or how the public will receive the attempt if made; but I feel persuaded that the geographers whom *M. d'Abbadie* has expressed himself so anxious not to mislead must and will take care that they are not misled any longer. For my own part, I cannot look upon the one statement as being more likely to be true or more deserving of credence than the other, and I must therefore reject them both; and in their place I will proceed to give what, after a full consideration of all the circumstances of the alleged second journey to Enárea, appears to me to have been the real cause of it.

My impression is, that instead of quitting Godjam for Enárea and Kaffa in the month of May, 1843, just before the setting in of the rains, which commence yearly in the month of June, *M. d'Abbadie* settled down in that province and occupied himself

¹ See page 31, *ante*.

with collecting oral information respecting the countries lying to the south of the Abai, in the same way as I had done during the rainy season of the preceding year, 1842. Only there was, I conceive, this difference between us,—that while I communicated to the public my information such as I had received it, M. d'Abbadie worked up his materials into the more interesting form of a journey actually accomplished. And as, after my departure from Godjam in the beginning of 1843, M. d'Abbadie and his brother were left alone in that province, except during the brief interval of M. Lefebvre's rapid passage through the eastern portion of it about the time when M. d'Abbadie says he set out from Baso on his way to Enárea; he “fondly—and as [he] now learn[s] foolishly—hoped to be the *only* authority on the subject,”¹ and therefore fancied he might claim the merit of an expedition to Kaffa without the risk and trouble of performing the journey. On his arrival in Northern Abessinia, however, towards the end of 1844, he there met Messrs. Bell, Plowden and Parkyns, three English travellers;² and having learned from “a printed letter of M. Fresnel,” the French consul at Djiddah, that “a visit to the sources of the White Nile was also the object sought” by those gentlemen,³ he feared, not without good cause, that should they succeed in their undertaking, they would soon make the world acquainted with his own shortcomings. He consequently found himself under the necessity, *bon gré, mal gré*, of retracing his steps; and, having attached himself to Messrs. Bell and Plowden, he accompanied them to Baso, where he “advised Mr. Bell to proceed with his companion amidst the ordinary caravan,”⁴ while he himself “formed the bold plan of going at once from Baso to Limmu [Enárea] with five servants only,”⁵ and thus got the start of the English travellers. On the other hand, his warrior-brother,—who on a previous occasion had with his well-armed troop bid defiance to the potent Abba Bógibo himself,⁶ but was now most pacifically disposed,—remained behind with Messrs. Bell and Plowden, who soon got entangled in a quarrel with the Gallas,⁷ in which blood appears to have been shed.⁸ Those gentlemen would most probably give an account of the transaction somewhat different from that related by M. d'Abbadie in the columns of the *Athenæum*;⁹ but, at all events, the result appears to have been that M. Arnauld d'Abbadie

¹ See Appendix I. page 44.

² See *Athen.* No. 1041, p. 1056.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ See page 7, *ante*.

⁷ See page 31, *ante*.

⁸ See *Athen.* No. 1041, p. 1057.

⁹ *Ut supra*.

managed to give them the slip and to join his brother, wherever he then was, while the English travellers were effectually prevented from proceeding on their intended journey.

III. As to my third objection, founded on the difficulties and contradictions presented by the geodetical and astronomical observations of M. d'Abbadie,¹ the following is the manner in which he endeavours to get rid of that:—"The observations of latitude and azimuths, of which several were made by my brother, were for the most calculated on our journey; but I have desired to subject them to the control of a new calculation before presenting them here."²

M. d'Abbadie might have rendered this "new calculation" unnecessary by publishing his original notes of the observations themselves and leaving them to be *calculated* by others; which would besides, in this "cooking" age, have been much more satisfactory. However, I am glad to perceive that Sakka has once more become "the capital of Enárea,"³ and that its position, which was formerly "in 8° 12' 30" north latitude, the star observed not having been corrected for aberration and nutation,"⁴ is now made to be in 8° 11' north latitude.⁵ M. d'Abbadie does not inform us whether the difference of 1' 30" between these two determinations of the position of Sakka arises from the "correction for aberration and nutation;" but, if so, the fact is curious, and I am sure that astronomers would thank him for the full details of so remarkable a phenomenon. Meanwhile, and in the absence of more ample information, I am disposed to retain the opinion already expressed by me⁶ as to the short distance most probably existing between Sakka and the source of the Gibbe. It has been seen that in the first instance M. d'Abbadie made this distance to be rather more than twenty-six statute miles.⁷ It is now reduced by him to about twenty-four miles and a half. I therefore confidently look forward to yet more favourable results from the "new calculation" to which his observations are being subjected.

One circumstance, however, connected with the observations made on the second journey cannot fail to cause astonishment. It is that M. Arnauld d'Abbadie should have been employed to make observations of latitude and azimuths, seeing that the result of the only astronomical observation made by him of which the scientific world has any knowledge, is far from inspiring confidence in what he may have done to assist his more skilful

¹ See page 17, *ante*.

² *Comptes Rendus*, vol. xxix. p. 657.

³ *Ibid.* p. 656; and see page 12, *ante*.

⁴ See page 25, *ante*.

⁵ *Comptes Rendus*, vol. xxix. p. 658.

⁶ Page 26, *ante*.

⁷ Page 25, *ante*.

brother. The particulars of the observation in question are thus recorded by the latter :—" Having led you on the road to Enárea, I must inform you *en passant* that Démbecha, which appears in my printed itinerary, is situated in $10^{\circ} 7' 50''$ north latitude, from an observation made there by my brother with a box-sextant. This figure will perhaps have to undergo a slight correction, when I shall have calculated the five or six observations made at Démbecha."¹ It is not easy to say which is the more remarkable—the skill with which M. Arnauld d'Abbadie was able to observe to *ten seconds* with a box-sextant, which even on the vernier was certainly not divided to less than whole minutes,—or the extraordinary error of *twenty-five minutes* on the observation itself! The latitude of Démbecha, as resulting from four observations of the sun made there by myself, is $10^{\circ} 33'$ north.²

IV. On a careful perusal of the foregoing remarks, it will not be doubted that M. d'Abbadie has, in his *Résumé des Voyages* submitted to the Academy of Sciences, endeavoured to meet the allegation which forms the subject of my fourth objection ;³ namely, that he had desired to suppress his first journey to Enárea and Kaffa, and to found his scientific reputation on his second journey to Enárea alone. It is for the public to judge how far he has been successful in this endeavour, and with what benefit to his reputation.

¹ *Bulletin*, 2nd Series, vol. xiv. p. 240.

² The following note of the observations made by me at Démbecha is extracted from my Diary :—

1842, Jan. 30th	☉	double	merid. alt.	$122^{\circ} 58' 15''$	lat.	$10^{\circ} 33' 29''$	N.
31st	☉	"	"	$122 34 15$	"	$10 32 3$	
Feb. 2nd	☉	"	"	$124 40 30$	"	$10 32 58$	
6th	☉	"	"	$127 3 30$	"	$10 33 6$	

131 36

Index error of Sextant — $2' 15''$

mean latitude $10^{\circ} 32' 54''$ N.

See also the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xiv. p. 65.

³ See page 26, *ante*.

APPENDIX.

I.

THE following letter, headed *Remarks on Dr. C. Beck's Paper "On the Countries South of Abyssinia,"* was addressed by M. d'Abbadie to Mr. Ayrton, and by him handed to the Editor of the *Athenæum* for publication. It appeared in that Journal on October 16th, 1847, No. 1042, pp. 1077, 1078. My Paper, to which it relates, was printed in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xiii. pp. 254—269.

In now reprinting M. d'Abbadie's letter for the purpose of refuting its contents, I have taken each paragraph and answered it separately. It begins thus:—

As I have but little time to point out a great number of *errata*, I shall be as brief as possible.

Dedjach Goshu was born in Nazrit (Gojam), and his father D. Zawde was also a native of Gojam: D. Goshu is therefore not of Galla extraction.

When in Godjam, I collected the materials for a biographical memoir of Dedjach Goshu and his father Dedjach Zaudi. From this memoir the following particulars are extracted. About the end of the 17th century, in the reign of Hatsie Yúsu Tálak—the Emperor Joshua the First—a Galla of the tribe of A'muru, whose name I could not ascertain, crossed the river Abai in company with many of his countrymen, and settled in the province of Damot, where he had lands granted to him by the Emperor at Yedingra, in the district of Yemálog. He had a son or grandson named Sillin, who married Cherit, the daughter of Racho, another Galla settler in the adjoining district of Dinn. Racho was likewise the father of Amáro, Tullu, Róggie, Dagáwo, and several other sons; whose descendants still dwell in Damot as simple country people. In my excursions through that province I met with individuals of the lowest class, who were pointed out to me as cousins of Dédjach Goshu. By his wife Cherit, Sillin became the father of three sons; of whom the eldest was *Ya Kristus Zaud* ("the Crown of Christ") familiarly called and commonly known by the name of Zaudi.

Thus Dedjach Goshu, the son of Zaudi, is of Galla extraction: a fact as notorious throughout his dominions, in which M. d'Abbadie, like myself, resided some length of time, as it is in England that Queen Victoria is of German extraction.

O'mar Dájat [Nedját], who indulges often in that species of conversation called "fibs" by some and "yarn" by others, has never been beyond Kafa;—which is well proved by the distortion of all geographical features in the neighbourhood.

That 'Omar must have been beyond Kafa (see page 45, *post*) is proved by his description of the Suro negroes of the valley of the Godjob, as compared with that of the inhabitants of the valley of the White River given by M. Werne. See further on this subject, pages 49, 50, *post*.

Walagga is full of men and merchants. There is no *h* in Didesa—I am positive of

that. The forest which contains the source of the Gojab does not extend to Inarya [Enárea],—as I passed between both in a country open and pretty well cultivated.

I merely said—“Wallegga is an extensive plain and *in great part* desert country.” M. d’Abbadie, like myself, knows nothing of this country but from oral information.

With respect to the spelling of the name *Dedhésa*, M. d’Abbadie will tell us by and by (see page 53, *post*) that, when affirming thus positively and unqualifiedly that there is no *h* in this word, he “said so merely on the assumption that *h* stands always for an aspirate!”

Of the forest I said—“In this forest and in its immediate vicinity, are the heads of the Godjeb, Gaba, and Dedhésa, the first of which streams is but a small brook, where it is crossed on one of the routes from Guma to Kaffa. This forest *appears to extend* westward and northward through Wallegga, and *eastward to Enárea*, in which country my first informant, Dilbo, describes the Gibbe known to him as rising in a large forest.” This fact M. d’Abbadie *circumstantially* denies, and, as he asserts, from his own personal knowledge. But as he can only have “passed between both in a country open and pretty well cultivated” on his alleged journey from Enárea to Kaffa; and as it is believed that, in the preceding pages, it has been sufficiently proved that that journey did not take place; this pretended personal evidence is worthless—to say nothing else of it. But more than this:—In his letter of August 5th, 1847, (*Athen.* No. 1046, p. 1057,) M. d’Abbadie speaks of having had, while at Sakka, “to the south the forest of Babia and the sources of the Enárea Gibbe,” and “on the right [west] the highland forest which, under different names, contains the *sources of the Godjeb, Baro, and Dedhésa*”; and he does the same again in a recent communication in the *Bulletin*, vol. xiii. p. 299. Now, as in his last maps (*Bulletin*, vols. ix. and xii.) the sources of the Dedhésa and Gibbe are placed almost contiguous, and both are situate in the south of Enárea; and as, according to his own showing, the forest which contains the source of the Godjeb *contains also that of the Dedhésa*; it follows, from his own evidence, that the forest of which I spoke *does* extend to Enárea, notwithstanding his assertion to the contrary.

No Galla country between the Abbay and the Gojab is without a settled form of government; for they are all small republics, with chiefs changed every eight years. Each tribe has several chiefs—not only *one*.

Too little is known of the customs of the Gallas to warrant any such sweeping assertion—a *negative* one too—as this of M. d’Abbadie’s. Dr. Tutschek, in his *Dictionary of the Galla Language*, p. 21, speaks of customs different from those described by either M. d’Abbadie or myself. And M. d’Abbadie himself allows virtually that Enárea, Guma, and Djimma-Kaka, all of which are “Galla countries between the Abai and the Godjeb,” are *hereditary monarchies*. (See pages 41—43, *post*.)

The districts of Galla near the Abbay are not on such very friendly terms with Gojam; as the former are continually murdering the latter, and all the passes of the Abbay are consequently looked on as replete with danger. I cannot, with Dr. Beke, call this a friendly footing. These Galla pay tribute when an army comes to exact it, —not otherwise.

I stated that those districts “are *more or less* on a friendly footing with the rulers of the peninsula of Godjam, to whom *most of them pay tribute*.” The mode of collecting the revenues of the State differs in different countries. In Abessinia, the prince or one of his chiefs goes in person with his army to collect them, and in case of refusal his soldiers *distrain*. In England, tax-gatherers and custom-house officers are sufficient for the purpose. The

following remark of an intelligent Oriental, Assaad y Kayat, on the collection of the revenue in England is quite to the point:—"The easy way in which the revenue is collected is beyond all praise;—*not a single musket employed* in the collection of nearly sixty millions annually. May other nations learn how the law may be upheld *without having recourse to arms.*"—*A Voice from Lebanon*, pp. 127, 128.

A man from Limmu mentioned his clan without adding the name of Sobo;—which may, however, exist. Not so the identification of the Didesa and Yabus, which I was repeatedly assured are two distinct tributaries of the Abbay; the Yabus, called Dabus by the Galla, rising in or near Sayo.

Limmu-Sobo, as distinguished from the Limmu of Enárca, *does* exist. (See *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, vol. xvii. pp. 17-21.) Beyond the former country is a large river, respecting which I said—"This river, in its position, coincides with the Yabús, and is therefore *probably the Dedhésa in the lower part of its course.*" What I thus stated is substantially correct. The Yabús, called *Inbúss* by M. Russegger and *Dabús* by the Gallas, (*ibid.* p. 32.) is a tributary, not of the Abai, but of the Dedhésa; so that the lower course of the two streams is one and the same. It is not till about fifty miles below the confluence of the Yabús that the Dedhésa is joined by the Abai. (See the map facing the Title-page.)

Neither of the two Sibú nor of the two Leqa is comprised in Obo.

I was informed by more than one person that Sibú and Leka *are* sub-tribes ("children") of Wobo; and they are so marked in a map drawn for me by Dedjach Goshu. I prefer this evidence to M. d'Abbadie's *ipse dixit*.

There is no country called Hither Jimma; the Jimma near Gudru has for the last twenty years been on very bad terms with Gojam. Dr. Beke must have written here the words *good terms* by a *lapsus calami*, and must be excused.

This is a mere quibble. I spoke (p. 267) of "*Hither* or Tibbí Djimma" as contradistinguished from "*Further* or Kaka Djimma." The two expressions were used by me in juxtaposition, and could not be misunderstood. The people of this "*Hither*" Djimma, like those of Guderu, "*on account of their connexion with the market of Baso*, find it to their interest to keep constantly on good terms with their neighbours of Godjam." When at Yejubbi in the years 1842 and 1843, I was in frequent communication with natives of Djimma, who visited the weekly market of Baso.

Mächa means *country*; and has never been applied to Kutay—in my hearing at least—as the name of a country.

I must again repeat that Kuttai is one of the sub-tribes of Mecha (Mächa or Maitsha), and that this latter is the name of one of the principal tribes of the Gallas, as I heard both in Shoa and in Godjam. A large portion of this *tribe* of "*Maitsha*" crossed the Abai and settled in the northern part of the peninsula of Godjam, to which they gave their name; and "*Maitsha*," as *the name of a country*, appears in every modern published map of Abessinia! Further, in the *Journals of the Rev. Messrs. Isenberg and Krapp*, p. 213, the latter missionary expressly enumerates the "*Kuttai*," into a portion of whose country he entered in company with M. Rochet on February 2nd, 1840, among the sub-tribes of the "*Maitsha Gallas.*"

At a recent meeting of the Geographical Society of France, (see *Bulletin*, vol. xiii. p. 333,) M. d'Abbadie most amusingly expressed his astonishment that M. Beke, who had never set foot within the kingdom of Kaffa, or even in the country occupied by the Gallas, *the sons of Metcha*, of which country the entire width (being a distance of at least 150 miles,) at all times separated him from Kaffa, should presume to explain, that is to say criticise,

a journey into those countries, into which no European ever penetrated either before or after M. d'Abbadie." I will only express my astonishment at M. d'Abbadie's unfortunate want of memory, which makes him so constantly assert things which he has elsewhere denied. Metcha, then, according to his last statement, does not merely mean *country*: it is, after all, *the name of a tribe*,—and consequently *the name of the country inhabited by that tribe*,—as I asserted and he denied! And the Kuttai are a sub-tribe of "the sons of Metcha," inhabiting a portion of the extensive district alluded to by M. d'Abbadie.

The caravans from Baso to Inarya on leaving Jimma do not enter Nonno,—a feat as difficult as entering Hanover on leaving Switzerland. Nonno has a regular but feeble government, and is thickly inhabited.

As the entire distance between Baso and Enárea is less than 120 miles, the comparison of what is *only a small portion of this distance* to that between Hanover and Switzerland is absurd; if, indeed, it is not intended to mislead. I do not find "Nonno" marked in M. d'Abbadie's map; but in its position, its physical character, and its social and political condition, it corresponds with his "desert of Chibbe." (*Athen.* No. 1041, p. 1057.) I therefore believe my description of Nonno to be substantially correct.

The communications said to be cut off in February 1843 were only so with Dr. Beke and his informers; but not in reality, as trade was then brisk in the Galla country.

I did not speak of the state of trade in the Galla country. And I said "four months previously to," not in February, 1843. My words were—"It is in Nonno that the Káfilahs [between Baso and Enárea] find the greatest obstacles, being frequently detained several months, as was the case during the last season of 1842-3, when, for four months previously to my departure from Baso, (in February 1843,) all communication between the two countries was cut off." This fact I now unqualifiedly re-assert. M. d'Abbadie himself (*Athen.* No. 1041, p. 1057) describes "the dangerous desert of Chibbe," which, as above stated, corresponds with the locality in question, as being "the field of battle of Enárea, Guna, Bunho, Djimma-Hinne, Léka, and Bilo." No wonder, then, that it should often be impassable for the caravans, as it was at the time to which I alluded.

A small part only of the Limmu of Inarya is turned Mohammedan; and those even still adore the Spirits of the mountains and offer them sacrifices.

This point is not worth a question. I spoke in general terms, and mainly to show that the inhabitants of Enárea are no longer Christians, as by geographers they are usually stated to be. For I said that "the Limmu tribe of pagan Gallas long ago made themselves masters of the country. . . Hence the names of Limmu and Enárea are used as almost synonymous. They have, however, since turned Mohammedans."

Saka—not Sakka—termed a "great emporium" by the learned Doctor, is nothing more than a straggling hamlet or village. The king's slaves never watch trees—too abundant to be precious.

The subject of Sakka (I retain the spelling,) will be discussed in the sequel (page 51). In the very next sentence, M. d'Abbadie states that he was told that the king of Djimma "is hard [at work] planting coffee trees." Now I confess that I cannot understand why trees that are worth planting and bear a berry currently saleable should be "too abundant to be precious."

Coffee is never sold in Inarya by the load; but by a small measure (a horn cup) supposed to contain a pound. When the coffee has not been deprived of its pericarp it is sold in bags made of a single goatskin; the price is at the cheapest four or five

pounds for an amole. In Inarya no mules are ever hired. There is scarcely any coffee in the valley of the Gojab; but Abba Jifara, king of Jimma Kakka, is hard planting coffee trees, as I am told.

I see no sufficient reason for questioning the correctness of the information obtained by me respecting the sale of coffee in Enárea. My informants were veracious persons, and had no object in misleading me. As regards the existence of coffee in the countries beyond Enárea, I said—"In Djimma and Kaffa *small quantities* only are found, as likewise in the valley of the *Godjeb*;" and this M. d'Abbadie confirms.

"The approach to Inarya is at (the) Kella" means simply that it is at the frontier of Inarya,—a truth too obvious to be inculcated to our present intelligent generation.

From this, M. d'Abbadie would wish it to be inferred that "Kella" means "frontier." In the passage, however, on which the foregoing is a comment, I said that "the approach to Enárea from the N. is at *Kella*—a word of frequent occurrence, which has the same signification as the Amharic *ber*; viz., a gate or pass." And I find in Dr. Tutschek's *Galla Dictionary* (p. 34) the following definition of the word *Kela* (Kella)—"gate, door; especially that which is made through the rampart." In this instance, therefore, as in most others, M. d'Abbadie's "truth" is anything but obvious.

I cannot suffer the learned Doctor to disparage my royal friend Abba Bagibo, king of Inarya;—as he was decidedly victorious in the last contest with Jimma. The great majority of his subjects, and even some of his principal officers of state, are still heathen.

I stated that "Enárea was till lately at war with the neighbouring countries of Djimma and Guma: with the former to much disadvantage. But peace has now been established between the monarchs of the three kingdoms, which peace has been cemented by their union by marriage, and still more by the adoption of Islamism by the kings of Djimma and Guma. In Enárea this religion has long since usurped the place of heathenism; this country being the principal place of residence of the Mahomedan merchants of Abessinia, whose precepts and example have had, and still continue to have, most surprising results in the conversion of the Gallas." I do not see anything to alter in this statement; except, perhaps, that the peace which existed between Abba Bógibo and Abba Djiár may since have been broken.

If "manufactures" mean literally things made with the hand, Dr. Beke is perfectly right as to the Limmu manufactures: but not so if "manufactures" mean something on a large scale. The king of Inarya, however, prefers the *toga* of Abyssinia, and his finely ornamented cloths come from Kafa and from the Gurage. This is a fact, and admits of no discussion.

What "manufactures" were intended by me is self-evident, notwithstanding the doubt which M. d'Abbadie would wish to raise. I spoke of "daggers with well-wrought blades and ivory handles very elegantly inlaid with silver, as well as cloths with ornamented borders, brought from Enárea, such as would in vain be looked for in Abessinia." M. d'Abbadie's "fact which admits of no discussion," corroborates my further statement that "throughout the Galla country, of which Shoa may be regarded as a part, the state of manufactures is much superior to that of *Abessinia*, properly so called." For Gurage is, in part at least, tributary to Shoa; and Kaffa, though strictly speaking it is not a part of "the Galla country," is still so connected therewith locally, that it may be classed with it when speaking generally (as I did) of *the countries south of Abessinia*, as contradistinguished from Abessinia itself.

Inarya produces little or no ivory; for a simple reason—viz. there are no elephants

in the country. It possesses three commercial outlets:—1. Baso by Jimma Rare and Gudru; 2. Shāwa, or rather Wari Haymano, by Agabdja; 3. Wūlagga. The trade by Agabdja is regular, and almost all the coffee goes by that road.

If there is any force in M. d'Abbadie's reason why ivory is not the "produce" of Enárea, it must equally apply to his statement that that country produces *little* of that commodity. But this playing with words is childish. Assuming it be true that there are no elephants in the country,—upon which point it is unnecessary to express an opinion—we have the evidence of M. d'Abbadie himself that "the most disagreeable dangers of Chibbe are *herds of elephants*"—the said "dangerous desert of Chibbe" reaching to "the very *Kella* or frontier gate of Enárea." (see *Athen.* No. 1041, p. 1067.) Here then the people of Enárea would obtain ivory in quantities, which they would *produce*—that is to say, "offer to the view or notice" or "exhibit to the public"—in their markets. And that ivory is really common in the markets of Enárea, we have the evidence of M. d'Abbadie himself, in contradiction of his own previous statement. For, in speaking of the merchant Omar Badúri, (see page 51, *post*) he says that he "kept servants in the markets of Gombota and *Sakha* to buy up civet, slaves, or ivory!"

M. d'Abbadie states that one of the outlets for the coffee of Enárea is "Shoa, or rather *Warra Haimano*, by Agabdjai;" which is much the same as if it were said that England exports coffee to France, or rather *Germany*, by Belgium. For, the uninitiated must be informed that *Warra Haimano*, of which the capital, Tanta, was visited by Dr. Krapf in April, 1842, (see his *Journals*, p. 341,) lies considerably to the north of Shoa, and has, indeed, less to do with the latter country than Germany with France. From my own personal knowledge I can assert that the *Warra Haimano* merchants purchase the Enárea coffee at *Baso market*.

I have been assured that *Bagibo* is not the name of a horse; but will not allow mere oral information to impugn the authority of the learned Doctor. *Sauna Abba Rago*, grandson of *Abba Gom-ol* (I protest against an *h* here), is not the heir apparent of *Ibsa Abba Bagibo*. I have not time to turn up authorities,—but the king of *Inarya* has at least fifteen residences, not seven only. His principal seat is at *Garuqe*, near the tomb of the old warrior *Bofu Boko*, *alias* *Abba Gom-ol*. The remarks on slavery, &c., apply to *Inarya*, not to *Guma*.

In No. 662 of the *Athenæum*, (p. 532,) M. d'Abbadie says—"The king of Enárea, who, according to established custom, is known by the name of his horse (*Abba Bagibo*, i. e. father or master of the horse *Bagibo*)." The reader may believe whichever he pleases of these two directly contradictory assertions of M. d'Abbadie.

In speaking of the king, *Abba Bogibo*, I stated that "his father's name was *Bofu*, surnamed *Abba Gomhol* [I shall defend the spelling of the name by and by]; and his eldest son and heir apparent is *Sanna*, or *Abba Rago*." Does M. d'Abbadie mean to assert that in Enárea the *eldest* son is not the heir apparent of his father? If not, I do not see the force of his objection. I will not dispute the alleged larger number of the monarch's residences. And yet there may be only *seven* that are specially deemed as such. My remarks on slavery in *Guma* were—"The inhabitants of *Guma* were, more than those of any other country, doomed to slavery; as *their sovereign*, who has the character of extreme severity, is in the habit of selling whole families, for offences—sometimes of the most trifling nature—committed even by a single individual." According to M. d'Abbadie, it is not *Abba Rebu*, king of *Guma*, but *Abba Bogibo*, king of Enárea, to whom these enormities are attributable. I thank him for this information respecting the revolting practices of his "royal friend." I always knew *Abba Bogibo* to be an extensive slave-dealer; but I was not aware of his wholesale dealings in his

own subjects. At the same time I must express my belief that the practice adverted to prevails likewise in Guma, and probably to a greater extent than in Enárea.

Inarya has lost nothing by Jimma. The father of Sauna Abba Jifara was Gangela Abba Mägal. I never heard Folla called Polla; and slaves are no longer mutilated there.

I was assured that the dominions of Sanna, surnamed Abba Djifár, king of Djimma Kaka, have "been much enlarged by acquisitions lately made at the expense of Enárea"; and I see no reason to doubt the correctness of this information. The father of Abba Djifár, according to my informants, was "Dángila, surnamed Abba Nagál." Polla for Folla is manifestly a dialectic difference, just as M. d'Abbadie tells us (see page 31; *ante*) the river Godjeb is called Godepo and Godeyó. As M. d'Abbadie only knows Folla by hearsay, it is rather hazardous on his part to assert that the custom of mutilating slaves mentioned by me, which by implication he admits to have prevailed, no longer exists.

The Janjáro government was not capriciously despotic. The whole country, or nearly so, has been now subdued by Abba Jifara, who has made the king his prisoner.

The precise character of a government is a matter on which difference of opinion may fairly exist. That of Djándjaro is however admitted by M. d'Abbadie to have been "despotic," even if not "capriciously" so. The conquests adverted to by M. d'Abbadie may possibly have occurred subsequently to my departure from Abessinia, and they therefore in no wise invalidate my statements.

The mutilation of the breasts proceeded only from a foolish idea that men ought not to have nipples; and a Janjáro cunningly compared that custom to mine of shaving my head for my turban. Shaving the beard and cutting the nail of the little finger (which the Yamma or Janjáro never do) are in their estimation feats of the same order.

My facts being admitted, I do not see why the reasons for them given by my informants should not be quite as correct as those stated by M. d'Abbadie.

I was not aware, until informed by the Doctor, of the existence of castes in Abyssinia.

The term *caste* is properly applicable to classes of people of different origin inhabiting the same country, who do not live, intermarry, or even eat with each other. And this not merely in the sense of the original Portuguese word *casta*, but even with the restricted signification in which the word is used with reference to the inhabitants of India. I am therefore justified in speaking of castes in Abessinia.

The two principal tribes of the Janjáro are the Yamma and Yangara: the first is generally used to designate the country. The Yamma call themselves Christians.

I was informed in Godjam that the inhabitants of Yangaro are pagans—not Christians. Dr. Krapf says (*Journals*, p. 258) "*It seems to me that the people of Sentshiro [Djandjaro or Yángaro] were formerly Christians, because they have circumcision and some Christian feasts; but otherwise they do not appear to know anything about Christianity.*"

Kucha and Kurchash* are nearly one hundred miles, or more perhaps, distant: the latter is really, and the former is nominally, a Christian country. Botor, a Galla country, not Christian, has never subdued Kurchash; † for a similar reason that Hungary has not conquered France,—viz., distance and inferiority of numbers.

* Printed "Kuroosh" in the *Athenæum*.

† *Ibid.*

My words are "Kucha appears to be the same as Ku[r]chash, which is described as a Christian country, entirely surrounded by pagau Gallas." As M. d'Abbadie has given the distance between this country and Kucha, it is to be regretted that he did not likewise state that between Kurchash and Botor. Had he done so, it would have been seen that his comparison of those countries to Hungary and France was only intended to mislead. For, in fact, they are *close together*, in the vicinity of Agabdjai. In M. d'Abbadie's map in vol. ix. of the *Bulletin*, Kurchash (Kurcax) is placed immediately adjoining Agabdjai; but in his last map in vol. xii. the name has been erased!

The Gojüb is too far from Walaytza (Walanu or Jirgo) to be crossed; and when crossed, boats are never used. This assertion of the Doctor reminds me of the rafts with high gunwale, &c., which Capt. Harris so generously put afloat on the Gojüb,—while, alas, this floating property has no existence in reality, unless, as in the Boodha religion, thought only is reality.

The name "Godjeb" was applied by me, as it was in the first instance by M. d'Abbadie himself, to the main stream; of which he said the Bako was only a tributary, (see page 10, *ante*.) though he has since converted the latter into the lower course of the Godjeb. (*ibid.*) In speaking therefore of the "Godjeb" I meant the main stream, whatever name M. d'Abbadie may now please to give it; and this "Godjeb" truly divides Wolaitza (Walaytza) from Kullo, as is shown by M. d'Abbadie's own maps in vols. ix. and xii. of the *Bulletin*. In connexion with this same river "Godjeb," I perceive in those maps the words "Bac de Gongul," that is to say, the "Gongul ferry," to which allusion is made in his letter of February 17th, 1848. (*Athen.* No. 1105, p. 1331.) If this ferry over the "Godjeb" is not by means of boats or rafts, perhaps M. d'Abbadie will explain what other means of passage are adopted.

I am afraid that I must again quarrel with Dr. Beke about the letter *h*; for I cannot bring my ears to detect an *h* in *tato*, the Kafa word for king. On this point I cannot give way to my learned rival in Ethiopian geography. Other points I may concede, but this unfortunate *h* I cannot; and if heaven and earth were brought together, *impavidum ferient ruinae*, for I should die a martyr to my senses.

This rodomontade will be answered in the sequel (pages 53—55).

The present king of Kafa is called Kamo, and his reigning title is Gaeshüroch. His rule is, I think, not quite despotic; for on assuming his golden ring he swears to observe the laws and customs of the land and not to punish unjustly. When, however, he does extend his prerogative too far he is punished by the old-fashioned method of turning him out of the country. European states, with their far-famed wisdom, have sometimes been at a loss to find a better remedy. The king of Kafa has 10,000 horse;—a small force compared with the army of Ras A'ly, which is only a fraction of the forces of Abyssinia. The *tata* (or *tato* with the article) of Kafa claims descent from Minjo, and not at all from the imperial family of Ethiopia.

There are only two churches in the country,—at least I was told so at Bonga. The sanctuaries in Kafa are not churches. I have lived with Kafa people for the last two years; and never heard the history of sheep, fowls, leather, &c. But the positive assurances of the learned Doctor may be more weighty than my simple *don't know*; and I will not venture to suspect a word of this Bonga information so unexpectedly come to me from Europe, when I fondly,—and as I now learn foolishly,—hoped to be the only authority on the subject, being the only European who ever trod on Kafa ground. But, as the *Athenæum* observed, a visit to a country does not imply that one knows that country.

Dollars are well known in Kafa;—for the merchants of that country asked for almost nothing else. There is no gold in Seka (not Sieka).

As I imagine that it has been convincingly proved in the preceding pages that M. d'Abbadie never "trod on Kafa ground," his contradiction of my

statements on these various matters of detail respecting that country possess, at most, no greater authority than those statements themselves. As I have before said, I see no reason to doubt the general correctness of the information which I obtained in Abessinia; though I am far from insisting on it when opposed by sufficient testimony. But while correcting this for the press, I have found it stated in page 258 of Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf's *Journals*,—"The currency of Caffa consists in pieces of salt, *silver money not being known*;" and again,—“The Sentshiros [Djandjaros], like the Gallas, do not eat hens. Goats also are not eaten.” As this information was obtained by Dr. Krapf in Shoa, and mine by myself independently in Godjam, the coincidence is more than enough to outweigh anything M. d'Abbadie may think proper to assert to the contrary.

Suro is not subject to Kafa. Seka is near Bonga towards the west, and not beyond Suro; at least Nalle, my Suro informer, never mentioned Siekka. The Arabs who go for trading purposes only to the Suro country never pass by Walagga. I have never heard Derbaddo mentioned.

I may mention that in page 2 of his paper the learned Doctor tells us that O'mar had been beyond Kafa,—while in page 13 he tells us implicitly, that he has not, because the road is impracticable. When Dr. Beke makes slips like these, I may be excused if I doubt the rest of his derived information, now and then at least.

As this remark is a direct imputation against my veracity, I at once answered it in my letter of October 30th, 1847, inserted in No. 1044 of the *Athenaeum*, p. 1127. It will there be seen that M. d'Abbadie's objection is founded on a mere quibble. Omar had been to Suro, a country “beyond Kaffa” it is true, *but subject to it, and therefore in one sense a part of it*; though he was unable to penetrate “beyond Kaffa” into the adjacent hostile countries. As I there stated, “an Englishman who had never crossed the sea might just as well be charged with a ‘slip,’ for saying at one time that he had never been out of England, and at another time that he had gone out of England into Wales.”

It is proper to explain that M. d'Abbadie's reference to pages 2 and 13 of my paper are caused by the paging of the separate copies of it which I received from the Royal Geographical Society; one of which copies was presented by me to Mr. Ayrton, and by him forwarded to his friend M. d'Abbadie. The pages of the article in the Society's Journal (vol. xiii.) are 255 and 266.

Suro, Gimira, Nao, Doqo, and Yombo informers never mentioned the Goje River. But weigh the evidence and try to believe with Dr. Beke that it exists—it is the most convenient method of closing the debate.

Omar's Godjo is merely the lower course of the Godjeb, as shown in his map. I have already expressed my regret (*Athen.* No. 1044, p. 1127) at not having, from the outset, placed more implicit reliance on the correctness of Omar's most valuable information.

I would rather say *the* Doqo than simply Doqo; because that name comprehends thirty independent States,—most of them using different languages.

“Doko” in the Galla language means “ignorant,” “stupid,” and is used much in the sense of our English word “savage.” M. d'Abbadie says in another place (*Bulletin*, vol. viii. p. 233,) that the *Dokos* “give themselves this national name.” He must have again forgotten himself when thus saying that thirty independent States, using different languages, give themselves one national name. His loss of memory is really lamentable.

The extensive tract of country to the west of the Baro is called Baqo, not Wallegga. I am assured that the Gallas beyond the Baro, and even those beyond the Baqo, speak all the same language.

Both in my text and in my map I have placed Wallegga to the east, and not to the west, of the Baro. Of the Gallas beyond that river, I merely said that they "speak a different language, or at least a different dialect."

The origin of the Galla is not [at] all a *vezata questio* for me;—but as I am afraid that the Doctor's learning might engage him to turn up authorities against me, and as I have no books here, I shall tell you my opinion of Galla origins another time. I may merely mention that if *gama* means *beyond*, beyond the Baro would be rendered in Ilmorma *Baro Gama*,—not *Bargama*.

A short paper by me "On the Origin of the Gallas" is printed in the Report, for 1847, of the British Association for the Advancement of Science—"Report of the Sections," p. 113 *et seq.* In it I have referred to the opinion expressed by M. d'Abbadie on the subject, which is very far indeed from having solved the question. The words *Baro* and *gama* are contracted into *Bar'gama*, just in the same way as *Ilma* (son) and *Orma* (man) become *Ilm'orma*—the son of a man, *i. e.* a Galla. Why M. d'Abbadie should speak of the "*Ilm'orma*" language I am at a loss to understand. The Gallas themselves say *Afun'Orma*—the language of men. If we are to supersede the well-known word "Galla," we ought to call the language *Orma* or *Orman*. To speak of it as *Ilm'orma* is about as absurd as if, in speaking of the languages of M. d'Abbadie's native and "chosen" countries, we were to say the Irish-man-language and the French-man-language.

I received Dr. Beke's paper through your kindness;—and thought myself obliged to state my opinion on the information which it imparts. What I have written I have written,—to use the words of the illustrious and unfortunate Bruce; but should any one show reason to doubt my opinions, I shall ever be ready to take up my pen and answer him. In days of yore, men supported their assertions with sword and blood,—the present generation prefers pen and ink: and I, with some others, prefer the taste of these degenerate days,—as the fiercest battle, and even the most destructive defeat, will not prevent me from quietly sitting down at your fireside to philosophize at leisure by laughing sometimes at my own folly and sometimes at the folly of others.

ANTOINE D'ABBADIE.

To Fred. Ayrton, Esq.

M. d'Abbadie's declaration at a meeting of the Geographical Society of France on May 3rd last (see *Bulletin*, vol. xiii. p. 333), that "he was ready to sustain a geographical discussion, fairly offered by any one but M. Beke," and the subsequent mission, on July 4th, of his brother Arnauld and friend Mr. Ayrton, to prevent me, if possible, by threats and insults, from laying before the public the facts connected with his pretended journey to Kaffa, are an unhappy commentary on the conclusion of his letter.

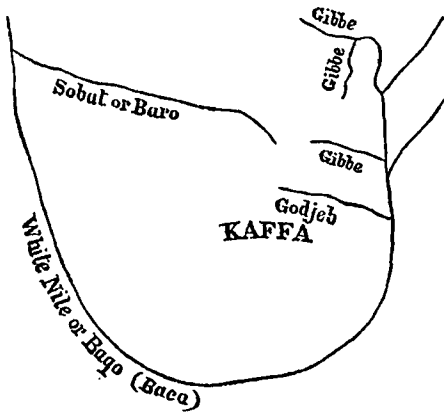
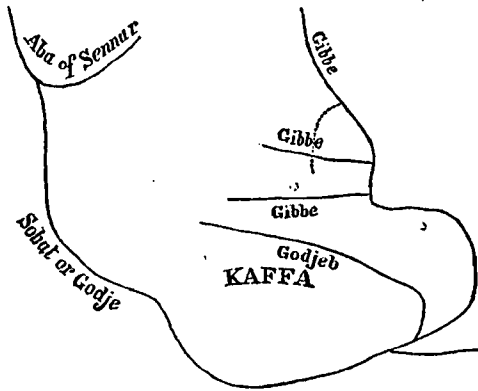
II.

The following is extracted from a letter dated Gondar, February 17th, 1848, and addressed by M. d'Abbadie to the Editor of the *Athenæum*, in reply to my letter of October 25th, 1847, which had been inserted in that journal on the 30th of the same month, No. 1044, p. 1127. M. d'Abbadie's letter was printed in the *Athenæum* of December 30th, 1848, No. 1105, pp. 1329—1331. I did not think proper to reply to it at the time; and much of it is still unnoticed, as being immaterial and irrelevant. The paragraphs are here, as before, answered *scriptim*.

Dr. Beke presents his informer 'Omar in the character of a boaster when he says, "Where is the land that a child of Darita does not reach;" yet he affirms that 'Omar's

map is, "in its *most material features*, identical with mine,—constructed from actual survey with the theodolite." A writer who indulges in sarcasm might hold up this phrase as a specimen of Dr. Beke's judgment in all assertions of his, whether past or future. But I take these words for an oversight, merely attributable to the Doctor's eagerness; and will rest content with questioning the truth of his assertion,—first, because it is improbable,—secondly, because the Gibe of Inarya runs nearly east and west in Dr. Beke's map, while in mine it travels almost north and south,—and lastly, because, although Dr. Beke's map is now before me, he has not yet seen mine; the two sketches which I sent to Europe not containing many other details which would also prove anything but identity.

The way to answer remarks of this sort is to let the two maps speak for themselves. Accordingly a *fac-simile* of each, so far as regards the courses



of the rivers marked on them respectively, is here given. The upper one is that of Omar, which was sketched in February, 1843, by the simple process of placing the end of "his finger on the points marking the bearings of the places named, whereon I drew a circle round it, and set down the names mentioned within that circle." The lower one is that of M. d'Abbadie inserted in the *Athenæum*, No. 1042, p. 1077, which was constructed in 1847, with the aid of his theodolite, planted in 200 stations in Ethiopia, and other instruments with which he was so amply provided. It will, at a glance, be evident that the "most material features" in which these two maps are identical, and in which they differ from all preceding ones, are:—1st. The *three* rivers called Gibbe—all other maps shewing only *one*, whether under the name Zebee, Kibbe, or Gibbe. 2ndly. The junction of the three rivers Gibbe with the Godjeb, which is not at all indicated in previous maps. 3rdly. The spiral course of the united stream round Kaffa on its way to join the Nile, instead of falling into the Indian Ocean. I am quite ready to admit—indeed I never thought of denying—the slight difference alluded to by M. d'Abbadie with respect to the direction of the

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middle Gibbe, which in Omar's map is from west to east, while in M. d'Abbadie's it is from south to north; but this little difference, which may be set right by means of the dotted line in Omar's map, is merely a matter of detail, and does not affect the justness or the good faith of my assertion, which only extended to "the most material features" of the two maps. As to M. d'Abbadie's last maps in vols. ix. and xii. of the *Bulletin*, though undoubtedly "containing many other details," they are substantially identical with the "two sketches" previously sent by him to Europe and inserted in No. 1042 of the *Athenæum*, of which the above is one.

If I had suspected that Dr. Beke and 'Omar Najat were united by the sacred tie of friendship, I would certainly have withheld my opinion of the latter even when writing to my own friend,—for private feelings are a sanctuary too holy to be trespassed upon. However, after having unluckily given my opinion, I do not mean to say that I swerve from it. I moreover deeply deplore that my peculiar position obliges me to inform Dr. Beke of a circumstance which he is most undoubtedly ignorant of, or he would never as a Christian, and still less as an Englishman, have called 'Omar a very honest fellow. 'Omar is, like the great majority of Durita merchants, a notorious slave dealer. I travelled in his caravan from Baso to Yfag,—had full opportunities of knowing him,—was much amused by his account of countries which he had never seen but which I had; and the only information I then reaped was from his thriving stock of children,—born free, but doomed henceforward to slavery. I may here add, that, owing to the peculiar difficulties of travelling among the Galla, I have often striven to contract at least a semblance of friendship with dealers in human flesh, but it would not do; for antipathy on my side and habits of falsehood on the other made the tie impossible. The trade in human flesh is like a moral simoom which blights every good feeling.

All that I said was—"My poor friend Omar, whom I looked on as a very honest fellow, is unmercifully accused of 'fibs' and 'yarns';" and upon these few words M. d'Abbadie gives vent to this gush of sentimentality respecting slavery. Even if all that M. d'Abbadie asserts respecting this merchant were true, (for which however his word can hardly be accepted as conclusive evidence,) it must be borne in mind that Omar is an Abessinian and a Mohammedan, and that by the customs of his native country, as well as by his religion, slavery and slave-dealing are deemed lawful. I cannot see, therefore, why he should not be, in other respects, "a very honest fellow,"—as I called him and still believe him to be. As to my being "united by the sacred tie of friendship" with Omar, because, in defending him from M. d'Abbadie's unfounded charge of falsehood, I spoke of him as "my poor friend," it is simply absurd; while M. d'Abbadie's assertion that he himself has "often striven to contract at least a semblance of friendship with dealers in human flesh, but it would not do," is something worse than an absurdity. For, what is his Galla guide, Rufo Garre (see *Athen.* No. 1041, p. 1056), whom he "kissed and blessed" on parting from him? What is the "brave and venerable" Shumi Abba Bia (*ibid.*), whom he "again embraced" in Guderu, and who named him his bridesman on his marriage with the granddaughter of Abba Bogibo? And, above all, what is his "royal friend" Abba Bogibo, against whose atrocious wholesale slave-making and slave-dealing he himself (see page 42, *ante*) so explicitly bears witness? Nevertheless, when we perceive M. d'Abbadie glorying (*Athen.* No. 1041, p. 1057) in a system of deceit by which he "proceeded cautiously to [his] own ends,"—which system, in spite of all his attempts at concealment, must have been transparent to the cunning Abessinians,—it may easily be conceived that, in very many cases, "antipathy on one side" and "falsehood on the other" would indeed have "made the tie of friendship impossible" between them.

While on the subject of "dealers in human flesh," I may ask whether our

consistent traveller is the same "M. Antoine d'Abbadie" who, at a meeting of the Geographical Society of Paris on the 5th of April, 1839 (see *Bulletin*, 2nd Series, vol. xi. p. 216), presented to the assembly a "Galla boy whom he had purchased." If so, I would recommend to his serious consideration the Act of 5 Geo. IV. cap. 113, and also the following passage in a despatch addressed by Viscount Palmerston, in the early part of last year, to Mr. Consul Gilbert at Alexandria, with reference to cases of a similar nature occurring in Egypt:—"In accordance with the opinion of the law advisers of the Crown, I have now to state to you that Her Majesty's subjects who are offenders against British law in the manner described by you, are liable to be transported or imprisoned as felons." (See the Eleventh Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1850, p. 50.) It is only right that M. d'Abbadie should be aware of the law; as, though he has recently declared himself to be a Frenchman "by choice," (see page 27, *ante*) still he cannot thereby free himself from his liabilities as a British subject.

I am at a loss to understand Dr. Beke's argument relating to the Zebec crossed by A. Fernandez in 1613; and I still retain my opinion that one of these was the Kusaro, which could not be avoided in going from Inarya to the Janjaro without a devious and useless circuit round its source near Gera.

This subject has already been discussed in page 16, *ante*.

It is not strictly logical to *deay en passant* the premises of a man's reasoning and then build a lengthened argument on that very denial. In writing to Mr. Ayrton I briefly stated that Suro is *not* subject to Kaffa. Dr. Beke, forgetting his own rule that "to contradict is not to disprove," now repeats the contrary, and in my humble opinion ought to have begun by explaining why his informers should be preferred to mine. In Abyssinia I have often heard Darita Mussulmen say that the Suro are subject to Kaffa: but the four Bonga ambassadors to Inarya pointedly told me the contrary; as likewise the messenger from the King of Gobo, a Nao slave, born near the very desert which separates the Nao from the Suro,—a Xay [Shay] slave who had fought with the Suro,—a Doqo free man in the pay of the King of Kaffa,—a Bonga blacksmith who volunteered in the last foray, and complained of the desert between the Gimira (subjects of Kaffa) and the Suro,—and last, not least, Nalle, a native of the Suro country. That Dr. Beke should have been misled into believing the subjection of the Suro on the authority of two informers only, is a pretty illustration of the rule which I laid down in your No. 1041,—viz., that in African hearsay-geography three independent informers who agree together are often requisite to establish one truth. I could fill a whole page with miscellaneous information on the Suro; and have seen three slaves from that country who left their home when grown up, and are not disfigured as the Doctor relates. Besides, in these days of universal wandering, should any Englishman meet a Kaffa slave who remembers his own country, he may easily satisfy himself that the Kaffa and Suro are irreconcilable enemies, and inhabit adjacent hostile countries.

This is an amusing instance of that charming off-hand style for which the Irish of France and the Gascons of Britain (and I believe M. d'Abbadie comes within both categories,) are famous. I had originally stated (*Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* vol. xiii. p. 264) that "Suro is subject to Kaffa," which M. d'Abbadie unceremoniously contradicted (see page 45, *ante*); and on my repeating my assertion and giving reasons for its correctness, he coolly turns round on me and says that "it is not strictly logical to deny *en passant* the premises of a man's reasoning and then build a lengthened argument on that very denial!" I am content to leave the argument just as it stands.

But with regard to the *disfigurement* of the Suro negroes to which I alluded, and the existence of which M. d'Abbadie so summarily denies, I will adduce some evidence from a trustworthy and totally independent source, which not only tends to prove the general accuracy of 'Omar's information on this subject, but likewise to establish the correctness of my

hypothesis that the Godjeb is the head of the Sobat or River of Habesh; and not of the direct stream of the Bahr el Abyad or Nile. My original statement was:—"Suro is two days' journey to the west of Bonga, and is subject to Kaffa. The country is both highland and valley, but the people are all *Shánkalas* or negroes. The men go naked, and the women wear only a small apron. The king of the country alone is clothed. They are pagans. They take out two of the lower front teeth, and cut a hole in the lower lip, into which they insert a wooden plug. They also pierce the gristle of the ear all round for the insertion of grass." And I described the country of the Suro, likewise on Omar's authority, as lying in the valley of the Godjeb. (See also his map in *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* vol. xvii. part 1.)

M. Ferdinand Werne, who accompanied the second Egyptian Expedition up the White River, has recently published an account of his voyage (*Expedition zur Entdeckung der Quellen des Weissen Nil*, Berlin, 1848), in various parts of which customs similar to those described by 'Omar are mentioned as prevailing among the black inhabitants of the valley of that river. The traveller states that, as far south as Bari, in the fourth parallel of north latitude, all the natives are in the habit of *extracting several of the incisors*, both of the upper and lower jaw, "in order that they may not resemble beasts of prey" (p. 188); and that they also "*pierce the cartilage of the ear all round*, and, in the absence of beads or other ornaments, they insert in the orifices small pieces of wood" (p. 428). The natives of Bari alone form an exception, being "distinguished" (says M. Werne) "from all the people we have hitherto seen by the circumstance that they do not pierce their ears for the insertion of ornaments, and also, that they are not tattooed" (p. 293); and *higher up the river than Bari*, which country was the extreme point reached by the Expedition, *the natives are said to "keep in all their teeth"* (p. 325).

From a comparison of these particulars the conclusion may fairly be drawn, that the Suro negroes are of the same race as the inhabitants of the valley of the White River *below Bari*, but not as those *above* that country; and as they occupy the valley of the Godjeb, which is now known to be an affluent of the Nile,—and as there is no important stream joining the White River from the east *below Bari*, except the Sobát, Telfi, or River of Habesh,—it results that this latter river can only be the lower course of the Godjeb.

I am as liable to oversights as many others, but Dr. Beke ought to have chosen a better case in order to prove my frailties. In speaking of a map sketched not in Gondar, but in Saka, comprising the country between Saka and Bonga, I had said, rather ambiguously it is true, that I wished to add to it places established by oral evidence. But even had my French phrase quoted by Dr. Beke meant that my hearsay information had been already penned down right and left, the words "*à droite et à gauche*" do not inevitably imply that I had extended my information to the left bank of the Omo, or recognised fully the existence and dimensions of all its affluents. And my expressions are certainly less definite than Dr. Beke's *whole of Central Africa*,—which, according to his last explanation, means only from the Equator southwards, that is, somewhere *out of the centre*.

As regards this gross evasion of the real question respecting the map, I have only to refer to what has been said in pages 13, 14, *ante*. And as to my "definite" expression, it was, first and last, "the whole of *Southern Africa*," (see *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* vol. xvii. p. 75.)—not "the whole of *Central Africa*," as M. d'Abbadie thinks proper to assert.

The French word *bourg* does not mean *town*, as the learned Doctor is pleased to translate it,—but has a more indefinite meaning, like the English *borough*, which has been often applied to a few houses only: and I used *bourg* in the latter sense to avoid a lengthened explanation in a long letter. When the caravan is gone, most of the

Saka huts are taken down; and on the arrival of a fresh one, huts are bought and carried sometimes from the distance of several miles. A "great emporium" means a thriving permanent city, or something of the kind,—and Saka deserves no such name. I insist the more on this point because recent travellers have spoken in glowing terms of the commerce of Ethiopia. The sources of that commerce being chiefly in the neighbourhood of Inarya, I may cite an example which proves what these African emporiums are. On my return from Bonga I passed three weeks with 'Omar Badiri, a native of Harqiqo, who had arrived in Jëren (omitted in Dr. Beke's map) with twenty loaded mules, worth in Gondar at most 1,000 dollars, or £216, and in Inarya 26,000 amole, or pieces of salt. Now, 'Omar Badiri being very desirous of going home, gave higher prices than other merchants,—kept servants in the markets of Gombota and Saka to buy up civet, slaves, or ivory,—and was nevertheless obliged to consume *two* whole years before disposing of his goods because the markets are not stocked. Few European merchants would consent to such protracted delays.

The subject of Sakka and the meaning of the word *bourg* having already been discussed, (page 12, *ante*.) there is no need to dwell on those matters here. But M. d'Abbadie's direct and positive contradiction of my assertion that Sakka is "the great emporium" of Enárea, requires a few words in reply.

Notwithstanding his many years' residence in Eastern Africa, and in spite of his vast learning, M. d'Abbadie seems to be altogether ignorant of what "African emporia" are and always have been. We will take the description given by Captain Barker, I.N., of one of the greatest of these emporia—Berberah, a place which is very well known to M. d'Abbadie; for when he finally left Aden, in November, 1840, he crossed over thither, and remained there some time before proceeding to Tadjurra, where he fell in with Major Harris's Mission, as has been related in the *Athenæum* of February 17th, 1849, No. 1112, p. 167.

Of Berberah Captain Barker says, (*Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* vol. xviii. p. 133,) that it is "the principal place of trade along the coast, on account of its beautiful harbour," and that for the purposes of trade "the tribes from the interior commence arriving [there] from the end of October, and continue to do so until March." It is to be hoped that even M. d'Abbadie will not assert that Berberah is "a thriving permanent city, or something of the kind;" but, lest he should do so, I will again appeal to Captain Barker's testimony, which is, that at the end of March, "in a few days the place, from containing a population of 10,000 or 15,000, becomes totally deserted." And yet Berberah, which during more than half the year is thus totally deserted, is, and has been from time immemorial, one of the principal *ἑμπορία* of the Eastern Horn of Africa—and this, whether it be regarded as representing the *Mundus*, the *Mosyllon*, or the *Malao* of Arrian's *Periplus*.

Therefore, if even we acknowledge M. d'Abbadie's *third* description of Sakka to be the authoritative one, and that place to be neither "the capital of Enárea," nor a "borough town," nor yet a simple "town (bourg)," nor even a "straggling hamlet or village," but only a temporary collection of "huts bought and carried from a distance of several miles;"—in fact much such a place as that *great emporium* Berberah itself is;—still, as he admits that "the sources of the commerce of Ethiopia are chiefly in the neighbourhood of Enárea," and as Sakka is universally (with not even the exception of M. d'Abbadie himself,) recognised as the principal market of that country, I do not fear being accused of incorrectness or exaggeration in styling it "the great emporium of Enárea."

M. d'Abbadie has, however, since re-acknowledged Sakka to be "the capital of Enárea" (see page 35, *ante*); so that his principal objection on the score of its not being a "thriving permanent" place, falls of itself to the ground.

Sacrifices are made at the source of the Bora as well as those of the Gojab; but but this proves nothing with the scientific geographer. As in the case of Bruce's Nile, native universal consent has long ere now been totally discarded. I have already explained in print how physical obstacles prevented me from visiting the source of the Gojab; and Dr. Beke's reproaches on that point are as misplaced as if I quarrelled with him for not going in person with the regular weekly caravans from Yajibe to Gudru (there are no caravans and even no travellers from Qanqatti to the source of the Gojab) to satisfy himself with his own eyes that the Lag 'Amara does not join the Agul, as his map will have it.

I am not conscious of M. d'Abbadie's having anywhere "explained in print how physical obstacles prevented him from visiting the source of the Godjeb," notwithstanding that I have looked pretty carefully through all he has published on the subject; nor can I indeed conceive what physical obstacles could have withstood his escort of 1000 warriors (see page 29, *ante*). But whether he has explained this or not, his comparison of my not going to the source of the Lagga (river) Amhara with his omitting to visit that of the Godjeb is anything but just. I had no special reason for visiting the former spot more than any other. I merely noted down its position from oral information, and may or may not have fallen into error with respect to it. But according to M. d'Abbadie's own statements, he went to Abessinia expressly for the purpose of visiting the source of the Nile in Kaffa; he believed the Godjeb to be the Nile; he was within thirty miles of its source, and yet he did not go that trifling distance to visit it; though, according to *one* of his statements as to the reasons for his second journey, (see page 32, *ante*,) he afterwards returned upwards of 600 miles solely with the intention of doing so.

The *Athenæum* is my only unsevered link with English science. I have not seen in your columns a full detail of Dr. Beke's reasons for carrying the sources of the White Nile to the southward of the Equator; and must for the present decline examining the weight of his opinions,—observing only that if Dr. Beke argue with M. Werne, my information, given by natives, is in accordance with M. D'Arnaud,—and that when two European travellers have different views on one and the same important point, wise men will either suspend their judgment or decide by other and independent evidence.

To this appeal to "other and independent evidence" an answer most opportunely presented itself just as these sheets were going to press.

It will be remembered that in my "Essay on the Nile and its Tributaries," (*Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* vol. xvii. p. 71,) it is contended that the direct stream of the Nile "has its origin in the country of Mono-Moézi;" which country is approximately placed by me "within two degrees S. of the Equator," and between "the 29th and 34th meridians of E. longitude." And, as "in the languages extending over the whole of Southern Africa, and of which that of the country of Mono-Moézi itself is a principal dialect, the word *Moézi*, in various forms, means 'the moon;'" the opinion is expressed that the geographer Ptolemy, having been informed that "the source of the Nile is in the *Mountains*, or hill-country, of MOEZI," had "merely translated that expression into τὸ τῆς ΣΕΑΗ'ΝΗΣ ὄρος, — *the mountains of THE MOON.*" (*Ibid.* p. 75.)

The discovery made by Mr. Rebmann, in April 1848, of the snowy mountain Kilimandjaro, has already been adverted to (page 3, *ante*). I have now the satisfaction of referring to the important discovery of the still larger *Küma dja Djeu*, or "mountain of whiteness," named Kénia, which was made by my friend Dr. Krapf, on a journey to Ukambáni, 400 miles N.W. from the Missionary Station at Rabbai Mpia, near Mombas, performed in November and December, 1849, and of which an account is given in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* of last month (September

1850), vol. i. pp. 393, 394. In the map accompanying his journal, Kénia is placed by Dr. Krapf in about 1° S. lat. and 35° E. long.; it being, like Kilimandjaro, on the road to the country of *Uyamési*, which "by interpretation may be rendered *Possession of the Moon*;" and on the northern flank of Kénia, in Dr. Krapf's opinion, "is the most probable source of the Bahr el Abyad, in accordance with Ptolemy."

This "mountain of whiteness," Kénia, is described by Dr. Krapf as having "the form of a gigantic roof, over which two horns rise like two mighty pillars, which he has no doubt are seen by the inhabitants of the countries bordering on the northern latitudes of the equator;" and it, or some other similar mountain, is, manifestly, "the *white mountain*, whose peaks are completely white," which, according to Baron von Müller (*Athen.* No. 1111, p. 142), is known to the natives of the Bahr el Abyad between 4° and 5° N. lat., and in which they state that river to have its origin.

I apprehend that but few links are now wanting to complete the chain of evidence in proof of the correctness of my hypothesis.

III.

From the preceding remarks of M. d'Abbadie (pages 37, 42, 44, *ante*;) it will have been observed in what emphatic terms he protested against my introduction of the letter *h* into the words *Drdhésa*, *Gómhol*, &c. And, in like manner, in his letter of August, 1847, printed in No. 1042 of the *Athenæum*, (p. 1077,) he found fault with me for spelling the name of the river *Abai* with one *b* instead of two.

In my reply, inserted in No. 1044 of the same Journal, (p. 1127,) I contented myself with saying:—"Neither will I question here the judgement pronounced *ex cathedra* on my spelling of certain native names:—perhaps on some future occasion you will afford me space for a few remarks on this subject." But, on further consideration, I really did not think it worth while to trouble either the Editor of the *Athenæum* or the public with trivialities of the sort.

M. d'Abbadie would have done well to allow the matter to remain thus. Instead of which, apparently regarding my silence as a sign of defeat, he followed up his fancied victory by a letter in the *Athenæum* of January 13th, 1849, No. 1107, p. 42, of which the following is the commencement:—

After waiting several months for Dr. Beke's promised vindication of his orthography [see *Athen.* No. 1044, p. 1127], I shall trespass on your kindness to offer a few remarks on the same subject.

When affirming that there is no *h* in *Did-esa*, I said so merely on the assumption that *h* stands always for an aspirate. On receiving your No. 1044, I feared some mistake on my part; and brought three different Galla to three Abyssine writers, ordering them to write the name in their own characters. One wrote *Didesa* (ደደሳ) and the other two *Did-esa* (ደደሳ). All three agreed that there was no aspiration in the word. I may here mention that your printer, more scrupulous than many learned Societies, has long ere this cast an underdotted *d* to express the cerebral *d* known in India,—perhaps identical with the Welsh *ll*, and employed likewise in the Afar, Saho, Ilmorma, and Kafácco languages. My hyphen (-) stands for the Ethiopic *alef* (ላ) or the Arabic *hamzah* (ء), which is often overlooked by Europeans, who may take it for an *h* when their ear is not tutored to the peculiar sounds of foreign languages. These remarks may be of value, since the *Did-esa* is probably the true Bahr el Azraq, or Blue Nile.

Thus, after all, the *tirades* against my use of this obnoxious *h* were

merely founded on the gratuitous assumption that it "stands always for an aspirate!" Let us now see what it really does stand for.

In the month of April, 1845, I communicated to the Philological Society of London Vocabularies of thirteen languages, collected by me in Abessinia, being principally from the southern parts of that country, and including those of Gonga, Kaffa, Woratta, Wolaita or Wolámo, and Yágaro or Djándjaro, (which form a new class of languages first made known by myself,) and also the Galla of Gúderu. These Vocabularies, accompanied by some explanatory remarks, were printed in the second volume of the *Transactions* of that Society, pp. 89—107.

In those remarks, in describing the system of orthography adopted by me, I say:—"Dh is a sound peculiar to the Galla language, and extremely difficult to be acquired, the d being followed by a sort of *hiatus*, or guttural approaching to the Arabic ع." And I further explain that the consonants not specially mentioned by me, of which the simple d is one, are "to be pronounced as in English." In accordance with these rules, I write *De-dhè-sa*, which gives the true pronunciation of the word, as I studiously acquired it from numerous Gallas, when in Godjam in 1842 and 1843.

The two distinct sounds contained in this word, are represented by Dr. Tutschek in his *Grammar of the Galla Language* (p. 6.) by the characters *d* and *d'*, which are thus defined by him:—"D is our soft *d* in day, load, maid *d'* is a singular sound, scarcely to be expressed by European organs. It is very soft, and formed by a gentle push of the tongue upon the hinder part of the palate, so that between the *d'* and the following vowel, another consonant seems to be intercalated, similar to the Semitic Aïn [ع]. It forms thus, to a certain degree, the bridge from the T-sounds to the gutturals; and before the ear is accustomed to this peculiar consonant, it is usually confounded with *g*."

Thus it will be seen that Dr. Tutschek and myself entirely agree as to the pronunciation of this peculiar Galla sound, which we respectively represent by *dh* and *d'*; and it will likewise be seen that we both distinguish between this sound and that of the ordinary English *d*, which we each mark with the simple character. Not so M. d'Abbadie. In spite of all he says about his acute sensibility of hearing, that sense is actually so obtuse with him that he cannot distinguish between the two widely different sounds of *d* and *dh* in the word *Dedhèsa*. For he uses "an under-dotted *d*" to represent them both; and then, forsooth, says that the same character "expresses the cerebral *d* known in India—perhaps identical with the Welsh *ll*!"

However, "fearing some mistake on his part," M. d'Abbadie appealed (as he says) to three Abessinian scribes, whom he got to write the word in their native characters.

All this parade of learned scrupulosity may possibly impose on such persons as may happen to know nothing of the matter—on the principle of *omne ignotum pro magnifico*. But those who are at all acquainted with the subject will be aware that, though the Abessinians certainly do possess a *Ḥ* in their alphabet—which letter, as Mr. Isenberg tells us in his Amharic Dictionary, "is the same with our *d*,"—yet they have no character or combination of characters whatever approaching in the least to the sound of the Galla *dh* or *d'*.

* These three scribes, then, did just as a like number of Frenchmen would have done, if required to write the English name *Thistlethwaite* with their native characters. They represented the unpronounceable word as nearly as they could—that is to say, *they did not repre-*

sent it at all; and their authority is, consequently, about equal to that of M. d'Abbadie himself.

As regards my use of an *h* in other places where M. d'Abbadie thinks proper to introduce a hyphen (-), I can only repeat what I have already said in the Remarks on my Vocabularies (p. 89), with reference generally to the characters employed by me:—"They are not intended to represent the precise native sounds, to which they are in many cases only approximations, near enough, however, for all practical purposes." From what precedes, it is manifest that M. d'Abbadie is not qualified to criticise the system of orthography which, after due consideration, I have thus adopted.

It remains yet to say a few words respecting the spelling of the name of the principal river in Abessinia, the *Abai*. The passage in M. d'Abbadie's letter of August, 1847 (*Athen.* No. 1042, p. 1077), above alluded to, is as follows:—

I hope it is your compositor, and not the learned Doctor, who writes *Abai* in place of *Abbay*. In your No. 918, I remarked that *Abay* (with one *b* only) means in Amharña, *non-conformist, refusing, liar*. *Abbay* means *fatherly* in the Gonga language. I therefore protest at your enlightened tribunal against all those who rob the *Abbay* of its second *b*.

And in the number of the *Athenæum* (918, p. 542,) to which M. d'Abbadie thus refers, it is stated, in a note on the word *Abbay*:—

This is the proper orthography. The learned men in Godjam expressly told me, that *Abbay* is written with a double *B*.

What "the learned men in Godjam" would have been thinking of when they "expressly told" M. d'Abbadie anything so entirely incorrect as this, I cannot imagine.

Every Ethiopic and Amharic scholar knows that the alphabets of those languages are syllabic, and that the vowel sounds, which are seven in number (exclusive of diphthongs), are not represented by separate characters, but simply modify the form of the consonant in which each is incorporated. Hence the reduplication of any consonant necessarily involves the expression also of the vowel contained in it. When therefore, these "learned men in Godjam expressly told" their learned scholar "that *Abbay* is written with a double *b*," they meant of course that that letter, with its accompanying vowel, is to be twice written; and if, to the first of the two characters be given the shortest of all the seven vowels—namely *ä*—the word must necessarily be written *a-bä-ba-yi*, which would be pronounced not *Abbay* but *Abäbai*!

Had those "learned men" asserted that the *b* should be sounded like a double letter, in consequence of its being contracted from two identical letters (see Isenberg's *Amharic Grammar*, p. 17), there might have been some sense in what they said; but even in that case they could not have stated that it is "written with a double *b*." For, as a learned man who has never been in Godjam teaches us, though "in Hebrew letters so contracted receive a compensative Dagesh, and in the Arabic, a Teshdid," yet "in the Abessinian language they have no mark for this gemination." (Isenberg's *Amharic Grammar*, p. 18.)

I am afraid, therefore, that M. d'Abbadie's "learned men in Godjam," are of a piece with his "Abyssine writers," of whom mention has just been made, and who, on hearing the word *De-dhë-sa* pronounced by "three different Gallas," wrote that word with four Amharic characters, which, as read by myself and also by my worthy friend Dr. Krapf (to whom I submitted them while preparing this sheet for the press), are to be pronounced *dä-dä-yä-sa*!

The remainder of M. d'Abbadie's letter in No. 1107 of the *Athenæum* is not worth repeating. Still, the concluding portion of it is so truly charac-

teristic of the writer, that, before finally taking leave of him, I will venture to reproduce it, even at the risk of wearying my readers.

Before concluding, I wish to add a few words on *accent*. The able *savant* just mentioned [Mr. Lane] distinguishes one in Arabic,—and M. Fresnel, long his fellow-labourer in the same field, can appreciate none. *Non nobis licet tantus componere lites*, for the Arabs themselves probably have no word to express the English idea of *accent*. Without venturing to decide between these two learned friends, I would attempt an explanation by saying, that Englishmen hear an accent everywhere and Frenchmen nowhere, merely from national bias.

In Abyssinia at least we can appeal to the natives on this delicate question. It is perhaps agreed in Europe that the Giiiz, or sacred language of Abyssinia, has a very marked accent; but it is not generally known that the native professors *teach* the proper accent with as much fastidiousness as many an Oxford tutor. When I saw Dr. Beke putting accents everywhere in Amharña names, I resolved to distrust my French ears and consult the Gondar professors. This was an easy task; as when the Gojam army approached in February last, noble dames and chiefs flocked to my brother's house, while mine was filled by students and tutors. These last all agreed that there is no accent in the Amharña language; and one of them having pronounced a word three times with an accent placed each time on a different syllable, was laughed at as an insufferable dissenter. The same persons, however, admitted unanimously an accent in Tigray and Ilmorma; and I find one in upwards of fifteen other Ethiopian languages which I have more or less studied.

However, with the exception of Amharña, where the question is well decided, it is perhaps premature to insist on such a nice distinction as accent; and in most foreign, especially barbarous, languages, I would omit it altogether as long as our systems of transcription are abandoned to individual, and in general random, methods. This is a growing and intolerable nuisance; and by laying it again before the eyes of your learned readers you may benefit science still more than the private wishes of yours, &c.

ANTOINE D'ABBADIE.

In the brief remarks that I shall make on these apparently erudite observations, I must, in the first place, explain that the language which is thus made by M. d'Abbadie the subject of the "delicate question" of accent, and which he styles the *Amharña*—for the only purpose, as it would seem, of mystifying the unlearned,—is nothing more nor less than the well-known *Amharic*, of which we possess printed dictionaries and grammars, besides a version of the entire Scriptures, and several elementary works from the pen of that learned "Amharic" scholar, Mr. Isenberg. This explanation simplifies the matter vastly. The public now know, at all events, what M. d'Abbadie is talking about, and they can at once perceive that the subject is not so recondite as at first sight it might have appeared to be.

With respect to the existence of an accent in this Amharic language, however M. d'Abbadie may distrust his French ears, I do not at all distrust my English organs. Still, as we are all liable to error, I will call in as umpire a *German*, namely Mr. Isenberg himself, who, in his *Grammar of the Amharic Language*, (p. 13,) actually lays down "some general rules for accentuation." If, then, as M. d'Abbadie contends, "the question is well decided," the decision is evidently not in *his* favour.

It will, of course, be understood that no *written* accent exists either in the Amharic, or in any other of the native languages of Abyssinia and the neighbouring countries. But as, *in speaking*, an accent or emphasis does exist, I have considered that it would greatly facilitate the pronunciation by marking with an acute accent (') that syllable of a word, especially when it is of more than two syllables, on which the stress generally falls.



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