

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

AUTHENTICITY OF BRUCE'S TRAVELS

IN ABYSSINIA;

IN REPLY TO SOME PASSAGES IN

BROWN'S TRAVELS THROUGH EGYPT, AFRICA, AND SYRIA.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF LIFE AND HAPPINESS

IN EUROPE AND IN CAFFRARIA.

PASCITUR IN VIVIS LIVOR : POST FATA QUIESCIT :
TUNC SUUS EX MERITO QUEMQUE TUETUR HONOS. OVID.



By RICHARD WHARTON, Esq.

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE:

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OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

AUTHENTICITY OF BRUCE'S TRAVELS, &c. &c.

δοκίμη αὐτῶ ἐξευρηκέναι τε Νεῖλα τὰς πηγὰς· μικροῖς δὲ τισι καὶ φαυλοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικύτων
τικμαζόμενον. Arr. Exp. Al. lib. 6.

MEN, who quit the comforts and allurements of their own country, and the protection of civilized Government, to explore distant parts of the world: who, to instruct, amuse and amend Europe, expose themselves to the dubious hospitality of other regions; certainly deserve no small portion of our gratitude, and occupy a very distinguished station in the scale of literary eminence. But we are by no means to conceive, that all who travel are equally our benefactors: a great variety of circumstances must coincide, in order to render the labors of travellers really valuable: and we ought to make the difficulties under which they labor a sort of standard in appreciating the merit of their works.

Success (however cruel or invidious such a requisite may seem) success is undoubtedly a principal ingredient; and one, without which

a concurrence of many other claims to public thanks, will lose all its force. *

I scarcely need mention Truth of relation, as another circumstance, which must form the characteristic of such a work. It is, indeed, a difficult thing to ascertain the Truth or Falseness of relations, which refer to countries visited (and perhaps likely to be visited) by few, besides the traveller on whose narrative we are to decide: but we may form some judgment of the consistency observed throughout; as well as how far the writer adheres to, or deviates from, probability: and it will often happen, that the veracity of such accounts may be made manifest by collateral circumstances, unknown to the authors of them, but open to the investigation of an intelligent reader. If a book of travels will stand the test of such an examination; we must be candid enough to give credit to those parts of the relation which cannot fall within the scope of our own observation; and vary from the facts, customs or appearances, that prevail in countries more generally frequented.

Further, in estimating a book of Travels, we are to consider the importance of the discoveries made; as they affect Geography or History, natural and political. *We shall rather pity than admire a man, who has endanger'd his health, his liberty or his life, in fruit-

* *Will lose all its force.* On this account, altho' we all deplore the melancholy fate of Major Houghton, we cannot suffer ourselves to number him among the benefactors to the republic of letters.

less researches which had no tendency to enlarge the limits of human science: and we shall bestow a fuller, or a more scanty portion of our applause, in proportion as the enterprize communicated to us, seems to embrace, more or less completely, every end, for which the cause of literature is interested in the encouragement of travellers.

He therefore, who builds his fame on the publication of his travels, embarks in no trifling undertaking: but in an age like the present, when every man's mind is actuated by a desire of improvement, and all nations seem to unite in wishing to promote enquiry and extend every branch of knowledge; he has one material consolation: namely, that his labors, his qualifications and his difficulties, will be justly appreciated; and a candid judgment will be formed of him, without any disposition to cavil at, to misrepresent, or to impeach the credit of his work. We, who sit at home, do not presume to question the courage of a traveller, because, by circumstances related in his narrative, he is deterred from accomplishing what we wish to have effected: nor do we dispute the existence of facts, manners or phenomena, which may have occurred to him; because the same do not present themselves within the narrow circle of our own excursions. A liberality of this kind is, I think, yet more to be expected among such of us, as have in their turns pushed into unfrequented countries; and obtained (as it were) ocular demonstration, that nature does not every where exhibit the same features as in England: and that Man is capable of accommodating himself to habits, very different from those, which civilization has rendered universal among Europeans.

Certainly travellers and navigators are, in general, very cautious and reserved, in taxing those who have preceded them, with misrepresentation, puffianimity or exaggeration: and when any such passages do occur in their writings, the charge is direct, and the proof positive: so that what they say, evidently springs from a sense of their duty: they conceive themselves, perhaps, bound to inform the public, and prevent any bad consequences, which might result, from their conniving at former errors. But we rarely see marks of any intention to circumscribe the supposed discoveries of others, with a view to bolster up their own weakly claim to praise; or to cover their own inanity, by questioning the authenticity of what had been communicated by former travellers. It is because I think that Mr Brown has deviated from the general usage; because he seems to me to have made his narrative the vehicle of oblique attacks on the character of the late Mr Bruce; and to have endeavoured to impress ideas on the public mind, by no means favorable either to the credit or to the understanding of that traveller; that I am tempted to obtrude these pages on the world.

It is not, *in all cases*, reckoned very honorable to advance any *direct and positive charge* against a man, after he is dead: much less so, to sneer at his character, and to convey reproach in a clandestine way. The work of Mr Bruce is of a nature so singular; it has given rise to so many opinions; and is yet established on so insecure a basis, with respect to acknowledged authenticity;* that any charge or insinuation

* *Acknowledged authenticity.* The sanction of Dr. Vincent, one of the most learned

against it, is more likely perhaps to have a strong effect, than such an attack on any other geographical publication extant. I am not so strenuous an advocate for Mr Bruce, as to deprecate any examination into the truth of what he has told us : on the contrary, I am sure it would be for the general advancement of science, if some person (whose authority did not rest on the report of an Armenian, or a Bergoo merchant) would resolutely follow him step by step ; and confirm or refute every particular he has related. But, in the present case, I think it but common justice to the memory of Mr Bruce, to discuss the insinuations by which it is obliquely wounded ; and to weigh the merits and authority of the Writer, whose judgment, activity, talents and veracity, qualify him to settle what quantity of credit is due to other travellers.

I feel my own inferiority to Mr Brown, at the moment when I sit down to combat some of his positions : and if I think myself warranted in defending the reputation of Mr Bruce, I am at the same time equally sensible, that a large tribute of applauding comment is due to the very splendid achievements of his antagonist. It is true, that I shall have occasion to deny the force of some observations, and inferences relied on by the latter : but, to shew that I do not engage in a task so invidious, from any want of respect to his literary merit ; I propose to enter into a short critique on the whole body of his work, before I examine those passages of it, from which I am obliged to withhold my assent.

writers of the present age, will not be without its due weight, in repressing the extraordinary prejudices hitherto entertained against Mr. Bruce.

The expedition, of which a narrative has lately been published by Mr Brown, comprizes a period of six years: during which Mr Brown *did not* discover the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter Ammon*: *did not* penetrate into Habbesb or Abyssinia: *did not* visit his favorite river, the Bahr el Abiad, or ascertain the situation of its source: and *did not* reach the Niger, or effectuate any communication with western Africa. These interesting particulars are made known to the public, in a middle sized quarto. * It has evidently been the design of Mr Brown to diffuse the information contained in his book as widely as possible; since, although there are two maps, † a frontispiece, and two engravings in the volume; although the type is neat, the paper hot-pressed, and the pages four hundred and forty-two, exclusive of a most amusing road-book in imitation of Patterfon; yet the price is no more than a guinea and a half! and who would not think much more than that sum amply compensated, by the matter contained in it? Who would not think he had paid too little for the participation of those valuable facts, which I have above stated as the principal con-

* The objects of Mr Brown's expedition were, to visit the Temple of Ammon: to explore Abyssinia: to visit (and trace if possible) the Bahr el Abiad: and to investigate the Mohammedan states lying in the western parts of Africa between the Niger and Tripoli. How far these objects were attained, vide the Text.

† *Two maps.* It is but common justice to add, that in these two maps, there are no less than one hundred and five names of places, of which twenty-two are laid down from Mr Brown's own observation; and that this number gives above *one* to every *five square inches*. I must also observe, that the frontispiece is perfectly gratuitous, having no reference

tents of Mr Brown's book? But this instructive writer goes further than I have mentioned: he tells us, that other books have been published, which forestall any thing he can communicate, relative to Egypt and Syria;* he enters, with the minuteness of a customhouse officer, into the † revenues of Egypt; he proves, in a satisfactory manner, that our ally Jezzar Pacha is imperious, and has behaved ill to the citizens of the great nation:‡ and he shews, in a very masterly style, the weakness of supposing that liberty, science and virtue, can convey to Man a larger portion of happiness, than slavery, ignorance and roguery. §

Such are the outlines of the work, in which I am sorry to find a few passages, that so strongly militate against the reputation of Mr Bruce, as to make some reply, on the part of those who think highly of that Gentleman, not impertinent. The qualifications, which seem to have rendered Mr Brown peculiarly fitted for such an important undertaking as that of traversing the interior of Africa, were evidently manifold: altho' it may be regretted, (among other things) that he did not possess some knowledge of the language || and prejudices of those

to, or explanation in, the work itself: and that the plates, representing a pyramid, and the Fúrrian monarch's palace, are of exquisite design and elaborate execution.

* Page ix. x. Pref.

† Page 54.

‡ Page 368.

§ Page 425.

|| Page 14, 120.

whom he proposed to visit, before he left Kahira: that he did not condescend so far to accommodate his behaviour to the ideas of the natives, as to restrain some little whims* and frolics, which seem to have interfered with African notions of decorum: and that he did not keep some rein upon his temper. †

The learning and accomplishments of Mr Brown may be collected from every part of his work: we cannot therefore doubt his having been able to give us a full zoological and botanical account of

* *Little whims.* " One day, as I was reading in the Hut, one of the slaves, a girl about fifteen, came to the door of it: when, from the *whim of the moment*, I seized the cloth that was round her waist, which dropped and left her naked. Chance so determined that the owner of the slave passed at the moment and saw her: the publicity of the place precluded any view of further familiarity; but the tumult which succeeded, appeared to mark the most heinous of crimes, and to threaten the most exemplary vengeance. The man threw his turban on the earth and exclaimed, ' Ye believers in the prophet, hear me! ye faithful, avenge me! a Caffre has violated the property of a descendant of Mohammed!' " Page 206. The action of Mr Brown in a civilized nation like France, would certainly have been regarded as a bagatelle, a mere Effort of Gallantry. But he should have recollected that he was then among gross and blind barbarians, on whom the sun of philosophy had not yet shone, and who continued to plod on in the trammels of decency. More especially, as he seems to have known, that, from the general amatory practices of Darfur, such a *whim* might well excite a suspicion of further familiarity, notwithstanding the publicity of the place (293); and that an heavy fine was annexed by Mohammed to the violation of a slave. (207.)

† *Temper.* " The misconduct of this man was carried to such an excess, that I once levelled my gun at him, with a view of inspiring terror." p. 192. The use of instruments of death in inspiring terror, has been tried with great effect in the French Republic.

Darfur, had he ever undertaken the least excursion during his long residence in that country. But we have to regret, that he never, at any time, was seized with a *Whim* to make researches of that nature the amusement of his leisure hours. His own method of treating the history of Darfur is a very severe, though a just, reprehension of that which Mr Bruce has adopted with regard to Abyssinia: one whole volume of Mr Bruce's work is filled with the genealogy of black, semicivilized monarchs, with whose names and achievements the learned world was, before, scarce at all acquainted. Mr Brown on the contrary tells us, that " the genealogy and succession of princes, " are points of small import in the history of all countries; but " especially in those, of which we had no prior information:"* and he, accordingly, takes up none of his reader's time in such uninteresting discussions. With respect to Topography, his chapters on Sinai and Balbec † are models of local and minute description: nor is it possible for the most curious reader to wish for more ample information, than Mr Brown has given him on those subjects. How deeply, then, are we to deplore that succession of disappointments, which prevented our enjoying from his pen, a full acquaintance with what is faintly delineated by Bruce and Park!

* Page 280.

† *Sinai and Balbec*. " Journey to Sinai. Ch. 14. So many journeys to Sinai have been published, that I shall not dwell on the particulars. The route from Suez to Tur at " first lies along a barren coast, but afterwards some pleasant vales of verdure are found, " particularly Wadi Corondel, where grow some Date Trees and Shrubs. Mountains of red

A sanguine disposition is so common, among those whom curiosity prompts to explore celebrated or unfrequented countries, that I believe we may attribute to it much of that spirit of exaggeration, with which Mr Brown finds fault in the works of travellers: but it is a fault from which he himself seems to have been totally exempt. So far from indulging in sanguine hopes, this traveller states himself to have been surprized at the sight of a small ruin in the Siwan Oasis; though

“ granite are seen, perhaps too interspersed with porphyry. On the 18th left Tur, and on
 “ the 22d, at three and an half hours, A. M. reached the monastery of Sinai. Shot a red
 “ legged partridge. The convent is large, with a good garden, to which there is a sub-
 “ terraneous passage. Within the Walls is a small mosque for the convenience of the Arabs,
 “ The mountain now called Sinai is high and abrupt: on the N. some snow was visible.
 “ The whole is a very remarkable rock of red granite, interspersed with spots to which
 “ soil has been brought by human Toil, or washed down by rain,” (from whence? if the
 whole be granite) “ and in which grow Almond Trees now in bloom, figs and vines.
 “ Numerous rills of excellent water rush from various apertures in the precipice, and
 “ wander among the little gardens. Sinai has two summits, somewhat resembling Parnassus,
 “ another scene of inspiration; and the one termed St. Catharine being, it is believed, the
 “ highest, may be the Sinai of Moses.” I know not whether more to admire the fullness
 of this account of so celebrated a place, or the artful manner in which Mr Brown contrives
 to insert a compliment to Moses, by classically and philosophically placing his inspiration
 on a footing with that of the Pythia.

“ Journey to Balbec. Page 406. Arrived at Balbec about noon the same day, after
 “ descending for near three hours through a ravine or *deep glen* in the mountains; a rugged
 “ and in some places, a steep road. The antiquities of Balbec have been often described,
 “ and I did not observe any thing particular to add on that topic. Proceeded to Zahè &c.”
 Oh, that we had had his account of Axum!

he went thither for the exprefs purpose of examining monuments * of that kind: though he had been told by thofe, on whom he relied for information, that fuch things did actually exift at Siwa; † and though the object of his fearch was a ruin of no lefs importance than that of the temple of Ammon.

To what other caufe, than an abfolute determination to avoid the Errors of former travellers, their exaggerations and their improbabilities, can we refer Mr Brown's manner of obferving on the Cataract of the Nile? "About three hours walk from Affuan," ‡ fays he, "is the "Cataract; in Ar. *Shelal*, more properly *Rapides*: § being merely an "eafy defcent of the river among numerous ifles and rocks of granite, "which obftruct the current. Far from deafening the fpectator, the "noife is fcarcely audible." At Banute, half way or thereabouts between Affuan and Affiut, the mean breadth of this river is, according to Irwin, about a mile; || and it may be collected from all writers

* Page 14.

† *Siwa*. "Having taken fuch instruments as I was provided with, we paffed along fome "fady paths between the gardens, till, at the diftance of about two miles, we arrived at what "they call the ruins or *birbè*. I was greatly *furpriz'd* at finding myfelf near a building of un- "doubted antiquity, &c. &c." Page 19.

‡ Page 141.

§ *More properly Rapides*. Sc. according to French orthography. Perhaps, until the univerfality of the French language is more eftablifhed than it is at prefent; we had better adhere to plain Englifh fpelling and write this word *Rapids*.

|| *About a mile*. Niebuhr makes the breadth much lefs at Cairo. Travellers very probably

who have treated of the Nile, that it does not roll down a very small body of waters in proportion to its width. Many circumstances have been, from the earliest times, related of this river, which have concurred to render it more famous than any other on the surface of the globe: but that which is now suggested to us by Mr Brown, is infinitely more remarkable, and more forcibly entitles the Nile to a rank among the wonders of the Creation, than any one before known. He has found out its amazing property of *Silence*: and has witnessed, that so vast a stream makes its way "among isles and rocks of granite which obstruct the current," with such easy, insinuating address, that it avoids all the noise and uproar, which similar impediments constantly excite in our underbred rivulets of the North.

Many an honest miller, who values the faculty of speech, and wishes to enjoy the privilege of talking quietly with his customers, will long to send his brawling Millstream to learn taciturnity of its betters. For so rare is this Nilotic quality of silence in *rapids*, that the very circumstance of easy descent is sufficient to generate a deafening noise from a body of water,* according to the vulgar constitution of Nature; without the additional impediment of granite Rocks.

The ultimate disappointment of Mr Brown cannot be attributed to vary in their measurements, from having taken them at different seasons: or, the depth in some places may be much less considerable than in others. All however concur in representing the Nile as a very large river.

* *Body of Water.* Might not the Egyptian Harpocrates have some reference to this quality of the Nile?

want of exertion : since he seems to have been filled with a more unbounded spirit of enterprize, than any other traveller whose writings have been made public. Nor can we think that his progress into the desert, was at all impeded from any apprehension of its ferocious tenantry : for the manners of brute-animals seem to have been familiar to Mr Brown. Forlorn in the wilderness, he would not have experienced the tedium of Travel. In the Lybian Forest, the nurse of Lions, * his cheerfulness would have suffered no diminution ; for in those animals, however horrible to others, Mr Brown found a source of entertainment and an antidote of Ennui. †

That entire exemption from prejudice, which seems to have been the peculiar happiness of Mr Brown, enabled him not only to see objects and judge of events, through a distinct medium, but to observe circumstances and draw conclusions, which would have escaped a traveller more bigotted and biased. This being so very clear as it is, from the whole tenor of his work ; one cannot but wonder, that during his long abode in Darfur, and among the numberless conversations, which his

* *The nurse of Lions.* Jubæ tellus—Leonum Arida nutrit. Hor.

† *Antidote of Ennui.* Vide page 262. “ I purchased two Lions.—The Ennui of a painful detention, devoid of books and rational society, was softened by the company of these animals. After they had been with me more than two years, finding it impossible, *under the circumstances I then was*, to carry them with me, I shot the one ; and the other, either from disease or the loss of its companion, died a few days afterwards.” One cannot too much admire both the ingenuity of Mr Brown in devising such a preventive of listlessness ; and his magnanimity, in destroying his friends, when he had no further occasion for them.

gradual acquisition of their language must have enabled him to hold with the Furians, he did not set them right on one point: I mean, that he did not convince them how much they wronged his intellect, in supposing him attached to "any *one of the rules of faith* which have "taken their tincture from the mosaic dispensation,"* *in particular*. It is evident that he thought "† Mohammedism, a creed attended with "no superstitious observances:" and in one passage he seems, after Lucretius, to consider Venus as the primæval Deity;‡ so that even the mosaic dispensation was not an absolute requisite, as the foundation of his creed; for in the Pentateuch we meet with no mention of that primæval Deity. All the taunts therefore, and all the hardships, which he underwent in Fur, on account of his "supposed attachment § to a "sect, whose tenets among Mohammedans are thought absurd and "even impious," were unmerited: and I trust he will find a reception very different, in the next visit, which an ardor for science may induce him to attempt in Darfur. I would recommend it to him, on such an occasion, to translate (or to get some confidential Jelab || to translate) the following passage into the Furian language: and I will venture to predict, that the most violent of his persecutors will never afterwards charge him with any specific superstition whatever. It will appear

* Page 293.

† Page 284.

‡ Page 293.

§ Page 217.

|| *Jelab*. A Jelab is a slave-merchant.

very evident, that he considers religion on one broad basis,* without leaning to any particular modification of it, or exempting one persuasion from the defects or enormities of another: Religion, simply so called, is answerable for them all. In page 400 of his work, he says, "It is deeply to be regretted that religion, intended to conciliate mankind, should be the chief cause of their ferocity against each other, and should in an equal proportion have mingled poisons and antidotes." The philanthropy † of Volney never poured forth a finer sentence than the above; nor did the sublime unintelligibility of Godwin ever generate any thing so beautiful, as the concluding period of it.

I retract my suggestion, that Mr Brown should employ a Jelab to render this passage into the Furian language. Humanity revolts at what a Jelab would suffer, before he could effect it. In lieu therefore of such an expedient, I propose, that Mr Brown should himself retire in person to Darfur, and live there, (unsheltered by the salutary influence which will result from the doctrine contained in this effusion) until he shall have furnished a translation of it, for his own protection, and the satisfaction of his hosts.

On political subjects, the impartiality of Mr Brown is no less striking: how justly does he hold the balance, in estimating the different modes of fleecing the subject, by a Minister of Finance and

* *One broad basis.* Perhaps that of the primæval Deity.

† *The Philanthropy of Volney.* This philanthropy is elucidated in page 160 of Mr Brown's book.

a Turkish Pasha! “ Money he (sc. the Pasha) must have, and the
 “ modern ministerial arts of diving into the most secret recesses of
 “ property, being there unknown, he of course taxes what is most ap-
 “ parent and the most difficult to remove.”* I cannot help wondering,
 that Mr Brown should continue an obscure subject to any European
 prince, after having thus ascertained the equality of the Oppression en-
 dured by European and Oriental *citizens*: † The Amor Patriæ must
 be strong in him; but he betrays so well grounded a preference of the
 condition of the latter, that his friends ought to interfere, and substi-
 tute the Turban and other *insignia* of Mohammedism, by gentle com-
 pulsion on his person:

If he be well qualified in respect to religious and political disinte-
 restedness: he is surely no less so, in smaller matters. His know-
 ledge of antiquities appears from the select inscription, ‡ so replete
 with valuable information, which adorns his work. In this, I am at a
 loss whether more to admire the diffidence with which he expresses
 himself; the enterprize which prompted him to copy the inscription
 so satisfactorily; or the judgment, which induced him to give a place

* Page 399.

† Page 400.

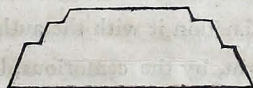
‡ *Select inscription*. “ There is a Greek inscription on the south side of the cavern, com-
 “ prising, *I believe*, five lines: having no glass, and the inscription being lofty” (i. e. at a
 considerable elevation, not composed of tall letters), “ I could only discover the letters
 “ TETAP which form a part of the last line but one”—page 392.

in his book to so expressive a disyllable. His taste is evident: in the picturesque, it appears from his eulogies on "that beautiful tree,*
 "the Lombardy poplar:" in architectural effect from the pyramid,
 whose elegant singularity induced him to present its figure to the
 reader. †

Mr Brown seems to have been not less qualified to relate what he
 observed, than to make observations worthy of being made public.
 He never loses an opportunity of quitting the dry manner of a journa-
 list; and there are passages ‡ in his book, which, were I as much dis-

* Page 397.

† Page 171. If I may be allowed to disfigure what in the original is of beautiful execu-
 tion, by a faint copy, the pyramid is shaped thus.



‡ *Passages in his book.* Page 242. "The latter are often people of debauched manners,
 "and not remarkable for the same spirit of enterprize as the actual emigrates. Gradually
 "formed to the despotism which coerces their external deportment, and seeks to crush and
 "sterilize even the seeds of energy, somewhat of the spirit of their progenitors yet remains.
 "The affections are turned askance, but not eradicated: the pushes that should have been
 "made ad auras æthereas, opposed, revert to Tartarus. The luxuriancy of mental vigor,
 "though repulsed and forcibly inverted, still extends its ramifications: its pallefcent shoots
 "pierce the Dunghill, when not permitted to open themselves to the influence of the Sun:
 "the active mind may descend to brutal sensuality, when it can no longer expand itself in a
 "more sane exercise." I have bestowed uncommon attention on this beautiful passage, and

posed to panegyricise his style, as to discuss the propriety of his observations on Mr Bruce, would furnish ample matter for a voluminous comment.

It is evident from the foregoing very short view of Mr Brown's merit as a traveller, and as a writer, that his opinion must have great weight. Where he does afford praise, if any where, the party applauded should be well aware of the value of it; and where he blames, unless we submit with deference to the censure, it is incumbent on us to examine it minutely, and to make a vigorous defence. He does not often mention Mr Bruce: he opens the campaign with a lumping observation in his preface; "fitting," says he, "in a chamber in Kahira or Tripoli, it is easy to give a plausible account of Northern Africa, from Sennaar and Gondar to Tombuctoo and Fez; nor would it be difficult even to sanction it with the authority of the Jelabs." Perhaps this passage might, by the censorious, be thought as applicable to the work in question, as to those of Bruce and Park: * it shall

I believe I have hit on the meaning of it. So also of the following, page 341. "The impotence of age and the languor of satiety or disease, ponder in vain the oracles of the descendant of Ismail, for the invigorating influence of the benign deity of Canopus."

* *Bruce and Park.* Perhaps indeed it might be said, that, whereas great invention would be requisite to furnish materials, in the way suggested by Mr Brown, for such books as those of Bruce and Park: the bare inspection of D'anville's map for a few leading places, and some knowledge of Arabic Orthography, would be sufficient to generate Mr Brown's account of Sinai, Egypt and Darfur; without any recourse to fancy for incident, or to the Jelabs for manners.

not therefore be the subject of any discussion in these pages. I shall confine my attention to passages in which Mr Bruce is individually cited, and cited as blameable for mistake, misrepresentation or falsehood: and I shall reduce what I find of this nature to four heads. First, Mr Bruce did not, according to Mr Brown, reach the source of the Abyssinian river: secondly, Mr Bruce is grossly mistaken in calling the Abyssinian river, the Nile: thirdly, Mr Bruce exaggerates or invents the danger, arising from the moving sands in Africa: fourthly, Mr. Bruce mistakes a fact, in averring that he made his drawings of the Theban Harpers, on the spot.

First, Mr Bruce did not reach the source of the Abyssinian river. This evidently appears to be the opinion of Mr Brown, and he founds it on the concurrent information of a Bergoo, named Hadgi Hamad, and of an Armenian merchant. Both these persons stated themselves to have known Mr Bruce, under the name of Yakub* in Abyssinia: both agreed, in confirming his own account of the favor he enjoyed at Gondar, and of his obtaining the superintendence of a province called Ras el Fil: and the Armenian "narrated of his own accord" the story told by Bruce of his shooting a wax candle through seven shields. The Armenian also represented the Abyssinians as a gross ignorant people who ate raw flesh; but both these men denied, that

* *Yakub*. Mr Brown carries his rectifying system so far, that he will not even suffer Bruce to spell his own name as he pleases. The appellation by which the Abyssinians knew him, he spells Yagoubé.

Mr Bruce had ever visited what in that country are deemed the sources of the Nile.

I do not think it is assuming too much to suppose, that if Mr Bruce had published an account of his travels to, and discovery of, the source of the Nile, without inserting any passages tending to exalt his own personal character; and without reciting any circumstances relative to the manners of the Abyssinians, abhorrent from European customs; his credit would not have been impeached; and the course of the Nile would have been as much determined by the testimony of Bruce, as that of the Maragnon by the authority of Condamine. It is therefore material to consider those passages, which, from their improbability, have rendered the general veracity of Mr Bruce suspected; and to enquire how far they are, in point of fact, authenticated, or refuted by other evidence.

The first outcry, which was raised against Mr. Bruce, on the score of his pretended diet, had but little effect: and the testimony of other writers, relative to the practice of eating the flesh of wild beasts, among savage nations, is not necessary to defend his assertion in this instance: we must allow that a man may so far accommodate his stomach to the customs of those, whom his curiosity prompts him to visit, as to subsist on diet, yet more repugnant to his feelings, than the simple flesh of Lions. But that it should be a prevalent habit in any nation to eat, not only raw flesh, but flesh yet trembling from the muscle of a living animal, is so adverse to all our ideas of delicacy, humanity, or even possibility, that I believe many persons

to this moment, absolutely discredit what Mr Bruce has related of the Abyssinians in that respect. I shall not enter into the possibility of the Fact; but only desire those who are sceptical on that ground, to read Mr Bruce's account of the manner in which the thing is effected, calmly; and then to ask the opinion of their surgeon, whether it be or be not, possible. With respect to the probability of such a custom, we must judge by collateral circumstances.

The country in which these brutal manners are stated to prevail, is so little known to us, that the information relative to its usages must of course be scanty. But such as that information is, it invariably confirms the testimony of Mr. Bruce: even the intelligence gleaned by Mr Brown from his Armenian friend may have some degree of weight in *generals*, though I shall presently have occasion to set it aside as to *particulars*. If he ever had in fact been in Abyssinia, so strange a custom as that of eating raw flesh could not fail to make an impression on him: and accordingly, we find it is one of the circumstances which he communicated to Mr Brown.

I am not however willing to repose very great confidence in the reports of such persons as this Armenian, whether they favor my opinion or no. We have it from other authority besides that of Mr Brown, that such people as the Armenian and the Bergoo factor, as well as the Jelabs, are not very solicitous about the truth of their relation, provided they can find out the object and bias of those, with whom they confer, and render their story satisfactory to them.

Therefore, since it is a fair inference from Mr Brown's words, that the incident of the seven shields was the only one which the Armenian "narrated of his own accord:" and consequently, that the residue of what he said, was in answer to questions; it may well be thought to have assumed the colour of those questions, and, of course, not to be indisputably authentic. But the accuracy of the late Sir W. Jones has furnished us with a document, on this subject, of which the validity cannot be impeached: it is to be found in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches, and contains the substance of an account of Abyssinia, given to Sir William Jones, at Calcutta, by an Armenian merchant then in Bengal. I may boldly say, that the known character of Sir William Jones, precludes any suspicion of unfairness * in his examination of this man: and I am therefore at liberty to consider the account given by him, as far as it goes, in the light of an unbiaffed representation. We are not indeed to expect in it a full description of Abyssinian manners, or a detail of the history, polity and geography of that country; but what is to be found in it, on any of those topics, may be implicitly relied on. In this paper, the brutal custom of eating the raw flesh of living animals, is mentioned as

* *Suspicion of unfairness.* The examination alluded to, took place some years before Mr Bruce published his work, though long after his return from Abyssinia: consequently Sir William Jones had no leading grounds whereon to form his questions, had he been disposed to obtain the desired intelligence in that way: for little had been told and less was believed, relative to Abyssinia, prior to the publication of Mr Bruce.

prevalent among the soldiery and peasants, though not as universal, in Abyssinia.

All the persons, who met with Mr Bruce in Abyssinia, concur in extolling his actions and enlarging on his eminence in that country : Mr Brown's Armenian, " narrated of his own accord" that, which seems to be the most extraordinary of the achievements he has recorded of himself. His penetration,* his skill in languages, and his abilities as a geographer are so undoubted, that to dwell on them would be superfluous : and to withhold credit from a Traveller, because his foibles lead him to boast of his skill in horsemanship or shooting ; or even of his success among the black beauties of Africa ; will not advance the interests of science, or reflect any great honor on the judgment of him who doubts. I may therefore be justified in asserting, that later information has not at all controverted any one of those passages, for which the veracity of Mr Bruce has been called in question ; but on the contrary, that every particle which has come to light on the same subjects, has strongly confirmed him. Consequently I may assume, that the assertion of Mr Bruce himself relative to his having actually accomplished the object of his expedition, is not to be lightly rejected, until some adequate evidence be adduced to falsify it.

Mr Brown does not inform us, at what period of Yagoube's residence in Abyssinia, the Armenian knew him. The Bergoo accom-

* *His penetration.* Vide the same paper in the Asiatic Researches.

panied him from Gondar to Sennaar, on his return from the former place to Egypt; long after the date of both his expeditions to the Source of the Nile. It is very possible, that this person may have heard of the disappointment which ended the first of those expeditions: the Armenian may have been in Gondar at that time; and it is much more likely that an attempt, made in company with the monarch, should be talked of; than a short excursion of an individual, executed in haste, apprehension and privacy, and with very few attendants. At any rate, the assertion of these persons, that Mr Bruce did not reach the source of the Abyffin river (even admitting such assertion to have been made without design or prepossession) cannot be received as a proof that he did not; unless it be shewn, that they were in Gondar as long as Mr Bruce himself, and privy to every transaction, in which he was engaged. Suppose an Arab of the Camp at Benowm, should have an opportunity of mentioning to an European, what he knew of Mr Park: he would say, that Mr Park's endeavour to reach the Joliba, in his way to Tombuctoo, was frustrated by slavery and the state of the country. But would any man, on such information, be justified in denying that Mr Park ever did reach the Joliba? or in impeaching, on that ground, the credit of his narrative? We cannot, at any rate, rely on the information of this Armenian and this Bergoo, as absolutely conclusive, any further than it is positive; for the negative part of it can only be assumed as true, within the period of their actual residence in Abyffinia. How long that actual residence was, we are not informed: but there is so little reason to believe they resided in that

country, for the same length and at the same period of time; with Mr Bruce; that, from the general habits and occupation of those factors, we have strong ground to suppose they can have been there during a very short part only of his stay in Gondar.

The Balance of Credit, however, is not even between Mr Bruce and these merchants, if we do think them entitled to some degree of attention: for there is other testimony in corroboration of the former, so strong as to set aside a much greater weight than can be derived from them. If we are to rely on the validity of the intelligence procured by Sir William Jones, the fact of Yagoubes having investigated the source of the Abyssinian river, cannot be disputed: for it is expressly mentioned by the person from whom Sir William Jones derived his information.

Secondly; "Mr Bruce is mistaken in calling the Abyssinian river, the Nile." In order to discuss this proposition, I shall first consider what grounds Mr Bruce had for the Opinion which led him to call it so; and afterwards, what grounds Mr Brown seems to have proceeded on, in setting that opinion aside.

The object of Mr Bruce, as he expressly tells us, was to accomplish what had been in vain attempted in former times: what had been the desideratum of monarchs, as well as of philosophers: but had, during a long succession of ages, uniformly baffled the skill and enterprize of antiquity. He wished to view the fountains of that river, *which the Greek and Roman writers had called the Nile.*

Now, had he been at liberty to chuse his own branch of the Egyptian river, and bestow the name of *Nile* on that which was most easy to investigate; he would have had a less difficult matter to compass, than he did in fact propose to himself; and probably would have closed his labors a very little way beyond Axum. But as his object was to complete what the antients were unable to perform; to explore that region, which Diodorus had pronounced to be not only unknown but inaccessible: it was requisite that he should take for his guide the writings of the antients, and look for the sources of his Nile, where they conceived the fountains of theirs to exist. Other rivers might indeed be more inviting, from their magnitude; or from the tract of country, watered by them, being less obstructed by physical and moral impediments: but if it appeared, that they pursued a direction which could not be reconciled with the old topography, he would not have been justified in professing himself to have cleared up the grand desideratum of antient geography, by tracing such rivers to their sources.

If, therefore, Mr Bruce did in fact arrive at the source of that river, which had been the object of former search; and which the antients, after distinguishing it by various appellations in different parts of its course, supposed to be the same stream that in Egypt was called the *Nile*: he certainly effected his purpose: and he is warranted in treating the river of which he reached the fountains, as *the real Nile*; notwithstanding Mr Brown may have persuaded himself to differ both from antients and moderns, and bestow that name on the Bahr el Abiad.

Mr Bruce discovered the fountains of a river, which rising in the southern extremity of Abyssinia, flowed through a large lake with so strong a current, as to preserve the colour of its waters distinct from that of those through which it passed: then taking a circuit, south-easterly, it turned again towards the west, and passing nearer to the equator than its source, assumed a northerly direction; then traversing Fazuclo, Sennaar and Nubia, it joined two large rivers; the Bahr el Abiad, which ran from the south-west; and afterwards the Tacazze, which flowed from the eastern parts of Abyssinia, contiguous to Adel: then, keeping the great desert, towards Suakem, on its right, it passed on by Dongola to Syene.

The most elaborate accounts which I have been able to meet with, in antient writers, relative to the Origin and Course of the Nile, are in Pliny and Solinus. But, although, the Tzana does in some degree answer to the description of that Lake, out of which Pliny tells us the Nile issues; yet the ideas of both those writers are evidently referable to the same system, and are grounded on a notion that the Nile is one and the same river with the Niger. Both Pliny and Solinus place the source of this stream in Mauritania, and describe it as flowing through a large lake and afterwards making a long passage under-ground before it reaches Æthiopia: the former does not indeed expressly say that the two names, Nilus and Niger, belong to the same river; on the contrary, he mentions them as distinct: * but what else can he

* *As distinct.* Vide Plin. lib. 5. c. 4. 8. 10.

mean, than that they are the same, when he places the source of the Nile in Cæsarienfian Mauritania, a province placed by Ptolomy, S. W. of Carthage? Solinus * positively makes the Nile a continuation of the Niger: grounding his idea on the similitude of their productions, both animal and vegetable, and on the period of inundation being the same in each.

I am much inclined to think the notions which Pliny and Solinus had formed of African Geography, were incorrect, even according to the knowledge of those ages: they both derive their information from Juba; and he, probably, referred every thing of distinction in the whole of what was at all known in Africa, to those parts which were contiguous to his own country; as the Grecians attributed all great achievements to their own heroes. Pliny† says, that Atlas was called by the people dwelling near it, Dyris; a name so exactly resembling that of the mountainous tract between Sennaar and Darfur, that one cannot but suppose the places to be the same. And if Atlas in Mauritania was confounded with Dyre in Kordofan, it is no great wonder that the Nile and the Niger were identified. The lakes mentioned by Pliny and Solinus as receiving their great African river in its course, are probably those, in which, Mr Park was told, the Joliba loses itself: and the tract of country between them and Fazuclo, is that which Pliny gives the Nile too much Pride to pass over in open

* *Solinus*. Vide Sol. Polyh. cap. 29. 33. 35.

† *Pliny*. Vide lib. 5. cap. 1.

day : * by this method of accounting for the want of continuity in rivers, which simularity of production might induce geographers to think the same, great difficulties are avoided : but, as, unluckily, it is not a method which has been countenanced by the moderns, I dare not adopt it. I must therefore abandon both Pliny and Solinus ; and look for the guides by whom Mr Bruce was directed, in those among the ancient writers who did not confound the Niger and the Nile.

Before, however, I close this part of the discussion, it may be proper to remark, that neither Pliny nor Solinus can be that superior authority, † on the strength of which Mr. Brown decides that the Bahr el Afrek is not, and that the Bahr el Abiad is, the Nile. For according to these writers, he is not to look for the Nile in a river which flows from the South, but in one which flows from the West; nor is he to place its source among the Mountains of the Moon, but in Mauritania. Ptolomy's map does indeed so far countenance Mr Brown's idea, as to give the whole river a pretty strait course from

* *In open day.* "Indignatur fluere per arenosa et squalentia." Plin. lib. 5. cap. 10.

† *Superior authority.* I am inclined to think Mr Brown's sentiments are grounded on Edrisi and Abulfeda, and on the credit given to them by D'anville. But it is needless for me to enter more at large into an examination of those writers, than by observing that their authority is no further conclusive as to the geographical opinions of the antients, than it is consistent with the notices of those opinions yet extant in antient authors. How far those notices warrant our thinking the Bahr el Abiad is their Nile, I shall consider hereafter.

South to North; and omits entirely the circuit which the Bahr el Afrek makes in Abyssinia: but nothing in that map favors the Bahr el Abiad.

It is indeed possible, that Juba may have derived his notion of the identity of the Nile and Niger, from what is said of the travels of some Lybian adventurers, by Herodotus: but still, in that case, we get no nearer to the Bahr el Abiad: * for Herodotus, in the whole of his account, refers the Nile to the Niger: and *we* cannot adopt that idea, unless indeed the Bahr el Abiad be the connecting channel, and consequently one and the same river with the Joliba. Here the information obtained by Brown and Park relative to those rivers respectively, raises an insurmountable obstacle to our belief: For, admitting Brown to have placed the source of the Bahr el Abiad too

* *Bahr el Abiad.* Mr Brown seems to fancy that no European ever saw the Bahr el Abiad: but I think he is mistaken. Mr Bruce, in describing the course of his journey from Sennaar to Goos, mentions the junction of the Bahr el Afrek and the Bahr el Abiad very particularly, as being about five miles below Halfaia: and he describes the appearance and properties of the latter river, with a precision, which impresses conviction on my mind that he had seen it. One circumstance, distinguishing this river from the Nile, is, that rising, as it is said to do, in regions deluged with perpetual rain, it knows no periodical inundation. Mr Brown asserts the contrary: but, the latitude of its source laid down in his map, agrees with that assigned to it by Mr Bruce. Mr Brown having *never* seen the Bahr el Abiad, and Mr Bruce having observed it only transiently, I cannot think the statement of either of them on this matter, can be implicitly relied on. I dwell therefore on the incongruity of the Bahr el Abiad with the ancient Nile, in other circumstances, and not on its being exempt from periodical inundation, as the ground of my rejecting Mr Brown's opinion.

far South, in about 7° N. the course of it will not at all tally with that of the Joliba: * and before we can assent to the geography of Herodotus, Pliny, and Solinus; we must reject the whole account of Mr Park. I do not mean to reflect on any one of those ancient authors: Mr Park, as well as those writers, gives us the information he collected from others: but there are certainly degrees of authority even in Hearsay; and what we find of that description in Mr Park's book, is manifestly the result of numerous enquiries among various people, and does not at all indicate a less degree of accuracy and discrimination, than the other parts of that gentleman's publication. †

* *Joliba.* The course of the Joliba is in the 16th degree of latitude, which corresponds with the confluence of the Bahrs Abiad and Afrek. The Bahr el Abiad flows from S. W. to N. E. rising in about 6° or 7° N. according to Abulfeda, as well as according to the Jelabs.

† *Publication.* The river which Herodotus mentions as having been discovered by the Libyan travellers, is certainly the Joliba. His words are these: "I have heard some particulars from certain Cyreneans, who told me, that having been at the Oracle of Ammon, they had conversed with Etearchus, the king of the Ammonians: and that, going from one topic to another, they had fallen on that of the Nile, observing, that no one was acquainted with its source. They said that Etearchus had informed them, how some men from the Nafamones, a people inhabiting that part of Libya which lies a little eastward of the Syrtis, formerly came thither, and being interrogated respecting the Libyan deserts, gave this account. They told him, that some of the sons of their chiefs, being spirited young men, and in the flower of their manhood, had, among other bold actions, balloted five of their number to explore the deserts of Libya, and to extend their discoveries further than any others had done before them. For the whole northern coast of Libya, from Egypt to the promontory of Soloe, where it terminates, is peopled by several nations under the common denomination of Libyans; except in

There is nothing in Mela * or Strabo, by which we can be led to guess at all at their idea of the course of the Nile : but two passages oc-

“ places where it has been occupied by Greeks or Phœnicians: the tract contiguous to
 “ the sea being habitable, although the country further inland is tenanted only by wild
 “ beasts. Beyond this again, is a sandy space, destitute of water and absolutely desert
 “ The young men therefore, thus dispatched by their comrades and well supplied with
 “ water and food, travelled first through the inhabited country; and having traversed
 “ that, passed through the forest, and afterwards proceeded into the sandy expanse,
 “ keeping a westerly direction. Having travelled several days through the desert, they
 “ observed a woody spot on the plain, and feasted on the fruit which was hanging on the
 “ trees. Whilst they were thus engaged, a party of men arrived, of a stature shorter than
 “ the middle size, and speaking a language as unintelligible to the Nafamones, as theirs was to
 “ this diminutive people. Being however taken, the travellers were carried through vast
 “ morasses, until they reached a city, of which all the inhabitants were of the same size as
 “ those who had brought them thither, and of a black complexion. This city was washed
 “ by a large river, flowing from West to East, and abounding with crocodiles. I was told
 “ nothing more that Etearchus the Ammonian had said, except that (according to those
 “ Cyrenæans) he mentioned the return of the Nafamonian adventurers to their own
 “ country, and that those whom they had visited, were all enchanterers. And he added, that
 “ this river, which they saw flowing past the city, was the Nile. Indeed this is consonant
 “ to Reason: for the Nile flows out of Libya, and intersects that country.” Her. Eut. 113.
 Upon this principle, therefore, Herodotus tells us, (in loc. cit.) that the Nile, beyond
 those parts, which had been visited, flows from the West to the East. He knew, from the
 report of his Cyrenean informers, that a great river had been discovered in the centre of
 Africa, flowing from West to East: and learning that Crocodiles, which were then only
 known to exist in the Nile, were found in this river also, it was natural that he should sup-

* Vide P. Mel. c. x. xi. He seems to acquiesce in the generally received derivation of the Nile from the Niger: but evidently without any determinate opinion.

cur, in Greek writers, who flourished in periods not less informed than those of Herodotus or Pliny, which convey such direct and positive information on the subject; that I am at a loss to conceive where Mr Brown can have obtained authority so decisive as to set them aside, without even deigning to account for their contradiction to his system. I allude to Arrian and Diodorus Siculus; the former of whom was certainly considered as a guide by Mr Bruce, inasmuch as it was a great spur to his ambition, to have a chance of achieving what Alexander did not effectuate: and the latter is, with justice, reckoned very eminent among the men of learning whose works have survived the dark ages.

Arrian tells us, that in traversing what is now called the Panjab, and after contemplating the nature and qualities of the Indus and the Acesines, Alexander was convinced that he had reached the upper part of that river, which he had previously seen in Egypt: apprehending that vast deserts intervened, between the country through which he then saw it flow, and those parts of Ethiopia where it was

pose the same stream to flow through the whole intermediate tract. It is remarkable however, that as far as he traces the Nile, (a space amounting in extent to four months journey, partly by land and partly by water, from the confines of Egypt) his direction is evidently to the East of South; for he closes his account at Afcham, a city of the Automoli. Now Afcham is certainly Axum, near the Tacazzè: not only from the resemblance of name, but from the meaning of that name; which imports, as Herodotus says, its belonging to the Left Dominion; and from its situation, which tallies with that ascribed to it by him, in being about as far from Meroe, as Meroe is from Elephantine.

known by the name of Nile. * Now, had it been the received opinion of that age, (much more so, had it been a certainty) that the Nile entered Ethiopia from the West: Alexander would scarce have fancied he had found it in the East: it cannot be said that he might have been drawn into an hasty conclusion, on seeing the Crocodiles and the vegetable productions common to both rivers; for the Origin of the Nile was a subject which had long occupied his thoughts; and it is not likely that on a matter of such importance he would commit a palpable absurdity to writing. †

Diodorus describes the origin of the Nile in the following words: "The Nile flows from the South towards the North, having its fountains in places not yet visited, which are situated in the extremity of Æthiopia, towards the desert country; the land being inaccessible, on account of the excess of heat. Being the largest of all rivers and traversing much of the earth, it makes many windings; now turning towards the East, and Arabia; now bending round round towards Libya and the West." ‡

One would almost fancy that Diodorus had been himself in Gogjam. The passage I have quoted precisely agrees with the very singular course laid down in Mr Bruce's map; but is not reconcileable to

* Arr. de Exp. Alex. lib. 6.

† *Writing*. He had stated his Opinion on this matter in a letter to Olympias; but erased what he had written, when he obtained certain information that the Indus emptied itself into a vast ocean. Arr. ubi sup.

‡ *The West*. Vide Diod. Sic. i. 37.

that of any other river in Africa. The Niger (if through the Bahr el Abiad, it joins the Nile) first flows East and then North; but never "towards Lybia and the West:" if, on the contrary, the Niger is lost in lakes and bogs, the Bahr el Abiad, considered as a single river, flows in one uniform direction from S. W. to N. E. The Bahr el Afrek, rising in the most remote province of Æthiopia, inclines towards the East and Arabia; and then bends "towards Lybia and the West," before it reassumes a northerly direction. Which then of these rivers is the Nile of Diodorus?

On the authority of these passages, I apprehend Mr Bruce was justified, in thinking that arm of the Egyptian river which he had traced to its source, the true Nile; the junction of the Nile and Niger being not at all ascertained; and being inconsistent, had it been ascertained, with the passages I have last cited: nothing being known of the Bahr el Abiad which referred to the course laid down by Pliny or by Diodorus, as that of the Nile: and the remarkably circuitous direction of the Bahr el Afrek being particularly pointed out by the latter.

If it should appear, when these regions shall have been fully explored, that the Bahr el Abiad is subject to periodical inundation: still, the course of it must be proved to agree with the suggestion of Arrian and the positive topography of Diodorus, before we can apply to it the name of Siris or Nile.

Mr Bruce, at every different place where he saw the Bahr el Afrek, observed the same ideas to prevail concerning it: in Gojam, in Sennaar, in Nubia, in Egypt. The Nubians regarded it as the rivre

of Sennaar: whereas, if the Bahr el Abiad had been the principal stream; after its junction with the river of Abyffinia, the inhabitants of the adjacent country would have referred the blessings communicated to them by its waters, to Kordofan, or to places yet further south: and by no means to Sennaar, Fazuclo or Abyffinia: since they were not ignorant that the Bahr el Abiad was derived from the former of those districts, while the latter issued through Sennaar from Abyffinia.

Few persons, besides Mr Bruce, have survived their journey into Abyffinia: but those few have all concurred in giving to the great river of that country, the appellation of the Nile: * and do not in-

* *Of the Nile.* The principal account of Abyffinia, written prior to Mr Bruce's publication, is that of Ludolf, compiled from the information of one Gregory, a native of that country, who had travelled as far as Germany. The substance of what is to be found in Ludolf's work relative to the history, manners and topography of Abyffinia, is very much the same, although by no means so clear and satisfactory as that of Mr Bruce: and I might perhaps be warranted in opposing so uniform a coincidence, to the vague authorities on which Mr Brown rests his impeachment of that writer's veracity. But it may be objected that Bruce, being aware of Ludolf's book, might take care not to deviate from his narrative in the main, though he might now and then venture at a little embellishment in particular parts. If so, why does he differ from him in the most material of all his topographical subjects, the Course of the Nile? Ludolf's informant, Gregory, had evidently come out of Abyffinia by Mafuah and the Red Sea: and the whole topography of the Nile, after it leaves Abyffinia is derived by Ludolf from Edrifi: for, as Mr Rennell has observed, the westerly course of the Niger and its origin from the Egyptian Nile, are first laid down by that geographer. Mr Bruce entered Abyffinia by the route which conducted Gregory out of it; and finding

deed seem at all to have doubted about the identity of the stream : the whole course of it, from the province in which it rose, or, if Paz was actually there, from its very source, * to its mouth in Egypt, was

Ludolf's account of the source of the Nile, except in some minute particulars, just, agrees with him as to its course, until it enters the kingdom of Sennaar. Tracing it from hence as far as the commencement of the Barabra desert, he did a great deal towards shewing the error of Edrifi's notion : and what was left short by him, Mr Brown's own Track has filled up. The geography of Edrifi therefore cannot be founded on surveys or personal knowledge as far as relates to the Nile. Herodotus and Diodorus are illustrated by our cotemporaries : The more we learn from modern investigation, the more accurate we find antient intelligence.

* *From its very source.* What we find in Thevenot respecting Abyssinia, as that country is only mentioned by him incidentally, cannot be rejected by any one as collusive. Thevenot was a Frenchman, and published an account of his travels in the Levant about the middle of the 17th Century. At Cairo he met with an Abyssinian of some dignity ; and from him, in conversation, gathered several particulars relative to the manners and geography of his country. The curious reader may not be displeased if I insert a short extract from a book so little known. " This Embassador said that the head of the Nile is a well that " springs out of the ground in a large plain, where there are many trees growing ; the " fountain is called Ouenbromma and is in the province of Ago. It is a delightful place " and casts up the water high in several places. It is twelve days journey from Gonthar " and running northward passes seven Cataracts, and crossing Egypt, falls into the Mediter- " ranean sea. . . . There are no mountains near it (i. e. the fountain). The Jews mountains " are three weeks journey from it, and yet they are the nearest. Their names are Semani " and Sallemt, and they were inhabited by the Jews : but having grown too powerful under " one Gidhon their Captain, the king of Ethiopia growing jealous, marched an army " against them and subdued them, &c. &c."

known. They neither sought for the Niger in the channel of the Bahr el Abiad; nor followed Herodotus from Elephantine, or from Meroe, to Axum, along the Tacazze. It was reserved for the speculative traveller, whose opinions I am discussing, to break the thread of this identity, and assign a new course, as well as a new origin to the Egyptian river.

Mr Brown* tells us, that he was induced to think "the river, of which Mr Bruce describes the source, is not the true Nile, from conviction sufficiently clear, arising both from reading and the sentiments of those who were best informed on the subject."† It is to

Therenot also mentions the confinement of the reigning king's relations on a mountain; the general usage of eating raw flesh; and many other particulars, for which the veracity of Mr. Bruce has been questioned. An account of his voyages, from which the above extract is taken, is preserved in the 2d volume of Harris's Collection.

* *Mr Brown.* Vide Br. Tr. 181.

† *Informed on the subject.* In the Geographical illustrations added by Mr Rennell to Mr Park's Book, the former with that candor and real authority which is always the result of true science, intimates his opinion that both the Bahr el Abiad and the Bahr el Afrek should be considered as branches of the Nile; and thinks that Edrisi and Abulfeda refer wholly to the western stream for *their* source of it, while Ptolomy comprehends both. On this ground it is, perhaps, that Mr Brown charges the Abyssinian river with imposture, and will not allow it to be a Nile at all. I should not venture to controvert any suggestion of Mr Rennell, even was I so unfortunate as to differ from him: but I certainly do not differ from him on this point, and I hope not on any other. Edrisi and Abulfeda did indeed refer the fountain of the Nile much to the West of Abyssinia; but Edrisi and Abulfeda are not Ancient Writers; and Mr Bruce's object was to trace the Nile of Antiquity to its source. Besides, Edri-

be regretted, that he has not informed us from what books in particular, and from what persons of superior intelligence, his conviction arose. There is indeed *one* hint from whence it has been derived; and that is, his remark in the preface to his book, "that the Bahr el Abiad had been seen by no European."*

It is possible too, that Mr Brown's conviction may have been strengthened by a belief, that, in size, the Bahr el Afrek yields to the Bahr el Abiad: and that the latter, being the largest, must of course be the more celebrated river. I cannot however fully accede to this proposition: admitting the Bahr el Abiad to be larger than the Bahr el

fi and Abulfeda have of late been proved to be very defective in their geographical accuracy: they are not therefore conclusive: Ptolomy had a clearer idea of the country; but Mr Bruce had it in contemplation to illustrate writers long antecedent to Ptolomy. It is indisputable that the Egyptian river is formed by the united waters from Abyssinia and Darfur; but it is not equally so that both those waters were objects of divine worship. I have already shewn that such of the antients as did not confound the Nile with the Niger, describe the former, both with regard to its Origin and its direction, conformably to the late discoveries concerning the Bahr el Afrek; but in a manner wholly irreconcilable with the little that is known of the Bahr el Abiad. Therefore, notwithstanding both the Eastern and the Western Branch contribute to the fertility of Egypt; Mr Bruce, in his attempt to atchieve what had been thought impracticable by antient geographers, and to traverse countries formerly deemed inaccessible (*vide* Diod. *ubi sup.*) cannot be accused of *weakness*, in preferring that one of the two branches which corresponds with the topography of those writers: or of *arrogance*, in pronouncing himself to have accomplished that great Object, when he had investigated the fountain of the Bahr el Afrek.

* *By no European.* Vide *supra*.

Afrik; before we can admit also that it is the Nile of the antients, we must be satisfied that, prior to its entrance into Egypt, it embraces one side of an insular or peninsular tract which may answer to the Meroe of antiquity; that it is subject to periodical inundation; and that it describes a circuitous line in its course, corresponding with the description of Diodorus already cited: nay, before *our* conviction that Mr Brown is right, can be as clear as *his own*; we must bring the Bahr el Abiad to the test of Arrian's topography, and prove that its direction above Elephantine, declining from the East, might justify Alexander in supposing the Indus to be a continuation of the Nile. Mr Brown may say, that we are not certified of the contrary of all these particulars: I will ask him, why he cannot leave us in possession of a river, of which *we do* know the circumstances analogous to the old Nile; until, in another more successful journey, he shall have discovered that the same are true also in respect to the Bahr el Abiad? Let him remember the proverb; *a bird in the hand, is worth two in the bush*: if we relinquish the Nile we have, and Mr Brown cannot find us another, what shall we say to him?

Innumerable alterations, or, if Mr Brown chuse, improvements in geography may be made, if we take *size* to be the criterion by which rivers, at this day, are to be traced to their antient appellations. According to such a principle, the Ganges of the antients would undoubtedly have been recognized in the Burrampooter, when of late the topography of that vast flood was ascertained: the supposed site of Palibothra would have been removed into regions, not only unknown

to the Greeks and Romans, but to the Indians themselves: and we should have been forbidden to rely on what is within our knowledge, under a *possibility*, that a more strict analogy to the antient description, *may* exist in unexplored latitudes. I will not go into further observation on this part of the subject; inasmuch as any cause which can be assigned for Mr Brown's preference of the Bahr el Abiad, is merely conjectural: he may have, and, I doubt not, has, very substantial reasons for his opinion: but I, and others who are not in his confidence, are perhaps justified, on the grounds which I have already stated, in withholding our assent to those reasons, until we know what they are.

Thirdly, Mr Brown says, * “ During the whole of my route I had reason to suspect that the accounts in books of travels which have generated such terrific notions of the moving sands of Africa, are greatly exaggerated.” And he adds, what I conceive to be his inducement for forming such a conclusion as follows. “ While we remained at Leghea indeed, a violent gale sprang up from the North-west and raised a cloud of sand: at that time I placed a wooden bowl capable of containing about two gallons in the open air: thirty minutes had elapsed when it appeared completely filled with sand.” In another place he says;† “ While we remained here” (sc. at Leghea) “ we felt much inconvenience from a suffocating wind which

* *Mr Brown says.* Vide Br. Tr. 248.

† *He says.* Vide Br. Tr. 187.

"blew from the South and raised the sand in clouds." So that it was not one wind only which had this effect. It also (I think) appears from Mr Brown's expressions, that the conductors of caravans find great difficulty in steering across these deserts, from the fluctuations of sand, and the different appearances assumed in consequence by the country: as well as from the frequent loss of erected marks, which are in those fluctuations overwhelmed.*

Now, from these circumstances, any man, thinking in the dull, ordinary way, would conceive the same idea of the nature of African sands, and of the dangers to be apprehended from them, as we find in fact other travellers have entertained, and have uniformly communicated to us. No penetration, but that of such a genius as Mr Brown, could deduce from the observations made by him at Leghea, and from the intelligence communicated by his fellow travellers, such a conclusion, as that all accounts of African sands are exaggerated. It seems by the map, that his course lay through a very confined

* *Overwhelmed.* Arrian, speaking of the deserts surrounding the Oasis of Ammon, says, "When the south wind blows, it carries vast quantities of sand over the paths; and all the marks by which the track was distinguished vanish." De Exp. Al. 160. See also Niebuhr. "The two last miles between Beit el Fakih and Ghalefka, the way lies through so sandy a tract that my guide often lost himself; such are the continual changes which the wind produces on the scenery, by demolishing the hillocks, carrying the sand about and forming others. We were even obliged to turn several times out of what we knew to be the true direction, in order to avoid being buried in some of those hillocks which were then forming." Nieb. Eng. Transf. i. 219.

waste ; the western range of Egyptian mountains, extending very near it all the way on the left ; the kingdom of Bornou (even supposing no intermediate mountains like those of Hadahid to be still more contiguous) being within a few degrees of longitude towards the West ; and five days journey, being the utmost reach of desert ever passed by him, without the interruption of some cultivated land, from North to South. I think, therefore, it is more extraordinary, that Mr Brown should have an opportunity of seeing *any such* phenomena, as others, who have crossed wider wastes, describe ; than, that what fell within his observation, should not be so very magnificent or so very alarming as the appearances which are mentioned by Mr Bruce. I say, by Mr Bruce ; for the general term " Books of Travels " used by Mr Brown, certainly comprehends, and I think as certainly points at, that traveller : and I believe that the animated picture he has given us, of the moving columns of sand,* which terrified him

* *Columns of Sand.* That agitated sand will sometimes assume a *columnar* appearance, Mr Brown himself bears witness. " One day," he says, in page 282, " while I was sitting " in the market place at Cobbè, I observed a singular appearance in the air, which soon " discovered itself to be a *column of sand*, raised from the desert by a whirlwind." He subjoins, however, that, " this phenomenon had nothing of the tremendous appearance of " the columns of sand described by Bruce as rising between Assuan and Chendi : being " merely a light cloud of sand." Mr Brown cannot be sure what this column might have been in the centre of the desert ; nor does Mr Bruce tell us how far those which alarmed him might have been wafted, when they had completely traversed the region which gave them birth.

between Goos and Affuan, is, in this passage of Mr Brown's book, the secret object of animadversion. The desert which Mr Bruce traversed on his return from Abyssinia, is, in direct extent above five degrees of latitude; in width, there is nothing to break the force of the wind or prevent the accumulation of sand, over a space of above six degrees of longitude. And yet Mr. Brown maintains his own experience in the little tracts of Sand between Affut and Fur, to be conclusive as to what Phænomena exist in any desert! The Histories relative to Cambyfes and the fate of his army,* I take it for granted he sets aside; but he does not tell us, and therefore I will not suppose, that he disbelieves the account given by Mr Park of what he had a melancholy occasion of observing in the Sahara. †

Would not Mr Brown think me very unjust, was I to deny it to be possible, that in thirty minutes a two-gallon bowl should be filled by the moving Sands of Leghea? he certainly would; yet he should consider, that I never witnessed any thing of the kind, though I have traversed the sandiest parts of Sherwood Forest; nay, though I have been more than once in very extensive Rabbit Warrens, where no vegetable soil is visible. I certainly am as much authorised to impute exaggeration to him; as he is in doubting the statements of other travellers on this subject.

But I do not dispute the fact he mentions. Every dusty road shews

* *His army.* "Qui tempestatibus et arenarum molibus oppressus, interiit." Justin.

† *In the Sahara.* Vide Park's Travels, p. 131.

me, that pulverised earth or sand can be raised and borne along by the wind ; and I will therefore admit, that, where the quantity of sand is vast, and the tract of country over which it is carried, of great extent, it may assume even the appearance of a cloud : and if *I* will go so far ; *he*, who has witnessed the latter Phænomenon in the corner of a desert, ought to be equally candid in admitting that the same means amplified, may produce a very serious increase of the same inconveniences. It would be no greater stretch in his credulity, than mine undergoes in subscribing to his story of the bowl, to allow that in Barabra, the agitated Sands may exhibit the appearance of moving columns ; that they may have overwhelmed the army of Cambyfes ; or have obliterated every vestige of Ammon's temple *

Fourthly, “ Mr Bruce mistakes the fact of his having made drawings of the Theban harpers, on the spot.”

This is a serious charge : and in it, by the context, another charge is implicated ; namely, that Mr Bruce did not, *himself*, execute those drawings at all. Mr Brown says, † “ I particularly observed the two harpers described by Bruce : but his engraved figures *seem* to be from memory.” And he adds ; “ The French Merchants at Kahi-

* *Ammon's temple.* Many people have thought that Mr. Brown did in point of fact reach that Temple, though he did not know it when he found it. There is reason to hope, that the researches of Mr. Hornman will throw great light on the hitherto defective accounts we have received of the Libyan Oases.

† *Mr Brown says.* Vide Br. Tr. 137.

“ ra informed me, that he brought with him *two* Italian artists.” What? *two* Artists.—One was surely sufficient either to answer the purpose of Mr Bruce, if he did use such assistance; or that of Mr Brown, whether he did or no. But by proving too much, a case is often injured: these French Merchants might have persuaded Mr Brown, perhaps, that Bruce had in his train a complete set of Artists for every branch of design: and Mr Brown’s own experience might not extend far enough to evince the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of transporting such a suite. But, if we give Mr Bruce credit for common understanding, which even Mr Brown will hardly withhold from him, we shall not suppose that he would incur himself with two followers, when one would have been sufficient to answer his purpose: and we shall be led to wonder, that we hear not any tidings of these Italian scavants, either from Sir William Jones’s informant; or from the Armenian and Bergoo factors, on whom Mr Brown reposed his confidence.

It is much to be lamented, that Mr Brown did not favor the public with a correct and accurate drawing of these figures, in order to have enabled his readers to enter into the reasons, which may have induced him to doubt the veracity of Mr Bruce in this instance. Perhaps Mr Brown is not a draftsman: and if so, we must doubly regret the monopolizing spirit of his antecessor, in not leaving either Zucchi or Balugani to decorate his more necessitous pages. Had we found a representation of the Theban Harpers, in the work of Brown as well as in that of Bruce; the character of each in respect to fidelity,

would have rested on the greater or less degree of authority enjoyed by the authors of them respectively. It would have been a fair and equal match: both had visited the place; both would have given engravings of the figures; and both would have averred they had made them on the spot. So that we should have given credit to the one or the other, according to the general impression we might have received of their several merits.

But the Case is otherwise, now: Mr Bruce has published an engraving and has told us that he made his drawing on the spot. Mr Brown has published no engraving; but telling us that he did observe the harpers described by Bruce (and thereby admitting the likeness of that gentleman's representation) he adds, "that his engraved figures *seem* to be from memory." Therefore, if we disbelieve Mr Bruce, we must not only give his antagonist credit for superior veracity; but for a degree of intuition, sufficient to enable him to pronounce on the place where any drawing may have been made.

I am afraid, however, that even this great preponderance of authority must be allowed to Mr Brown. Though he may have been mistaken as to the Bahr el Abiad; though he may have doubted the fact of Mr Bruce's reaching the Abyssinian sources, on grounds rather too slight: and though, from natural intrepidity, he may have too much under-valued the dangers of an African desert; yet all that I have ventured to remark in this essay, is so conclusive as to the abilities, the enterprize, the candor, the impartiality, and the general

qualifications of Mr Brown, that we cannot suffer the authority of any other person to weigh against his lightest dictum.

Mr Brown has a capacious mind, and embraced a very wide field of discovery: his intentions were noble: he seems to have been desirous of illustrating every obscurity under which African geography now labours: nor indeed is any thing wanting to establish him as the most meritorious of modern travellers; unless it be, that none of his intentions were carried into effect; and that, notwithstanding his public spirit, and his wonderful aptitude for such undertakings, he has not been able to obviate any one of those difficulties he was bold enough to encounter. The plan of Mr Bruce, on the contrary, was very limited: scarcely, perhaps, coextensive with his very limited powers. Therefore, his weight in the literary world must be trifling in proportion: and in estimating the respective authorities of these travellers, we must reflect with gratitude, that Mr Brown set out with a resolution of seeing and describing to us, every thing that was unknown in Africa: whereas Mr Bruce never proposed, in his study, to confer a greater benefit on literature, than it now enjoys from his actual achievements. The result is obvious: Mr Bruce is just so much inferior in excellence to Mr Brown, as mere mechanical execution falls short of the more sublime merit of intention.

A
COMPARATIVE VIEW
OF
LIFE AND HAPPINESS
IN
EUROPE AND IN CAFFRARIA.

Ex fumo dare lucem. HOR.

COMPARATIVE VIEW

OF THE

THEORY AND PRACTICE

OF THE

A

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THE Human mind has undergone a greater degree of Expansion, during the last forty or fifty years of the present expiring Century, than it had before experienced since the earliest Origin of Literature. This is to be attributed to that liberal spirit of enquiry which has gone abroad, and cast light on every ramification of science. Free investigation and prejudice are incompatible with each other: but prejudice for many centuries defeated the good Effects of her opponent, by clinging to those subjects on which curiosity is most interested; and leaving open to discussion such trifles only, as might not in their tendency affect tyranny and superstition.

It has been the good fortune of our days, to see this barrier broken down, and to enjoy the full benefits, both practical and theoretical,

of philosophical Enquiry. A blaze of Science has burst in among all ranks of men: and we are surpris'd and confounded at the silly propensities and weak systems, which have long maintained an uncontrolled influence over our understandings. A change of sentiment, a literary reformation, has been the happy consequence: and it has pervaded every subject on which the mind is capable of exerting its energies. To examine the beneficial result, as far as it relates to our political well-being, the emancipation of our consciences, or the general interests of Science, does not fall within the scope of this Essay: but I am tempted to pursue a moral investigation which the disinterested wisdom of a late writer * has set on foot; that of comparing the too much boasted civilization of Europe, with the too much depreciated simplicity of other countries. I shall consider it not only as matter of speculation, but with a view to rectify the manners of my own country, and to co-operate with Dr. B——'s and his associates † in giving a proper bent to Education.

The excellent Mr Brown has written with a penetration and vigor of intellect truly amazing, notwithstanding we were in some measure prepared for him, by the vast masses of philosophy which have of late been published: and he has proved, that the Balance of Happiness is heavier under the Mohammedan *Regime*, than in Europe. Before I

* *A late writer.* Mr Brown. Vide the last Chapter of his Travels, intitled, "A Comparative View of Life and Happiness in the East and in Europe."

† *His associates.* Vide Edgeworth on Education, &c. &c.

read his work, I was not aware of this important Truth; but since it became impressed on my mind, I have reflected on the principle of it most seriously. I have considered whether that principle does not extend much further: and whether the same Vanity which has hitherto led us to undervalue the Turk and the Arab, is not equally unfounded in giving to our habits a preference before those of other nations, still more barbarous according to vulgar notions.

I am fully convinced that all who shall read Mr Brown's Comparative View with proper attention, will see that it is merely "*Vestigia parva*,"* by which a much more extensive theory of Morals, than he has explicitly given us, may be traced. To abase and vilify Human Nature † being the true end of Philosophy, the further we extend or explain any principle of doctrine which may lead to that

* *Vestigia parva*. Vide Mr Brown's quotation from Lucretius, (426) Though they are "*vestigia parva*," we see with pleasure, "*Vestigia nulla retrorsum*."

† *Human Nature*. Inasmuch as philosophers have already laudably endeavoured to explode private affections, in order to make room for general philanthropy: the next step is, to remove the invidious distinction between the several parts of active matter, and to substitute Philo-zoism* for Phil-Anthropey: until which last improvement in morals is effected, we cannot attain to absolute perfection, which I hold to consist in Phil-Entity. We never can think the animal dignity of a Fox or an Oyster less, when compared to the mental Energies of Mr Pitt; than those energies are light and trifling when opposed to the commanding intuition of a Barrere or a Weishaupt.

* Philozoism—love of all that has life. Philanthropy—love of mankind. Philentity—love of all that exists.

point, the better shall we deserve of our instructors,* and the more shall we individually contribute to the amendment of mankind. As Zoophytes hold a sort of intermediate station in existence, between two kingdoms of matter ; or as the Manati connects the Quadruped and the Fish ; so the Hottentot has hitherto occupied an undefined rank in animal life, between Man and Brute. If our vanity is shocked at finding the viscera of a Pig similar to those of a human creature ; what will it suffer, if I shew, *without advancing one step in principle* beyond Mr Brown, that in all solid attainments, and in Happiness, which is the result of those attainments, we fall short of the Caffrarian ? Let others waste their time and amuse, without instructing, their readers, by pointing out the path to virtue, and patching the faulty parts of our moral and religious notions. True wisdom makes the radical demolition of those notions its first object : and when we shall have extinguished the light by which at present the enquirer is guided on such subjects, it is at least an even chance that he may knock his brains out in the dark, before he has got another candle.

“ The character † of every nation merits the attention of the philosopher ; and the less that nation resembles ourselves, the more its distinguishing features require our investigation ;” therefore the distinguishing features of the Hottentots pre-eminently claim discussion : and I am afraid, that from such discussion we shall be too sadly taught,

* *Our instructors.* Vide Barruel and Robinson.

† *The character.* Br. Tr. 425.

that, "the labour, the thought and the agitation which have place "among us," render our condition much more miserable, than the contrary circumstances render that of the Hottentots. Mr Brown has gone a long way towards proving, that Ignorance, Idleness and Error, even as we find them sophisticated in Mohammedan Countries, generate a larger portion of happiness, or rather ensure a greater absence of Pain,* than science, activity and wisdom, as cultivated in Europe: how much more so then, in countries where Ignorance, Idleness and Error have undergone no adulteration at all? We are furnished with very satisfactory accounts of the interior customs prevalent among the Caffrarians: full as ample, at least, as those from which other disquisitions, like that which I now lay before the public, are drawn. Materials therefore will not be wanting, by which I may make a fair comparison between that neglected people † and my soi-disant civi-

* *Pain.* "A perfect absence of passion is certainly preternatural, if it may not be called impossible; but as our passions are more likely to be called into action by painful than by pleasurable sensations, it seems little doubtful that the mind on which they operate most feebly will remain in the most tranquil state. This tranquillity, this absence of pain, (for joy, however poignant, is but a transient gleam, a coruscation, which passing, renders the obscurity which succeeds it more sensible) is the single species of happiness of which mankind is allowed to partake." Br. Tr. 441.

† *Neglected people.* I am sensible that recent dispatches from the Cape, have announced the Hottentots to be in a state of insurrection against the violent measures of this country; and that, consequently, any praise which a love of Truth may extort from me in their behalf, may be construed, by state prosecutors, into expressions of attachment to the King's

lized brethren in Europe. I know that I have prejudice to encounter, and that no inference will be allowed me, unless sanctioned by authority. I shall therefore refer all deductions to first principles, and cite my authority for every leading proposition that I may state.

“ Education * should be the art of forming man on the principles “ of Nature.” “ But in no nation with whose history we are “ acquainted, has such a system been established.” “ Nature is “ distorted and paralysed by authority.”

Therefore in that nation, where education is most conformable to the usages of a state of nature; where this *distorting* and *paralysing* authority is least felt; there we shall find the purest approximation to solid happiness.

A State of Nature exists only among that modification of Beings, improperly called Brute Animals: therefore, the closer the analogy to the habits of such animals which we observe in any moral system, the more correct has been the scheme of Education that has led to it. In proportion as we recede from that standard, the above-mentioned *distortion* and *paralysm* increases.

Enemies. I am not however to be deterred from my duty by such apprehensions. Philosophy has long taught us, either to make no distinction between friends and enemies, at all: or, if any, to take care that our partiality falls, where it is most wanted to preserve equilibrium, upon those whom the mass of mankind holds in detestation.

* Education. Br. Tr. 426.

The purity of Caffrarian education will appear from a very short view of it.

The child * as soon as born is wrapped up in a knapsack and fastened upon the back of its mother; a pendulous situation, in which it passes several of the first months of its existence. It is then set on the ground and suffered to roll about, till by degrees it assumes the leading character of distinction in the Animal World, that of walking on two Legs: from this period, until it approach to manhood, if a boy, † it remains in a state of total inactivity in the presence of its father: gathering from his practice “a grave demeanour, contempt for frivolous amusements, frugality, temperance, where they are taught in the most effectual manner,‡ by example; and where there is the least probability of counter-instruction—in the Hut of the father.” § At the age of seventeen the aspiring Hottentot is

* *The child.* That is, when not exposed; of the singular but unexceptionable custom of exposure I shall treat hereafter. For the particulars here stated vide Kolb.

† *If a boy.* During this period “His dress is free from ligatures, his diet is simple, and he is accustomed to variation of seasons.” B. T. 428. These “advantages of Hottentot Education” arise, partly from their wearing no cloaths at all; partly from their having nothing but milk for food; and partly from their not having been more fortunate than other people, in discovering a method of reducing the four seasons to one average temperature.

‡ *Effectual manner.* Vide Br. Tr. 427. Frugality and temperance cannot be taught in a more effectual manner, than by placing the scholar in a situation without money and food.

§ *Hut of the father.* There will be few of my male readers, to whom a very apt illustration of this mode of educating young people, will not have occurred in their early pastimes;

admitted into the society of men, by a ceremonious observance, of which the exterior is, I admit, abhorrent from natural simplicity, though the principles inculcated, are exactly conformable to the model which I have mentioned. At this period he is instructed in all the morality, which this people thinks necessary, to make a young man useful and ornamental to his country; he is cautioned against any colloquial intercourse with women prior to marriage; since they, being an inferior order of beings might debase him; and given to understand that his highest prerogative is that of insulting, reviling, and beating his mother. No Test, no matriculation, like that which is the disgrace of our seminaries, is imposed: his hair is not confined in a queue; no Manly Gown is flung on his shoulders: the process is all natural: the principles instilled into him are deduced from the practice of quadrupeds, and the sole unction to which custom has subjected the young man, is supplied from the simple chemistry of Nature.

In this system of Education, it is material that I should remark the close affinity, which it bears to that practised by persons who walk on

when in cultivating the first offsets of apathy* they may have exercised themselves in robbing bird's nests. In hollow trees, they often may have observed the progeny of that solemn recluse, the *Strix Stridula*, learning from the example of their mother, gravity of demeanor, contempt for frivolous amusements, frugality, temperance: and in that place where there was the least probability of counter-instruction—the nest of the parent.

* N. B. By apathy we understand an indifference to the sufferings of others, not to our own.

four legs, in respect to its total exemption from superstition.* Mr Brown says of the Mohammedan children, that they are early taken out of the hands of the women and sent to study the Koran: a practice which he justly observes "has only the negative advantage of "saving them from positive Idleness:"† but in Caffraria this deviation from positive Idleness is not found. The Energies of an Hottentot are cramped by no hope of reward, no dread of punishment: his talents are not lost in a maze of metaphysical incomprehensibility; nor is the native independence of his mind subdued by the sense of any Being superior to himself.‡ The Lion of the Forest is not, in this respect, more free from prejudice than the Huntsman of the Kraal.

Let us now consider European Education; I mean the state of it, before those rays had appeared which have of late thrown light on its obscurity. In Europe "Education § is the art of moulding the soul "to the Times." "The ideas || are multiplied and the imagination

* *Superstition.* "The leading fault of Education in the various parts of the Turkish Empire, originates in the prevailing superstition. Wherever this does not operate, the "practice is sufficiently rational." B. T. 427.

N. B. By *Superstition*, we mean Religion, of any sort or denomination whatever: by *Rational*, what is consonant to Instinct.

† *Idleness.* Vide Br. Tr. 427.

‡ *Superior to himself.* This is to be understood, however, with the exception of a Dutchman.

§ *Education.* B. T. 428.

|| *The Ideas.* B. T. 426.

“ exalted : by reading and frequent intercourse with foreigners we are
 “ enabled to present to ourselves the state of distant times and remote
 “ nations : their knowledge, their arts, their pleasures become fami-
 “ liar to us : and *from a fixt principle of the human mind the lively idea of*
 “ *all these advantages generates the hope of appropriating them.* Our first
 “ attempt is haply crowned with success, and we are thus stimulated
 “ to further Effort : but as the bounds fixt to our attainments are re-
 “ moved the farther we advance, and improvement is infinite, our
 “ ultimate disappointment is inevitable, and it is felt with a poig-
 “ nancy proportionate to our first hopes.”

The Doctrine which I have laid down in the foregoing paragraph,
 under the authority of Mr Brown, will, when duly considered, evince
 not only the absurdity of our mode of Education, but the radical
 error of all our moral notions and municipal constitutions. The fixt
 principle, by which Man is driven to wish the appropriation of all he
 likes to himself, is evidently the ground of all those actions which
 are cognizable in our courts of criminal jurisdiction ; consequently the
 object of such courts is to coerce volition, or in other words, to *distort*
 and *paralyse* Nature : whence arises Robbery, Forgery, Burglary,
 Swindling, Coining, Perjury and Picking Pockets, but from the Hope
 of appropriating to ourselves the substances, through which we enter-
 tain a lively idea that others are benefited ? Therefore, it is plain
 that our moral ideas are fundamentally wrong ; and that before we
 rectify our system of Education, we should annul all those institutions
 by which the exertions of an individual to shake off the prejudices

of his youth, are now cramped or punished. Again, since we must ultimately experience disappointment in our search after knowledge, because Improvement is infinite; and ought therefore to shrink from any knowledge at all: in like manner we ought to abstain from all goodness; because virtue being infinite, our endeavour to reach perfection must ultimately be disappointed. So that no system of education is rational, except that which confines the above-mentioned first principle to the appropriation of sensible objects of a definite nature. In these, there is a great chance of avoiding disappointment; such as Meat, for which no previous toil is required; the Drink offered by nature; and a female of the same species, provided no search, intreaty or other ceremony be necessary towards the attainment of her. And such is the practice of nature: the interval between the several gratifications which I have enumerated, is, (in a pure state) passed in Sleep: I will not say the Caffrarian system conforms wholly to it; but I am justified in contending, that it is by many degrees nearer to Perfection than that of Europe. “ The habits
 “ of an Hottentot are indolence, gravity, patience: his ideas are few
 “ in number; and his sentiments in course equally rare: they are
 “ however generally correct, springing from the objects around him,
 “ and for the most part limited to those objects.”* The reader will draw his own conclusion: I flatter myself I need not occupy more of

* *Objets*. B. T. 426.

his time, in proving that the Hottentots enjoy a purer system of Education than the Europeans. *

The character of a Nation is pretty strongly marked in its management of the female sex: Mr Brown has fully confuted all the idle notions which we had entertained relative to the Seclusion of women; and has shewn, how much the sum of Oriental Happiness is augmented by the judicious customs adopted on that head in Mohammedan Countries. We had been accustomed to condemn them, merely because they differ from our own; but it is evident that we never weighed their several advantages maturely, or considered their respective influence on Society, with the Eye of a philosopher. Besides, we have always run away with a mistaken notion, that women in Turkey think like women in Europe; and would consequently prefer a life of instruction, liberty, respectability and diversion, to one of dark ignorance, captivity, contempt and stupidity. But it is not so; "instead of complaining of their seclusion as an injury, they may sometimes be observed to be tenacious of it as a mark of respect." † They wish it, for the sake of tranquillity; it is besides by "long adoption, ‡ become part of *bien-seance*:" it is therefore proper.

* The candid reader will give me some credit, for not pushing this argument, so far as I certainly might have done. But it must be no small inducement to those who hanker after the new philosophy, to learn, that Vacancy of mind is the point of felicity we aim at. Those who read my great Archetype, will think that some of us are not unhappy.

† *Respect*. B. T. 429.

‡ *Adoption*. Ibid. What has been long adopted is not however always proper; nor will Mr Brown wish to have his principle extended to matters religious or political.

Now if the management of Women among the Orientals, be preferable to that of the Europeans: I shall have little difficulty in shewing, that the Hottentots render theirs, yet more conducive to happiness, than the Orientals. It has been proved that the nearer we approach to a state of Nature, the less remote we are from true felicity. Such is the imbecillity of our constitution, that we cannot exist without some degree of labour; and therein is manifest our inferiority to the quadrupedal models whom we propose for imitation: the Cow must be milked, the herbs must be gathered, the roots must be dug up; nay when these people indulge in animal diet, the beast must be cut open, before his guts can be come at: and to do this, would be an infraction of that indolence, by which the Caffrarian is so much nearer the attainment of Happiness, than the European. He commits it, therefore, to the female part of his family; and that he may not lose in jealous disquietude, (from the non-observance of the doctrine of confinement) what he gains in indolence; he adopts a method of treating the sex, which is as sure a preventive of the dangerous passion of love, as the Haram itself. From a spirit of refined policy, he acts towards the female sex, as if it did not participate in the same qualities as himself; and from the moment of his reception into the Society of Men, assumes the correction of those women to whom he is most nearly related, as the indispensable characteristic of his manhood. What he thus practises on his mother and sisters, becomes mature, against the time of his marriage, to obviate the possible approach of affection. Like the Mohammedan, he does not restrict

his alliances to one woman; and like the Mohammedan, he is the absolute Lord of his wives; but in one respect he has far the advantage; for whereas the former relies on his treatment of his wives as children* or on the number of them, for that exemption from domestic squabbles which ensures happiness: the Hottentot comes much nearer to his model: he not only confounds individual passion, by promiscuous gratification; but by the unsophisticated structure of his mansion, in good earnest introduces the manners of the forest into the dwellings of mankind. He lives in one den with all his females; and thus, by utterly eradicating that bane of happiness, delicacy, he preserves the intercourse between the sexes in the natural state, † from which, we are told, Europeans have diverted it, by the monstrous refinements of gallantry and decorum. This huddling method of cohabitation, is, “ at this time far from being the effect of individual appetite; it is, by long adoption, become a part of *Bienfaisance*.”

If therefore the mode of Education in Caffraria, and the management of women adopted in that country, tend more to the happiness of man, than the similar institutions now used in Europe: two great points are gained, towards establishing the general superiority of the Hottentot System. Of the moral observances of these people, there are two that differ so widely from ours, that I doubt not but most of my inconsiderate readers will give them up, as blots in an otherwise

* *Children*. B. T. 430.

† *Natural state*. “ The intercourse between the sexes being at length reduced to the simple gratification of the sensual desire,” &c. B. T. 431.

excellent character. " Social man has been too long employed in " counteracting nature, not to have moulded all to his dwarfish " intellect : " * social man, therefore, shudders at the thought of exposing his child or his infirm parent, as a banquet for any natural philosopher of the Forest. Let us examine how far this prejudice is reconcilable to rational principles.

The great principle is, that Exemption from labor constitutes happiness, as far as Humanity is capable of it. I have already observed, that the human constitution does not partake of the same advantages as the quadrupedal ; and, consequently, cannot be supported altogether by the spontaneous bounties of the Earth. Whoever, therefore, is unable to procure that assistance by individual or constrained exertion, must receive it from others, who can ; and, consequently, will induce an increase of labor on their part. To suffer such increase of labor (if not inevitable) would be to court a diminution of Happiness : therefore, it would be inconsistent with true Wisdom : whence it follows, that to obviate any circumstance, which in its effects may tend to produce such an increase, would be the measure that true wisdom would dictate. As long as the vigor of a man remains, so long it is natural and rational that his progeny should obey and reverence him ; and so long, we may well suppose that his female connections will execute for him the menial duties of a family ; for while his strength

* *Intellect*. B. T. 442.

is unimpaired, the success of any attempt to deprive him of his property, might be dubious; and he is capable of according to the women that protection, gratification, and sustenance, which it is his interest they should receive from him. But when age or infirmity destroys this reciprocal consideration on his part; it vanishes altogether; for there is no principle more undoubted, than that a contract, if of force at all, must be beneficial to both parties. It is obvious therefore that when the father is no longer able to control his family, the more vigorous son must take his place; and with his place, his property: the women are a part of that property; so that, if I may be allowed to suppose that some wish to provide for the superannuated party might exist in them,* they would no longer have permission to do so; because any appropriation of their labor to the relief of another, might interfere with their subserviency to the indolence of their Lord. Hence it appears, that the exposure of an infirm parent is in strict conformity to the dictates of Nature: for he cannot supply the wants of humanity himself; even if his search after happiness would permit him to do so: he has none to whom he can delegate that office: therefore, if he receive nutriment at all, it must be from the increased labor, and consequently from the diminished happiness of another.

The custom of exposing children also, modified as it is in Caffraria, is reducible to the same principle: for no child is exposed that is not

* *In them.* Mr Ledyard and Mr Park have in some degree authorized this supposition.

a female and a twin. A very small number of females is found sufficient to execute those trifling toils to which even the Saturnian climate of Caffraria subjects its denizens; as well as to provide such a supply of wives, as is requisite for the purpose of securing domestic felicity by the exclusion of Love: whence it is evident that rearing two children where one is sufficient, would be the highest absurdity, inasmuch as it would be volunteering superfluous labour, in the nutrition; and entailing on the community the necessity of providing a larger quantity of food, in the after sustenance, of the twin who might be spared. However there is an argument in favor of this practice, much more cogent: a woman, by means of the knapsack which I have already mentioned, is well able to execute the laborious part of her duty, when incumbered with one child: but the case would be much otherwise, had she two. Therefore if in the event of twins, both were to be reared; the husband would lose so much of his wife's service, as would be occupied in attention to the rearing one of them: and just in that proportion, he would be obliged to relinquish his individual indolence, or in other words his individual happiness. A circumstance, which must, if duly weighed, make any further discussion on this topic wholly nugatory.

“ If the multitude of wants constitute human inquietude, it must be remembered how much of what to us is indispensable is, to them, as if it had never been.”* True as this remark is,

* *Never been.* B. T. 436.

when applied to the Orientals; it is yet more forcible with respect to the Caffrarians. It would be superfluous to enter into a detail of what a Caffrarian *does not* know: what he *does*, is confined altogether to the sensible objects contiguous to his Kraal; for ideas from Reflection or Combination, he has none. The number of his wants therefore is equally limited; and consequently his real sum of happiness is great, in the inverse proportion of that number: but these wants do not extend beyond what is within his reach—he is not therefore subject to disappointment. Let the Voluptuary; let the man of Science think of this, and blush at his own inferiority!

Much of individual happiness; much too of the manners of Society, will depend on general polity: therefore it may be necessary to enquire in this place, whether the form of Government in Caffaria or that of England, (which, till of late, has been thought the most perfect in Europe) be more calculated for the benefit of its component parts: and I fancy European vanity will, in this discussion also, meet with some little mortification.

The leading features of the Caffrarian polity bear so close an affinity to the Feodal System, that one might, at first sight, fancy them to have been derived from the Vandals: thus, each Kraal elects a Chief or Baron, who has a voice in the great Council of Hottentots: this Council is assembled as a matter of course, in time of emergency; such as the inroad of a Lion, the rumoured approach of a Dutchman,* or any other event which threatens destruction to the state:

* *Dutchman.* The Dutch, though deprived of their African possessions by violence, at this

at other seasons, the King or Konquer of all Caffraria, which is an hereditary title, may convene it when he chuses: but when we examine the matter more minutely, it appears, that the philosopher, to whom Caffraria owes her constitution, was endowed with far more sublimity of Conception than fell to the lot of Vandal Jurists; and, if we may judge of him by his work, was indeed a Scavant, an Illumine of the first Order. Reasons, locally prevailing, may have induced him to sanction the semblance of regal Government; but he has effectually neutralised it, by the other ingredients of his constitution. At all assemblies the king sits on his heels in the centre of his counsellors: a position highly impressive of his situation as the first menial servant of the state; * in the next place, he can take no step without the consent of each Kraal; and in executing any measure is obliged to follow the instructions or orders of his subjects: in fine, he has no revenue. From this last circumstance, it at once appears that, notwithstanding the innate propensity of regal animals to mischief, this king can do no harm. † He cannot indulge those libidinous inclina-

time, will soon be reinstated in them. Bonaparte will of course give them back every thing of value, which was theirs before they became free, when he shall have finished the conquest of the world, and may be at leisure to make a distribution. As the transient possession of the British will not perhaps be recorded in the French annals, and other documents will not reach posterity, I prefer the word Dutchman to any other.

* *State.* This posture is always resorted to by the Arabs in token of humility, when they are in the presence of a superior. Niebuhr.

† *No harm.* " They say there is a king among them (i. e. the Crocodiles) who resides

tions, which belong to all people of his rank and station :* and consequently the apparent infringement of natural government, occasioned by the title of King, is merely nominal : and the patriarchal or natural form, does in fact obtain over the whole of this country. It will not require much argument, to shew that this form is preferable to any other, as far as relates to the attainment of happiness ; inasmuch as it is consonant to universal Volition, and is in conformity to an education by which Nature is neither *paralysed* nor *distorted* : and we shall see, by and bye, that the social intercourse of this people is conducted on a footing perfectly analogous to the same principle, and tending in the same way to natural happiness.

“ Another striking dissimilitude between the Europeans and Hottentots is observable in the number and quality of their respective laws and the administration of public Justice.”† In Caffraria municipal jurisprudence is unknown : there we find no laws, no pleadings, no tedious investigations of right, no opportunity for perjury (since testimony is not thought of), no delineation of one shade of crime from another : the sharpest lance or the strongest arm regulates the disposition of civil Rights, and warrants criminal

“ near Isna : and he possesses an uncommon regal quality, that of doing no harm (‘ the king can do do no wrong.’) Some pretend, &c.” B. T. 140.

* *Station*. “ This immense retinue may be imagined without attributing to the Sultan more libidinous propensities than belong to others of the same rank and station.” B. T. 293.

† *Justice*. B. T. 432.

Wrongs. "So that no man can bequeath to his family the inheritance of judicial ruin." *

It will perhaps be thought that the rough nature of the *Argumentum Baculinum*, and the uncertain tendency of its operation, are evils for which no advantages can compensate: and here it may at least be urged, that in Europe the administration of Justice is more equal, and that right is not generally to be set aside by force.

On the other hand, whatever may be the integrity of the judges in their decisions; (and that, from the nature of man is very doubtful;) the length and delay of the proceeding, is sufficient to reproduce all the evils which are thought to be obviated by the absence of Club Law. If one of the parties be poor and the other rich, the latter commonly has the option of ruining the former, by throwing impediments in the way of a decision: and it is of little importance to a man, to know that he is ultimately victorious, when his property is already consumed, ere the Cause draw near its termination. †

If this be so; and if Suspence be the most irksome sensation of which the mind is susceptible; is it not more conducive to individual happiness, that Nature should settle all differences by her previous disposition of bodily strength to the contending parties respectively; than that Man should assume to himself the prerogative of deciding

* *Ruin.* Br. Tr 433.

† *Termination.* Ibid. This and the foregoing paragraphs are almost verbatim from Mr Brown.

on the concerns of his fellow men? The *argumentum baculinum* may or may not be consonant to our refined ideas of Justice, in Europe; but as it puts the poor at least on a par with the rich; as it destroys all the subtle distinctions and advantages by which our corrupted manners have allowed intellect to encroach on dullness: as it is the only mode of decision, to which reason guides animals in a pure state of Nature; and as "that anxiety and suspense by which the happiness of society in most European Countries is lessened from the frequency of judicial process"* is obviated by it altogether: I cannot hesitate in thinking the Caffrarian more happy, in this respect also, than the European.

Having thus shortly taken notice of the principal points of comparison between Europe and Caffraria, relative to their general institutions, so far as they affect the cast of life and happiness of individuals; I shall now proceed to investigate the method of social intercourse, and the private conveniences of both: that it may appear how far the public institutions do indeed affect individuals; and whether the preponderance of happiness is in fact on the side of refinement or of unadulterated Nature.

The dress of the Caffrarian when he has attained the age of manhood is no further removed from the simplicity of Nature, than

* *Process.* B. T. 434. The caution of Mr Brown in this passage is exquisite. He says, "in most countries of Europe."—Certainly great advances have been made towards establishing Club-Law in one European Nation, and that perhaps the most enlightened of any.

(as I have before observed) the want of an average temperature of seasons renders necessary. It is convenient, and unvarying; and it answers the double purpose of a blanket and a vest. The temperance and frugality of his diet; the monotony of his habits, and the locality of his abode, approach very near quadrupedal perfection: his ideas centre in himself: his language is confined to the satisfaction of his bodily wants; it is sententious and void of ostentation, consisting only of a few *Phrases courtes et rares*,* of which the enunciation is as little varied from that observed among superior animals, as the nature of his communications will admit; and by which of course no conversation beyond the satisfaction of urgent desires can at all be carried on. "He goes into company to sleep, not to labor; and he esteems effort in conversation a vain toil." †

On the contrary, the European passes great part of his time in concealing from his brethren that his anatomical construction is like theirs; and in counteracting the regular process of nature, which excludes the action of cold on the nerves, by gradually filling the pores with extraneous matter. ‡ His whole life is occupied in procuring to himself the means of deviation from first principles: and he studies to be as much unlike what he should resemble, an Ass or a Bull, as possible. His language is complex, and his greatest attainment, that

* *Et rares*. B. T. 437.

† *Toil*. B. T. 438.

‡ *Matter*, i. e. dirt.

of being able to generate a profusion of articulate sounds, on subjects in which he himself is far from being individually interested. His daily comforts are injured by an useless interference in the concerns of others; and he often is weak enough to consider his strength, his wealth, or his talents, as more usefully employed in administering to the wants of others, than in procuring gratification to himself.

The social Manners of an Hottentot are conformable to the strictest rules of Natural Politeness: he does just what Nature prompts him to do, and he feels no spurious delicacy or shame, in acting according to the inward impulses of his own mind. This mode of behaviour preserves an exact equality; all are satisfied, with what all do: the workings of nature are alike in every man; and were they more attended to, or rather were they less choaked and stifled, in European societies, all invidious distinctions would cease at once: no more formality, that most oppressive and despotic constraint, would be observable in the circle of St. James's* than in the pens of Smithfield. Among the Hottentots, "society is rendered tranquil and easy by mutual forbearance; with us it is vexed by the necessity of mutual adulation:" we are trained to the observance of certain forms, which seem, "like other dogmas, to have been invented to shew the merit of implicit credence."†

Mr Brown remarks the facility with which, in Mohammedan coun-

* *St. James's.* Sc. if any such place could survive the introduction of natural manners.

† *Credence.* B. T. 436-7.

tries, a visitor is dismissed by the introduction of a little scented wood in a Censer; and justly prefers that custom to the "common but
 " absurd practice which obtains among ourselves, of urging those to
 " stay longer of whose company one is already tired."* But is not
 a push by the shoulder, or a kick on the breech, still more short and
 summary than calling for perfumes? let Mr Brown try both; and
 then compare their relative excellencies, with the barbarous refinement
 of European civility.

Mr Brown says, "The greatest number of menials in a family (and
 " in the East they are very numerous) occasions no Confusion. All is
 " conducted in silence and order. All such directions as are in the com-
 " mon routine of affairs, are given by signs, and are instantly under-
 " stood: not from pride, or as implying the vast distance between
 " master and servant, but principally to avoid all equivocation, when
 " persons of various descriptions are present, and by making secrecy an
 " uniform habit, to avoid all suspicion from the adoption of mystery
 " in giving orders before company, when any thing is to be said which
 " it is not intended the company should hear."† Certainly, this me-
 thod of avoiding mystery by being always mysterious, is very far pre-
 ferable to the confused and embarrassed method of conducting family
 affairs in Europe: But Mr Brown will forgive me, if I think the Hot-

* *Tired.* B. T. 434.

† *Hear.* Ibid.

tentot system yet better ; since, by banishing all ceremony whatever, it precludes the necessity of giving any orders at all ; and consequently not only saves the trouble of speaking, but even the exertion of making signs *. This comes still nearer to the point aimed at, that of avoiding the least infraction of natural quietude.

It may be said that nothing can compensate to the Caffrarian, his loss arising from ignorance of the polite arts, literature and convivial intercourse. But let me ask, do not those pleasures carry their own antidote with them ? Does not he, who suffers himself to be duped by the expectation of pleasure arising from such sources, lay out for mortification, and court disappointment ? If a man of delicate taste feels refined enjoyment from the contemplation of a beautiful landscape or the perusal of an elegant poem : he is equally shocked at the sight of any thing deformed, disproportioned or unnatural in either : he has not the option of contemplating a disagreeable object and not feeling a disagreeable sensation. It is impossible to be conversant with man and not observe man's works : "*and does not the man who reads, unavoidably fall on absurdities which disgust him ?*"† It is evidently better to know nothing, and shut up every avenue of mental pleasure, than to subject oneself to molestation by the inevitable consequences of it.

* *Signs.* Mr Brown's evident preference of symbolical orders, manifested in the above cited passage, makes one wonder very much, at his not adverting to the superior excellence of the mode of dismissing a visitor suggested by me, over the introduction of perfumes ; the one hint might be mistaken, the other could not.

† *Disgust him.* Vide B. T. 442. Did all men write like Mr Brown, this latter observa-

The radical wisdom of torpidity becomes more obvious, the more we look into the flattering nature of European amusements.

In all those extraneous incidents, which repel inconvenience or promote comfort in individual life, the refinement of Europe should seem to have decidedly the advantage over Caffrarian simplicity: but the fact is otherwise: and we find insensibility, which I have before shewn to be the summum bonum of humanity, more promoted by the usages of the latter country, than by those to which we have blindly assented.

“ The art of building in which more refined nations display so much ingenuity and consume so much of their property, is there limited by the necessity that produced it. A light roof shelters the *Hottentot* from the sun and rain; and he fears not to be crushed by the mass which he has raised for his security. The conflagration may desolate his abode, but his soul is not appalled; for he has raised no monument of vanity to become its prey.”* Their habitations are composed of slender poles, inclining towards each other, and thatched with nearly as much ingenuity as those of the beaver: but in some respects they far exceed that animal in simplicity: instead of a complex range of apartments, to distinguish one of which from another would require some degree of thought, they more wisely contrive one only tion would not hold good. Diversion would certainly take place of disgust: besides, upon the principle of avoiding mystery by being always mysterious, a man may avoid absurdity by being always absurd.

* *Its prog.* B. T. 286.

chamber for their dwelling : instead of rearing granaries and hoarding up a store of provisions to be devoured at a future period (which probably may never arrive) at the price of forethought and bodily labour ; they disdain to suffer even the possibility of a morrow to rise in their apprehension. The lance forms the whole of their furniture : nor is the serenity of their life interrupted by any thing like a reflection, either to facilitate enjoyment or to obviate pain.

Contrast with this, the agonizing luxuries of an European. Consider, calmly, what are called the conveniences of his house : from the radical error of its construction, he is subject to daily, nay almost hourly toil, in going up and down stairs ; from the multiplicity of its apartments, he is alone among a train of domestics ; and may perish with cold or hunger, unless he so far gets the better of nature, as to rise from the posture he may have chosen, and to avow the factitious misery of his situation, by calling in aid of his inadequate organs, the assistance of a Bell. A gust of wind, a spark from that fuel which his artificial imbecility renders necessary to him, fill his mind with terror : his time is passed, first in devising dilemmas and then in extricating himself from them : he pays one artisan to mould the skin of some stronger animal, to the shape of his own leg ; and then recurs to another, for the means of pulling off the spurious integument which he has labored to draw on. The Caffrarian does not, in adulation, prefer the skin of any animal, to his own ; and he scorns to owe the freedom of his feet, to the mean subterfuge of a bootjack.

Supposing for a moment that an European were able to forget or

disregard the minuter thorns, which his own refinements have thus planted on the Couch of his repose; there is yet one other consideration, which must for ever disturb his quiet, and embitter every portion of his existence: I mean, the certainty, that sooner or later that existence must end. The abolition of what prejudice may have taught him to think Enjoyments, is of itself enough to afford matter of regret: but when it is added to that source of repining, that the Cessation of this may lead to another and a worse existence; how can he be but exquisitely miserable? he is sure of losing every thing which he calls pleasure; and he may be subject to much greater evils; whereas the Caffrarian, who has not the most distant conception of a future state, and of those invidious distinctions between vice and virtue, which many deduce from such a notion, is wholly exempt from the latter source of misery; and I can demonstrate that from the tenor of his ordinary life, he is equally shielded against the general horror of dying, which we experience.

“ Human Life in *Caffraria* is exposed to a variety of Casualties; “ indolence, famine and the *neccessitous calls of adjacent communities* “ *of Lions and Panthers*, all conspire to diminish its security. It is “ natural to set a smaller value on any advantage in proportion to the “ facility of privation. Hence the *Hottentots* * are not much disturbed

* *Hottentots*. When my sentiment relative to Caffraria answers exactly to any passage of Mr Brown, I should think I paid him an ill compliment if I did not adopt his words; I do so therefore, marking the words altered from him, by Italics. This caution is necessary, because the sentiment would not otherwise be distinguishable.

“ at the thoughts of death, but resign life without a sigh. The mind
 “ is tortured when the blossoms of hope are suddenly torn from it;
 “ but their gradual decay is not incompatible with a kind of tranquil-
 “ lity.”* Therefore an Hottentot enjoys the double advantage of
 having no pleasure in actual possession which he is unwilling to lose:
 and no racking uncertainty as to what may succeed.

“ No man who reflects on his past enjoyments and sufferings can
 “ doubt but that the latter, by their intenseness, duration and
 “ frequency, have been decidedly predominant.”

“ To render them more equal, that is, to be less miserable, or to
 “ make life tolerable, either the number of pleasures must be
 “ augmented according to the system of the Epicureans, or that of
 “ pains must be diminished according to that of the Stoics. The
 “ *Hottentots* endeavour to attain one of these objects like ourselves, by
 “ sensuality;”† for I will not so far descend from the dignity of
 philosophy, as to admit that Man is capable of receiving pleasure, by
 any other channel; the other, they compass by a mode equally novel
 and satisfactory. With respect to their sensuality, it is surely more
 rational than ours: it is not incumbered with any refinements; but
 consists in simply yielding to the impulse of those passions, which are
 generated by the collision of certain material substances of which the
 mass, called a human creature, is composed: now, as any positive

* *Tranquillity.* B. T. 438.

† *Sensuality.* B. T. 440.

and decisive resistance to those passions, would be a force and violence amounting to pain; so any modification of such resistance, under the name of delicacy, moderation or modesty; would be so far painful as it might partake of the nature of violence; and consequently would in the same degree operate in a contrary way to the enjoyment proposed. To this distinction, I need not observe, we pay no regard in Europe; so that the sum of our sensuality is so hampered and set off by forms and preliminaries, by delays and apprehensions, that very little of it is clear gain on the side of Pleasure. *

In the Stoical mode of meliorating our condition, we yield altogether to the Hottentots: in every treatise which has been written, in every dogma that has been promulgated in Europe to spread the Stoical Doctrine, an essential error is contained; inasmuch as no effect can be produced by such reasonings unless they are understood; and they cannot be understood unless they are read and studied. Hence, in the outset of seeking to diminish our pains this way, we prepare an accession of labor for the understanding, and consequently add to the current stock of our unhappiness. Whereas the Caffrarian philosopher obviates every difficulty of that kind, by one plain, but decisive measure; that of not thinking at all. Thus all heartburnings and

* *Pleasure.* It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader in this place, that the German Doctors, who have, of late, been so sedulous in introducing the Caffrarian system in Europe, did not omit, among other things, to cultivate a pure and genuine sensuality.

controversies; all hatred, love, grief and hope are prevented: "the
 " lively taste and ardent passions which diminish the sum of European
 " happiness," have no place in a Caffrarian mind: the genius of an
 Hottentot is dark and still, and tinctures existence with an apathetical
 neutrality, as much preferable to that enjoyed by the Orientals, as
 their vacancy is to the wretched activity of an European. Our
 approach to such a blessing is cut off by the concurrent evils of
 civilization and superstitious prejudice; nor can any one of us presume
 to emulate either of those favored nations in true felicity, unless he
 shall have had the rare advantage of being born blind, deaf and dumb.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 21. for *mistakes* read *mistakes*.

30. for *cap.* 29. read *cap.* 30. (in notis)

34. dele xi. in notis.

36. for *much of the earth* read *the greatest space*.