

SEVEN YEARS
IN
THE SOUDAN



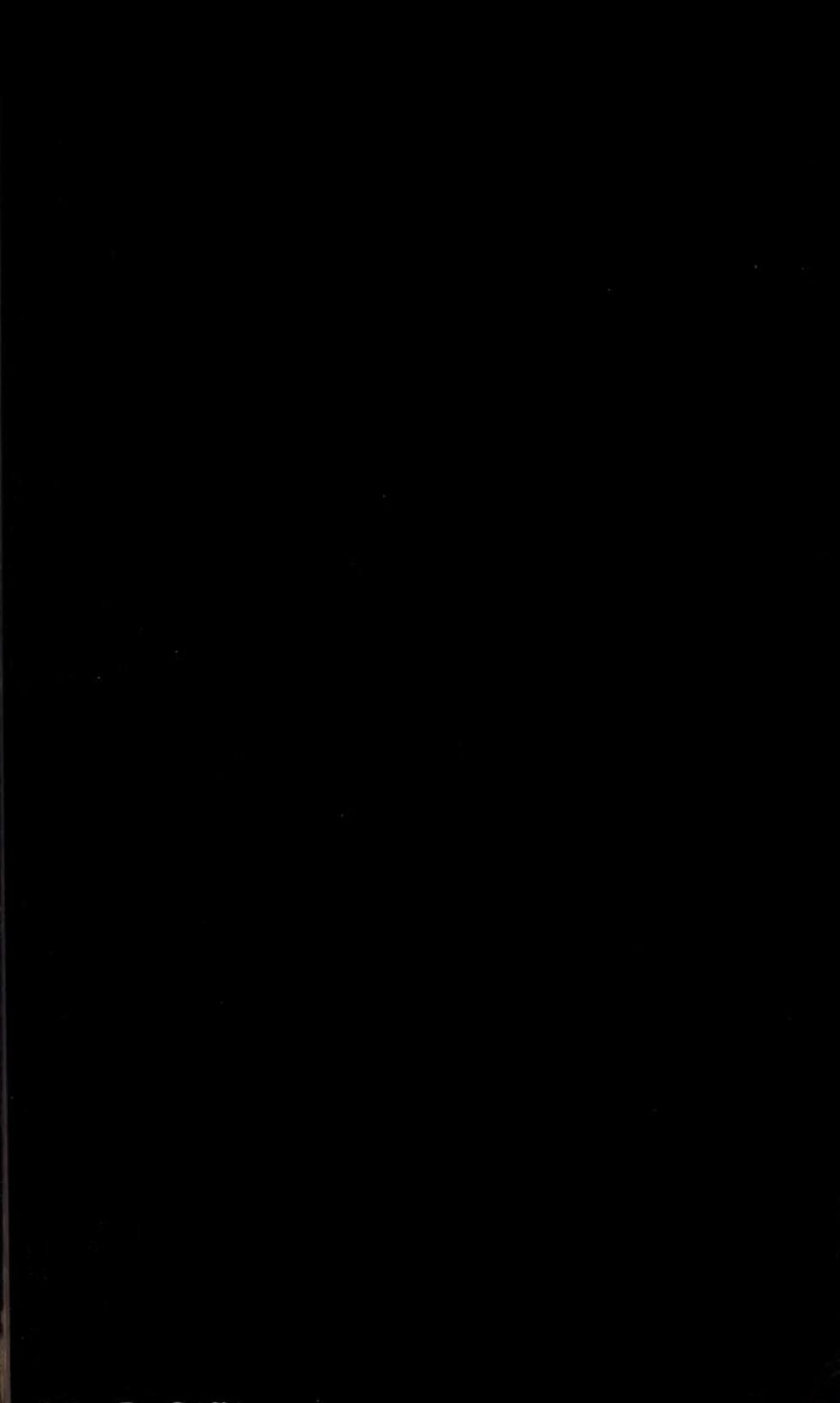
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ROMOLO GESSI PASHA.

Frontispiece.

SEVEN YEARS IN THE SOUDAN

BEING A RECORD OF
EXPLORATIONS, ADVENTURES, AND CAMPAIGNS
AGAINST THE ARAB SLAVE HUNTERS

✓ BY
ROMOLO GESSI PASHA

COLLECTED AND EDITED BY HIS SON

FELIX GESSI

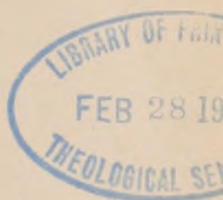
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To the Sainted Memory
OF
GORDON PASHA.

PREFACE.

ROMOLO GESSI was born at Constantinople in 1831. His father, Marco Gessi, was a lawyer of Ravenna, a political exile, and his mother, Elisabetta Golobetti, was an Italian born in Armenia.

In 1842 Marco Gessi died, leaving a moderate fortune realized by the practice of the law, and Romolo, through the forethought of a maternal uncle, was sent to Germany to finish his education. In 1848 Mr. Lloyd, the English consul at Bucharest, an old friend of Marco Gessi, perceiving in Romolo an intelligent mind united to the knowledge of several languages, among which were Turkish, Russian, and Greek, took him into his office at Bucharest, where he remained till the declaration of war against Russia by the Allied Powers.

Receiving an appointment on the English Staff, Gessi set out for the Crimea in the office of interpreter to General Strnowhys. During the war he rendered most important services, not only as interpreter, but by taking the direction of various secret expeditions. After the death of General Strnowhys, who fell in battle at his side, Gessi met with Colonel Gordon, with whom he formed a friendship.

The war ended, Gessi went to London, from whence he re-embarked for the East, visiting Syria and all the ports of the Black Sea, till, on his Danubian journey, he married in 1860 Maria Purkart, and settled finally at Tulcia in Roumania.

It was in this city that Gessi and Gordon met for the second time. Gordon had come to reside at Tulcia as a member of the International Commission for determining the boundaries between Russia and Turkey. This chance meeting of the two friends from the Crimea was to have a decisive influence on the fate of Romolo Gessi. In 1873, Gordon being appointed to the Government of the Egyptian Soudan, proposed to his friend to follow him. Gessi accepted the offer and started for Egypt.

At this point begin the memorials of this remarkable man, which we have now collected in great part from letters sent from the seat of war to our journal the *Esploratore*, and in part also from inedited documents confided to us a few days before Gessi's death.

Early in 1874 Gessi repaired to Cairo and from thence to Suez, where he embarked, and after having touched at Gedda, set sail for Suakim, where he organized a caravan of two hundred and fifty camels, crossed the desert and reached Berber. From this station he ascended the Nile in a boat as far as Khartoum, and was sent by Gordon, after the few days' halt necessary for the preparations for a journey into the interior to the Gazelle, charged with establishing commercial and administrative stations with small garrisons. Returning by the White Nile, he ascended it as far as Rejaf, and planted stations at Sobat, Gaba-Shambé, Bohr, Ladò, and Rejaf.

Having accomplished this work, Gessi made the best of his way back to Khartoum, and was soon afterwards charged by Gordon with an extremely difficult geographical mission, in which two eminent English staff officers, Watson and Chippendale, had already failed.

This mission, or rather exploration, consisted in ascending the Nile as far as the last Cataract, and proceeding from Dufilé to Wadelai, and from Wadelai

to the Albert Lake. Chippendale and Watson had indeed reached Wadelai, but insuperable difficulties had compelled them to retire, and the great problem of whether the Nile really flowed out of the Albert Lake remained still unsolved.

Gessi set out for Dufilé, ascended the Nile on two iron boats, and found its outlet in the Mwutan Lake, the circumnavigation of which he accomplished in forty days, returning to Dufilé without having lost a single man.

Such an exploration, made with scanty means and such boldness among hostile peoples, navigating in the most dangerous season that tropical tempestuous lake in small and fragile sailing and rowing boats, awakened at the time the admiration of all the geographical world. It was one of the most important explorations of our century. After this journey the geographers could finally lay down on the map the hydrographical system of the Nile, hitherto very uncertain.

The reader will learn from the memorials the reasons why Gessi, after such signal services, resigned his appointment as Captain in the Egyptian army and returned home.

But our friend was not a man for European life. He returned to Egypt, organized a large expedition to ascend the Sobat, a river the course of which still remains unknown, and which has great importance for the protectorate of Galla. But all his baggage and scientific instruments fell a prey to fire at the station of Suez, perhaps by the hands of Mussulman fanatics, our friend thus losing property of about 30,000 francs in value, the result of his savings. But he was not disheartened on this account; he returned to his native country, and was presented by me to His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Italy, from whom he received material aid and encouragement. Count Telfener of Rome, and Gonzales at Paris also contributed generous offerings for a new

exploration in which Dr. P. Matteucci took part, and Gessi again set out for Khartoum, from whence he made his way to Fadasi on the borders of the Galla country.

The aim of this expedition was the liberation of Captain Cecchi, a prisoner of the Queen of Ghera. But difficulties of all kinds and insufficient means obliged the two Italian travellers to return. Gessi, however, was not the man to abandon an undertaking at the first check, and he set himself at once to prepare a second expedition with the same object but by another route, ascending the Sobat river.

"All was ready to start," our friend wrote, "when an official from the Upper Nile brought the news of the revolution of Suleiman Ziber Bey, head of the slavers." Gordon, forgetting the disagreement which had arisen between him and his former captain after the exploration of the Albert Lake, offered him the difficult and dangerous command of the expedition against the rebels. Gessi hesitated at first, having already experienced too much of the ingratitude of the Egyptian Government, but urged by Dr. Junker, and remembering his old ties of friendship with Gordon, and attracted, moreover, by the very difficulties of the enterprise, which corresponded to the iron energy of his character, he accepted.

What he accomplished in this memorable campaign his memorials modestly tell us. Schweinfurth called him at this time "the legendary man," and from the letters of Junker, Casati, the Rev. Mr. Wilson, Felkin, and fragments of the book of Buchta, the reader can see in what account his achievements were held by men who had personally visited the theatre of the war in which he fought.

Suffice it to say that Gessi, with a few hundred soldiers untrained and far inferior to the numerous hordes of Suleiman, the sole Christian and sole European, with a traitorous staff officer formerly a

negro chief, and through a thousand difficulties of climate, being obliged to march almost continuously in inundated lands and pestilential marshes,—by his genius and energy succeeded not only in conquering but exterminating the enemy, causing Suleiman and all the slave-traders to be shot, and completely quelling, by this salutary example, the rebellion in those provinces.

Having concluded the war by the capital execution of the chiefs, our hero set to work to organize the country reconquered for Egypt. He opened canals, constructed boats on the numerous rivers which intersect this rich territory, discovered forests of caoutchouc, and instructed the natives in the method of collecting it, established schools, and organized an army of blacks, sending away the Arabian troops who were friendly to the slave traders. The Government nominated him Pasha, but his enemies, interested in the rebellion, and jealous of so much glory, were powerful at Cairo and Khartoum, and the exterminator of the infamous rebellion was recalled. This recall was the cause of the tragic death of this extraordinary man.

And here I can only repeat what I wrote in the *Esploratore* (Vol. vii. p. 146) after the death of my friend :—

“ The history of the Mahdi will tell, more clearly than we can, what were the consequences of the system hitherto pursued by the Egyptian Government of the Soudan. It will tell, better than we can, to what prosperity these fertile provinces would have risen if the hatred of the Mussulman and some traders who bore unworthily the name of Christian had not persecuted Gessi by the vilest means. This implacable hostility was the true cause of his death, and that of four hundred of his followers.” But we will leave to Gessi himself the description of this disaster.

To Gessi as Pasha, after the retirement of Gordon,

the entire control of the Soudan should have fallen, but the Egyptian Government, far from recognizing his merits, not only assigned no pension to the widow of the man who had conquered a splendid and vast province, but even refused her the arrears of the pay which as general was due to her husband !

We are, however, certain that England, now omnipotent in Egypt, will compel that Government to perform a simple act of justice.

The reader must not be offended with the manner in which Gessi Pasha has in this frank record expressed himself. As we have said, he spoke and wrote in several languages, and, having lived many years out of Italy, his command of his mother tongue perhaps suffered. We have only ventured upon a few corrections, and then only when the phrase did not well express the idea. We desired in fact to leave on these writings the original impress of the author, a man who has been rightly styled the "Garibaldi of Africa."

MANFREDO CAMPERIO.

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATORS.

WE gladly undertook the task entrusted to us of translating the Memoirs and Journals of Romolo Gessi Pasha. The book was published in Italy last year, and is based upon the distinguished explorer's notes which were edited and arranged by his son, Felix Gessi, and by Captain Camperio.

This English edition of the work of course appears with the full sanction and authority of its Authors; indeed, Signor Felix Gessi has kindly enriched the English edition with some letters which do not appear in the Italian Edition, and this new material, in our judgment, considerably enhances the interest of the work.

We believe that the book will be found to be an important contribution to the knowledge of Equatorial Africa, and the history of the Slave Trade in the Dark Continent.

This conviction has led us to look upon the work of translation as a labour of love, and we are glad moreover to do anything in our power to place before English readers the simple and remarkable account which the brave Italian soldier and explorer has himself given of his experiences and adventures during the eventful seven years which he spent in the Soudan.

LILY WOLFFSOHN.
BETTINA WOODWARD.

NAPLES,

November, 1891.

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SEVEN YEARS IN THE SOUDAN.

CHAPTER I.

GORDON IN THE SOUDAN.

Egypt in Central Africa—Irregular administrative proceedings—The Slave Trade—400,000 Slaves—Raids—The Anti-Slavery Society of London—The Khedive Ismail Pasha—Infamous Governors—Sir Samuel Baker—Unsuccessful expedition—Appointment of Colonel Gordon—War in the Crimea—Grand Mandarin—The Emperor of China—Gordon in the Soudan—The Staff—Departure from Cairo—Arrival at Suez.

It was in the year 1837 that the Egyptian Government first despatched expeditions into Africa to open up new roads for the commerce of the continent. Various stations were then established at Bahr-el-Ghazal, Bahr-el-Jeraf and the White Nile, for the barter of cotton stuffs and other articles which the natives were eager to exchange for indiarubber, grain and ivory. This trade was carried on directly by the Government, and was, in fact, a monopoly, but about the year 1848, in consequence of the irregularity of its administration, and perhaps also because the expense exceeded the profits, it was left to private enterprise.

Various merchants of Khartoum then took up their residence in these settlements; they paid yearly to the Government, as tax, as much ivory as they had

collected in a month.¹ These merchants carried on a good trade and became rich in a short time.

The slave trade was hitherto unknown in the Soudan of the Nile, and only began in 1860. This new and infamous traffic soon proved most lucrative, and in a short time those who carried it on became millionaires. In the brief space of fourteen years more than four hundred thousand women and children were taken from their native country, and sold in Egypt and Turkey, while thousands and thousands were massacred in the defence of their families.

Other speculators of Khartoum joined themselves to the first in taking part in these raids. They armed some *nugars*,² and undertook expeditions into the territory of the natives. The latter were surprised during the night, the villages were burnt, the men killed, the women, children and ivory carried off. The boats being freighted, they returned to Khartoum, where the spoils of such raids found ready purchasers. These events took place openly, and the authorities of Khartoum were unable to hinder them; and even to this day the evil, though in a more hidden form, still exists.

Europe was not, however, indifferent, especially England, where the Anti-Slavery Society was formed, composed of the most influential personages. The continual protests of these philanthropists, and articles published in the leading daily papers, induced the Government to demand of the Viceroy that an end should be put to this infamous traffic. The then Viceroy, an enlightened prince, gave orders for the immediate suppression of slavery; but the evil was too deeply rooted, and those who had to execute the orders of the Government were directly interested in the shameful trade, attracted by the enormous gains it offered. The immense distance that separates Cairo from Khartoum per-

¹ The Turkish year has thirteen months.

² Large sailing boats.

mitted them to continue this traffic despite every prohibition.

Enormous sums were expended in vain, for the governors who succeeded each other in the Soudan sent misleading reports, and the Government, betrayed by its own officers in its turn, unwittingly deceived all Europe.

A report of mine made to the Governor-General, which the reader will find further on, will show that slavery, plunder and massacre still continued in August 1874.

The Khedive Ismail, wishing to avoid fresh bloodshed, and also eager to put an end to such ignominy, came to terms with the traders and bought their stations, munition, cattle, ivory and slaves, setting these last at liberty. But this generous attempt was of no avail; the traders, after having pocketed the money, established new stations further on, and resumed their rapine as before. The officials cheated the Government, while the latter, wishing to give proof of its good intentions, did not shrink from any sacrifice.

After Sir Samuel Baker had terminated his explorations in Central Africa, the Viceroy asked him in 1869 to attempt the abolition of slavery, and to place commerce on a more satisfactory basis. Baker, who had traversed a part of the country and knew its miseries, accepted the mission. A powerful expedition was then organized with soldiers, cannons and steamers; the leader had considerable sums of money and unlimited powers at his disposal. Everything promised the best results.

Without wishing to detract from the merits of this eminent explorer, it is but just to remember that competent persons did not hold Sir Samuel Baker's views, nor did they judge him equal to the mission entrusted to him. Whoever read the reports of Sir Samuel Baker to the President of the Royal Geographical Society, afterwards published in the

Times, would have thought that slavery was completely suppressed, and that a great part of the African territory had been annexed to Egypt. But this expedition, which cost more than half a million sterling, had no important result, and yet it is certain that Sir Samuel Baker had to sustain a severe campaign, not having had the forethought to place himself in safety before the tempest broke.

All the owners of seribe³ conspired against him, and offered a vigorous resistance. Finally, worn-out, and beaten by the enemy, who burned all his provisions in the various depôts, he found himself compelled to retreat. The supposed conquests and suppression of slavery were proved a chimera; the trade flourished more than ever, and the country again had to endure the horrors of its oppressors.

It was a serious check for the Egyptian Government; but the Viceroy was not the man to pause midway in his work of civilization. He meditated a new expedition, and this time with greater circumspection and prudence. Convinced that such expeditions would not yield better results than the first without a leader who should unite to military qualities a conciliatory spirit, he obtained the English Government's consent that Colonel Gordon should assume the administration of the Soudan.

Colonel Gordon was known to all Europe by his campaign in China, so that in England, to distinguish him from other Gordons, he was called "Chinese" Gordon. When he accepted the command of the expedition, he was representing his Government on the European commission to regulate the boundaries near the Danube in conformity with the treaty of Paris. He had taken part in the Crimean War, and had been decorated with the Legion of Honour, and after that campaign he was charged by the Government with the settlement of the Russian-Turkish frontiers.

His deeds in the Crimea had rendered him popular. Endowed with an energy of character proof against all trials, he possessed all the qualities of a good captain. Never embarrassed by difficulties, either small or great, generous, humane, disinterested, but, at the same time, severely strict and of immovable will, he might justly be called a *knight without fear and without reproach*. After having pacified China, the Government of that Empire sent him, in recompense for the great services rendered, a considerable sum of money, but Gordon sent it back, saying he had merely done his duty. He was then named Grand Mandarin of the Empire, and received the mantle with the badge of the Dragon, a distinction which was never before granted to a European. But so much honour had no more effect on him than the money previously offered.

The sovereign of the Celestial Empire, puzzled by such disinterestedness, wrote to Queen Victoria, and the Imperial letter was sent by means of the regent, Prince Kung, with the order to deliver it personally to the ambassador, Mr. A. Bruce, who was about to set out for Europe. Prince Kung, when he handed the writing to the ambassador, said, "Gordon refused our money, and the Emperor has already conferred on him the greatest possible distinction, but as all these honours seem indifferent to him, the Emperor has charged me to deliver this autograph letter to her Majesty Queen Victoria, in which he begs her Majesty to accord to Gordon whatever honours may be more acceptable to him than all that it is in our power to offer." Doubtless the letter arrived at its destination. The *Pall Mall Gazette* made the following reflections apropos of it: "The letter to the Queen, relative to Gordon, must be forgotten in some secretary's drawer, but would it not be well to make inquiry for it, if only as an historical document?"

Colonel Gordon, having received powers from his Government, accepted the proposals of the Viceroy,

and at the beginning of December 1873 quitted the Danube for Cairo.

Having arranged what was necessary with the Viceroy, Gordon repaired to England to provide stores and outfit for the expedition. He returned to Cairo towards the end of February, and having organized his staff, set out for Khartoum with only Colonel Long and the adjutant, Hassan Effendi. A special train conveyed them to Suez, and there they embarked on a steamer which the Government placed at their disposal. Arrived at Suakim, Gordon started immediately for Berber, which he reached in seven days. At Berber he set sail on a *nugar*, but having met with a steamer which had been sent for him, he re-embarked on it and so arrived at Khartoum. He set off for Gondokoro, where he arrived in eighteen days, and in eleven more returned to Khartoum.

The rest of his staff had remained meanwhile at Cairo, expecting the vessels which were to bring the baggage of the expedition to Alexandria. The staff comprised :—

Lieutenant-Colonel Long, of the Egyptian army; Major Campbell; Signor Romolo Gessi, formerly official interpreter in the Crimea; M. Auguste Linant de Bellefonds, special interpreter to the colonel; Hassan Effendi, of the Egyptian army; M. Kempt, mechanical engineer; Mr. Russell, son of the *Times*' correspondent, and Mr. Anson, son of the English admiral and nephew to Gordon.

The three ships expected from England arrived between the 20th and 28th of March 1874, and we received the order to start. I went immediately to Nubar Pasha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who gave me letters for the director of the railway station, and other letters for the Governors of Suez and Suakim.

At eight o'clock in the morning we were all at the station, and at nine, having taken farewell of our numerous friends, the train started. Kempt was to



MEMBERS OF THE FIRST EXPEDITION.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. C. E. Gordon Pasha. | 6. Russel. |
| 2. Romolo Gessi. | 7. Abu Sud. |
| 3. Auguste Linant de Bellefonds. | 8. Colonel Purth. |
| 4. Colonel Colstov. | 9. Colonel Long. |
| 5. Colonel Prudy. | 10. Major Campbell. |
| | 11. Rauf Pasha. |

Central group : Russel, Long, Gessi, E. Bellefonds, A. Bellefonds, Anson, Campbell.

leave Alexandria the same day, and join us at Suez with the baggage which had arrived from England. At Suez we were lodged at the Hotel Anglais, and I presented myself in the evening to the Governor, to whom I gave the letter of his Excellency Nubar Pasha.

The steamer which was to take us to Suakim was the *Zagazig*, and the next morning we set to work to embark our baggage, and that which Kempt had brought from Alexandria. On the 29th our agent, Colonel Thompson, M. Bellefonds with his brother Ernest, and Mdme. Desirée, a French comedy actress, arrived at Suez. On the 30th at three p.m. we all embarked on a little steamer placed by the Government at our service, which took us on board the *Zagazig*, already under steam. The last farewells were said, the machinery set in motion, and shortly after we found ourselves in the open sea.

CHAPTER II.

FROM SUEZ TO KHARTOUM.

The *Zagazig*—Overloaded steamer—Jeddah—Sale of Slaves—Pilgrims—Damages—Sharks—Suakim—Quarantine—Two hundred and forty camels—Caravan of two hundred and ten camels—The Desert—Three hundred English miles on foot—Ariab—Profitable chase—A fall from a camel—Crocodile-hunt—A man devoured—Khartoum.

THE *Zagazig* was an old screw steamer destined for service between Jeddah, Suakim, and Massowah. It had on board a great quantity of goods to be left



ARRIVAL AT SUAKIM.

at Jeddah, three hundred tons of wire, telegraph posts of cast-iron, clothing and provisions for soldiers, and two hundred and fifty tons of coal. The vessel was overloaded, and seemed a mere raft. On this

account, even under full steam, we never made more than five knots an hour, but fortunately the sea was calm and the wind in our favour.

After five days we arrived at Jeddah. We landed to see the town, and were received by the European colony with the most cordial hospitality. Jeddah is a dirty place, and the few foreigners residing there complain much of the annoyance caused by the natives. Although France and England inflicted a severe chastisement on Jeddah for the massacre of the Christians, the inhabitants are always the same ignorant fanatics, ready to renew hostilities if there were not always some foreign ship in the harbour. What most surprised me was to see an important coast like this without telegraphs; and its harbour frequented by many ships, without a lighthouse. In the last three months several English ships visited Jeddah. The town has a rich income, every pilgrim who lands there must pay ten piastres¹ before setting foot in the city; ships pay ten piastres a ton, and yet no water has been laid on in the town, though at an hour's distance a little river exists more than sufficient for its needs. A camel's load of water often costs twenty piastres.

An Indian princess travelling to Mecca, touched by the spectacle presented by the poor people of Jeddah obliged to work so hard to procure water, presented the Turkish authorities with the sum of ten thousand rupees that they might construct fountains, but no one knows what became of this money. Some wealthy persons have built cisterns and sold the water at five piastres the *gomba*.² But these are naturally influential people, and the various governors who succeed each other at Jeddah make it their duty to leave things as they are. Alcoholic beverages are severely prohibited, but at few cities is a larger quantity consumed.

¹ An Egyptian piastre had the value of about 2*d*.

² The *gomba* contains from fifteen to twenty litres.

The sale of slaves is, one may say, carried on in public. I went to two places where these unhappy wretches were lying on the ground; they were of both sexes, and were being closely examined to discover any physical defect. An old negro, sixty years of age, was sold for twenty-seven Austrian thalers. His master had had him in the magazine for seven months without finding a purchaser; tired at length of waiting, he had parted with him for the above price.

By this time the *Zagazig* had finished its operations, and we embarked, followed by our new acquaintances. The deck of the steamer was crowded with pilgrims returning from Mecca. Men, women and children stood there in a crowd, impeding every movement, and we were obliged to take refuge below. Towards nine o'clock the ship was put in motion; the weather was still fine and the *Zagazig* sailed as if on a pond.

But we had hardly made twenty miles when the vessel stopped, and the commotion which arose in the engine-room told us plainly that the vessel was damaged. The principal engineer told the captain that the boiler was leaking, and he had been obliged to empty it. A slight breeze allowed us to spread the sails, and so we managed to proceed. We were hardly able to pass some coral banks, and if the wind had been unfavourable, we should have ended by being shipwrecked. I asked Linant de Bellefonds if we did not run some risk of imitating the fate of the *Medusa*, since we had only four boats in all, which were scarcely sufficient for the twentieth part of the passengers and baggage.

The English mechanics set to work at the repairs, and in four hours the furnace could be re-lighted. But three hours later, water again escaped, and the boiler had to be emptied. Suddenly the excitement was greatly increased, for an enormous shoal of sharks were following us, and we began to ask ourselves whether we were really destined to serve them as food. I had some strong hooks, and



CAMEL CARAVAN.

applied myself to fishing. The sharks, turning on their backs, swallowed the hooks, but the fish were so large that the hook with the bait remained in their mouths and the cord was broken by their powerful resistance. When, however, one of them was drawn to the surface of the water, a volley of rifle shots killed him. The fishing was continued as long as we had bait and cord. The engineers had meantime finished their work, and towards four o'clock in the morning we started again. At noon of the third day after we left Jeddah we entered a large bay. Next day we cast anchor at Suakim.

The medical and sanitary officer, Signor Conti, announced that our vessel, not having submitted to sanitary operations at Jeddah, and having some pilgrims on board, ought to be subjected to five days' quarantine, but by orders from Cairo we were allowed to land the next day.

The governor, to whom I delivered the letters of Nubar Pasha, received us with great courtesy, and lodged us in his house. Our baggage meanwhile was landed on the shore opposite Suakim, and, by the aid of the *rekil*, divided, tied up and weighed for being afterwards loaded on camels. More than two hundred and forty camels were necessary for the transport of all our things, and several days were spent in collecting them.

The governor's house was so crowded that I begged him to put up a tent for me at an hour's distance from Suakim, and three days afterwards, in company with Mr. Anson, I took up my abode in the encampment. The country around was full of partridges and hares, and I spent all my mornings in shooting and preparing provisions.

A few days afterwards, Kempt and Russell joined us, and seeing the impossibility of collecting speedily all the camels necessary and giving them enough to drink, it was decided that we should set out with

two hundred and ten camels, while Major Campbell and M. Linant de Bellefonds were to follow with the remaining seventy.

The preparations completed, the endless caravan filed before us; we mounted the camels, and by six o'clock in the evening encamped in the desert. Next day we resumed our march, the heat was insufferable, and the land was burnt up. Those who are not accustomed to ride on camels suffer terribly, and generally experience acute pain in the spine. The greater part of the way I may say I made on foot. From Suakim to Berber is a distance of three hundred English miles. Those who have any experience of the desert from Korosko to Berber by way of the Nile, always prefer to go by Suakim. The desert of Korosko is arid, and the stations lie fourteen hours' journey from each other, while *viâ* Suakim the stations are only eight hours apart, excepting two between which the journey takes twelve hours.

All along the road from Suakim pasturage can be found for the camels, shady spots with trees to rest under, and game is not wanting, while none of these things exist by way of the Nile.

Half way we arrived at Ariab; the place is well adapted for a halt of twenty-four hours. We encamped under the shade of a centenary tree, watered the camels, and got all ready to resume our journey the next day. Partridges came in large flocks to the spring in the evening, and Mr. Russell was successful in bringing down sixteen. The partridge of the desert is smaller and lighter in colour than the common one, its flesh is very hard, especially the skin, which we were obliged to remove. The gazelles showed themselves frequently, but were very difficult to hit. It was also very difficult to get any lambs for our kitchen, the Bedouins fearing that they would not be paid for. The *karass* (police) and the soldiers, when they cross the desert, set themselves to steal the flocks from the shepherds. Some gendarmes of Khartoum, who escorted

a caravan to Berber, had shortly before stolen eleven sheep in one day.

Strange to say, all the annoyances, all the acts of rapine, are generally due to the Turks, rarely to the Arabs. On all our journey we could only buy, with great difficulty, four sheep. M. Linant de Bellefonds told me at Berber that the gendarmes had even plundered a village, and at the approach of another detachment the entire population had fled to the mountains, abandoning all their possessions.

Berber was now not far off, and our caravan halted



ACACIA SPINA CHRISTI.

to be put in order. The next day we resumed our march. The evening was cool and I had left my companions about an hour behind, and was half asleep, when my camel started at the sight of a carcass; my saddle, not being well secured, slipped, and I fell head foremost. The shock was so severe that I had no strength to call for aid, and believed my last hour had arrived. My friends coming up raised me from the ground, but I could scarcely either walk or ride. I dragged myself on for half an hour and then we stopped. They rubbed me with spirits of wine. Meanwhile the caravan continued its way, and I only reached Berber

the day after, all bruised and shaken, and accompanied only by my guard.

The governor of Berber was absent, and the *rekil*, his representative, provided lodgings for us. Our commander, who had returned to Khartoum from Gondokoro, telegraphed that he would come to meet us.

During the time of our stay at Berber, we were occupied with the division of the baggage, and its shipment on the *nugars* which the governor had made



NATIVE CAMP IN THE DESERT.

ready for us. Four days afterwards we were joined by Colonel Gordon, who had come by steamer. He ordered that we should hold ourselves ready to set out for Khartoum next morning, and, after having transported all our luggage on board, we embarked the same evening. The Colonel wished to take the land route in order to carefully watch the slave trade.

The journey from Berber to Khartoum was rather slow in consequence of the small power of the steamer, and the *nugars* which had to be towed. We passed

the time shooting at the numerous crocodiles on the little islands in the river. One of the men of the *nugars* having gone into the water for an instant to draw a cord to land, fell a prey in a moment to one of these monsters. The banks of the river did not present anything of interest, excepting the sight of myriads of aquatic birds of every kind, on which we spent our ammunition. At last we arrived at Khartoum. Our commander had already thought of everything, and we were lodged in the house of Agat Effendi, one of the principal ivory merchants. Major Campbell took up his abode on the opposite bank of the Nile in the commander's house, an elegant building which had been constructed for the telegraphic service.

Colonel Gordon arrived two days after us, and having published the order of the day, told us to hold ourselves ready to proceed.

CHAPTER III.

THE “SAPHIA.”

Preparations—Departure in the *Saphia*—Anson—The ivory-merchants and the slaves—Deserters—Indolence—Hurricane—Kava—The gums-anderach(?)—Mosquitoes—Captain Hussein—African nights—Hippopotamus hunts—Hurricane—Aground—The Bagara—Kaka.

DURING the ten days we passed at Khartoum, we occupied ourselves with the preparations for departure. We had to make provision for six months, and the Colonel was distributing a part of the stores which had arrived from England.

On May 29th I received the order to embark on the steamboat *Saphia* bound for Bahr-el-Ghazal. Mr. Anson was appointed my adjutant, and an escort of twenty-three negro soldiers was assigned to me. Hussein, the captain of the *Saphia*, had orders to put himself entirely at our disposal.

At four o'clock in the morning of the next day I was to set out on my journey, but the departure was delayed because the soldiers had not arrived, and the cashier did not pay their arrears till the moment of embarking. Finally, at eight o'clock the steamer cast anchor near the arsenal to take in some oars and await two *nugars* laden with doora which we were to take in tow.

Two merchants in ivory and slaves, Kutshuk Ali and Agat Effendi, gave me letters for their representatives at Bahr-el-Ghazal.

Here perhaps it will be well if I give a few quotations from my journal:—

Saturday, May 30th.—As we were about to start we heard that a soldier had deserted. On the shore we perceived various women, the wives of the soldiers and sailors. One of them wept, tore her hair, and cursed every one on board. Not understanding their language, I had the cause of her grief explained to me. They told me that her husband was leaving without giving her a penny, and she did not know how she should provide for herself and the child in her arms. Her husband looked at her with indifference, while the woman's exasperation continually increased. She lifted her child above her head, and it seemed as if she would kill it by dashing it to the ground, but fortunately one of the by-standers was in time to prevent such a desperate act. As for me, my hair stood on end with horror, and a cold shudder ran through my frame; I threw her some money, which her companions gathered up and put in her pocket.

The whistle of the *Saphia* announced its departure, and the vessel turned its prow towards the country to which it was bound, while the sobs and lamentations of the unhappy women sounded fainter and fainter in the distance. We never paused till nightfall.

Sunday, May 31st.—At break of day the steamer was put in motion. The soldiers had just been passed in review, when an unforeseen hurricane burst forth; the *Saphia* not being able to advance with the heavily-laden *nugars* which threatened to sink, was obliged to come to a stop. The soldiers of my escort were scantily clothed, and many were in an invalid state from old wounds, ill-cured or never cured at all, and which sometimes were open to the bone. I asked them why they had embarked in such a condition, and only received for reply that their captain did not trouble himself about it, and had simply given orders for departure.

The bad weather having ceased, we resumed our way, and stopped at eight in the evening in an uninteresting locality. The vegetation was poor, the

doora was about fifty centimetres high. From time to time we saw a few mimosas.

Monday, June 1st.—Strong south winds ; after five hours' navigation we stopped on the right bank of the river to take in fuel.

On examining a case of medicines which we had procured on setting out, I perceived the most necessary of all, quinine, was wanting. Thousands of aquatic birds covered the little islands ; my friend Anson amused himself by firing into the midst of these groups, and did not always miss his aim. The river presents a breadth of about two miles and the water is tolerably transparent.

Tuesday, June 2nd.—We arrived at Kava, a town of four hundred houses, and summoned the Sheik to order wood for the boiler, and hay to cover the doora in the *nugar*. After infinite difficulty we got what we wanted, but we remained where we were till eleven in the morning, halting at 6 p.m. for a new supply of fuel.

Thursday, June 4th.—This place is called Menazir ; the water in the boiler was changed and the crew was occupied in the transport of fuel. *Sant*-wood (of the sandarach tree(?)) is very hard, and is an excellent substitute for coal. The surrounding vegetation is very beautiful ; here and there cattle and goats are to be seen, a sign that the natives are not far distant. The extraordinary quantities of mosquitoes obliged us to take refuge under the nets, depriving us therefore of the fresh evening air, after suffocating days of heat. The first days I had my hands and face so disfigured that I seemed to have suffered from the small-pox, and I cannot understand how these poor soldiers and sailors can do without the careful precautions which we take without being able to save ourselves completely, while many of them do not even possess a shirt. I put the question to them, and they replied that they could not help it ; but I believe that their skin is so hardened as hardly to feel the stings.

Captain Hussein is a capable man, authoritative

when necessary, but popular among the crew. At the time of the Crimean war he was on board an Egyptian frigate. All the ports of the Black Sea were well known to him, and since I had also gone through the Crimean campaign and knew all those ports and the long Circassian coast, we had means of whiling away many hours in talking of past times. He treated the crew with gentleness and even familiarity, and they loved him.

The African nights on the Upper Nile are generally clear, but the cries of birds and blowing of hippopotami are incessant. We saw the latter raise their heads from the water a hundred yards from the vessel to disappear immediately afterwards. I shot at them with some success, but they plunged under water to die at a greater distance. In some places I could see as many as fifty in one group. The crocodiles were less frequent than in the neighbourhood of Berber and Khartoum. There were innumerable flocks of the *Ibis*, a kind of stork which the Egyptians regard with superstitious veneration, and infinite were the varieties of white, grey, and black sea-gulls.

Friday, June 5th.—We left Menazir this morning at seven o'clock. The sky was cloudy, a tempest imminent. We had not yet finished drawing up the anchor when the hurricane broke out, accompanied by thunder and lightning. Part of the covering of the *nugar* blew away, and the *Saphia* not having had recourse to the screw soon enough, ran aground on a sand-bank. The man who has never seen an African storm cannot form an idea of it—hundreds of luminous sparks flash at the same time from every side in all directions. The terrible noise of the thunder never ceases for an instant, while with extraordinary rapidity, from the fall of torrents of rain, the traveller finds himself surrounded by a veritable inundation. I witnessed similar hurricanes several times, but never of such a force as the one that overtook us when we left Menazir. The water which fell on the deck had no

time to run off at the sides. Fortunately it lasted for a short time, only about an hour, else the damage done would have been somewhat serious.

As soon as the weather cleared we resumed our voyage till half-past seven in the evening.

Saturday, June 6th.—We continued till half-past four in the afternoon and then had to stop to get fuel. My stock of meat was finished, of my four lambs not a morsel remained, and it was apparent the last of the chickens would soon be consumed.

I landed with Anson, and after half-an-hour's shooting we killed seven or eight guinea-fowl and eleven ducks. We kept the best, giving the rest to the crew. The flesh of the guinea-fowl is inferior in taste to that of our domestic fowls, but it makes excellent broth. The meat is stringy and hard, and requires long boiling to be eatable. The ducks are small, resemble much our Italian querquedules, and are of a good flavour.

The same day we passed along the territory of the Bagara. This nomad race of Mussulmen are tolerably numerous, rich in cattle, and renowned for courage. In summer they pass with their cattle to the opposite bank of the river, and go to Kava to save the animals from the hornets which assail them in such numbers as often to cause their death. Hunting and fishing supply them with food. The Bagara are renowned in Africa as skilful hunters; they attack the elephant with their sword-shaped lances, and running after them cut the tendons of their hind feet. It is very difficult for an elephant pursued by two Bagara to escape. They are tributaries of the Egyptian Government in consequence of being obliged, by the want of pasture, to cross to the opposite shore with their cattle. Their lances are excellently made, the blades are eighteen or twenty inches long. The Bagara are good agriculturists, and know how to make use even of the plants and roots which grow along the river.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SHILLUKS AND THEIR CHIEF MEK.

Hunters of wild beasts—Treason—Yussuf Bey—*Nugar* with elephant tusks—Wau—The Sobat—Wild boars and lions—The Sheikh of Sobat—The Mek of the Shilluks—On board—Manners and customs of the Shilluks.

Sunday, June 7th.—We set off again and arrived at Kaka by midnight on Monday. Kaka is a Shilluk village, where fifty soldiers are stationed under the orders of a Jusbash or captain to raise the imposts. We provided ourselves anew with fuel, and just when we were about to start a man ran down to the shore whom, from his beard, I judged to be a foreigner. Calling him to me, he told me that he was a Greek and had been at Kaka for two years and a half hunting, and had a companion with him, a Bulgarian by birth, but that having run short of their ammunition, they were waiting for some vessel to take them to Khartoum, that they might get some more. His clothes and haggard face betrayed his semi-poverty, and I could not resist proposing that he should come with me, promising that he might continue his profession, and that I would do all in my power to help him. He consented, and I sent two soldiers with him to help to bring his baggage on board, while his companion was to return to Khartoum with the skins of lions, leopards, giraffes and buffaloes, convert them into money, and rejoin us in Bahr-el-Ghazal.

We set out on our voyage, and my first care was to cure my guest of an obstinate fever that had tormented him for some time. He told me his story.

His name was Haggi Stefo Paleologo, a blacksmith by trade. He had been absent from his native country for twelve years, of which several were spent in Alexandria and Cairo, where he worked in the Viceregal Palace. He had then taken service on the steamers of the Peninsular Company, had been in China, at Bombay and Calcutta, and on returning to Egypt, had established himself again at Cairo. Having heard that a mosque was to be built at Khartoum, he offered himself as mason, and went there, but money having become scarce, the building was deferred. Haggi, from a boy, had learned to shoot. His father, he told me, preferred shooting to working; it was a family failing, for even his grandfather, at eighty years of age, was still hunting when Haggi had left his native country. Being without occupation at Khartoum he associated himself with a doctor who advanced him some money, and he set off for Kaka. He returned to Khartoum a year later, but the profits of the chase had hardly paid his expenses. Not knowing the country, he had lost much time in seeking out the places rich in game. His pack-animals had died, and he was returning from one of his excursions when, by good chance, he had met me just when his affairs were at the worst.

During his two years and a half hunting he had only been able to take fourteen skins of lions, seventeen of giraffes, about fifty of buffaloes, three of leopards, a few hippopotamus-hides, about two hundred and sixty pounds' weight of ostrich feathers, a hundred hides of wild oxen and three hundred *oke* of the fat of giraffes and ostriches. All this might be worth at Khartoum about a thousand dollars, which, divided in two parts, would yield a profit of some 300 francs a year for each head. The elephant-hides were small and of little value.

His companion was a baker who had come to Khartoum to seek his fortune. He, too, was an

experienced hunter, but he could not get on with Haggi. The latter knew the country well, and the natives respected him. When he entered a Shulluk village the people rejoiced, because the game he shot provided them with food.

Some of the Shilluks are dependent on Egypt ; but others of them are not. It is most difficult to subdue the latter, since, on the arrival of troops they escape into the mountains with their cattle. Water is scarce in the district, and the springs are only known to the natives. Every means attempted by the authorities of Fashoda proved vain. The Shilluks have a Sultan for their head, whom they blindly obey ; he is distinguished by the title of Sheik, and is always wandering about ; he several times entered Fashoda in disguise, and more than once the troops sought after him in vain. The father of the Sheik died in the prison of Fashoda after having been treacherously arrested. The governor of this town, a certain Kurd, protested friendship for him and induced him several times to come to Fashoda, where he always received the Sheik with much kindness. During one of these visits, while being served with coffee, four men fell upon him unexpectedly, bound him and threw him into a loathsome dungeon. Indignant at such baseness on the part of one he had believed his friend, the Sheik refused all nourishment and died after eight days, cursing the traitor. His son succeeded him, and his hatred of the Egyptians has since known no bounds ; he has always refused any treaty, preferring his own death, and that of his adherents, to any act of submission. Hitherto it has been impossible to capture him ; he is informed of all that happens at Fashoda, where two of his sisters are married to two Egyptian officers ; his followers provide him with ammunition.

While we were on our way to Fashoda, Haggi pointed out to me several of the Sheik's places of refuge, which made me think he must be in commu-

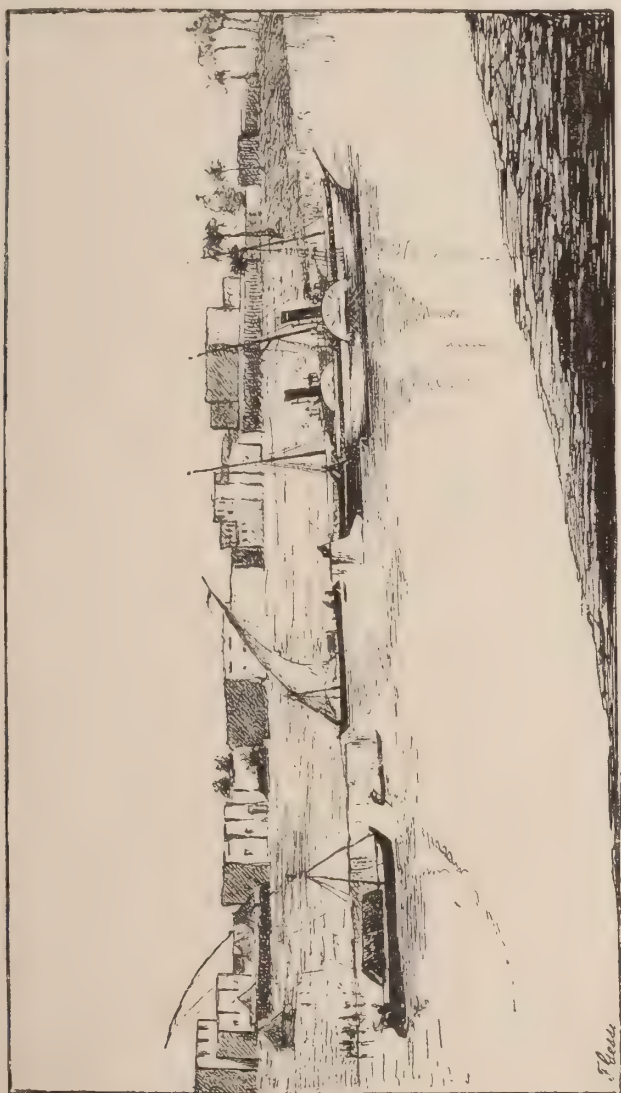
nication with him. I imagined him a brave man, incapable of wrong-doing.

We reached Fashoda on June 10th at eleven o'clock a.m. Having letters of introduction for Lieut.-Col. Yussuf Bey, commandant of the place, I went to him with Anson ; we found him courteous and ready to satisfy us in every way. We asked him for two tents, two asses, cords and medicine, especially quinine ; an hour after the asses, tents, and cordage were on board. At noon we dined with him and discussed the political situation of the country. In the evening there was another invitation to a Shilluk party ; but the day which had begun so well was to finish sadly, for towards evening our host heard of the death of his son at Kaka, a youth of twenty-two, who was returning from Sennaar, where he had been to visit his relations.

When we returned on board we found ten milchewes and some fresh vegetables, a gift of Yussuf, and the doctor brought all the medicines we needed. Only twice during all my long stay in Africa were my requests so promptly granted as now by Yussuf Bey and previously by Nubar Pasha, when I asked him for letters of introduction. In the evening there arrived three *nugars* with elephant tusks, but the country from which they came being beyond my jurisdiction, I had no right to examine whether, with the white ivory, there was not also some black, in other words slaves.

The town of Fashoda is the place of transportation for criminals condemned for life. It is said that anyone sent to Fashoda never returns. The climate is unhealthy, the air pestilential, and it rarely happens that a condemned prisoner survives the effects of the privations of the place. There are a few shops slenderly supplied with articles at a high price. Yussuf Bey does all he can to improve the city, but he cannot accomplish much. They say that perceptible improvements have been

already made ; my opinion is that a town which has nothing to export, cannot make great progress.



FASHODA.

On leaving Fashoda, Yussuf Bey gave us letters for the military whom we might meet on the road, and

who could aid us in collecting fuel. The soldiers and sailors of the *Safia* received rations for a fortnight, and by four in the afternoon we were *en route* for Wau. There we met with the military and the two *nygars*. We delivered the letters, with the result that fifty soldiers immediately set to work to gather wood.

En route again at half-past three p.m. In the evening we arrived at the first station of the territory dependent on our Colonel. This place is called Sobat. The station is composed of some forty huts; the place was deserted and given in custody to a Sheik. I took a gun to go in search of fresh provisions; Anson and a servant came with me, and in a short time we discovered the fresh traces of a wild boar. I had my hunting-piece; my carbine I had given to the servant. In this country one must always have two or three guns to hand, because it happens sometimes that, by an inversion of parts, the game becomes the hunter. I was following the traces of a boar when I observed on the soil, which was still damp, the recent imprints of a lion. I followed them for about an hour, and then lost them in a clump of high grass. I saw several wild boars, but it was not possible to approach them. Returning on board, I chanced upon a covey of seventeen partridges, and succeeded in bringing down eleven, while the rest took refuge in the long grass. I also killed four quails. The African quail is much smaller than the European, and its feathers are darker.

On board, the Sheik was presented to me; his first words were to tell me that he was hungry, and had come with his son to have something to eat. I told them to give him some doora in a pumpkin cut in two, and some water. In less time than it can be told all had disappeared. When he went away I caused the little bag he carried with him to be filled with doora.

The tract of country where Sobat stands is some-

what low, and subject to inundations. The operations on board made me foresee the loss of another day, and so I prepared to go again in trace of my lion. Haggi would not follow me except he landed on the other shore, where, as he told me in secret, he had a friend who was persecuted by the Egyptian Government, and who, seeing the steamer, would think they came in search of him. "I," said Haggi, "will go alone to seek for him, and, at a signal from me, he will come."

At seven o'clock in the morning Haggi landed, while I stood on the deck of the steamer awaiting the signal; towards ten Haggi appeared and invited me to follow him. All alone we followed a narrow beaten path, and arrived at a lake; a boat, hollowed out of the trunk of a tree, brought us to the other end. We then marched on for half-an-hour, and already perceived the roofs of some huts on the horizon, when all at once about two hundred men, armed with lances, came towards us. I observed to Haggi that it would be better to turn back at once. "Do not be afraid," he replied, "these people are preparing to welcome us." A few moments afterwards we found ourselves surrounded by a group of savages in fighting attitude. Having arrived near a hut, we paused under the shade of an immense tamarind-tree, capable of sheltering five hundred persons beneath its branches. A man wrapped in a red cloak came to meet us. His belt was secured by two buckles of the shape of a pear and studded with precious stones. I do not remember whether they were topazes or something else. I only remember that the fine quality of the workmanship surprised me.

Of fine proportions and tall in stature, this chief, without being really handsome, had a vivacious and attractive expression. His lower lip was somewhat prominent; his manners grave and distinguished.

Having made his men withdraw, the chief had skins spread for us to sit upon, served us with

sugared coffee and native pipes with Soudan tobacco, and then inquired after my health, where I was going, and for what purpose; and when he heard that we were on the way to Bahr-el-Ghazal, he spoke of the unhealthiness of those parts.

During the colloquy I was able to discover who was this personage, such a friend to Haggi, and surrounded by so much mystery. I found that I was in the presence of the dreaded Mek. He offered us rice, roast meat, and *merissa*, a kind of beer, which, notwithstanding my thirst, I declined, preferring fresh water. Seeing that I did not drink the *merissa*, the chief had a bottle of brandy brought for me, and after the meal exquisite honey and coffee were served to us.

Mek had just returned from a journey to Eregiuk. I visited his hut, which was clean and orderly; the principal furniture consisted of two large *angarep*, or couches, on one of which was spread a beautiful leopard's skin; a filter for water, a double-barrelled carbine, two guns, three swords, a revolver, and two pairs of pistols—this was the sultan's furniture. He told me that his present abode was only temporary, and that he had his house farther into the interior of the country, where he possessed seventeen thousand oxen. In his father's time he had twenty-three thousand, but he had afterwards made a present of six thousand to the poorest Shilluks, and it was his intention to give them some more, and only keep ten thousand for himself. I then asked him if he would not prefer a life less dangerous and agitated than that which he led. By coming to terms with the Egyptian Government, and paying a trifling tribute, he would enjoy their protection, against others who might attack him. Before I had finished speaking, Mek's face took a threatening aspect.

"With whom do you want me to treat?" he asked. "Surely not with the traitors who killed my father, who, when invited to eat with them, was taken and bound!"

I replied that it was certainly not with such people that he must treat ; but it was my opinion that, if he went in person to Cairo, and presented himself to the Khedive, he might be certain of being well received, and that everything would be fairly arranged.

“ How can I go to Cairo ? ” he exclaimed. “ Do you not see how they pursue me, even in the desert ? I should be murdered before I reached Khartoum. And even if I arrived at Cairo safe and sound, how could I manage to see the Khedive ? Who would present me ? Do you believe that these governors, guilty of every sort of tyranny and stratagem to the injury of this poor country, would not try every means to prevent me from having an audience ? ”

His words were not destitute of good sense, and, from his way of speaking, I perceived that he had already thought of everything, and had his answers ready.

“ They accused me of complicity in the murder of twenty Egyptian soldiers,” he continued, “ but the accusation was without foundation. I only knew of that affair when the troops of Fashoda set fire to our huts, surprising us by night, and firing grapeshot among sleeping people, who were altogether guiltless of the massacre of the twenty soldiers. They accuse me also of having had the intention of taking Fashoda by assault with twenty thousand men ; but this also is false. The governor of Fashoda wished to give proof of his zeal, and at the same time had an eye on our cattle. Every time that these governors come among us with the intention of plundering, they always find a mode of giving a different colour to their theft, making it seem a necessity to fight with us.”

I saw that no reasoning would suffice to persuade this brave man, and that it was necessary to leave it to time ; he had suffered too much ; he was too much under the impression of grief for the loss of his father for me to hope to be able to remove his pre-

judices, many of which, I must say, were very just.

Becoming calmer, he fell to examining my Reilly carbine and the explosive bullets, which he saw for the first time.

"Certainly," he exclaimed, after a moment's silence, "we cannot strive against such arms as these with our lances; but come and fight us with our own weapons, and you will see who will gain the victory!"

Undoubtedly one Shilluk is worth at least three



HEAD OF A YOUNG BUFFALO.

Egyptian or even European soldiers. From their childhood these natives do nothing but practise war; their movements are more prompt than ours, and, under equal conditions, it would be impossible for us to overcome them. A Shilluk poises his lance at twenty yards distance more surely than we can aim a gun. He attacks a lion single-handed,

and kills him with his lance and is not afraid to meet the elephant, rhinoceros and buffalo. In truth, comparing the two, I could not refrain from laughing when I thought of the ovations which Mr. Gerard, the lion-hunter, received a few years ago in Europe, and the airs he gave himself; how he was decorated and presented with carbines of honour. The Shilluk does not wait till he finds himself alone with a lion, and then defend himself. He goes all alone to seek him, discovers his traces, finds him, and the struggle begins. There has been no case of a Shilluk falling alone the

victim to his audacity, though often both lion and man are found stretched dead ; but most frequently the Shilluk remains the victor. I shall speak further on of the two brothers Duma, the most intrepid Shilluk hunters.

To return to the chief Mek, who had disappeared for a moment, but came back followed by two negroes, one of whom carried a sheep and the other an earthen jar full of honey. He begged me to accept this little present, excusing himself for not being able at that place to do more, hoping, however, to have the happiness of seeing me again and to receive me worthily in his *seriba*. He accompanied us to the boat, and, on taking leave of me, said,—

“ You have never seen me, you have never seen me ; do you understand ? ”

By this he meant to give me to understand that I must not betray his place of refuge.

On our return to the vessel I found Hussein in great alarm. Not seeing me reappear, he thought some misfortune had happened, and was just going to disembark the crew and send them to seek me. I was very glad to have arrived on board before Hussein had executed his intention, since Mek might have taken it for some act of treachery. But I was obliged to invent some story to account for the sheep and the honey.

The next day, having finished the provisioning of the vessel, the steamer started on its way, leaving the White Nile on the left, and entering the canal of Bahr-el-Ghazal.

The huts of the Shilluks are well built, and the aspect of their villages makes one infer that a certain order prevails there. The huts are symmetrically placed, the roads clean, and a large enclosure receives the cattle at night. They are counted every evening ; a narrow passage compels the oxen to file in one by one ; in passing, the animal strikes with his horns, head, or hump a piece of wood hung in the

middle of the entrance ; a man counts the blows that are given, and if the sum is right all go home, but, in the contrary event, it is reported to the Sheik, who instantly sends a third of the men to seek for the strayed oxen. These men are not allowed to return till they have found them or their remains, or traces that they have been eaten by lions.

The Shilluks never kill oxen for food, but they eat the flesh of such as die from disease or other causes. They make use of fresh and curded milk, which is very digestible and refreshing ; they also cultivate the *doora*, but in small quantities. The poorest among the Shilluks has never less than two or three slaves, who have to work for their master. The Shilluk woman directs but does not herself perform household duties, while her husband only thinks of hunting and fishing. On the whole the Shilluk has nothing distinguished in his appearance, and is excessively lazy. The men and women spend their time stretched on lion skins, while the slaves are employed in rubbing them with fat.

This operation, which they call *dilka*, reduces them to a state of general exhaustion, from which they recover when appetite compels them to eat. In every village is seen a hut dedicated to Micama, the spirit of good and evil. Micama is believed to be in communication with the Sheik, who thus receives inspiration how to govern well. No Shilluk ventures to hunt or fish without asking the Sheik's advice. When a man dies, he is buried in front of his house in a sitting position, and a tumulus of clay is erected over his grave. The widow smears her face and hair with mud, and utters cries and groans for several days. The nearest relations take care of the widow, providing her with what she needs, guarding her flocks, and cultivating her land.

Marriage is contracted by purchase of the girls from their parents. Usually the father of the bridegroom goes to the father of the bride to ask

how many oxen and sheep he requires in exchange for his daughter. When the price is agreed upon, the bridegroom brings the oxen to his future father-in-law ; the latter gives him his daughter, who, before entering it herself, must show the Sheik her new house. Once married, the bride must tell the bridegroom if she is a virgin. If a woman has been seduced by anyone, the day after her marriage she puts a wreath of grass on her head, and kneeling before her husband makes her confession to him. The latter takes her to the Sheik, who causes the seducer to be summoned, and condemns him, according to his means, to pay a certain number of oxen to the husband.

The sole industry of these people consists in the manufacture of straw mats, excellently made, and suited for sale in our shops. When the Shilluks succeed in killing much game, the meat is separated from the bones, cut into narrow strips and dried in the sun. When this is accomplished the meat is crushed between two stones, and reduced in this way into little pieces, which are eaten either raw or boiled. As the Shilluks, like the rest of the Africans, prefer the interior of the animals to the flesh, the former is more carefully distributed. From the bones, pounded and boiled, they obtain the fat for rubbing their bodies.

All the peoples bordering on the country of the Shilluks are subject to the incursions of these latter. The Shilluk passes for a most intrepid warrior ; he never retires, even when in inferior numbers, before a foe. When the men go to battle the women follow them with food and water. After the war the widows return home to smear their faces, lamenting the loss of their husbands. If fortune is propitious and the booty abundant, the first share is for them.

CHAPTER V.

HUNTING.

Two celebrated hunters—Nine elephants killed—The *Borden* goes to Gondokoro—On the Bahr-el-Ghazal—Plundering—We kill four buffaloes—My Reilly rifle—Difficult navigation—Hippopotami—One wounded—Thirty-seven great elephants—Twenty-three blacks assassinated—Flight—Mushra-el-Rek—Hunt with Anson and Haggi—Kempt and Gigler—Letter from Gordon—Enormous hippopotamus killed.

THE two brothers Duma live in a village of the interior five days' journey from Kaka. Their father had left them a modest fortune in oxen, but they had no inclination for a pastoral life. Their ruling passion and daily occupation was hunting and fishing. Gradually they disappeared from the village, whither they only returned last year after an absence of seven years. In the other villages, the brothers always found an enthusiastic welcome, the people knowing that, where they were, meat was never wanting. Both were strong-limbed and of uncommon agility, and generally joined the ivory merchants, who had to pay them a percentage on the elephant tusks according to the weight. When an elephant rushed upon them they calmly awaited him, and at the right moment leaped to one side. The elephant, not being able to arrest his course all of a sudden, turned towards one of the two brothers while the other plunged his lance into his side. The animal then quitted the first to fall upon the man who had wounded him, and the other cutting the tendons of the hind legs, the elephant fell to the ground. Once,

however, one of the brothers was very near falling a victim to his boldness. He attacked the elephant alone in the usual way; but stumbled and fell. He rose directly, but the elephant had already seized him in his trunk and hurled him to a distance of fifteen feet. Fortunately he fell into the middle of a thick bush, and thus escaped with some scratches and bruises. His friends laughed at the incident, and the following day he said, "I will rather eat my wife seven times than not take my revenge."

He set out again, refusing the company of his brother, and returning late in the evening called all the village together. "Come," he said, "help me to transport the tusks, and take as much meat for yourselves as you like."

All the population followed him. He had killed nine huge elephants.

But the fiercest animals are undoubtedly the buffalo, the rhinoceros and the leopard. These animals, so much feared by the natives, were attacked and killed by the two brothers with no more emotion than the hunters of hares experience with us. These two remarkable men were renowned from Kaka to the Victoria Nyanza. The elder of the two threw his lance with such precision that he rarely missed his aim at the tendons of the elephant's foot. Sometimes he was sent for from distant parts to kill some lion which did great mischief. Both men have gentle characters, and never refuse their aid to others. I left them at Kaka, whither they had gone, intending afterwards to go on the first occasion to Fashoda.

We must now resume our account of affairs at Khartoum.

While we were on the way the steamer *Bordeen* left that town for Gondokoro. The *Bordeen* had on board Mr. Kempt, engineer, and Mr. Russell, who was employed by Colonel Gordon.

A third steamer was likewise on the way to Gondo-

koro with Major Campbell of the Egyptian army on board, and Mr. Witt a German botanist. A fourth vessel carried Mr. Linant de Bellefonds, secretary and private interpreter to the Colonel. A fifth had started for Berber to embark Abu-Sud, who had been taken into the Colonel's service. I shall afterwards speak of this personage, who was rendered famous by the English press.

One of the principal objects of this expedition, as we have already said, was the suppression of the slave-trade. The Colonel did not therefore think of treaties, but went straight to his end, cutting off the evil at the very root and prohibiting the trade in ivory. A proclamation by the Commander-in-chief of the expedition, declared that from that day the article ivory was a Government monopoly; whoever possessed ivory must, by a certain date, deliver it up and dissolve the company of traders. This was a blow at the very heart of the slave-trade, and the merchants found themselves compelled to dismiss their men and implore the Government to buy up their cattle.

At the same time a station was established on the Sobat, a place where the *ngurs* are compelled to pass, and here these vessels were subjected to rigorous examination. They must also make a halt at Fashoda to be visited, while seven steamers traverse the river up and down and render all smuggling impossible. Gondokoro was temporarily declared the head-quarters; Rejaf, Dufilè, Magungo, Fatico, and Makraka were occupied as military posts, and civil governors placed there; a regular communication connected all these ports with each other, and the slave-merchants were obliged to bow to the new authority. The abolition of their trade, in consequence of the ivory trade being made a monopoly, the dissolution of the companies, the installation of the new authorities, the pacification of the tribes, the organization of the land and river forces, was the work of four months.

Meanwhile I continued my journey to the Bahr-el-Ghazal.

This river has an imperceptible fall. We stopped in sight of an immense forest lying opposite the tribe of the Nuer. The captain of the *Saphia* had never been in these parts, nor had any steamer ventured to penetrate so far. Not knowing whether fuel could be found further on, Captain Hussein ordered the men to take in as much wood as the vessel could carry. We had hardly cast anchor when we perceived a hundred paces off some fifteen huts, which the natives, at sight of us, had abandoned in headlong haste, fearing that they would be captured and enslaved.

The crew of the vessel and the soldiers took possession of the tools of the natives to cut down the trees, but their first thought was to plunder the dwellings of these poor people. I immediately summoned them all before me, and ordered the return of the stolen articles, and my commands were promptly obeyed. I then asked them if they took me for a brigand-chief instead of an officer, and ordered everything to be restored to the place whence it was taken, warning all that the first who should attempt an act of plunder should be instantly shot.

The forest has the appearance of a park of immense tamarind and gum-trees, centuries old. I took my gun and tried to shoot a few guinea-fowl. The heat was excessive. I returned on board with the intention of resuming the chase with Haggi, who was busy making cartridges. While we were at dinner, a soldier came to say that he had seen several buffaloes in the neighbourhood. The temptation was too great. I landed with Haggi, and made the soldier lead us to the place. We were following the tracks of the buffaloes when a small but deep water-course blocked our way. We returned on board, and had ourselves taken to the other side of the brook, where we landed. We had not proceeded

two hundred steps, when I saw six fine male buffaloes. Hiding behind ant-hills, and taking advantage of the wind, which blew towards us, we slowly approached the animals. A soldier with a reserve gun was with us. When within eighty paces from the animals, they scented the danger, and the two on guard fixed their eyes in our direction. We waited behind a sugar-



A WOUNDED BUFFALO

loaf-shaped ant-hill for half an hour, not daring to move for fear of scaring the game, when I changed my mind, and tried to reach another ant-hill a hundred feet away, from where I could have shot side-ways, taking advantage, as I supposed, of the bushes. Without being noticed by Haggi, to whom I had said nothing of my intention, I started for the place. When half-way between the two ant-hills I saw that

Haggi was taking aim, and I was just about to call out that he should not fire while I was in the open, when his shot resounded. The buffaloes looked up, hesitating and uncertain whence came the danger. The grass where I was was low, and I was plainly visible. The buffalo Haggi had fired at was wounded in the shoulder, too high to break the bone, and, foaming at the mouth, with his tail in the air, he rushed upon me. Immovably I awaited him till he was within twelve paces, when I planted a ball in his head about an inch below his horns. He bent his hind legs, but recovered himself almost at once. I fired my second barrel, and he fell lifeless to the ground. While this was going on, the other five buffaloes had stopped a hundred steps away. We again approached them behind the ant-hills to within twenty-five paces. The buffaloes never removed their eyes from the spot where the shots had been fired, perhaps expecting their companion to join them. I fixed with Haggi on the animals we should aim at. Our position was excellent, we ran no kind of danger, and the buffaloes had partly recovered from their alarm and were beginning to graze nearer and nearer.

We were only about eighteen to twenty steps from them when we fired, and saw two fall. Haggi had only a single-barrelled gun. I then fired my second barrel, but the buffalo hit remained standing, while the other two made off at a gallop. I had already reloaded my gun and was about to fire again, when I saw my victim fall, his tongue hanging out of his mouth. The ball had penetrated the chest and broken the right shoulder-blade, lodging in the stomach. The bullet was flattened like a crown-piece. My gun was an English rifle, manufactured especially for elephant-hunting. I fired afterwards with this weapon with conical bullets, but those I had used on this occasion were of small dimensions. The aim of this gun is very exact, and the perfection

of its workmanship redounds to the credit of Mr. Reilly, the manufacturer. This and three other guns had been ordered by Sir Samuel Baker at the Khedive's expense.

When I had occasion later on to fire at hippopotami with explosive bullets, the effect was always most terrible. In spite of its force, my gun was not too heavy, but I had to hold it very firmly in order not to feel the shock, but notwithstanding my right arm, after firing a few times, took all the colours of the rainbow.

The soldiers and crew came to share the booty. All the afternoon was spent in carrying pieces of buffalo on board. The meat was well-flavoured, but tough. I reserved for myself a fillet and a tongue. Notwithstanding all our industry, a great part of the game still remained on the spot at evening, and the crew proposed to fetch the rest next day.

This was the first time I had shot large game. From childhood I had always hunted and was considered a good sportsman, but the largest game I had as yet pursued had been wild-goats and wolves, having caused great devastation among the latter in Turkey.

I was about to go to bed, well pleased with myself, when the guard called me on account of a great noise that came from the land. We heard terrific roaring, and, still nearer, the cries of hyenas. Next morning early I hastened to the spot. The flesh and bones were all devoured; of the four buffaloes there only remained the extremities of five feet. The ground showed the imprint of three or four lions; even the skins of the buffaloes had disappeared, excepting a part of the tail. Towards ten o'clock we left the forest, not without the intention of returning.

The next day we entered the lake, the width of which is estimated at six hundred metres, although the eye only perceives marshy land covered everywhere with aquatic plants. The channel became narrower and

narrower till it was only sufficiently wide to allow the steamer to pass, the wheels of which frequently touched the grass on the sides. Hippopotami in immense numbers fled on every side before the prow of the vessel; they could not turn back because the space was insufficient, and they were obliged to swim before us with a velocity which was surprising, being against the current.

Although the *Saphia* was making eight knots an hour, the hippopotami were always a hundred yards ahead. One of these animals, remarkable for his enormous proportions, swam before us for five hours without ever allowing himself to be overtaken by the vessel; but then, being exhausted by fatigue, we began to gain upon him. Our guns were ready, and we all took our stations at the prow, ready to receive him with a salute.

Having arrived at fifteen yards distance, he tried to go back, passing between the paddle-box and the shore; by this manœuvre he was only ten metres from us, and we sent four balls after him. All struck, and those from my Reilly gun made great wounds in his head. The captain stopped the steamer, and the body of the monster broke four spokes of the wheels in passing, and the iron circle was twisted in several points, so as to oblige us to immediately undertake temporary repairs. Notwithstanding the four bullets, the hippopotamus was able to swim for about a thousand yards farther, and then with difficulty regained the grasses of the marsh, among which we lost sight of him.

The repairs lasted till next day, when we started once more. The water was transparent but bad in quality, and the current hardly perceptible. The following morning we discovered a herd of thirty-seven large elephants. Anson, who had first caught sight of them, could not make out what they were, and mistook them for a village. They were near the river, having perhaps come to drink, and as the steamer

approached they gradually retired. I fired at them at six hundred yards with my Remington. I had aimed well. One elephant uttered a cry of pain, the whole herd galloped off, and we soon lost sight of them.

June 19.—We stopped at a forest to take in wood; Anson, Haggi and I, with two soldiers, profited by the stoppage to make an excursion into the forest in search of game. The country seemed deserted, not a path or any trace of mankind; but the report of a gun



THE CORPSES OF SLAUGHTERED NEGROES.

on our left united us all in one group. Haggi had killed a wild ox. A soldier was despatched in search of aid to transport the animal, but he had gone perhaps but twenty steps when he called for me and showed me the bodies of three negroes recently killed, which the vultures had entirely stripped of flesh. Farther on we discovered two others, then another, and so on till they amounted to seventeen in all. Returning to the place where we had left the bull, I found that Anson had also discovered the corpses of nineteen negroes and that of a robber. It was easy

to see that there must have been a battle. The hair of some was quite different from that of the others, and some water gourds strewn upon the ground were evident proofs that we were not mistaken.

The ox was carried on board, and we were obliged to retire because of the excessive heat.

June 20. We set out again. The water grew shallower and shallower; large leaves of papyrus and other plants covered the surface of the river. The engine-driver was obliged to stop several times, and clean the tubes which carried the water to the boiler.

June 21.—The engineer declared it necessary to empty the boiler, as the plants had choked up the pump. All the rest of the day was taken up with cleaning the machine and pumping water. The mosquitoes were unbearable; even the cabins were invaded by them.

June 22.—The vessel was set in motion once more, but the steamer progressed with great difficulty. We had the tribe of the Nuer to the left, and that of the Dinka to the right. At noon we saw a fire in the distance, then further on a second, then a third. It was a tolerably large village and something extraordinary was happening there. Thousands of oxen were urged at full speed over the heights; we saw men and women carrying skins and household utensils; the children were hanging on to the men's shoulders.

The village was deserted, and in the distance we saw a thousand men, armed with lances, evidently directing their steps towards the interior. They were certainly going to battle. At a mile behind about two hundred women followed, bearing leathern water-bottles on their heads.

The *Saphia* made very slow way; a quantity of grasses and roots accumulated at the prow, and the crew, armed with long poles, sought to free it. Twice already we had touched ground, and it was necessary to recur to the capstan and various manœuvres on board to free the ship. I then called the

captain to tell him that I did not intend to risk the safety of the vessel any longer, with the danger of being stranded so as to be obliged to await the rising of the river; and that I had decided to land with ten men while the others could follow with the boats and most necessary objects.

Poor Hussein, all bewildered, asked what he should do if he were attacked by two or three thousand savages?

"As to you," he said, "you may be sure you will be killed as soon as you land. Let me go on; you will see there will be water enough."

I sent on the boats to take soundings, but the water always decreased in depth. The crew of the *Saphia* consisted of twenty men, so I gave the captain twenty guns and two thousand cartridges.

Towards evening a boat appeared manned by three natives, all smeared with ashes, one of whom said that he was the brother of the Sheik of Meshra, where our *nugars* go to complete their cargo. He wore two wings of birds to the right and left of his head, and had a kind of tail fastened behind him, made of goat's skin.

I obtained from this man the information that I desired as to the distance that still lay between us and our place of destination. According to him, pointing to the east and south, there were six good hours by way of the river and three by land, but only with a good escort of men. "With a few," he said, "it was impossible to go there, because the Dinka would oppose the passage."

I asked him if there were villages in the neighbourhood, and learnt that they were all very distant, excepting one, so I thought that with twelve soldiers, Haggi and a slave, all armed with Remingtons, I might attempt the land way. The vessel was to follow us closely, and in case of need we should have ten other soldiers and four sailors, in all twenty-six men.

On the evening of the 23rd I ordered the boat to

be prepared, and next morning, at break of day, we landed. It being impossible to follow the bank of the river, we were obliged to withdraw into the interior, thus losing sight of our steamer.

We had scarcely passed a path which led to the village, and left the latter on our left hand, convinced that no one had seen us, when we perceived the inhabitants had climbed on to the roofs of their huts to observe in what direction we were going. With my field-glass I could watch all their movements, and there was a moment in which I saw them prepare their lances.

Before quitting the steamer, I had given the necessary orders to the men, telling them that they were not to stop if they were attacked, but to continue on their way, turning round to fire. In this manner we should keep the enemy at a distance, while we advanced in the direction we desired. When we had passed, and left behind us untouched a herd of oxen, I observed that the natives began to lay down their lances.

After two and a half hours' march we arrived opposite Meshra, but a boat was necessary in order to cross over to the other side. I perceived the masts of nine *nugars*, and thought that by sending one of my men I could have a boat sent to me. A soldier undertook the errand, and after three-quarters of an hour I saw him return with twenty natives, bringing an *angarep*, on which, stretching myself out at full length, I was transported to the other side safe and sound. They then carried over Anson, Haggi and my servant in the same way. The water reached to the shoulders of a man of middle stature. The river was never crossed except by several men at a time, who made a hideous noise meanwhile to scare the crocodiles.

At Meshra-el-Rek we had a most friendly reception on the part of the captain of the *nugars* stationed there, and of the representative of the proprietors of

the scribe, who had come to receive the goods which the *nugars* had brought from Khartoum. They served us with coffee and tamarind-water, and afterwards with meat, vegetables, curded milk, and bread of the country. This reception I must say far exceeded my expectations. They placed two huts at our disposal, gave us a quarter of an ox and bread for the soldiers, and begged us to ask freely for whatever we wished.

In the afternoon the boat with a part of our luggage arrived. The water of the river was so low that the vessel touched the ground. It was of a greenish colour and very bad taste, and the whole river seemed covered with a layer of green on account of the enormous quantity of floating plants. The air was saturated with a fetid odour, and the ground extremely damp. I spent the night thinking of the difficulties which awaited me on penetrating into the interior. I had before me another twenty days' march in order to arrive at Shakka, visiting various scribe by the way. The next day I learnt that I could not have any natives to transport the luggage, and that I must await the arrival of the traders, who were expected with several thousands of porters carrying ivory.

I pitched my tent at half an hour's distance from the spot where we were, and where the air seemed less pestilential. At three-quarters of an hour away from my new abode I perceived, on the other side of the river, a fine forest, and I determined to visit it for hunting, although I was advised not to venture among people who were so distrustful as the natives.

February 26th.—I crossed to the other side with Anson, Haggi and two soldiers, but even before arriving at the forest, we were in the midst of the game. At my first shot, made at about a hundred and twenty yards, an arjel¹ fell. Haggi at the same moment succeeded in killing a tetal (*Antelope Caama* (?))

¹ *Arjel* (*A. Dana and Soemmeringii*.) (?)

by hiding himself behind an ant-hill, while Anson fired several times without any result.

The hunt was hardly begun, so to speak, when the weight of our booty was too much for us to carry. We were just going to send a soldier to call someone to help us, when we saw four natives running towards us, armed with lances. We halted to await them, convinced that, though armed, they certainly did not mean to make war on us. They also stopped at some distance, and gave us to understand that they desired to have the blood and the intestines of the animals we had killed. We took the skin and the best part of the tetal, and offered all the rest to the savages, if they would carry the arjel to Meshra for us. Having resumed the hunt, we killed two other tetals and two bustards (Otis Kori).

From this day till July 4th we did nothing but hunt; the natives grew accustomed to see us, and at every report of a gun came in troops to claim their share. The soldiers fared sumptuously, and we regaled ourselves on beefsteaks which the gourmands of London and Paris would certainly have envied. The tetal weighed from 230 to 280 English pounds; some even amounted to 300, but their flesh is not so delicate as that of the arjel and gazelles.

We lost an entire day pursuing five magnificent giraffes, which were so timid that we could not approach nearer than five hundred yards. Of the buffalo, elephant, wild boar, lion, and leopard, we saw frequent traces, but at this time they had all gone inland because of the heat and the myriads of mosquitoes which obscured the air. From our tent we often heard the roar of a lion who had come down to the river to drink, and Haggi, one day, firing his two shots at a wild ox, saw a lioness take flight from near where he stood.

July 4.—I was returning from the hunt in company with Anson, when, in the darkness, someone put his hand on my shoulder and asked me how I was.

Great was my surprise to recognize our friend Kempt, together with Mr. Gigler, director of the telegraphs at Khartoum. These two gentlemen, who had come by order of the Colonel, gave me the following letter:—

“DEAR GESSI,—Hassan Ibrahim will join you with these lines, and thus the staff under your orders will be complete. Wherever he may go, you will follow if you think it necessary. If you go to Abukaka, found a station there, and cultivate doora. The soldiers of Gondokoro will be under your orders, and I hope in a month to see you and Anson. If you think you can do better, do not let the opportunity pass out of regard for me.—C. G. GORDON.”

This letter filled me with joy, although, on the road I was to take, I should be obliged to cross an endless plain, and have to make two-thirds of the journey on foot and in the water through a country inundated by continual rains.

Having given our guests the best dinner that circumstances allowed, we went to rest, sharing our beds and a bottle of cognac with them. The next morning we accompanied them on board the *Bordeaux* which had cast anchor beside the *Saphia*, and providing them with three oxen, we bade them farewell.

July 9.—I sent a part of the men and Mr. Anson on board the *Saphia*.

July 10.—I myself embarked, followed by Haggi and two servants. On the way I perceived a magnificent hippopotamus which was visible because of the shallowness of the water. I approached him in a boat and fired at twenty paces distant with an explosive bullet, fracturing his lower jaw. A second shot wounded him just on the forehead, and Haggi sent a third after him. Notwithstanding his wounds he did not stop, but we followed, and arrived in time to plant two other bullets in his head. The monster fell at last struggling horribly, and uttering a terrible

cry. The half of his immense body was above water ; we hastened up and gave him the *coup de grâce*.

A great number of natives ran up to draw him to land, but their strength did not suffice ; at last a hundred of them drew him out of the river with cords. I had never supposed that the hippopotamus had such proportions. The canine teeth were well developed, and I was able to draw them, but for want of the necessary instruments it was not possible to take out the molars.

The steamer, following my orders, ought now to have been under steam, and time pressed. But one soldier was missing, and I was obliged to send to seek him. On my arrival on board, however, I discovered him carried by a native. He had quitted my company to buy two little slaves, and now had them with him. This was the only one among all my men who had given continual proofs of insubordination, and I had already meditated giving him a lesson. A better occasion than the present could not be found, and I caused him to receive fifty strokes with a rope to check his passion for making slaves.

CHAPTER VI.

REPORT TO GORDON.

Report to Gordon—Stations on the Bahr-el-Ghazal—Domination of the Vekil—The cattle of the Sandéh, Niam-Niam of the Arabs—Bad news—Unburied corpses—Slaves—The Sandéh and the negroes.

By noon the vessel started for its new destination, and I sent to Colonel Gordon the following report:—

“MY DEAR COLONEL,—I have the honour to enclose you my report on Bahr-el-Ghazal, and beg to remain,

“Yours truly,
“R. GESSL.”

“REPORT.

“The principal scribe of Bahr-el-Ghazal, centre of the trade in ivory and slaves, are the twelve following:—Gatasc, one—Kutshuk Ali, three—Agat, three—Hassabella, one—Abu Muri, three—Magajub Biselli, one.

“Beside these there were two others, formerly held by Zibehr Bey; but since he was nominated Governor (Mudir) of Shakka he did not see the necessity of paying men expressly. The ivory which he sends to the Government has been taken from the natives, whom he persecutes and makes war upon. From a reliable authority I have learnt that Zibehr Bey possesses, at the present moment, enough ivory to load a dozen *nugars*.

“ Enrolment of the Soldiers of the Scribe.

“ The soldiers of the scribe are engaged from year to year. They must clothe and feed themselves at their own expense. The pay varies, according to circumstances, from two hundred piastres to six pounds of beads, per month.

“ The pay is never in cash, but in goods of various kinds, as linen, coffee, sugar, tobacco, tarbuse, cattle, or slaves. In this way a piece of cotton cloth, which at Khartoum is worth a dollar and a quarter, is given for six hundred piastres; two pounds of beads, for one hundred and fifty; two pounds of soap for one hundred; a tarbuse for two hundred and eight. The soldier can, if he likes, be paid in cattle or slaves.

“ When a village is taken by assault two-thirds of the booty in cattle and slaves belongs to the Vekil, one-third to the soldiers. The ivory obtained is the exclusive property of the Vekil. The soldiers make their slaves cultivate the land, and the product is their own.

“ These soldiers also put their slaves at the disposal of the scribe, and pocket the pay for themselves. Every seriba counts a thousand to two thousand combatants, a third of whom are armed with guns, and the others with lances. The troop is at the orders of the Vekil, and a Bolukbashi; they have a flag-bearer and a trumpeter. The ivory which these scribe send out is obtained by hunting or exchange, and the slaves are obliged to carry it to the place of shipment. But for this work the soldiers have no right to any pay. The soldiers must provide on the march the doora for themselves and their slaves.

“ Taking into account the very high prices which the Vekil make the soldiers pay for articles of the first necessity, it is no exaggeration to say that they gain ten or fifteen times more than their dependents can gain. The profit of the soldiers is in the capture

of cattle and slaves, and therefore we must not be surprised if the natives are driven to robbery and pillage, and if circumstances of repulsive brutality occur.

“Towards May 15th of this year there arrived two Vekil of the family Agat, and one of the family Abu Muri, with a great quantity of ivory. On the way the Vekil had taken by assaults various villages, killing and robbing mercilessly a thousand women and children, and ten thousand oxen. Two thousand of these were given to the soldiers, a thousand kept in a village near Mushra, and three thousand sent to the Sandéh to be exchanged for ivory. This figure of six thousand oxen is by no means exaggerated, and was known to all in the country.

“On July 3rd there arrived at Mushra the Vekil Mahomed Hassan, partner of a merchant of Khartoum; Cherik Hassabala, and Behid Yussuf of the family Cherik Magajub Biselli, with a load of ivory. They also, on the road, attacked the villages, and carried off to Mushra several thousand head of cattle, and hundreds of women and children.

“I was assured that Yussuf Behid committed every species of cruelty in a village to force the natives to reveal the place where they had hidden the ivory. After having put forty of these unhappy wretches to the torture, he succeeded in discovering three elephant-tusks!

“When I left Meshra seven nugars were there expecting their load; they will be supplied by the hunters now at work, and those that are employed on their return from the scribe.

“The Vekil.

“In general the Vekil belong to Khartoum, while those in their pay are, for the greater part, from Dongola; others are deserters from the Egyptian army, or fugitives seeking safety from the law.

“Such men among the Vekil are admitted to the society of the principal land-owners of Khartoum.

“The powers which the Vekil have arrogated to themselves pass the limits of all one can imagine. Their insolence is such that they pose as the legal representatives of the Egyptian Government, and make one believe that the exportation of ivory, slaves, and cattle is done by order and at the charge of the Miri.

“During my stay at Meshra I had a visit from the Vekil Mahomed Hassan, and Behid Yussuf, escorted by twelve men with double-barrelled guns, while two others carried their masters’ arms, richly garnished with silver and artificial stones.

“The conversation fell upon the badness of the road they had traversed ; upon the water, often up to the shoulders from the inundations caused by two months of constant rain ; and on the road, no less difficult, which they had to traverse on their return, when overladen with goods.

“Being questioned on the large quantity of cattle which they possessed, and what they would do with them, they answered that they intended to send them to the Sandéh to exchange for ivory, but that a part of the cattle belonged to the soldiers.

“‘But,’ I rejoined, ‘it seems to me that you have taken all their cattle from the natives.’

“‘Oh,’ they replied, ‘if we did not do so, with what could we pay our men, and how could we get the ivory? What would be the use of staying in this country? And in the end what is the use of these herds to the natives, who never eat meat, and let the animals die naturally?’

“‘And yet,’ I said, ‘they use them for milk and cheese.’

“‘Don’t be afraid ; they will not starve on that account. These people, if necessary, can live on roots alone ; and then they have the doora, which they cultivate. Then, too, do you think, perhaps,

that we are the only people who do such things? Just see what happens wherever there are seribe. Have not quite lately some Vekil of the Bahr-el-Jeraf taken 2000 oxen from the natives, by order of Yussuf Bey, the Governor of Fashoda? And how many thousand oxen were not required by the Governor of Khartoum, on account of the Miri?¹ You see, the Miri also does as we do.'

I did not know what to reply to such arguments, and asked them if they could furnish me with sixty natives to transport the baggage, not without adding that it was my intention to pay them. They replied that I must give nothing to the porters, because they were their slaves, and it was with them that I must make the bargain for the pay.

" 'But how much do you want for every man, that is, for every burden of thirty oca?'²

"They had the impudence to ask me twelve dollars per man, and I could not help telling them I thought they were jesting with me, and dismissed them abruptly, making them observe that the price they asked was three times the value of my things, and I preferred, in that case, to burn all the baggage.

"At this point a man arrived with a letter, addressed to Mahomed Hassan. From his long face I augured nothing good. In fact, when I had finished reading, he told me that he had received bad news from Shakka. Zibehr Bey was blockaded by the Sultan of Darfour; his position was well-nigh desperate, although every seriba had sent him a hundred men, making 1200 in all. This small force was insufficient, and the help sent by the governor not arriving in time, he saw himself obliged to capitulate.

"And then arose a chorus of imprecations against Zibehr Bey as a turbulent spirit, the first cause of the attack from Darfour. Neither was the Government

¹ Miri, Viceroy of Egypt.

² The *oca* is equivalent to about three pounds and a half.



MENARA-EL-AIN.

treated better, they averring that the authorities had not known how to prepare sufficient forces.

“These Vekil had, nevertheless, recent news from Khartoum. They knew that Abu-Sud was on the way, and would shortly arrive. From all this I was able to infer that the Vekil are promptly informed of all that happens at Khartoum and other places.

“The evening of the same day, Mr. Kempt arrived at our camp, and delivered new instructions to me.

“The Village of Meshra.

“This village, not distinguished by the natives by a special name, is composed of about forty huts, where live a part of the crews of the nugars, which touch there to buy ivory, and the representatives of the Vekil. A hundred feet away are another hundred huts, to accommodate the slaves as they arrive. Meshra is situated on an island in the midst of the stream.

“The water is very low, and the nugars cannot approach the land, excepting the Nile is at full. The air is very bad, pestilential in fact, and at first I could not discover the reason; but afterwards, having strayed further from the cabins, I discovered fifty corpses lying unburied. Hundreds of vultures and other birds of prey devoured, or carried away, the entrails of these poor creatures. I tried to persuade a Vekil that it was, in their own interests, urgently necessary to bury these corpses. He replied, laughing at my ingenuousness, that the work would be too heavy, for when the Vekil arrive from the interior great numbers of their slaves die, and the Vekil have something else to do than to bury the dead. In fact, on leaving the scribe to go to Meshra, the soldiers carry with them just the doora necessary for them and their slaves, but as they capture others by the way, many slaves die along the road for want

of sufficient food, and others perish at Meshra, where they arrive more like skeletons than human beings, being emaciated by fatigue and hunger.

“The next day I left this deadly place, and encamped, as I have said, with my men at twenty minutes’ distance to the north of the island.

“The water of the river, nearly stagnant, and all covered with aquatic plants, was so bad, that we were obliged to boil it, correct it with rock alum, and then filter it. From morning to night I was persecuted by the crews of the nугars begging for medicine. The predominant maladies are malaria and intermittent fever. Whoever is struck by the first has but few hours to live.

“The soldiers of the escort were all ill of intermittent fever.

“The slaves are kept by the soldiers of the Vekil, and employed in killing oxen, and drying the meat for provisioning the nугar, and the soldiers who arrive from the scribe. At the time of my stay at Meshra, from twelve to fifteen oxen were slaughtered daily, without taking count of those which were killed in the Vekil camp.

“When the nугars have completed their cargo, the huts are partly destroyed, or occupied by the natives from the villages on the opposite bank. These people keep the cattle which the Vekil entrust to them, and receive, in exchange, a little meat, and drink the milk of the cows. The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages are very poor, and so thin that one cannot imagine by what miracle they have the strength to move; they are actual skeletons. They carry wood, which they exchange for a handful of doora.

“To the north-west of Meshra an immense forest extends, about sixty miles in length. The natives assure me that no less than five days are necessary to cross it. Game abounds there, and ebony wood.

The population belongs to the Dinka tribe, and are often disturbed by the raids of the Nuer.

“The elephants, having become very rare in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, the Vekil, as we have already said, go to seek them in the Sandéh (Niam-Niam). The first incursion in this country happened four years ago, by act of the Vekil of Magajub Biselli, who found there a great quantity of ivory, which he exchanged for cotton cloth. According to his custom, he attacked, on his return, many villages; but the Sandéh opposed him in hosts on the heights of a narrow pass, attacked the Vekil, killed one hundred and fifty of his men, wounded the Vekil seriously, and took from him two-thirds of his arms, and all the ivory he had collected.

“From henceforward the Vekil were more prudent, though they continued to exchange ivory for cattle, in which the Sandéh are very poor. At the present time many Vekil are on the road, returning from the Sandéh.

“The time necessary for this journey varies from six to seven months.

“Since I have been in the Bahr-el-Ghazal the rains are almost incessant.

“R. GESSI.”

CHAPTER VII.

WEALTH OF THE SOUDAN.

Natural products—Skins and cattle—Ebony.

WHILE we pursued our way to the place of destination, Colonel Gordon was still at Khartoum, preparing the arsenal, and seeing that troops and ammunition were dispatched without delay. Gordon had not a few difficulties to overcome, caused especially by the habitual slowness of the people, and the ill-will of the government officials, jealous of the success obtained by the expedition. The local governor deceived the Colonel several times, and Gordon, wearied at length beyond endurance, reported the fact to Ismail Pasha. The latter gravely recommended him to have patience, and endeavoured to persuade him that in Egypt it was no crime to say one thing and do another.

I said before that the governors of distant provinces act at their pleasure, and abuse their power, deceiving the central government and ruining trade. These people are the worst scourge I know, and seem to have been sent to give the finishing stroke to the Soudan; they regarded Muntag Pasha as a pearl in comparison to Ismail.

"It is no longer taxes that you impose but real ransom-money," exclaimed the victims.

"The imposts are not for me," replied the functionary, "but for the Miri."

But is he authorized to make them? Certainly not. He is eager to display his zeal and intelligence by

extorting from the poor people more money than his predecessor, who perhaps was also a thief. By such proceedings he thinks to win praise from the Government and to gain the sympathy of the Khedive.

How long will the Soudan endure these oppressions? Perhaps it will happen that, being reduced to the greatest misery, the country will demand that the governor shall be changed, and the next one will be able to send in very little money, and his province will yield no profit—then Ismail Pasha will say, rubbing his hands, and shrugging his shoulders,—

“Do you see? Such a governor has sent even less than I, and pretends to pass for an honest man!”

In the Soudan men have no time to breathe freely; life is actually smothered with taxes of every kind. I am not speaking of the governors of former times; I only assert that Mussa Pasha enriches himself at the expense of the Government and the subjects. Jaffer Pasha, the Great, was governor for only four months fortunately, or his administrators would have been flayed alive. To him succeeded his brother, an honest man enough, but of limited intelligence. Then came Muntag Pasha, who is now¹ awaiting his trial. To this latter are attributed deeds that surpass those of Rosa Schandor and the Passatore. He was replaced by Ismail Pasha.

A province, however rich, that enjoys a succession of such governors, must infallibly be ruined. All these officials were Turks, and Turks were also those appointed to the more central provinces, such as Kurshid Aga, Ahmet Aga, Antrusc, Suleiman Aga, Ibrahim Museli, and Kutshuk Ali. The latter had organized the bands of Gondokoro, which I have spoken of in my report, who plundered, burnt, and assassinated the natives, stealing the ivory and destroying whole families, who were sold as slaves at Khartoum.

The sale was made in public and the governors

¹ When R. Gessi wrote these notes.

could not certainly assert that they were ignorant of it. At Khartoum they hired nugars, enrolled volunteers, and prepared provisions for the expedition, which started publicly with great pomp. They returned with abundant cargoes of ivory and human merchandise. The slaves, crowded into the vessels like herrings in casks, could hardly stand on their stiffened limbs when released, and were led in long files across the city, followed by hundreds of purchasers.

The slaves were seen by all the world except the governor, who naturally must see and know nothing, so that the authorities at Cairo may be deceived, and the odious traffic continued.

Where can a man be found who could persuade the public that governor and people were not in league with these brigands?

The Soudan might be the richest country in the world; its climate and soil are adapted for every kind of cultivation. The products are very plentiful. Sesame, the india-rubber tree, and every kind of corn and vegetables grow there freely, often yielding two crops a year. If the indigo-plant were subject to the cultivation introduced by the English, it would compete with the Indian plant. Ivory, ebony and ostrich-feathers are abundant. And to think that such a country suffers famine and misery, and yields the Government only the miserable sum of 60,000*l.* a year! On what this depends no one could tell; but the people of the country have explained to me the enigma.

The Arab knows that if he cultivated the land better, much heavier taxes would be demanded, and that if he were so fortunate as to enrich himself, he would run the risk of being kept in prison till he had disbursed his very last farthing; pretexts are never wanting to the governors to justify such acts. I know several of these poor wretches who were imprisoned on false charges and paid dearly for their liberation. The Arab has, however,

become distrustful, and instead of employing his money in trade, he hides it underground where it often remains unknown after his death. The only rich people are the owners of seribe residing at Khartoum, who lend money on interest at thirty-six and forty-eight per cent. yearly, while several industries, which would be most advantageous for the country and the finances of government, lie neglected.

Ox hides are held in no sort of value in the Soudan. They are thrown away or used at most to make angareps. On my journey I saw thousands of them, devoured by white ants, while at Alexandria they are worth a guinea each. The wild buffalo is very common in the Soudan; I saw herds which numbered thousands. When the buffaloes descend to some stream to drink, they form processions sometimes two miles long, but no one thinks of making any use of their hides, so much esteemed and highly paid for in Europe. America exported last year more than two hundred thousand hides, of the total value of four hundred thousand pounds sterling. Ebony, that precious article, which in Europe is sold at 50*l.* the ton, is very abundant. Some people pretend that by reason of the great distance the expenses are enormous; but the real truth is otherwise. At Khartoum nugars may be hired for fifty or at most eighty dollars for the Bahr-el-Ghazal or neighbouring provinces; the people of the country would be very glad to carry the wood to the place of shipment for a few strings of beads or a piece of cotton cloth. For a nugar which could carry fifty tons the expenses would be:—

	Dollars.
Transport from Bahr-el-Ghazal or Gabe-Shambé to Khartoum	
of 50 tons	= 80
Transport from Khartoum to Berber	= 30
120 camels at 5 dollars	= 600
Transport from Suakim to Suez	= 300
Transport from Suez to Alexandria	= 300
Total expenses	= 1310

Dollars.

50 tons of ebony sold at Alexandria for 30 <i>l.</i> , although in England and Germany it is paid at the rate of 40 <i>l.</i> to 46 <i>l.</i> = 1500 <i>l.</i>	=	7500
Deducted expenses, as over.		1310
Net profits	=	6190

It would not be difficult to obtain fifty cargoes a year, and supposing that the Government limited itself to 15*l.* a ton, the gain would always be considerable.

The ebony coming from South America being brought from the interior, and the expenses of transit much greater, could not compete with this from Africa. This precious article, so much neglected hitherto, has been recently introduced to commerce by Colonel Gordon.

The Egyptian Government possesses various steamers on the Nile, seven of which are at the service of Gordon's expedition. They undertake periodical journeys between Gondokoro and Khartoum; the necessary expenses are few, as they use for fuel the wood of the immense forests which extend along the river. They tow the nugars up the river, while it is necessary to descend the stream for only twenty-two days to reach Berber.

The steamers of the Khedivate which make the journey between Massvah, Suakim and Jeddah have difficulty in finding return cargoes for Suez, and ebony would furnish the means of covering a part of the expenses of this service. The camel-drivers would not lack employment, and a new era of prosperity would succeed to the present misery of the Bedouins.

Ostrich-hunting is pursued on a small scale in Africa; their feathers, which are so much in request among us, would be very cheap if the natives understood how to take care of them. The greater part of the feathers now exported are furnished by the ostriches which the Shilluks and Bagaras take young,



SPECIMEN OF A BAGARA OSTRICH.

and bring up. These ostriches become as tame as chickens with us ; in the morning they go to the fields with the oxen, and return home in the evening.

But when it is a question of hunting, for the native who is without a gun and armed only with a lance, the affair changes its aspect. The ostrich is very swift for the first half-hour, then slackens its pace, and the Bagara succeeds in killing it by pursuing it on horseback. Its strength being exhausted, the ostrich opens its beautiful wings, and, assuming the attitude of one brooding, it awaits resignedly its end. But woe to the unskilful hunter who, believing it to be dead, approaches it, since, rising all at once, and raising its leg to the height of a man's head, it deals such a blow as to rip open any animal on which it may fall. Its body is generally very thin excepting the thighs, the flesh of which much resembles veal. The Shilluks, however, do not venture to eat it, as a superstition is current among them which forbids them to do so.

An ostrich killed either in August or September, whose feathers have not been spoiled by a fly which attacks them frequently, fetches 20/., and even sometimes 25/. I saw one day a flock of ostriches all together, but the place being without trees, or any shelter, prevented me from approaching them. The safest way of hunting them is to follow the road they take towards four o'clock in the evening, when they go to drink, and await them on the spot. The foot of the ostrich, strong enough to rip open a horse, is apt to break as if it were of glass if the bird makes a false step on a rock. The ammunition most suitable for firing at the ostrich is No. 1, but a sportsman will aim at the head so as not to stain the white feathers with blood.

But we must turn from the chase, the administration of Khartoum and the resources of the Soudan, to follow the story of our expedition. All these particulars seemed, however, necessary to explain how a

country so rich in resources can have been reduced to such complete misery.

Gordon, having put his affairs in order, moved from Khartoum, and established first the station of Sobat, a point admirably adapted to watch the river and the slave trade. The country suffered from famine, and more than sixty families of agriculturists hastened to settle at that station.

For a handful of doora, a father would sell his own son, and it was necessary to buy them to prevent their falling into the hands of the slavers. The Colonel in this way bought two boys for four pounds of doora. He has them with him, and says he is satisfied with them. A governor having been installed at the station, the natives devoted themselves to the cultivation of the surrounding country.



A LARGE FOREST.

CHAPTER VIII.

DEATH OF ANSON.

In the shadow of the tamarinds—Two lions in flight—Buffaloes and rhinoceroses—Wild oxen—Fever—Anson's death—Arrival of Gordon.

ON July 10th I left the neighbourhood of Meshra ; the *Saphia* had hardly fuel enough to reach a large forest. The next day the vessel stopped, and the men were divided into two companies, one of which had to work under Anson's supervision and the other under mine.

I ordered breakfast to be served in the forest, and although even there the heat was excessive, we were better under the large tamarind trees than beneath the awning of the *Saphia*. At noon, having allowed the men two hours of repose, while I was sharing my frugal lunch with Anson, we suddenly heard a rustling noise, as of a number of large monkeys leaping from one bough to another. I had not paid much attention to it when Anson touched me and pointed to a spot in the wood. A lion with a splendid mane, followed by a lioness, was not more than sixty steps distant from us, and was stealing quietly along ; but when the animals saw they were noticed they quickened their pace and rushed away just like cats.

The temptation was indeed too strong and I set off in pursuit of them. Anson insisted on coming with me, and I consented unwillingly after much entreaty.

Taking with us a soldier, who carried a reserve rifle, we proceeded with all possible precautions. The ground was damp, and the lions had taken a path which bore the print of their footsteps. We had followed them thus for about twenty minutes when we saw that the path was abruptly lost in grass and bushes, and we were just consulting which direction to take when we heard a noise at a little distance. I imagined that we were already face to face with the lions, but instead of this I had roused a buffalo-bull who, being startled, took a leap of fifteen paces. Only a few bushes separated us from the animal and we were therefore plainly visible. Anson wanted to fire, but I prevented him; his small rifle and his little skill in aiming were sufficient motives for my interference. The buffalo halted for an instant, looking us full in the face, but the game was soon to be at an end. I took aim at him with the greatest calmness, and fired, when the buffalo fell, struck down as if by lightning. The explosive projectile had penetrated the brain, a part of which was liquefied by the force of it, and issued from the ear.

The gun had hardly been fired when the soldier saw the lion and lioness take to flight at eighty paces' distance.

Buffaloes are so abundant that one is almost certain to meet with some every time one goes to hunt. Since then I have killed four, and have taken a decided aversion to the buffalo, and in consequence have more than once abandoned a path marked with his traces. All animals flee before man, except the buffalo and the rhinoceros; these two have the same instinct, and if the wind brings to their nostrils the scent of a man, they turn to meet him. With the buffalo there is this advantage, that, when he means to attack, he halts at exactly fifteen paces' distance, gently lowers his head, and rushes forward at a gallop; one must seize the moment when he stands with his head lowered, otherwise it is too late. The native, when

followed by a buffalo, throws himself to the ground pretending to be dead. The buffalo comes up and sniffs at him for ten minutes, then, seeing him immovable, goes away. This I myself saw in the Bahr-el-Ghazal. A herd of buffaloes had caught sight of five natives, who instantly threw themselves on the ground. The buffaloes sniffed at them a good while, and then went away. It is worthy of note, and surprised me much to see, that the tetal, arjel, and gazelles, allow the negroes to approach within twenty paces, while, when they see a European at even two hundred paces, they fly precipitately. Can it be the smell of the powder, or the difference of complexion that inspires them with so much terror?

On July 12th I set out with Haggi to hunt, and we killed three wild oxen. I sent on board for a stove, for butter, salt, bread and two plates, while we quenched our thirst with the milk of a cow which probably had its young one not far off. A thunder-storm broke out unexpectedly, and such heavy rain fell that the drops seemed like bullets falling from the sky. In a few moments, notwithstanding that we had taken shelter under trees, we were as soaked through as if we had fallen into the river. When the torrents had ceased I directed my steps to the *Saphia*, followed by the soldiers laden with pieces of the ox. But on returning we mistook the road, and after having lost two good hours wandering about, we finally found ourselves on board at seven o'clock in the evening, tired and exhausted. We had left at five in the morning. Anson had not yet returned. I immediately sent some soldiers with orders to go inland for twenty minutes and fire shots that might serve him as a guide for finding his way. At last a distant shot replied to those of the soldiers, and shortly afterwards I saw him coming, quite delighted at having killed an antelope, but when the soldiers brought me the victim's skin I perceived that it was that of a young ox.

At midnight I was attacked with violent headache, and by morning I had a violent fever. I took a dose of quinine, but my stomach, though it was then of iron, could not digest it, and the fever continued for four consecutive days, during which time I lost all consciousness. I only remember that I awoke on the fifth day as weak as if I had been in bed several months. I continued nevertheless the treatment with the quinine, taking eighteen grains a day. On the 18th I began to improve, but was still very weak. Anson had nursed me as well as he could, but he had always been in great apprehension, fearing that I should not recover. The captain of the steamer had even spoken to him about how he was to bury me.

On the 18th Anson was also seized with violent headache, and immediately adopted my treatment. Three days before, we had left that unhealthy spot, and had arrived at the mouth of the White Nile, where we had to take in tow a dahabia which had on board the new governor of Gabe-Shambé, and towed three nugars laden with doora.

Poor Anson could not digest the medicine, and rejected it as soon as swallowed, as well as the lightest nourishment. Notwithstanding the state in which I was, I had myself carried near his bed, but his prostration increased, and he could not even swallow a few spoonfuls of tea. The malady grew worse with such rapidity on the night of the 27th of July that the next day at three in the afternoon Anson expired in my arms. One can imagine my sorrow in the state in which I was; I wept over his remains as if I had lost a brother. Poor Anson! he was hardly twenty-one, of a gentle and affectionate character. He always listened respectfully to my advice, though he was in a certain way independent of me. Since our departure from Cairo we had taken a strong liking to each other, and at Khartoum he had begged the Colonel to appoint him

to my company. At four o'clock in the evening of July 28th I had my comrade buried in a grave dug in a forsaken ant-hill ; I set up a cross and we parted for ever. On leaving the place I had myself carried on deck to take a last farewell of the grave of my friend, the purest soul I ever knew.

On the 29th I met three nugars laden with ivory ; I gave them letters to the Colonel, informing him of the sad event.

July 30th.—I met the steamer *Imbabi* with three nugars coming from Gondokoro. The captain informed me that the steamer *Talahauin* was then at Gabe-Shambé to take in fuel. Meantime the *Saphia* was nearly at the end of her supply, and it was with great difficulty that we obtained the required pressure ; it was necessary to adopt some instant expedient. Detaching the three nugars and continuing with two dahabias, I sent twelve soldiers well-armed on to the nugars, gave twenty rifles to the crews, and was just going to give the orders for departure when a nugar laden with wood arrived, sent us by the *Talahauin*, whose people knew that we were in a critical position. But it was not sufficient to reach Gabe-Shambé. I was grieved at the sight of my poor soldiers and sailors continually in the water, exposed naked to the persecutions of the mosquitoes, but there was no other way of collecting the fuel necessary.

Several soldiers and sailors were ill ; the Arab scribe of Hassan Ibrahim had died of fever ; the captain and engine-driver were also ill. The steamer was changed into a hospital, but none the less was it necessary to go on. All the surrounding country, as far as eye could reach, was covered with reeds and tall rushes, or with water, and only enough fuel remained to us to last four more hours. I therefore caused all the tables and wooden furniture that was to be found on board, and was not absolutely necessary, to be collected. I called the captain, Hassan

Ibrahim, and communicated to him my decision to abandon his dahabia and the nugars, and go in search of fuel. Ibrahim had his family on board, and it did not suit him to remain with them in a place anything but secure. I soothed him by giving him some soldiers for escort and rifles for the crew.

We had been on our way for about two hours when I perceived smoke in the distance. It was a steamer coming towards us, which we soon recognized to be the yacht *Khedive* belonging to the Commander-in-chief. A more fortunate meeting could not have been, since I was able to learn at what distance the forest lay. The *Khedive* had left Gondokoro eight days before ; the captain explained to me that we were now three hours from the mouth of the Bahr-el-Zeraf, and that from thence to Gabe-Shambé there were only two hours more, and that finally the forest was about an hour from the place of our meeting.

Precisely an hour after, without need of orders, the engine stopped for want of fuel, just as we touched the forest. All that day was employed in cutting wood, and the day after we arrived at Gabe-Shambé, the journey having taken exactly a month between that place and Bahr-el-Ghazal. It had been a very sad journey !

CHAPTER IX.

HAVOC AMONG THE EUROPEANS.

GABA-SHAMBÉ—Large monkeys—Haggi pulled down by a leopard—He kills it—Old lions—The traveller Miani—New station—Aground—The botanist Witt dies—Unhealthiness of Gondokoro—Death of Linant de Bellefonds—The Sultan Mtesa—Colonel Long.

GABA-SHAMBÉ was then composed of some fifteen huts, temporary buildings, the work of the crews of the nugars awaiting their cargo, but afterwards abandoned as subject to inundations. I found three nugars there, but the site being too low I continued to ascend the river, till, having found a more elevated position, I stopped in the midst of an immense forest.

Shortly afterwards we were rejoined by the nugars and the dahabia left on the way, and we set to work with all the men to cut down trees. For a few handfuls of doora we were assisted by the natives, who had flocked from the country round, in cutting and transporting the wood destined to build the granaries in the station that was to be planted there. In the brief space of a fortnight a large tract of land was planted with doora, and an orchard was cultivated, speedily transforming the place into the site of possible habitation. The station rose in the middle of a park-like enclosure, filled with every kind of game.

Some large monkeys came in hundreds very near to the station, making such a terrible noise at night that it was impossible to close our eyes. In

order to get rid of these disagreeable visitors I killed three of them, and Haggi two; but I might have used up all my powder without attaining my end. The more doora we sowed the more the number of monkeys increased, and the animals in full daylight dug it up and devoured it. It was necessary to put some men on guard there.

The monkeys never descend from the trees, excepting by day; in the night they are afraid of the lions and leopards. These last are found here in great number, and every night we hear them roar and fight. The natives never venture alone into these woods, for fear the lions should devour them.

I was still too weak to go hunting, or carry my heavy rifle, but Haggi brought us every day guinea-fowl, bustards, and other game. The forest was almost entirely in the water, above which rose here and there some dry land. Haggi one day very nearly paid dearly for his favourite pastime. In the company of a soldier he was resting under a tree, when he heard a roar at a little distance; he took his rifle without waking the soldier, who was asleep, and fired at a wild-boar, which fell into a thicket. But while he was stooping to pick it up he saw a magnificent leopard opposite him. Fortunately he had the other barrel still loaded, for the leopard was in the act of taking the fatal leap when the shot fell. The bullet wounded the leopard seriously, but did not kill him on the spot, and he had still strength enough to spring upon Haggi, putting his paws on his shoulder. Haggi made a desperate effort, and, hurling the leopard into a thicket, withdrew softly, calling the soldier, who, half-dead with fatigue, heard neither shots nor cries. At last Haggi succeeded in awaking him, reloaded his gun, and, followed by the soldier, went very cautiously in search of the leopard. The animal lay dead on the very spot where he had sprung upon Haggi. The ball had broken the left leg, traversed the

heart, and issued at the other side. They took the skin, and a part of the fat, which is considered an excellent remedy for wounds. The leopard was not more than two feet high, but it measured some six feet in length without the tail. Its paws were short, but thick, and the head very large and round, and, by its splendid skin, must have been a female.

Poor Haggi had been so frightened that for several days he did not hunt. In two years and a half he had killed fourteen lions and an enormous number of buffaloes, but he had never felt so much alarm as with this leopard. The reason for this does not seem to me difficult to discover. He had been attacked unexpectedly, when he had but one barrel loaded, and besides, the leopard is much more dangerous than the lion, being more swift and more bloodthirsty.

It very rarely happens that a wounded lion attacks the hunter, especially if the latter does not go towards him after the shot. In the space of four months I had seen seven lions, one of which had passed me at a little distance, but all had pursued their own way, and at a hundred paces' distance had taken to a headlong gallop, an evident sign of their fear.

It is generally the old lions that attack men, and the natives thus believe that when the lion has tasted human flesh he lives for nothing else, and despises all other meat.

At half a day's distance from Gaba-Shambé there is a village which suffered greatly because of a lion. Every other day he carried off a man. The inhabitants believed him to be sent by the Evil Spirit to punish them, and such was their terror that they did not venture to kill the bloodthirsty brute, contenting themselves with remaining in their houses after night-fall. But the lion, not paying much attention to their precaution, entered the village, and the first person he met was always his victim. This continued for several

months, and the poor wretches were about to abandon the place, when some people from Dongola passed that way to purchase ivory. Having heard about the lion, six Dongolese lay in wait for him, and when the lion passed quietly along, as usual, he was saluted by a volley of six shots. He gave one leap, and fell dead. This lion had attained an extraordinary size, and his mane was so long as almost to touch the ground; his skin, they told me, had been sent to the Khedive. I had occasion to speak to a certain man who took a principal part in this adventure. He was an old hunter, considered one of the bravest of his profession, a great slayer of elephants, lions, and buffaloes, and the guide of all the hunters who came into those parts. The various certificates, of which he was the possessor, proved him to be an honest man and intrepid hunter.

“For forty years,” he said, “I have been hunting between Gabe-Shambé and the Sandéh. Many lions have fallen to my gun, and I have seen many others, but never one so large as this.”

According to his description and the measurements which he noted, this lion must have been something monstrous. I had never imagined that a lion could attain such a size.

The lion soon grows old; at the age of twelve years his teeth are worn out, and he has no longer the speed and agility necessary to seize the young buffaloes and the total whom he lies in wait for near the river when they descend to drink. It is then, when the lion is reduced to impotence, that he attacks man.

Near Kaka a lion was killed, which for some time was complete master of the road, and many natives had paid a dear tribute to this new kind of marauder. When he was killed glass beads were found in his stomach, such as the people of the place are accustomed to wear.

Each time that a lion, a man-hunter, was taken,

it was always found that he was old. An aged lion, who finds himself in a place where he lacks human flesh, becomes very thin, and is attacked by a kind of leprosy, which causes his death. The favourite food of the lion is young buffaloes. When a herd goes to the water the lion lies in wait for them on the road on their return, and throws himself on the first, dragging it by the neck to the forest. Having satiated himself with the meal, he buries the rest, but never returns to eat it, and these remains are the prey of the hyenas, who generally, posted at a little distance, wait till the lion retires to enjoy their share.

From this hunter I was able to gain some particulars about the noted traveller Miani, who had died in these parts while he was exploring the country. He told me that Miani was buried near Gaba-Shambé,¹ having died while on his way to the Nile, in the hope of finding a boat which would bring him to Khartoum, where he intended to take some care of his health, which had been much weakened by fever and every kind of privation. But a strong attack of fever kept him at the village, and there he died in the hut of a Sheikh. A part of his papers and collections, and two pigmies of the Sandéh were consigned to some people who had come to Khartoum for them, but most of his collections were dispersed by the natives. I instantly thought of going to the place where the brave explorer had finished his career so sadly, but I was obliged to suspend every preparation for my departure, and put off my expedition till better weather, because the forest was all one lake, through persistent rains.

Meanwhile, the station we were building assumed each day a better appearance. It already possessed

¹ This was a mistake ; it will be seen further on how Gessi sent to Mambuttù to take away the bones of poor Miani near Tangasi, the former Munza, the residence of the homonymous king. The men sent then, however, left a part of the remains with the famous pipe, afterwards found by Captain Casati.

an abundance of fowls, a cow, and some pigeons. I had a little garden of flower seeds I had brought with me, and was already busy constructing an arbour of creepers against the trunk of a large old tree, when, just as I least expected it, fate decided differently for me.

On August 15th I was told that a steamer, directed to Gaba-Shambé, was in sight. I went on the dahabia of Hassan Ibrahim, and perceived a large flag on the mast at the prow; it was therefore undoubtedly the Commander-in-chief. As soon as the steamer anchored I went on board, where the Commander received me with his habitual courtesy. After a multitude of questions about poor Anson's death, I learnt that he was the Commander's nephew. The latter showed himself deeply grieved by the event, and asked me about my journey.

"Prepare everything," said Gordon to me, "and come with me to Gondokoro. I cannot leave you here alone without any aid. If you fall ill, you are without a doctor or a friend."

I said a few words to assure him that I was contented with my position, but knowing that it was not easy to alter his determination, it only remained for me to obey. With the aid of Haggi I collected my things and the provisions, and that evening was installed on board. The crew had gone to gather wood, but were obliged to suspend their work at night because several men had been stung by scorpions. At noon next day the *Talahauin* was put in motion for Gondokoro, while I gazed, for the last time, at my little station, and the road which was to have led me to the grave of poor Miani.

The *Talahauin* was a steamer which made its ten knots an hour. We only employed two days therefore in reaching Bohr, the station planted by Agat of Khartoum. From the time that Colonel Gordon had assumed the command of the province, he had established the centre of authority here; the garrison

was composed of soldiers, formerly mercenaries of Agat, who had taken service in the regular army. The governor was a certain man named Walleduille (formerly Vekil of the same Agat) of gigantic size; he seemed to be made on purpose to hunt down men. I never saw a countenance so manifestly expressive of cruelty and perfidy.

Having given the necessary orders, we left this haunt of wolves, and took our way to Gondokoro; but the pilot, not knowing the river well, steered the vessel into a branch of it so narrow and winding that the prow touched the ground at least forty times. The water was deep, but the banks so near together that the poor captain did not know how to extricate himself, and every moment the crew had to get on land; it was a real martyrdom. Next day, thank God, we got out of this, and were once more in the principal stream. The water here was low, and the vessel ran aground once or twice, but on September 2nd we finally arrived at Gondokoro. All the troops were under arms, and seventeen cannon shots announced the arrival of the Governor-General.

A boat put out from land with Major Campbell, Mr. Kempt, and Abu-Sud, an interesting personage, whose biography the reader will find later on. I found Major Campbell looking very pale and thin, an evident sign of recent illness.

We disembarked, and were received on land by the troops drawn up in double-file, followed by Raouf Bey, Commanding-Colonel of the garrison, and by all the officers under his orders. I shook hands with the botanist, Mr. Witt, who had risen from bed expressly to welcome us; he, too, was very thin, and bore the traces of recent and long illness. I asked after my friend M. Auguste Linant de Bellefonds, who, he told me, was dangerously ill, though somewhat better the last three days.

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“How are you, dear friend?” he asked, taking my hand.

I gave him a brief account of my journey, and of all its varying fortunes up to my arrival at Gondokoro, concealing from him, of course, the death of our friend Anson, which, however, he learned almost immediately from imprudent friends. Major Campbell and Mr. Witt fell ill again, from having left their bed too soon.

Mr. Witt seemed to be suffering from gastric fever, and grew worse and worse. On the morning of September 6th, before going to head-quarters, I wished to pass by the hut where he was lying, and found him stretched on a packing-case, his face downwards. I tried to raise him, but he made no movement; he was dead. The next day he was buried beside the English engineer, Higginbottom, formerly in the employ of Sir Samuel Baker. The Colonel read the burial service, and we left in this sad spot the remains of another friend.

Gondokoro does not seem very healthy; the water descending from the mountains from April to the middle of September cannot run into the river, and forms stagnant pools all round the town, which then dry very slowly. The Arab troops suffered much from miasmatic fever, and very many soldiers died from it.

The town, composed of three or four hundred huts, is kept in pretty good order. Raouf Beydid everything in his power to ensure the comfort of the garrison. When the Austrian mission was settled there several lemon-trees were planted, which are now very beautiful, and most useful and agreeable in the time of the great heat, and in cases of illness. Several bananas were transported thither from the Sandéh, and have flourished excellently, producing fruit of wonderful size.

To avoid the inconvenience of too many soldiers assembled in the same place, the Colonel ordered huts to be built at Rejaf, twenty miles to the south of Gondokoro, which latter place he had the intention

to abandon gradually and completely, if this experiment succeeded.

M. Linant de Bellefonds was better, and could go out again, when, by some imprudence on his part, he had a relapse. The Colonel ordered the doctor not to leave him day or night; I myself, who was to have left for Dufilé, two hundred miles further south, delayed my departure to nurse my friend. But the malady increased every day, producing extreme weakness, and poor Linant died at last at three o'clock in the afternoon of September 17th. The Colonel was then at Rejaf, and could not be present at the funeral. My friend was laid beside Mr. Witt. Thus, in such a short space of time, I had assisted at the burial of three companions. The health of Major Campbell did not seem to improve, and the patient grew thinner every day; Mr. Russell was no better; indeed, at one time we thought we should have lost him. As soon as he had recovered a little the Colonel made him embark on his return home. Menges, the Colonel's servant, a well-instructed young man, who had accepted this humble post to be able to travel, was very near death also, and was sent back to Cairo. My servant, too, was obliged to leave me, on account of illness, and with him I sent away my dragoman, who was too fond of slaves. Of the twelve persons composing the expedition, including the Commander, there now remained no more than four.

We were still without news of Colonel Long, who had been sent to Mtesa, the Sultan of Uganda; the latter had sent to the Khedive some very beautiful elephant tusks, begging that he would send him in exchange a person who could explain the Koran to him, another who could perform the rite of circumcision, and a third who could blow the trumpet. Colonel Gordon, when he sent Colonel Long to him, sent also two Fekih (Mussulman priests, who could explain the Koran), and very many presents. The

establishment of friendly relations with this powerful Sultan was, in fact, an excellent step towards furthering the development of commerce.

Mtesa had already commercial relations with Zanzibar. To traverse the country between the coast and Uganda three months were necessary, while Gondokoro was not more than twenty days' distance from the state of Mtesa. Ivory and coffee are abundant there; the country fertile, and rich in every kind of product. The inhabitants of Uganda are much more civilized than those between the eleventh degree of latitude and the Equator. None of them go naked, and those who are not clothed decently are punished. Their clothing consists of a kind of sheet, which they drape gracefully around their persons, so that it seems divided into different parts. The material of this kind of toga is made of the bark of a plant; it is of a yellowish colour, and is so well prepared as to have all the pliability of a European tissue. I have been told that each dress is made of a single piece of bark, in which case the trees must be of an extraordinary size. I was able to procure one of them, which was about five yards long, and two wide.

The engineer Kempt had, meanwhile, left us for Dufilé (situated beyond the last cataract), to put together a little steamboat left at Gondokoro by Sir Samuel Baker, which, in consequence of the hostility of the natives, he had not been able to have transported. This boat, constructed in England, could be taken to pieces, and, once launched at Dufilé, would furnish the means of navigating the Albert Lake, and making the tour of it to ascertain which was the principal tributary of this vast extent of water. Two thousand natives and two hundred soldiers were sent as escort.

CHAPTER X.

GORDON AT WORK.

ABU-SUD — Betrayer of Baker — Gordon deceived — Destitution of Abu-Sud — Internal wars — Trade in ivory and slaves — The Dinkas.

ABU-SUD, rendered celebrated by the press, and especially by the *Times* which printed the reports of Sir Samuel Baker to the English newspapers and Royal Geographical Society of London, was no other than the brother-in-law of Agat, the principal among the natives of the settlements on the Nile, Bahr-el-Ghazal, Bahr-el-Zeraf, Makaraka, etc.

When Sir Samuel Baker had the command of the country and began to impose heavy taxes, Abu, the representative of Agat, and at first, also the friend of Baker, was invited by the latter to aid him in carrying out his administration.

Abu-Sud presented himself after some delay, but whether meanwhile the Governor-General had received bad reports of him, or did not any longer consider him necessary, he received him coldly and with not too courteous words. This Abu-Sud himself related to me, and I will not guarantee the exactness of his narration ; it is however a fact that, from thenceforth, both laboured incessantly to do harm to each other.

Abu-Sud, who was considered by the mercenaries of Agat to be the real master, enjoyed great influence, and many Sheikhs associated themselves with him in opposing the views of Sir Samuel Baker.

The natives then refused all requests or orders to sell or supply cattle or doora, and Sir Samuel's troops began to suffer from this, and were already reduced to rations, when the dilemma presented itself of either dying of hunger or resorting to force. Sir Samuel then began his incursions among the tribes with fire and sword, taking possession of their cattle and their doora. All this is incontestably true, and I learned the facts by serious inquiry among the natives, as well as among the officers and soldiers who took an active part in the affair.

Abu-Sud witnessed all this with pleasure, foreseeing in the end Sir Samuel's ruin. All the people became hostile to the latter without being able to count much on the aid of the Government, and things came to such an extremity that the soldiers of Baker, and Baker himself, could not venture a step out of Gondokoro, without the risk of receiving a poisoned arrow or a blow from a lance.

Undoubtedly this was in great part the work of Abu-Sud, who strove to render the position of Baker always more difficult and critical, as the latter confessed it to be in his reports. Abu-Sud, only thirty years old, and endowed with uncommon energy, hastened first to the Dongolese and then to some other tribe, exciting their imagination and promising victory.

The enormous distances from one point to another of the provinces prevented Sir Samuel Baker's troops from being at all the threatened points at once. A few tribes were defeated, but never subjugated; many at the approach of the troops abandoned their villages, taking their cattle with them and seeking refuge among the mountains or in the interior of the country. Nothing remained for Sir Samuel but to set fire to the huts, which were rebuilt twenty-four hours afterwards by the natives, as soon as the soldiers had disappeared.

We will follow further on the warlike operations

of Sir Samuel, and occupy ourselves now with Abu-Sud, who was called by Colonel Gordon to take an important share in events.

After the departure of Sir Samuel, Abu-Sud had remained in confinement at Cairo, where Colonel Gordon made his acquaintance, and learned how he considered himself calumniated by the European press and the reports of Sir Samuel, which he declared to be without foundation. He offered to take part in the Colonel's expedition, for the sole purpose, as he said, of clearing his name, giving a proof of his fidelity to the Khedive, and contributing to the prosperity of his country. His distinguished manners, his quiet, logical, and refined address, and his grave deportment, would have made any one doubt if this could really be the same person as the one about whom Sir Samuel Baker and the press had been so busy.

The Colonel accepted his co-operation, and Abu-Sud promised to rejoin him in the Soudan. He requested an audience of the Khedive, to whom he promised to aid Colonel Gordon in the suppression of the slave-trade and organization of the country. According to my opinion it was an imprudent act to ally oneself with a man who had the reputation of having been the principal author of all the havoc and plundering which had occurred in the Soudan; nor ought too much faith to have been placed in his sudden change. But in this country the choice of individuals on whom one can rely is so difficult and arduous, that Gordon may be excused for the mistake he made.

Towards June Abu-Sud was at Khartoum, from whence he soon proceeded to Gondokoro, on board the *Talahanin*. On his arrival at his destination he received marks of the greatest courtesy, and while traversing the country, formerly the theatre of his depredations, was feasted by the mercenaries and officials of the settlements, formerly his dependents.

The Colonel made him governor of the place, and on a visit made to him soon after his arrival at Gondokoro he remarked the extraordinary activity of this man and his good-will in aiding the purposes of the expedition.

But finding himself at the head of such an important administration Abu Sud's arrogance was aroused, and he began to lay claim to a power which could not be conceded to him. He believed himself to be indispensable, and blinded by ambition, thinking the world was at his feet, he took to treating the natives in a way hardly in accordance with the Colonel's instructions.

He had besides caused himself to be made the agent of his brother-in-law, Agat of Khartoum, the principal ruler of the scribe. He then tried to deceive the Colonel respecting the validity of the contracts previously made between Agat and Baker; his dream being to profit by his high and privileged position to enrich his brother-in-law, with whom he was then associated, as was known afterwards.

All this had at length become known to the Colonel, who could not permit such abuses to the discredit of the Egyptian Government, and by a letter dated, I believe, August 18th, he deprived Abu-Sud of his functions, enjoining him to return to Khartoum.

Thus ended the career of this man, whom fortune had placed higher than he deserved. His dismissal was greeted by most with indifference, and with joy by the natives.

One of the greatest calamities of the Soudan are the intestine wars. The Bagaras fight with the Shilluks, these attack the Nuers, the Nuers the Dinkas and the Dinkas the Baris. If a native has so much boldness as to thrust himself among a tribe that are strangers to him, he is immediately killed or made a slave. Nor do their wars finish here; one village assaults another of the same tribe without plausible motive, for the mere purpose of plunder. The

prisoners are sold to other tribes in exchange for cows and goats.

Such warfare only began when the country was invaded by the ivory merchants. Their tactics were as follows. The traders, when they knew that such and such a village possessed much ivory, purchased the silence of the villages through which it was necessary to pass by promising them the cattle, retaining for themselves the ivory and the slaves. Having concluded the contract, the band of armed men set out by night, escorted by their native accomplices armed with lances. By this means they fell unexpectedly upon the village, and fired a volley into the huts ; the allies of the merchants took possession meanwhile of the cattle, and occupied the roads by which the poor wretches endeavoured to escape. Whoever could save himself abandoned the women and children. The prisoners were watched over by the mercenaries, and obliged to remain squatting on the ground, under pain of immediate death.

The village having been sacked, the unhappy people who had remained there were generally put to the torture that they might reveal the place where the ivory was concealed ; then the slaves, ivory, and cattle, having been collected in a pre-arranged spot, the village was set on fire. The assassins returned with cries of joy and warlike dances to their habitations, followed by the prisoners they had made their slaves, carrying the ivory.

On arriving at the seriba, the spoils were divided, the ivory and slaves to the merchants, the cattle to the natives, who were then obliged to transport the ivory to the place of embarkation on the Nile. The ivory was stowed away in the ship's hold ; the slaves fettered so that they could not move, and in this way they had to remain for three weeks, the time necessary to arrive at Khartoum.

By a decree of Gordon to the heads of the seribe along the Bahr-el-Zeraf and the White Nile, it

was made obligatory to evacuate these settlements within eight months, after which interval of time the ivory was confiscated for the benefit of the Government.

These measures of the Colonel, taken with a view of facilitating for the merchants their obedience to the orders of Government, without too much loss to themselves, caused nevertheless the loss of a whole year's taxes to the Government. Besides this, by suppressing the scribe, the natural centres for obtaining provisions, the expenses of our expedition, in a country so vast, and distant from any commercial centre, assumed gigantic proportions.

Money was useless, not being current there, and it was therefore necessary to import an infinite number of things, which, by their weight and size, formed a cargo for several steamers. Besides these objects, it was necessary to provide also food, clothing, and military materials. All this quantity of things was easily spoiled in a short period, and it was necessary to renew it from time to time, especially because of the want of proper magazines, the torrents of rain, and the damages done by the white ants.

In the Bahr-el-Zeraf existed two settlements of Kushuk Ali and Gatasc. These latter did not pay any attention to the orders of Government, that they were to evacuate them and abandon the country, so that the Colonel was obliged to go there in person.

These establishments were fortified by solid palisades and entrenchments, and Gordon threatened to set fire to the village, if at the expiration of eight months they had not left. The merchants were then warned not to carry away slaves, because the authorities of Fashoda already knew of their intention to do so, and if they were discovered in the act, it would cause their complete ruin. Kushuk Ali and his partner protested they had no slaves, while the Colonel knew from certain sources of information

that these two merchants intended to elude his vigilance and transport elsewhere a large number.

The Governor finally left Fashoda at the end of August to return to Gondokoro. The Vekils of Kushuk Ali and Gatasc profited by his departure, and transported, that same day, to the territories of the Dinkas on the opposite shore, sixteen hundred slaves and one hundred and ninety oxen under the escort of thirty mercenaries.

The Dinkas, authorized to prevent any passage of slaves through their territory, raised every kind of obstacle along the roads of this convoy to give time to the soldiers of Fashoda to arrive at the place. Yussuf Bey sent in fact two hundred soldiers, rendering it impossible for the merchants to retire as they had intended. To the right they had the Nile, in front the vice-regal troops, and behind them the tribe of the Dinkas. So the merchants surrendered, and twenty-four hours after the troops re-entered the town with the prisoners. Vekils, slaves, and mercenaries were all sent under a good escort to Khartoum, where a very hard lesson was prepared for the rebels.

This fortunate capture paralyzed every other attempt at infraction of the Colonel's orders, and the Vekils were convinced that when the power is not in the hands of corrupt persons, it can, in spite of the immense distance, make its severity felt, and prevent the traffic in slaves.

CHAPTER XI.

AT LADÒ.

Ladò, headquarters—Elephant in the camp—Long returns from Uganda—The sheikh of Ladò—12,000 oxen—Crocodiles—Ernest Linant de Bellefonds—Chippendale and Watson—The Khedive—Mamo and Hansal—Death of my son—Banquet of Yussuf Bey—Kaka in danger—Death of Yussuf Bey—Assault of Kaka by the Shilluks—Return to Fashoda.

GONDOKORO, by its topographical position, was unsuitable for head-quarters and the centre of operations. During the summer the water is low and the nugars and steamers can with difficulty approach the land if fully laden, while the wood for domestic uses and naval works must be taken from a forest two hours distant. The climate is unhealthy on account of the stagnant water, and the soil sandy and unfit for cultivation.

A station had been built at Rejaf, not because this place afforded all the conditions desired, but only for its strategical position.

Ladò presented fewer inconveniences; there the waters of the Nile are deep, a neighbouring forest covers an immense extent of land, the soil is fertile, and the climate better than at Gondokoro. The Commander having resolved to fix his head-quarters there, I had orders, on October 12th, to repair to Ladò for the necessary materials. On October 14th I embarked on this account on the steamer *Bordeen* with fifty soldiers, and the same day arrived at my destination without meeting hostility of any kind on the part of the natives. The point chosen by me for the station

being covered with trees, I instantly set to work with the soldiers to cut them down, and to cultivate the land; the first condition of safety being not to be surprised by ambuscades. The next day I saw the natives and their chief appear, attracted by the sound of our trumpets, stupefied by the sight of the camp, the sentinels and the tents, surrounded by a thick hedge of thorns and palings. Behind the first group appeared others in a company led by their chief, and staring open-mouthed, not comprehending anything of our work. Then becoming more sociable they aided in loading the fuel for the steamer, and the timber for the station. I rewarded them with glass beads, and this rendered them still more friendly to us.

On the night of the 16th we had a visit which put all the little garrison in a fright. An elephant had entered the camp, passing through a gap which had remained in the hedge, and not finding the way out, began to run about among the tents with uplifted trunk uttering terrific screams. It was impossible to fire at him without the risk of shooting some one, but at last he got out, and so the uncomfortable visit ended. On observing the tracks next morning we could see that he had formed one of a numerous herd, which were going to their usual watering-place on the Nile.

On October 29th the Commander of the garrison of Rejaf sent word that some armed men had been seen on the opposite bank, and that it might be Colonel Long on his return. I have already said that this officer had gone to the Sultan Mtesa, in the name of the Egyptian Government.

Two words here on this Sultan Mtesa.¹ As the ruler of Uganda he is the most powerful sovereign of central Africa. This country is better administered and cultivated than any other. The population, who are all

¹ Mtesa died a few years ago, and now Mwanga, his son, is king of Uganda.

clothed, practise various industries. They prepare furs so well, as to surpass all that is done in that way in Europe. They dress skins admirably, and make a stuff of the bark of trees with such skill that it seems at first sight to be chamois leather.

Colonel Long had employed fifty-six days in travelling from Gondokoro to the capital of Mtesa, but the days of march were only thirty-one, while the rest of the time had been lost on account of the rains, and the difficulty of finding porters. The sesame, indiarubber, the sugar-cane, doora and maize, are very abundant and of good quality. Colonel Long was so kind as to lend me the diary of his journey, and with his permission I have extracted from it these brief notices.

But what gave great importance to this journey was the discovery of a large new lake, which discharges its waters into the Nile.

On October 20th the principal chief in Lado decided at last to make me a visit. He was accompanied by about sixty natives, and seemed sad and dispirited. I thought at first that he was saddened by our occupation of his country, but then he related to me the heavy trials undergone by him in a short space of time. One of his sons had been killed a few months before in an incursion on some neighbours to steal their cattle ; two of his finest cows were dead, and, to complete his misery, he lamented the recent death of his daughter, whom he said he would not have parted with for twenty milch-cows.

Their daughters are indeed a source of wealth for these people, and the grief visible on the countenance of this man had no other cause than that of material loss. For several weeks he had suffered from sleeplessness, only by day could he find a few brief moments of repose, but the thirty milch-cows filing before his disturbed mind wakened him with a start. He had gone to a fakir to be liberated from this nightmare, and though this visit was in vain, it had cost him

another cow, he therefore appealed to me whether I could find a medicine that would cure him. I was about to administer a good purgative, when the Major Suat Effendi dissuaded me, for fear that the unhappy man might go mad.

The inhabitants of Ladò had much to suffer at the time of Sir Samuel Baker. Sir Samuel landed one day with three hundred soldiers, surprising the natives, who were far from expecting such a visit. He seized twelve thousand oxen and cows, and at the same time carried away all their doora. From this time the country grew poorer and poorer, and many years were necessary for it to regain as many cattle as at first, its only source of wealth. Among the officers of Baker's expedition, Ismail Aga had distinguished himself, the same who was now with me at Ladò. He and the soldiers narrated facts of such cruelty, committed at that time by the Governor-General, that the pen refuses to describe them.

The population belongs to the race of the Bari; they are tall of stature, but of unexampled laziness. They came every day to our camp to beg for a little doora to satisfy their hunger. I tried employing them to carry wood or cultivate the ground, but they rebelled at the least fatigue. They go absolutely naked, and this made us wish to clothe the lazy fellows. I presented their sheikh with some clothing, but they came back again naked as at first; it seemed to be too troublesome to them.

The carnivorous birds, such as vultures and hawks, were so numerous and so tame, that they ran about the camp all day like domestic fowls. In spite of the great numbers that we killed, they did not desist, and I was obliged to cease shooting, being persuaded that all the powder in the arsenal of Khartoum would not have sufficed to destroy them.

In the river there are also many hippopotami and crocodiles; the former come out at night and prowl around the tent.

On October 21st Ismail Aga showed me on a heap of sand several crocodiles of enormous size; they looked like great beams of wood. Notwithstanding the three hundred yards of distance, I sent an explosive bullet at them. Of the seven crocodiles, six escaped, but one after an hour of convulsions at last died. For want of boats I was obliged to leave it where it was.

The natives eat the flesh of the crocodile and find it exquisite. I tried it also when I was in the Bahr-el-Ghazal but could not swallow it; imagine a piece of meat boiled in fish-water and you have an idea of the favourite dish of these people.

Every day our communication with Khartoum became more seldom and more difficult, and we sometimes even remained for three months without news from Europe; we found great difficulty also in procuring fuel, not the least of the causes being the indolence of the captains of the steamers. To remedy this, the Commander-in-chief summoned me to him at the headquarters of Gondokoro, and on my arrival there made known the absolute necessity there was that I should go directly to Khartoum and from thence arrange affairs in his name.

Having returned to Laddò, I was making my preparations to depart, when the *Talahuin* arrived from Khartoum, having on board M. Ernest de Linant, brother of the deceased, who was travelling for pleasure, but with the idea of finding an employment. At Berber he heard of his brother's death; but not discouraged at this, he wished to make himself a name by penetrating into Central Africa. He was formerly a pupil of the École des Arts et Métiers, and was possessed of the most varied knowledge, and had left a very good position at Cairo. His father, Linant Pasha, member of the Khedive's Privy Council, had visited Sennaar formerly, and published some works of merit.

In company with M. Linant there were also on

board the steamer just arrived two officers of the Royal Engineers of the English army, Messrs. Chippendale and Watson, whom Gordon had requested from England, by mediation of the Khedive, to aid in the construction of plans and geographical maps.

I returned to Ladò with the new arrivals, and remained there for five days to transport materials and demolish the huts of Gondokoro, of which place only the name was to exist any more. M. Linant de Bellefonds was received with great courtesy by the Colonel, who offered him an escort to take him to Mtesa, while Watson and Chippendale were to explore the lakes.

The *Talahauin* being finally ready for departure, I took leave of the Colonel and quitted Ladò on November 25th, 1874. The voyage was sufficiently brief and fortunate, because the *Talahauin*, an excellent vessel, had the wind in its favour, and the necessary pressure from the boilers never failed, I myself superintending attentively the work of the engine-drivers.

At Jebelin, November 31st, I met the *Khedive* re-ascending the river; this steamer, constructed at Gondokoro in the time of Baker, of small dimensions and only twenty-horse power, resisted with great difficulty the current and the contrary winds, having also to tow two nugars.

Having made the *Khedive* stop, I at length had letters from Europe; for seven months I had been without news, because Colonel Gordon's agent in Cairo was ignorant that there existed a government postal service, and always awaited some opportunity of sending them. But the joy I promised myself was soon turned into sorrow by the announcement of the death of one of my sons.

Among the passengers in the *Khedive*, I found the naturalist, Mr. Marno, of Vienna, whom the Geographical Society had sent to Gordon. There was also on board Mr. Hansal, the Austrian Consul at

Khartoum. Of Mr. Marno and the sudden failure of his mission I shall speak further on.

On December 4th I arrived at Khartoum after only eleven days' journey, including the three lost at Bohr, Gaba Shambé and Khava in shipping wood; while generally it takes sixteen or seventeen days.

On passing through Fashoda, I had an interview with Yussuf Bey, the governor of the city, and commanding officer of the place. My proposals concerning sites for three stations and for leave to cut wood, encountered serious obstacles in the too great pretensions of Yussuf. I was about to retire when, at his pressing request, and in the hope of coming to some agreement, I accepted an invitation to dinner for that day. At five o'clock I went there, and soon found myself surrounded by a crowd of fellow-guests. Yussuf Bey, while we were waiting for dinner, disappeared every now and then; and being curious to know the reason, I learned that it was to moisten his throat with a few sips of mastic. These disappearances became more and more frequent, so that an hour after my arrival our host was completely tipsy.

At last four men entered, bearing the heavy weight of the table, measuring no less than five feet in diameter. At the outer edge were arranged the loaves of doora, some spoons and only one knife and fork. In the centre there were viands of every kind, and the guests, having taken their places, did great honour to their host and his cook. I did not care to take note of the dishes, but there were certainly twenty at least, and at last appeared the famous pilaf which concluded the banquet. Yussuf Bey was unable to speak, but from time to time, plunging his right hand into the maccaroni or other dishes, he carried some to the level of his mouth, into which he never succeeded in introducing more than a third part, bestowing the rest on his clothes or the table-cloth.

I was soon wearied of this festival, but feared nevertheless by withdrawing to offend my host, and

so remained till the end. After we had washed our hands coffee was served to us, while a flourish of trumpets gave us a most inharmonious concert. It consisted of forty trumpeters and made a terrible noise. After having tortured our ears for an hour they were dismissed with some baksheesh. This was act the first.

The second was more comic. The prefect of the police appeared armed with a kind of mandoline, and the music began again ; seven secretaries sang a song composed by the military chemist, all in praise of Yussuf Bey, which ran nearly as follows :

*“ The Governor of the White River is the greatest
of all governors.*

There is not his equal for courage and wisdom.

Even his enemies know how generous he is.

God preserve our Mudir Yussuf Bey ! ”

The good man was so pleased that he went about gesticulating and clapping his hands, and made them repeat the song three times.

I thought the longed-for moment of leave-taking had arrived, when all of a sudden appeared a group of Dongolese. Ten of these, seated on a mat, began to sing to the sound of a drum, while the youngest of the group danced, holding a little stick in his hand and twisting his body in every direction, in the most indecorous attitudes.

It was now ten o'clock, and as we must leave in a few hours I asked permission to withdraw, not without thanking my host for the feast held in my honour. On arriving on board I found several lambs and bundles of sugar-cane, the gift of the governor.

I had been sent to Khartoum with the powers necessary for organizing the service of the steam-boats.

On October 7th I received from His Excellency, Gordon Pasha, orders to come to him as quickly as

possible, and on October 11th, 1875, I set out with an escort of Europeans and Arabs whom I had enlisted to put together the steamer at Dufilé.

Two days before starting Halet Pasha wrote a letter to me, giving me some instructions to protect the passage of an official bearing important letters for the governor of Central Africa, who on his part had also orders to go to Gordon Pasha.

I therefore set out on my way on October 11th, taking with me the official bearing the dispatches. I arrived at midnight of October 16th with the steamer *Ismailia* at Fashoda, and Yussuf Bey, who was preparing to go to Gordon, asked forty-eight hours' time for this purpose. While I was waiting for him, he informed me that the garrison of Khaka was in danger of being massacred by five or six thousand Shilluks, who were besieging them. Yussuf proposed to me to descend as far as Khaka with a reinforcement of troops, and I consented. In an hour the *Ismailia* was ready for departure with fifty soldiers, eleven special guards, and Yussuf Bey. We arrived at Khaka in six hours. Yussuf Bey landed and took at Khaka a reinforcement of another eighty men and two Yusbashi.

To protect the landing and tactics of Yussuf Bey, which did not seem to me too safe, I made the *Ismailia* advance as much as possible, and having some cases of guns and ammunition which I had taken on board at Khartoum for Central Africa, I caused some to be opened, and armed all the crew, so that they might attack the flank of the Shilluks who were at three hundred metres distance from the boat.

Yussuf Bey divided his column into two parts. The first band of fifty men led the way, whilst the rest, commanded by Yussuf Bey himself, followed.

The Shilluks, whom, as we have already said, were in number from five to six thousand, were divided into some thirty groups, and hidden among the grass and doora. They had remarked from a distance

Yussuf Bey, who towered on horseback above his men, and they let the first squadron pass, to attack the second commanded by him.

According to the fugitive soldiers who witnessed the catastrophe, the first to fall was Yussuf Bey, his horse being run through by a lance. Yussuf had not time to rise, and died from the blows of the Shilluks' weapons. After his death the men of his squadron were massacred, and simultaneously those also of the first column, despite their defence being better directed than that of the second, which Yussuf Bey had commanded. Of one hundred and forty-one soldiers only seven were able to save themselves, and, flying to the banks of the Nile, were received by us on the *Ismailia* together with seven of the wounded, whom we were able to rescue from the ferocity of the Shilluks, who pursued them and would perhaps have reached them, since, weary and wounded, they were only upheld by the instinct of self-preservation. But the brisk fire from the *Ismailia* obliged the Shilluks to retire, taking with them, however, their dead and wounded. They were also armed with good guns, but their balls did no mischief since they aimed either too high or too low.

I then went up and down the river several times in the *Ismailia* to see if it were possible to rescue others of the wounded, but in vain; and while lying off Khaka I saw the savages approach again, but this time they were out of the reach of our guns.

I then collected a patrol of volunteers to send to the village to encourage the garrison to hold out till the next day. I provided them with good guns and ammunition, and thus they were able to reach their destination.

The entire garrison was composed of twenty-four men, among whom nine were sick. Khaka was also defended by a single cannon placed in a somewhat elevated position, but which certainly could not command all the country. Besides the garrison there

were from two hundred to two hundred and fifty women and children.

Meanwhile, the Shilluks, to the number of four or five thousand, advanced menacingly around the village. Under protection of the continued fire of the *Ismailia* the twenty-four soldiers were able to come out of the town, dragging with them their cannon towards the boat, but having arrived at a spot where the water was too deep, they could not carry it any further and so left it. The Shilluks then rushed in pursuit of them, giving vent to their ferocity on the women and children, who threw themselves into the river in their terror. Two poor children who remained behind fell a prey to the Shilluks. We saw them carried aloft on the point of their lances.

I ordered that the Shilluks should be permitted to advance without firing, and when they were at five hundred and fifty feet we opened a vigorous fire upon them by which we succeeded in routing them. I carried with me to Fashoda the families, and the twenty-four soldiers of the garrison, to consign them to competent authorities.

Arriving on the night of the 17th, I immediately reported all to the Bimbashi. We had burnt all our fuel and found it impossible to continue. In the town there was no fuel to be had, because the population did not venture to come out. The Shilluks always remained hidden in the jungle.

The defeat of the garrison of Khaka and death of Yussuf Bey had thrown everybody into consternation. All wished to leave, abandoning their property. The Commander himself did not feel too safe. I therefore caused some houses to be pulled down, to procure fuel so as to be able to proceed to Sobat. The Commander, having heard of the attack, wrote me a letter, in which, seeing the danger we were in, he sent me to Khartoum to take some troops for reinforcement.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EXPLORATION OF THE ALBERT NYANZA.

The Albert Nyanza—Shari or Congo?—Failure of Watson's and Chippendale's expeditions—Departure for the Albert Nyanza—The *Duflé* and the *Magungo*—Arrival at Duflé—Preparations for departure—Carlo Piaggia and Lake Kapeki—Seriba Behit—Contrary winds—Thunderstorm—A Piringi killed—Seriba Baro—Water-plants—Inhabited shore—Difficult navigation—The Arduus tribe—The Nile flows from the Albert Lake.

WHILE I was on the Bahr-el-Ghazal, Colonel Gordon attempted to solve the geographical problem of the Albert Lake. He wished to ascertain if this were the ultimate reservoir of the Nile, or whether it belonged to the hydrographical system of the Shari or the Congo.

As is already known, Sir Samuel Baker had, some time before, discovered the communication between the Victoria Nyanza and the Albert, that is, the Victoria Nile, and had maintained that to the north of this latter lake-basin there was an outflow which could be no other than the Nile between Duflé and Gondokoro.

But eminent geographers had doubted the existence of this northern channel, which Baker could not confirm, moreover, with his own eyes. They maintained that the Victoria Nile, issuing from the Victoria Nyanza, passed to the north-eastern side of the Albert Lake, without mixing its waters with the latter. In fact, in many maps drawn at this time, the course

of the Victoria Nile was marked to the right of the Albert Lake.

It was thus of especial importance to Gordon to solve the question on account of its scientific interest, but more especially because of the economical and political interests of the Egyptian Government. If it were found that the Nile issued from the Albert Lake, the Egyptian Soudan could, by means of this great fluvial artery, extend its influence and territory into the proximity of the equator, as far as the States of Kaba Rega on the east, and up to Monbettu, Akka, and unexplored countries on the west.

With this intention Colonel Gordon sent out two eminent English officers, Messrs. Watson and Chippendale, who were to ascend the Nile and solve the problem.

Watson, after a few fruitless marches, returned to Duflé, whence he had set out. Chippendale continued his explorations as far as Wadelai; but having heard here that in the upper course of the river he was exploring the small-pox was raging, being destitute of all instruments for inoculation, and fearing for his escort, he also returned to Duflé without having been able to fulfil his mission.

It was then that Gordon thought of giving me this charge; and I accepted the arduous undertaking.

Being then at Khartoum, I was summoned in October, 1875, to Gondokoro by Gordon, and there I immediately set to work to organize the expedition. For this purpose they gave me a steamer and two iron boats named *Duflé* and the *Magungo*, of about four tons and a half burden together, which had been lying in Gondokoro for a year or so, having been brought there by Baker, and taken to pieces. Their transport to Duflé, the place designated for my embarkation, was a matter of no little difficulty. For this purpose I was obliged to take into pay for some months seven hundred men from Makraka, whom I had caused to

come from their country expressly, and three hundred natives of the place as porters. The entire way was difficult, as we had to cross high mountains and pathless forests, ford rivers, and surmount a thousand other obstacles. At last we arrived at Duflé, where I immediately set to work to put together the steamer and the two boats, so that His Excellency Gordon, when he came to visit us a month afterwards, found the two boats finished, and the work with the steamer well advanced.

These are my memoranda pencilled day by day during this adventurous journey :—

March 7th, 1876.—I set out to-day from Duflé with the two iron boats called *Duflé* and *Magungo*, after having armed them as cutters with a crew of eighteen Dongolese sailors and twelve soldiers. In undertaking the exploration entrusted to me, I was joined also by Carlo Piaggia, who has orders to follow the expedition as far as Magungo, and then attempt alone an exploration towards Lake Kapeki.

I passed the night in the Seriba Behit, where I hired an interpreter. Next day the navigation of the river was somewhat quicker, the wind having dropped, but towards evening a heavy thunderstorm came on which obliged me to stop at a seriba. I killed an antelope, which was divided amongst the men.

March 9th.—Contrary wind from the west and south-west. We journeyed from 2.30 a.m. till six p.m., traversing eighteen miles; I resumed my way next morning at five. At ten a.m. we perceived some islands covered with bananas, but the high grass prevented us from approaching. At 2.30 p.m. a strong wind from the west and rain till 4.30. Set out again at seven, but a fresh thunderstorm stopped me almost directly.

March 11th.—On our way at five a.m. I killed a piringi, but was unable to pick it up on account of the floating plants. At ten I passed before the seriba Baro; here the high ground has the appearance of an island

among marshes; it is covered by a wood, on the borders of which the village stands. I should think this would be a very favourable place for a station, and to obtain fuel for navigation. The natives took



FLOATING ISLANDS.

to flight. There are many tracts of land excellent for cultivation, and very many bananas. The river is deep, and boats can approach easily. From Baro to Dufilè, a distance of seventy-three miles, the river,

though encumbered in an extraordinary way with floating islands, always remains sufficiently deep. We found no sand-banks. All these islands, composed of grass and papyrus with their roots strongly intertwined, have generally a width of from four to six yards, but are not habitable. Some are from three to four miles long, but do not however impede the navigation. They frequently change their position, because if a strong hurricane rises, the wind, blowing among the bushes, drives the islands along with a rapidity of four or five miles an hour, throwing them upon other islands of a similar nature, or against the banks of the river, so that they are overturned in the water. From these causes, the river continually changes its aspect, and it is impossible to give an accurate plan of it on the maps. The map therefore that accompanies my narrative cannot be exact in indicating the course of the channels. It is also difficult to indicate the velocity of the current. In certain places it is a mile an hour, while in others it varies from two to three miles; taking the average, it may be calculated about two miles an hour.

The banks of the river, especially the right one, are thickly inhabited. The natives are of a bronze colour, and all, without distinction, cover part of the body with skins of antelopes or goats; they are diligent agriculturists. Their arms consist of lances and arrows; the houses of the villages are not scattered at wide distances, as in the greater part of the African regions, but are grouped together and surrounded by fences.

At three in the afternoon we came to a very perilous passage, closed to the south, and the vessels had great difficulty in passing this channel by the aid of cords and men. After five hours' work we came into the principal stream, but on arriving here I perceived we had mistaken the way, and that there must be another channel. It was necessary therefore for me to form a more exact idea of the place, since the way

I had taken was not adapted for the passage of steamers directed to the lake.

March 12th.—I employed the morning in search of the right channel, and found it to be navigable, although the mouth was almost hidden by the aquatic vegetation. I left this place at 8.15 a.m. and took a north-westerly direction, along the shore inhabited by the tribe of the Adrus. These natives speak the dialect of the Madi. I observed an elevated woody spot, well suited for establishing a station. The inhabitants seemed very timid, for as soon as they saw us they abandoned the village and their cattle, and fled inland. Afterwards, as we were withdrawing, they returned to their houses. The wind was not favourable, and the boats scarcely made any progress. We cast anchor at six in the evening.

CHAPTER XIII.

WADELAI AND THE MOUTH OF THE ALBERT LAKE.

Advance by rowing—Natives—Hospitality—Interpreters—Arrival of Wadelai—Wadelai's brother—Vassal of Kaba Rega—Treason of the false Wadelai—Merissa—River of the Luris—Ferocity of the Luris—Ex-blood-brotherhood with Wadelai—The Yaco—Crocodile's blood—Hippopotamus meat—Populous shores—Bananas and *doora*—The Langos—Distrustful natives—Equinoctial hurricanes—Kaba Rega—War-ships—Fires—Kaba Rega and Mtesa—Letter of Mtesa to Gordon—Hostility—Flight—Mortality in the Unyoro—Hurricane—Foquah and Faigaro.

March 13th.—Set out at five in the morning; contrary wind from the south-west. The men took the oars; towards eight o'clock we discovered a village to the left. The inhabitants, very different in this to the Adrus, followed my boat in hundreds; then, seeing it was not our intention to stop, they began to shout. With the best will in the world I could not make out what they said. Three natives with a boat were able to reach me, and from them I gained the particulars I desired respecting the country of Wadelai.

At ten we stopped at a village situated on the left bank between this and a little brook. We next bartered some articles for chickens and other provisions, and set out again on our journey. Half an hour afterwards we found the way closed. At this point the current has a speed of two miles an hour, and the south wind prevented us from proceeding. After some hours we were again in motion; we halted at the large village of Adilai, the chief of

which is brother to Wadelai. The village is situated on a bank to the left of the river. More than four hundred natives came to meet us, and gave us their hands with evident signs of pleasure. The fact that they were all unarmed conquered any distrust on our part. When I had left Dufilé I learnt that the Mudir there had forgotten to give our soldiers sufficient doora for a month, and the soldiers had left me without saying anything. The friendly reception of these natives made me hope that I could obtain provisions from them. I received, in fact, flour in abundance, with sweet potatoes and a quantity of chickens. I then had my tent pitched to enjoy a real night's repose.

On the morning of the 14th came other natives with fresh provisions; having chosen what seemed necessary, I was giving the orders for departure, when they informed me that the interpreters furnished by the Sheikh Behit had disappeared. By dint of promises and presents, and after a thousand hesitations, I succeeded in enlisting an old man of the place, who was to conduct me to Wadelai.

We set out at eight in the morning. At Adilal the river has high banks, and is very deep, the velocity of the water is equal to two miles an hour; the left bank is covered with vegetation. Both the banks are about a hundred feet high; the country is wooded, and well-populated. The villages are fewer, but are the largest I have seen in Central Africa.

At four o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at length at the dwelling of the Sheikh Wadelai. The purpose of my visit was to obtain an interpreter.

At six in the evening the Sheikh sent to tell me that he would come the next day, provided I sent him two soldiers, as he feared I would go away before he arrived; I replied therefore that I would wait for him. Wishing to profit by the time lost in waiting for this chief, so much desired and so diffi-

cult to see, I sent all the crew on shore betimes next morning, in order to be able to rid the boats of the water from the torrents of rain; the masts of the boats were then put in their places, and by six p.m. all was in order, and the crew at their posts.

The brother of Wadelai arrived two hours afterwards with a goat, some eggs, bananas, etc., and announced the promised visit to me for the afternoon. Time pressed, but it was necessary to be patient, and bend to the caprices of this man. Nevertheless, the increasing number of natives appeared strange, as from thirty they had become several hundred; the plain was swarming with them. I had no difficulty in recognizing among these people several faces which I had seen in the seribes visited by me on a preceding journey. What were these people doing here? Perhaps they had come to defend Wadelai? It was certainly not from mere curiosity, having seen us more than once already.

Wadelai's brother asked me for presents. I contented him with various articles, an axe, copper wire, and some rattles; and I learnt from him that Wadelai, though a powerful chief, was the vassal of Kaba Rega, the King of Unyoro. Wadelai gave up to Kaba Rega all the ivory he collected; five or six times in the year it was sent, and each time two or three hundred bearers were necessary. Kaba Rega has now his habitation in an island, from whence he directs his affairs; all this was related to me by the interpreter, but I could not make out the name of the island, and was impatient to converse with Wadelai, from whom I flattered myself I should obtain ampler and more precise information.

At length at noon an old native appeared, clothed in cotton dyed red, and followed by an escort of three hundred men. I thought at first he was the chief, but then, remembering that Wadelai had been described to me as tall and stout, I understood immediately that this was only a messenger. He pre-

sented two jars of merissa and a goat, announcing that Wadelai was ill, and could not come, but that he had been charged to conduct me to him.

I was uncertain what part to take, when the messenger with whom I had spoken the day before approached; at sight of him the old man in the red shirt divested himself of his garment, and took to flight as fast as possible. I then perceived that I had to do with a company of rogues, and resolved to revenge myself.

I summoned the sheikh of a scriba, situated about six hundred feet from the river, and ordered him to let Wadelai know that if he did not send me back my presents before the evening, and if, before the next day, the interpreter did not come, I would set fire to the scriba, and destroy as much as I could. After such a threat the Sheikh Wadelai did not long delay in making his appearance. He was a corpulent man, but in his physiognomy there was no trace whatever of ferocity.

Wadelai brought me, as a present, two jars of merissa (a kind of beer of the country), two goats, and some bananas. He conversed at length with us, and thus I was able to obtain information on one branch of the river, which, issuing from the Nile, takes a direction towards the north-west.¹ This arm, it was said, had a width of about six hundred feet, and a depth varying from eighteen to twenty-five feet. Wadelai told me that it had a very long course, but that he could not indicate its mouth to me; it flowed along the foot of mountains in the country of the Luris, but this people being very fierce he had never been able to penetrate much beyond their boundaries. He complained then of the continual depredations on the herds, the burning of his villages, and massacre of his subjects on the part of these Luris.

¹ Probably one of the many channels which the Nile forms in this country.

After I had offered to Sheikh Wadelai some presents of glass beads, copper, iron, and cotton, we became great friends, so that he proposed we should exchange our blood. This friendliness was of great use to me, and having conquered my disgust at the ceremony, I submitted to it, since it was considered as swearing brotherhood. The method of exchanging blood among the tribes of the Upper Nile is as follows. The two friends link their arms, as in the *Freundschaft-Trinken* of the northern Germans, and in this position they mutually exchange blood from a small wound in the inner side of the arm. Wadelai then gave me an interpreter, and at two o'clock we resumed our voyage until six.

Where we had now arrived the river had the aspect and size of a lake, and was divided into two channels, one directed to the south-west, and the other to the north-west. The natives told me that the latter channel led very far, which made me believe that it went to Makraka; but no one could give me precise information.

On the morning of March 16th we set out again at four o'clock, but when it was light I perceived we had mistaken the way; we had entered a wide tributary, believed by us to be the chief stream, and two hours were needed to regain the right route; but we were obliged to halt, because of the strong wind from the south south-west.

Here the authority of Wadelai ceased on the left bank, and that of Sheikh Yaco began, who was always in open war with the Luris, who were encamped to the south-west, and had recently surprised Yaco's people, and made a butchery among them, and had afterwards exchanged the prisoners for oxen. Like Wadelai, Yaco is a vassal of Kaba Rega, to whom he delivers all the ivory collected in his State.

The banks of the river are high on all sides, and accessible at few points, because between them and

the navigable channel runs a tongue of land covered with water plants.

The crocodiles are very abundant, and the natives hunt them with lances. To the handle of these a cord is attached, to which is tied a piece of ambash, which floats, on account of its lightness, and serves to mark the way taken by the crocodile in its flight. The blacks follow in their canoes (constructed of the single trunk of a tree, and capable of holding ten or twelve men) till the animal is dead. As I have already said, the flesh of the crocodile is of a nauseous taste, having a flavour of fish and musk. By mixing the musky fat of the crocodile with other animal fats, the natives make an ointment they use for rubbing themselves.

The crocodile, being a most voracious animal, does great harm. The oxen, while grazing along the banks, are seized by them, and dragged into the river; many natives, while bathing or swimming across the river, also become their victims.

The hippopotamus abounds likewise, and in many places as many as a hundred are found together. They are very dangerous to the boats which traverse the river by night, and in my explorations, when it was necessary to proceed by night, I used to keep them at a distance by the light of a lantern.

The hippopotamus, which the natives use as one of their chief aliments, has spongy, hard, and tasteless flesh. A piece of this meat is placed to cook in a saucepan without any water; as soon as it is warm so much fat is melted as to fill the saucepan, and the meat, after boiling four or five hours, is reduced to the tenth part of its former bulk.

At Gondokoro a hippopotamus was killed by the military physician, Salah Effendi. I had the curiosity to see how much its flesh weighed, and when it was separated from the bones it weighed altogether about two thousand four hundred kilogrammes. By melting the fat a great quantity of oil might be obtained,

excellent for making soap and for machines. It may be calculated that one hippopotamus would furnish in fat 50 to 60 per cent. of its own weight, and this oil would be valuable to commerce.

The tusks of the hippopotamus were at one time more valuable than ivory, as they were used for making artificial teeth, but their price has much diminished since a new composition was discovered, which is used instead.

The female hippopotamus is fierce and terrible when she has her young ones, and then becomes very dangerous to the natives, who hunt her, for she attacks the boats furiously, and upsets them. The hippopotamus, from which a man can easily escape on land, his enormous weight and short legs not allowing him to pursue his enemy, is more agile in the water than can be imagined. The little hippopotami, in order to cross a river against the stream, climb on their mother's back.

The stretch of river between Duflé and Bira is wide and deep, and this is, as I think, the best part to be met with above Berber.

On the banks one sees many and populous villages; cattle are abundant, and the inhabitants enjoy an affluence the like of which I never saw in other parts of Central Africa. Doorra is little cultivated, if at all, and bananas cut, dried, and ground, supply the place of corn; but a kind of French bean is cultivated, and sweet potatoes in great quantity. Chickens and eggs are at a low price: for fifteen beads the men of the crew could get a copious repast. Some Arab or Dongolese slave-merchants pushed their raids as far as here across the river in former times. But this was only in a few isolated cases.

March 17th.—A light breeze carried us along the territory of the Langos. The villages became more frequent, and I counted twenty-seven in the space of two miles. The land on both sides is elevated, and fertility seems to reign everywhere. I am in

hopes of being able to reach the mouth of the lake to-morrow. The banks are free from grass, the river here is fifteen hundred feet wide, and the water of a constant depth; it is the finest stretch of river that I have seen in Africa, and perhaps also in Europe.

March 18th.—On our way at four a.m. The river is sometimes so wide that we can hardly discern the banks. I perceived some natives occupied in the chase, and attempted to approach them, but they were distrustful, and took to precipitous flight. Then, seeing that they were not followed, they stopped at some distance, but I could not obtain the information I desired. I left this place, and in crossing the river I came upon a boat, manned by four natives, from whom I hoped to obtain the desired information; but in spite of my presents I could get nothing out of them.

The sky grew dark, and a tempest came on; so I anchored in a safe place. The hurricane began at eight; it seemed as if the heavens were opened; we passed the whole night under a deluge of water, accompanied by a strong wind, which did not allow us to pitch the tents.

March 19th.—Day came, and the rain continued. Only at eight the sun reappeared to dry us; the boat was full of water. We hastened to lighten it, and at eleven we were on our way, entering the channel which was to take us to Magungo. The wind came from the south, but blew gently; I hoped therefore to arrive at night, but our hopes soon vanished, for a fresh thunderstorm came up from Magungo, and the mouth of the lake was agitated with great waves. So at two o'clock we anchored.

March 20th.—These interminable equinoctial tempests prevent us from advancing. To-day, however, profiting by a period of calm, I attempted to traverse the distance which separates us from Magungo.

After a passage of four hours we reached the eastern bank. At the distance of four or five miles from land I came upon a number of islands and sand-banks, but the water not being less than six feet deep, we were able to pass through them. I perceived on these islands the roofs of some huts, the inhabitants of which had fled with their cattle to the mainland, where the bank formed a kind of bay, sheltered from the southerly winds.

March 21st.—Set out at four a.m. According to my calculations, the Magungo river cannot be far distant; we arrived at a peninsula, where the natives in thousands ran to the shore in a threatening manner. I thought it prudent to keep at a distance. I asked them if Magungo was still far off. They replied repeatedly, "We are the people of Kaba Rega," which made me suppose that Kaba Rega dwells in these parts, or very near.

While I was with Sheikh Wadelai a messenger had come from Sultan Kaba Rega. He demanded that all the men disposable should be sent to Missindi to transport the ivory collected there into a safer place, the Arab troops having approached his possessions. Kaba Rega, in the meantime, was preparing with all his warriors to attack the station of Anfinia. Wadelai had promised a great deal, but performed nothing. Kaba Rega had therefore marched in great force to the north, when all of a sudden he heard of the enemy's ships of war having appeared. They were our boats!

This unexpected news was the cause of great commotion among all the tribe, and when we approached the villages on the banks of the river, there was a general flight of the population, who, abandoning their huts, and carrying with them their possessions and their cattle, hid themselves in the thick jungle, or on the heights of the mountains. During the night the horns sounded continually, calling the warriors together with the signals agreed

upon, while fires were lighted on the heights. My dragoman, who knew these signals, told me that *one* fire signified the approach of an enemy; *two*, not very distant from each other that they must put themselves in safety; *three*, summoned them to assemble for combat; *four*, announced the advance of the enemy, and so on.

Kaba Rega, terrified, had appealed to Sultan Mtesa, asking for his alliance and help; but Mtesa thought it better to negotiate and adjust matters by writing a letter to Colonel Gordon. It was written in very bad English, and yet I believe it to be the work of an English servant whom Stanley had left at Rubaga (the residence of the Sultan Mtesa), to take care of all the things left in deposit there.

The letter was as follows:—

“I, Mtesa, Sultan of the Sultans of Uganda, write this letter to you to tell you not to make war on Kaba Rega. In making war on Kaba Rega, you make it also on me, and Kaba Rega is King of Unyoro. I have heard that you have made war ships. I will go to Bombay. The King of Kings of Uganda salutes you.”

Mtesa, in announcing to Gordon that he would go to Bombay, intended, perhaps, to give him to understand that he would put himself under the protection of the English Government.²

King Mtesa has a great aversion to the Arabs, and asserts that his royal race being of Abyssinian origin, he belongs to the Christian religion. In support of this opinion, it is sufficient to say that the race of the Unyoro, as well as that of the Uganda, differ from all the other tribes of Central Africa, as well by the colour of their complexion as by their customs. King Kaba Rega is the successor of his father, the famous Kamrasi of Baker Pasha. At the

² All this information was probably gathered by Gessi at his return to the Sheikh Wadelai, where he stayed some time.—EDITOR.

death of Kamrasi various curious and cruel ceremonies were observed. The corpse was laid on a living couch of the women of his harem in a great trench. It is curious to see the indifference with which the women of this country, and, as I have been told, of other countries to the south of the lake, allow themselves to be buried alive for love of their husbands. It is a proof of affection and fidelity still more terrible than that practised formerly by the Indian widows throwing themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands. When civilization, which will certainly be one day introduced into this country, has taken root also in Unyoro, one of the first reforms will certainly be the abolition of these cruel human sacrifices.

But we must resume the course of our explorations.

All along the south-eastern shore the natives crowded on the banks, armed with lances, sending arrows after us, and inviting us to land, showing us at the same time with the lances how we should be received. I let them do and say what they liked, and they continued for hours to follow us, and hindered us from anchoring in any bay.

The weather had turned rainy, and the wind blew; things were beginning to look serious. While we were, in fact, gaining a place of refuge, we suddenly saw several hundreds of heads emerge from the water. It was necessary to act promptly, and two shots from my rifle set all these swimmers to flight.

March 22nd.—We passed a quiet night, protected by a little bay and high mountains, in the shelter of which we did not feel the strong south wind. From the tongue of land where Kaba Rega has established himself, as far as forty miles along the coast, the mountain chain is nearly destitute of forests. All the summits tower up perpendicularly, and the narrow shore is strewn with stones that have fallen from above. A low strip of land, detached from the shore,

rises gradually, and on this kind of peninsula were several scribe. From information obtained from a native of the place, we learned that mortality is very great here among Kaba Rega's subjects. Reduced to live on fish, deprived of bananas, poor in cattle, and congregated by thousands on a narrow strip of ground, these natives must needs be subject to all kinds of disease.

We continued our voyage to the south. At three o'clock in the afternoon the southern sky grew dark, and we took refuge beneath a small hill, expecting a great hurricane and a deluge of rain. But fortunately the storm passed off in another direction, and for this time we were spared.

The inhabitants of a neighbouring village fled to the mountains; others, who were armed, looked at us from a distance; but, seeing that we took no notice of them, they ventured as far as the shore, signing to us to go away, and at the same time unfastened the cable by which our boat was tied. They gesticulated a great deal, threatening to attack us, and at last attempted to cut off a piece of our cable with their lances, but as I threatened them with my rifle they desisted, and went away, repeating their signs that we should leave the place.

March 23rd.—We took several hours in adjusting the rigging, and then resumed our voyage at dawn, after a dark night, disturbed by several hippopotami, which did not leave us a moment in peace.

The mountains round about offer no possibility of procuring fuel, but some might be got, at the expense of much labour, from the southern shore of the lake.

A strong south wind prevented us from proceeding, and we had to anchor at two o'clock.

CHAPTER XIV.

SHIPWRECK.

Interpreter killed—Storm—Shipwreck—Rescue of the provisions—Lost instruments—Magungo—Warlike music—Two thousand natives—Flight of arrows—Wad-el-Mek—Cataract—Thousands of hippopotami—Compact with the natives—Message to Anfina—War between Wad-el-Mek and Kaba Rega—Victory of Wad-el-Mek.

March 24th—We passed the night near a village with a small port. The natives said we were opposite Foquah and near Faigaro, so we could not be far from Magungo. We encountered another hurricane on the lake, and therefore we returned to the village where we had spent the preceding night. We resumed navigation at six in the morning, but a strong south-east wind obliged us to take in sail. The force of the waves was such as to put us in danger, and so we returned to the usual refuge.

I proposed to my interpreter to land and hold council with the chiefs of the place. He consented, and left us.

As he never returned again, I must suppose he was killed, though no natives showed themselves. I abandoned the place that same evening, and stopped three miles further north, without touching the shore, however, where natives in increasing number awaited us, armed and threatening.

At three in the afternoon the wind changed all at once from south to east. The immense stretch

of water with high waves presented the aspect of the sea in a storm, and it was now too late to think of a refuge. I sent astern all the crew to lighten the prow as much as possible, but the frail vessel shipped water continually, and the constant efforts of the men were insufficient to bale it out. The rain only ceased at three o'clock on the morning of the 25th; we were all drenched, but it would have been folly for us to have attempted to change our clothes.

The place where we lost the interpreter not seeming safe from gusts of wind, and the shore being covered with rocks, I decided to leave it. We set out at two o'clock, and searched in vain for a place where we could land. The weather was threatening, and constant lightning illuminated the lake.

Towards eleven o'clock at night we found at last an accessible spot where the shore was sandy, but at two o'clock the bad weather began again; the wind, which was blowing from the land, changed all at once to north-west, great waves tossed the boats, and it was impossible to get under sail and leave the place.

I had a sail however hoisted at the prow, to hinder as much as possible the waves from flooding the bark. But the anchor of the *Doujilô*, although all the chain was in the water, could not hold, and the boat at every roll was driven towards the shore. At half-past three the bark was stranded, and at the first wave that broke over it was full of water, and disappeared entirely except the stern. We sprang into the water, as we were only five or six metres from land, and set to work to collect the ship's stores which had fallen overboard. Others we picked up afterwards, but they were quite soaked through. Everyone had lost a part of his outfit and goods, but the greatest loss of course was mine. What grieved me most was to be bereft of my compass, watch, and telescope, though I was also much



AN ATTACK BY NATIVES ON LAKE ALBERT NYANZA.

chagrined at the damage done to my scientific instruments. We immediately set to work to dry the hypsometric instruments and our clothes, and at noon the sun shed on us some beneficent rays.

While the storm was raging my first care had been directed to save all that was necessary for our journey; after two hours of hard work, having emptied it of the sand which had accumulated in the bottom, I had the great pleasure of seeing our vessel afloat again.

On the 30th of March we arrived at Magungo. It was impossible to find a place where we could land—the canals made by the natives are too shallow; we tried to ascend the river, but met with the same obstacles. We re-descended the three miles we had come and discovered Sir Samuel Baker's landing-place, but it was choked with papyrus. As soon as the natives perceived us, they set up their war-like music, and came to the shore in a concourse of about two thousand. I went in the little boat quite near them, and explained that I had not come to do them any harm, and that they had nothing to fear from me, but they did not trust me, and would not listen, but drew their arrows. Hardly had I returned on board, than they called me back and invited me to come on shore. I was already on the way when the crew begged me to return, saying that the natives were shooting at me. In fact several of them hidden in the marshy thicket began to take aim at me, and I withdrew just in time.

Having nothing to do on the following day, and wishing to wait till I could put myself in communication with Wad-el-Mek, I determined to make an expedition to Murchison Falls in the hope of finding out the way to a more hospitable village, and discovering the means of sending a message to Wad-el-Mek.

On the 1st of April I went to the Falls. The

banks of the river to the height of fifty feet were covered with rich vegetation, and below we saw fringes of grass and papyrus. The average depth of the water was from twelve to twenty-four feet; it was muddy and full of fragments of plants and dead branches. There were a great many hippopotami, and these animals proved dangerous at night. The current is variable; in some parts the water seemed almost stagnant and in others it ran with a velocity of two miles and a half an hour. The hostility of the natives did not permit us to approach near, but we were always followed and kept in sight by some hundreds. I could scarcely get rid of them, but I determined if possible not to provoke them.

We came on the 2nd of April in sight of the Falls. It was a stupendous spectacle. The green heights around; the rocks emerging from the flood which falls from a great height; the mist produced by the foaming waters, white as snow; the deafening roar, held me for some moments in an ecstasy. Opposite to the waterfall two rocks of a pyramidal form, which one would take to be the work of man, rose to a height of twenty feet. Meanwhile the inhabitants of the surrounding villages requested permission to approach us and sell provisions. After much discussion they went back to their village, and returned with chickens and flour and without arms in sign of peace. I succeeded in learning that Wad-el-Mek was at Anfina, that Missindi was evacuated by the troops, and that the soldiers of Kaba Rega were in the neighbourhood of Magungo. I asked if I might speak to the Sheikh, and they promised that I should.

It is twenty-seven miles from the mouth of the river to the Falls, and I do not know why the maps mark it at only twelve and a half.

At seven in the morning of the 3rd of April the Sheikh arrived, and I asked him for a man who

for pay would carry a letter of mine to Anfina. Two natives presented themselves and set out. In this letter I apprised Wad-el-Mek of my arrival with articles for the station, which he must see about fetching. Rain in the afternoon.

The place we occupied being too cramped, I determined on the following day to go a little further down. The natives brought provisions in abundance.

On the 5th of April I learned of the return of the two men sent to Anfina. At eleven a.m. two interpreters of Wad-el-Mek announced to me that their chief was going to give battle to the people of Kaba Rega. on the peninsula described by me before, and added that he would be at the mouth of the river in two days.

Next day I prepared to encounter Wad-el-Mek, and while he is on his way to Magungo I will give some particulars about his country, its inhabitants, and its products.

I can certify that from Berber till twenty miles above Dufilé there is no tract of country more beautiful than this as far as Magungo. I do not speak of the interior, not having seen it, but of the territory intersected by the river. There are no longer the arid mountains of Lado and Dufilé, so poor in vegetation, and we see no more the miserable *seribe* of half-starved and lazy inhabitants. There I found a country and a people who could soon be civilized; accustomed as are these natives to respect authority, they yield obedience to their chief, and pay without demur taxes in kind and in person. The aspect of their villages is pleasing and expressive of order, and an agreeable domestic life; articles in wood, kitchen utensils, the dressing of skins and manufacture of cords and fishing nets, are very well executed; the skins are better sewn together than in Russia and Turkey. Their costume is composed of one or two skins of antelopes or goats.

The products of the land are here more varied and abundant than in the valley of Dufile. Millet, potatoes, and beans are abundant, and tobacco is much cultivated, and it is of a better quality than that grown in the Soudan. The oxen are double the size of those of Kiri and Lado, and there is an extraordinary number of goats.

Wad-el-Mek was returning from the island where his enemies had been hidden. He had left four hundred of them dead on the field, capturing seven hundred goats. I went to him in the little boat and announced my departure on the 11th of April. As a matter of fact I set out on my journey to the Albert Nyanza on the following Monday.

CHAPTER XV.

ON THE MYSTERIOUS LAKE.

The Bisso Mountains—Great cascade—Gigantic waves—The Dongolese—Malcontent crew—Belila—Want of discipline—Attempt at towing—Another cascade—The river Tisa—Third cascade—Thunderstorm—Thousands of fish and crocodiles—The gate of Shubra—All on land.

WE progressed slowly on the 12th of April, as there was little wind, but afterwards the breeze freshened to a strong gale, and I descried an island where I hoped to find refuge, but I found it occupied by the people of Kaba Rega, who had fled from Magungo and from the hands of Wad-el-Mek. They showed themselves very hostile to us, and threatened to attack us if we did not withdraw. I approached, notwithstanding their number, fired a few shots, cast anchor and landed; thus the stormy night with the lake much agitated passed pretty well.

The natives gradually drew nearer, and I let them know that they must return peacefully to their houses, and at the same time send a deputation to Anfina with the declaration of their submission. The same day they went away, and I learnt afterwards that twenty of them had gone to Anfina. I refused four oxen that they wished to present to me, and they then promised to bring me some ivory in two days. I advised them to carry it to Wad-el-Mek.

These islands are only seven miles distant from Magungo.

April 13th.—I left the islands at half-past six in the morning. Very little wind, but the lake was still troubled, by reason of the wind on the previous night. We passed before a low land, in parts covered with bush and of easy access. I remarked a large village with an immense number of oxen and other cattle. Six miles inland we descried the Bisso mountains, which close in the lake; their average height is about a thousand feet.

At two o'clock we took refuge from a gust of wind near a floating island. On a little islet there were about thirty huts, abandoned a few minutes before by the natives at our approach. The men of the crew found some fowls and a few pieces of cord. Two hours afterwards the natives returned; they gradually came nearer, crying "*Anfina, Anfina.*" I presented them with glass beads in exchange for the fowls we had eaten, and gave them back the cords, saying there was no reason to fly at the approach of a vessel of the Government. They returned in fact to their habitations, protesting that they would have nothing more to do with Kaba Rega, and that they recognized the authority of Anfina.

Rain and bad weather; but we made six miles.

April 14th.—I awakened my crew at two o'clock, just as the moon was rising, desiring to pass unobserved the hostile posts of Kaba Rega, and visit the cascades marked on Sir Samuel Baker's map.

The weather had turned rainy, and in the distance flashes of lightning were seen, while the thunder roared. We travelled all day, making thirty-two miles; we passed the territory of Kaba Rega, but his troops disappeared at our approach. Wind all day.

The mountains forming the shore are precipitous, with scanty vegetation. The water is deep almost close to the banks. I observed a torrent descending from the mountains in the form of a cascade, from a height of three hundred and fifty feet. The natives

told me this water never failed. I was unable to ascend the difficult mountain slope.

April 15th.—On the evening of the 14th we had halted near the cascade as the only suitable place, and in fact the surrounding mountains sheltered us from a strong south wind which had risen during the night. In the morning, it continuing to blow hard, I tried with the men to draw our boat up on the strand, so as to place them in safety in case of the weather getting worse. In spite of our efforts the operation did not succeed.

The boats of my expedition, although very good, are not exactly suitable for a journey of this kind; they ought to have decks. The waves here are not so high as in the Mediterranean, but they succeed each other so rapidly that the water comes into the boats. The men are continually drenched, either by the waves breaking over the boat, or by the constant and persistent rains. If the boats had decks, and were well steered, the lake might be crossed in all directions. The Dongolese are very expert on the Nile, but they have no practice on the lake, and always cling close to the shore. At three or four miles from land, if the sky threatens to cloud over, they beg hard to approach the shore. In vain I tried to persuade them that there is less danger in the open, and when I refused their request to approach the land, they united in a group, awaiting death resignedly, and invoking the name of the Prophet.

“For what reason,” they said, “should we oppose the will of God and destiny? If God consents to prolong our lives, wherefore tempt Him?”

Tired of such talk, I once took the first cudgel that came to hand, and beat them soundly, till I thought I had obtained the desired effect, but they were insensible to everything, and unresistingly allowed themselves to be beaten, saying that destiny also sent them these blows.

“Well,” I said to them, “so you wish to go

home? Remember, however, that I am fulfilling a mission of the Government, and the Effendina will let you all rot in the prisons of Fashoda!"

"That would also be a stroke of fate," one of them replied.

I was so enraged that things nearly came to a bad end. I called one of the crew, named Belila, who at my suggestion had been named for promotion. Seeing that the Dongolese were evidently all of one mind, I wished to have the soldiers on my side, who though they had not any superstitions about destiny, had nevertheless a horror of the water and suffered from sea-sickness.

I promised Belila that my first care on returning to Dufile at the conclusion of my enterprise, would be to have him nominated officer, to promote all the soldiers by one step, and see that they had a good reward in money. The soldiers, seeing me laugh at the Dongolese, took courage. On the morning of the 15th I had just ordered that they should attempt to draw the boats on land. An ironical smile appeared on the lips of Belila.

"Why do you laugh?" I asked him.

"We are all without umbrellas," he replied; "and if fate wills our journey to be achieved, we shall make it even without all this apparatus. If not, why should we take such trouble?"

My patience was at an end, and saying "That is what destiny wills!" I beat him with all my strength. This intimidated the others, while the soldiers seemed rather pleased at it, and my orders were henceforth carried out without so many remarks.

In the afternoon the sky became cloudy, a south-westerly wind blew, and it was impossible to tow the boats along. I let the soldiers land, as well as a sailor, who said he was afraid, and moored the vessel, awaiting the fine weather which happily soon came. I returned near the shore and recommenced

the attempt at towing. We arrived within three miles and a half of the cataract already described, and discovered another much more important one, near which was a village. The inhabitants ran out to look at us, and gave me all the information I desired. They assured me there was a great river coming from far away in Uganda, called the Tisa, and forming three cascades—the first, that which I had passed, called Hoiuma; the second, Wanbabia; the third, Nanza. Their volume never diminished throughout the year. The natives knew that this river passes at the foot of the Mmuka mountain; they had been several times in the interior of Uganda to transport ivory on Kaba Rega's account, but they had never gone so far as the source of the river. I myself wished to see this water-course which they told me was so wide and deep, but the mountain that I should have had to climb was rocky and as perpendicular as a wall, and a long round would have to be made to find a practicable passage. That day I had the fever.

April 16th.—I profited by the calm weather to set out on my journey at four in the morning, towing the boat. At six we came in sight of the third cascade, which is fully equal to the second. These three waterfalls contribute a considerable contingent to the lake; they descend from a height of from five to six hundred feet.

The lake is much agitated; it seems there has been a thunderstorm somewhere in the night.

To-day we went along by dint of rowing, and at two in the morning we had not yet found a favourable spot for anchorage. The sky was covered with clouds; now and then a flash of lightning illumined the scene. I tried to reach a spur-shaped promontory perceived at the moment of sunset. The shores of the lake have the form of little rounded heights covered with grass and bushes, and descending perpendicularly into the water.

Towards the shore the waters are turbid from the yellow earth brought down by the drainage of the land. There fish are very abundant, and we saw them making continual leaps out of the water to save themselves from the crocodiles, great numbers of which, of very large size, infest these waters. The hippopotamus on the other hand is very rare.

The weather was again threatening, but I took advantage of the strong wind in our favour, and with a speed of six miles an hour we reached in four hours a small but excellent bay, about seven hundred and fifty feet wide and eight hundred feet deep, and sheltered on all sides, to which I gave the name of Shubra Port.

This little harbour lies, according to my observations, at about the middle of the lake, and would be admirably suited as a refuge and for storing fuel.

I had now traversed fifty-two miles.

I was glad of the effect produced on the crew, who admitted that if the thunderstorm had overtaken us near the coast our vessels could not have escaped. The tempest could not have been more violent, but the *Dujilé* and *Maqungo* had proved themselves worthy. I promised the crew and soldiers that they should rest all the next day in reward for the fatigue they had endured the night before.

April 17th.—Having found a suitable shore, all landed to dry their clothes; the sailors swept the water from the boats, adjusted the sails and cordage, and in this way the whole day passed.

April 18th.—Strong south-easterly wind, *en route* at six a.m., but the lake was so rough that I was obliged to return to the point of departure.

On our way again at nine, the wind having lulled. We coasted by mountains which descended abruptly into the lake. After about twenty miles I observed a large island projecting towards the shore. We hoisted all sail, so as to reach it as soon as possible.

All of a sudden I saw that the water of the lake, from being clear and transparent, had become white. I climbed up the mast, and saw that the water was reddish near the low shore and choked with papyrus plants; undoubtedly we were near a river. In fact, on bending to the south-west, I perceived the mouth of an embouchure about four thousand feet wide. I gave orders to enter it. We ascended the river for about six miles, and I found myself before a large and roaring waterfall.

CHAPTER XVI.

CIRCUMNAVIGATION COMPLETED.

Natives of Unyoro—Killing an enormous hippopotamus—Great feast—Thunderstorm—Floating island—Southern extremity of the lake—Marshes—High mountains in view to the south—Hostility of the natives—Failure to land—Village among the marshes—Mount Modrog—Navigation to the north—Rapid voyage—Volume of water in the Nile—Width of the lake—Population—Little shelter—Ivory—Climate—In the Nile—Arrival at Dufile—The exploration of Coja or Kapeki Lake by Carlo Piaggia.

THE river ended at the foot of the cascade. I directed my course, in order to observe it better, towards a little village on the left bank, but the inhabitants would not speak to us, nor would they approach us. Seeing every attempt of mine to disarm their distrust to be in vain, I gave orders to moor the boat in front of the village. I did not wish to leave the place before I had exhausted every means of trying to speak with the people; by mooring and remaining quiet I wished to give them time to recover from their first astonishment. I had just taken pencil in hand to resume the notes of my travelling journal, when the sailors called to me and showed me a great hippopotamus, who, with his head out of the water, was swimming towards the shore a hundred steps beyond the village. I fired at him and he fell, struck on the forehead.

The crew and the soldiers dragged him to land, and the natives, eager to have a share, ventured

within a hundred steps of us. I ordered my men to return on board ; then, going forward quite alone, I offered the hippopotamus I had killed to the natives.



NATIVES CUTTING UP DEAD HIPPOPOTAMUS.

Edwards

In a twinkling all the village set to work ; the immense body was cut into pieces and carried away, and I succeeded in learning what follows.

The river ending in the cascade comes from a

distance, and there are several important villages along its banks. For a part of the year the cascade ceases, because the river dries up, but during the rainy season the deep and turbid waters reach a velocity of three miles an hour. The country is called Kwando, and is subject to Kaba Rega.

A great tempest came on. In spite of the awning we were drenched to the skin, and just then perceived a large floating island coming swiftly towards us, which hardly left us sufficient time to escape. Without a rapid manœuvre we should have found ourselves, all of a sudden, in the midst of a great field of papyrus, with the risk of being crushed or buried between the bushes of the moving island, and those of another island against which it struck.

Not being entirely satisfied with the particulars I had learned from the natives, I had them sent for, and asked,—

“Where is there a way by which we could get through these marshes and go farther on?”

“The lake finishes there,” replied a native, pointing to the coast about fifteen or twenty miles distant. “Look! the floating vegetation ends there, and at that point the water is very low; you would find yourself stranded.”

“But is there not the mouth of a river lower down?”

“No, no; there is no river.”

April 19th.—We walked along the peninsula we had observed yesterday; it is a forest of vegetable flotsam. I lost much time seeking a passage and at last found myself on the other shore of the lake. The water is everywhere turbid and stagnant, and is more than three feet deep. Its earthy colour is produced by the muddy bottom, stirred up by the waves. From time to time someone climbed up the mast of the ship, but as far as the eye could reach nothing was to be seen, but *ambash*¹ and grasses. On

¹ Ambash—vegetable flotsam.

the coast rose a mountain not less than four thousand feet high, to which I gave the name of Nubar. At the extreme end of the lake a semicircle of mountains was seen, and I supposed that the lake ended there.

We lost several hours in seeking a passage to the shore, to be able to converse with the natives, but the banks are here unapproachable on account of the *ambash*, the papyrus, and the bamboos, which hedge them in for a quarter of a mile. At last we descried a fishing-boat, but it speedily disappeared. We then tried to follow the same way, and after two hours we landed; but the inhabitants of the place ran up threateningly, desiring us to return on board. Wad-el-Mek had given me a man to accompany us who understood the language of these people, but whatever questions and propositions were made to them, they only answered, "Go away; we don't want you."

Meanwhile the native soldiers hastened from all the scribe around; it was already late, and it was necessary to seek refuge for the night out of reach of these warlike people.

April 20th.—We made a fresh attempt. I approached with the boat, and the natives came running up in great numbers. By means of the interpreter I promised them presents if they would point out to me the way I must take. They replied that it was impossible for us to go on, because the lake ended at this point.

"But I want to see the river there is at the end."

"There is no river."

"Then there is a cascade?"

"There is not one, but three cascades at the end."

"Whence comes the water of these cascades?"

"From a river."

"Is that river always full of water?"

"No; only at the time of the rains."

"And here, where we are, is the water also lower when it does not rain?"

"Not much; it is almost always the same."

“ But is there not another river which discharges itself into the lake here ? ”

“ We have heard so, but we have never been there.”

“ Further on, among the *ambash*, is the water deeper than here ? ”

“ No, shallower ; we clear channels to fish in, and where the water is low we find more fish.”

“ How much water is there ? ”

In reply to this he showed me up to the knee. It was impossible to learn more, and to convince myself of the truth of their assertions I determined to take other information.

Two hours after we reached a village. Here also the inhabitants fled at our approach, and did not show themselves till they had put their household utensils and cattle in safety.

Having done this, little by little they approached, and at last came and leant on the sides of the boat where I was. Some presents put them in good humour, and I profited by this to ask for the chief. He appeared an hour later ; he was an old man of seventy years. I gave him some toys, a bar of brass, or something of the sort, and then put the same questions to him that I had already made at the preceding village. His replies confirmed what I had heard before. Nothing else remaining for me, I steered off.

With a light breeze astern I passed one after another of the three cascades. At that point rose a mountain not less than 4000 feet high, which I named Mount Modrog. The surrounding peaks could hardly attain 1500 feet ; they have a scanty vegetation, and their base descends perpendicularly into the lake.

Not finding a refuge for the night, and already hearing the rumbling of the thunder in the distance, I decided to continue our voyage. Till eight in the evening the weather was fine and the wind favour-

able, but at nine it became fresher and gradually grew so strong that I did not know how to trim the sails. At midnight it was no longer a thunder-storm, but such a hurricane as seldom burst over the lake. I confess that never in my life had I found myself in more serious danger on the water. The boats proved good sailers, but it was all we could do to keep them from filling with water.

Towards half-past twelve the wind changed from west to north-west; the lake became really furious, and we ran before the gale for five consecutive hours. At half-past five the wind, more violent than ever, turned to the south-east. For a moment we were in great terror, expecting to be swallowed up by the waves. Reefing the sails close, we tried to gain the shore, but all was in vain, the mountains descended perpendicularly to the water, and the waves broke upon the rocks with incredible force.

It was at seven next morning that, the wind veering to the south, we could steer northwards. At five in the evening we were off Magungo, and at eight within the river.

April 21st.—To give an idea of the rapidity with which I had gone from one end of Lake Albert to the other, it must be remembered that setting out at ten in the morning of the 20th I had sailed to eight p.m. of the next day, a distance of one hundred and thirty-five miles; adding to which the fifty miles made in vain, and another twenty in the river, we have a total of two hundred and five miles in thirty-five hours.

The greatest breadth of the lake I take to be sixty miles. From port Shubra at the east till its extreme southern limit, the shores are formed of an uninterrupted mountain chain descending abruptly into the lake. On the opposite shore the mountains continue as far as the point at which the river flowing from the south discharges itself through the gorge into the lake.

I can say nothing of the interior, not having been able, with the slender escort of twelve soldiers, to venture among these hostile and treacherous tribes, for I should have had to leave the two vessels without any defence.

The principal end of my exploration was attained.

The volume of water which the Albert Nyanza furnishes to the Nile comes from the cascades seen by me, and from the Murchison Falls on the Victoria Nile. Whoever, after me, visits the Albert Lake at the same season, and sees the deluges of water descending from the sky twenty times a day, and as often by night, will not be at all astonished at the quantity that issues from the lake.

As soon as I entered the Albert Nyanza I had marked the height of the water on a rock, wishing to verify its rise during the rainy season. From the marks left by the previous high water I inferred that the level was then lower by some inches. On my return the water had only risen a few lines.

The shores of the lake being for the most part, as I said before, perpendicular, there are few villages; but the country beyond is thickly populated, and the inhabitants greatly resemble those of Uganda. It is said, too, that ivory is very abundant.

The climate, in spite of the rains, is excellent. At Lado and Gondokoro I had suffered severely from fever, but here on the lake, I, as well as the crew, enjoy perfect health, although for sixteen hours of the day we are in a continual bath.

April 22nd.—I descended the Nile to Duflé. Nothing new.

April 23rd.—Arrived at Duflé, I then learnt from Piaggia the result of his journey. After having separated at the Murchison Falls, Piaggia took his boat to pieces and in ten days arrived at Foweira, that is, on April 22nd. Launching the boat on the river again, he arrived at Mrooli May 3rd. On

the 15th he continued his journey, ascending the river.

“On the 17th I perceived,” said Piaggia, “that I had penetrated into a little lake, which I was told I must cross in order to reach the mouth of the river which came from Lake Victoria. After four hours of navigation, in which I could not make more than twelve miles, because of the multitude of water-plants which choked the lake, I was able to reach the mouth of the river I sought, but a number of small floating islands, crowded together, prevented me from ascending it, and I was unable to land to pass the night, and so was forced to remain in the boat, annoyed by the fear of the hippopotami, and the torment of the mosquitoes, which made my face and hands swell and gave me acute pain.

“Hoping to find the mouth of another river which flowed from Lake Victoria, in order to ascend it and reach the lake itself, I set sail towards the south-east along the shore of the small lake, passing amid several floating islands covered with papyrus and herbaceous plants, which, at the slightest breath of wind, moved from one point to another. The first and the second day I could land on a marshy and muddy tract clothed also with very thick and lofty papyrus, where I passed the night. Continuing our voyage to the southern end of the lake, after having gone twenty-eight miles from the mouth of the river in question, which flows from Lake Victoria, I turned towards the north, through the clear portion of the lake, which in its eastern side was destitute of floating islands, and on *May 20th* I reached the mouth of another river, called by the natives the Massanga, which is about 200 feet wide. Here I also tried to land, but could not follow, except for a very short distance, the course of the river, for it traverses a marshy and muddy country clothed with very tall papyrus. During the few hours I passed in this swamp I felt frequent and strong shocks of

earthquake, which made the plumes of the papyrus wave and strike one another as if tossed by a furious hurricane.

“ I was able to ascertain that the Massanga cannot have a long course, but must lose itself in immense marshes lying to the north-east and formed by some river whose origin is yet unknown. The natives whom I questioned also said that the Massanga loses itself in neighbouring marshes.

“ Meantime the men I had with me never ceased to complain of the privations and sufferings during this fatiguing journey. I therefore took counsel with their captain as to the course to be pursued, and we decided to return to the mouth of the river flowing from Lake Victoria and attempt to ascend it to the lake itself ; so we steered from the mouth of the Massanga to its entrance, crossing the smaller lake from east to west. But here we were all attacked with violent fever, caused as much by the unhealthy climate and continued rain as by the privations we had endured. Wherefore, unable to take any notice of the just complaints of my crew, I was obliged, against my will, to order them to row back to Mrooli. They did their best, exhausted as they were, to hurry on ; and in fact, after a day and night of strenuous work, we reached the station of Mrooli on the evening of May 22nd, when we landed, weary and emaciated, thinking ourselves fortunate in having lost no lives during the difficult and dangerous voyage.”

As we now know, Lake O'ja or Kapeki is nothing more than a widening of the Victoria Nile, which, at the height of the rainy season, assumed a vast width, receiving all the tributaries flowing from the north.

CHAPTER XVII.

JOURNEY TO FADASI.

Misunderstanding with Gordon—Gessi leaves for Italy—Preparations for exploring the Sobat—Mörch and Buchta—A disastrous fire—Determination to search for Cecchi and Chiarini with Dr. Matteucci—Telfener's generosity—Presented to Prince Humbert—New subsidies—Return to Egypt.

BEFORE allowing Gessi Pasha to speak once more for himself, a few preliminary remarks are here necessary.

When Gessi, after having so successfully achieved the exploration of the Albert Nyanza, was at Khartoum with Colonel Gordon—who announced that the Order of the Medji III. class had been conferred upon him—he could not but perceive that the latter, as a patriotic Englishman, was disappointed that the exploration had not been made by his countrymen, Watson and Chippendale, who had failed to advance beyond Wadelai, and this disappointment was so keen that once addressing Gessi, Gordon exclaimed, “What a pity you are not an Englishman !”

Gessi, who was hot-tempered and independent, and who, moreover, was an ardent lover of his own country, took off his cap and throwing it at Gordon's feet, immediately gave in his resignation.

Though this act was not altogether in harmony with military discipline, it may, perhaps, be excused, because Gessi could not help seeing that all the

other European officers, even those who had done far less than he, had been presented with the highest Egyptian decorations and largely rewarded, whilst there had fallen to him, perhaps because he was an Italian, the most insignificant of the honours and a present of only some hundred francs.

Gessi then left for Italy. He was received with festivities at Rome by the Italian Geographical Society, and presented with the gold medal. He was decorated by King Victor Emmanuel, and gave a most successful public lecture, in which his lively manner and the originality of his observations on the countries he had visited, and on the future of the Soudan, were appreciated as they deserved.

But our Captain cared little for honours and applause, he only thought how to return to Egypt; in fact, in a very short time he collected 20,000 francs, and having engaged the services of the photographer Buchta, who afterwards earned fame in Central Africa, he started once more for the Soudan.

This expedition was quietly organized by Gessi, and no one knew its object. He wished to explore the valley of the Sobat, a river which has remained unknown to Europeans to the present day. The following letter will relate how this expedition was prevented:—

“Cairo,

“June 15th, 1877.

“To the Honourable President,

“The Italian Geographical Society, Rome.

“Encouraged by the festive reception I met with from the eminent Geographical Society for the slight services rendered to science by my journeys in Central Africa, and the circumnavigation of the Albert Nyanza, and being also free from all obligation towards the Egyptian Government, I had

proposed to myself to undertake a new expedition to the upper eastern valley of the Nile as far as the lakes, accompanied by a naturalist and a photographic artist, with a view of collecting the astronomical, anthropological, and natural history material necessary to the ample and exact knowledge of this part of the Dark Continent, so interesting and so little known.

“Not wishing to fall a burden to any scientific society, I refused many generous offers made to me, intending to carry out the work at my own expense.

“I found in Mr. Giacomo Mörch, Doctor of Natural Science, and in Mr. Riccardo Buchta, skilled photographic artist, two companions full of good-will and courage, and, after consulting with them, decided to reach Khartoum *via* Suakim and Berber, and thence ascend the White Nile, the Sobat and the Gazelle; so as to penetrate beyond the tribes of the Madi to those of the Akka. There I intended Mr. Buchta to make photographs and drawings of numerous anthropological types, and to employ Mr. Mörch in collecting geological and natural history notes, while I, having a little of the necessary knowledge, would take astronomical observations, ascertain geographical positions and survey the country, all uniting in the study of the natural and civil conditions of the regions we traversed.

“Such an undertaking, however audacious, did not seem to me to exceed our capabilities. It would have been of great use to science, and, as I think, have redounded to the credit of our country. I had expended five months’ labour and no little money on my plan, devoting to it the fruits of my industry and savings.

“On returning to Cairo last April, my first care was to hurry on our expedition, and fortune was so far favourable to me, that on the 11th of that month

I was able to leave Cairo, accompanied by the best wishes of the consular authorities and many friends.

“Our materials were contained in eleven cases, stowed in the same train by which we travelled, and in sixteen cases which were sent to the agents, Stross and Co., who were to forward them to me by the train direct from Alexandria to Suez.

“The cases were made of wood lined with tin, constructed for transportation by camels, and containing everything necessary for an expedition that was to last two years—that is, five photographic apparatus, two thousand ready-prepared plates, a perfect theodolite, thermometers, barometers, hypsometers, aneroids, pedometers, optical and engineering instruments, colours, geographical maps copied from the best existing at the Geographical Society of Vienna, clothing, beads, arms, and cloths.

“I arrived at Suez on the evening of the 11th, and was received with great festivities by the vice-consuls of Italy and Austria. Next morning I sent some men to fetch the sixteen cases, which ought to have arrived the evening before from the station. My messengers returned immediately with the bad news that all my possessions had been destroyed. On repairing to the spot with my friends, I found the baggage wagon intact, but all my baggage had disappeared except some fragments, which the authorities refused to give me. The stationmaster asserted that at three a.m. a fire had broken out in the carriage in which were my cases and some valuable articles destined for the Sheik of Mecca.

“I cannot express the heartfelt distress and disappointment of myself and companions at this unexpected occurrence, which destroyed all our projects, and was, to myself alone, a loss of more than 29,000 francs. I begged the vice-consul to draw up a statement of the disaster, which I here enclose.

“An expedition meditated for so long, from which brilliant results might be expected, that would have

filled up vast gaps in our scientific knowledge, an expedition to which I had sacrificed a great part of my fortune in the confidence of leaving a name not destitute of glory to my children—to be cut short by such an unfortunate accident !



DR. PELLEGRINO MATTEUCCI.

“ But in spite of this heavy misfortune I do not lose all hope, though for the moment all idea of travelling is suspended. I shall begin from this very day to organize a new expedition, full of confidence that I shall find assistance in Italy.

“ GESSI.”

Grieved, but not discouraged, Gessi returned to

Italy in search of help. Having associated himself with Dr. Matteucci, who brought a small contribution in money, it was determined to abandon the exploration of the Sobat, and to go in search of Cecchi and Chiarini, who were supposed to be at Kaffa.

The two friends repaired to Santa di Monza to visit Captain Camperio, who telegraphed what had taken place to Count Telfener. He replied by sending three thousand francs as a subsidy. His Highness, then Prince Humbert, to whom the two travellers were presented at the Palace of Monza, gave a large sum with his well-known generosity, and a patron at Paris also sent a considerable subsidy. A few days later our travellers embarked at Genoa for Alexandria.

The following chapter continues the memoirs, with Gessi's report of this new enterprise written during the journey.

CHAPTER XVIII.

TRADE OF THE SOUDAN WITH ITALY.

On the dahabia—Assuan—Korosko—Tributes—Dearth—Trade with Italy—Tamarinds and gums—Calisto—Legnani—Lombroso—Spada—Departure.

October 19th, 1877.—Departure for Cairo on the splendid dahabia *Alina*. At the mast-head waved our Italian tricolour, presented by the ladies of Milan under the presidency of the Countess Eliza Borromeo.

October 29th.—We have navigated ten days already towards the capital of Nubia; but a few days separate us from Assuan. Our route is Khartoum, Fazoglù, Kaffa, etc.

November 14th.—We are at Korosko, at the threshold of the great desert of Atmur. We set out to-morrow with a caravan of fifteen camels. Our journey as far as Korosko need not be described, since we followed a route already well-known. We have had a good reception everywhere, both from the Egyptian authorities and from the Europeans who are found in these scattered villages of the Nile.

At Assuan we were received very kindly by Mr. Dingley, agent of the house of Milion, who paid us a thousand kind attentions.

December 26th.—We have arrived at last at Khartoum. Gordon, to whom we had letters of recommendation, was away, and we were obliged to telegraph to the consul-general of Italy at Caria,

Comm. De Martino, to get a letter from His Highness to the authorities, ordering them to facilitate our journey in the countries which they govern.

A telegram from De Martino apprised us that a letter had been sent ; twenty days would be necessary for this to reach us. We were therefore stuck fast here for all this time making the necessary preparations for setting off immediately afterwards for Fazoglù, Fadasi and Affulo. If the fates are propitious we may hope to be at Kaffa by the end of March. It seems that Gordon has pacified an Abyssinian tribe which disturbed the frontier, assuring to them six thousand dollars a month.

The want of rain and the low water of the Nile contributed to increase our misery. In Dongola

we paid seventy dollars for an "erdep" of "doora." An erdep is equal to about one hundred and twenty kilogrammes, and cost formerly about three dollars. I shall make all possible investigations in the interests of the firm of Carlo Erba at Milan.

My desire is to proceed to make purchases at reasonable terms, and to find means that the capital does not remain idle, as quickly as possible.

They tell me that at Karkog, where I must pass, there is a great quantity of gums and



DOORA (*Sorghum Vulgaris*.)

tamarinds. As soon as I arrive I shall send samples to Italy. This is the best commercial road to the Soudan, there being no danger of the boats being lost, while, by way of Kordofan, the route is very dangerous, and many merchants have suffered great losses. I wish—if the firm of Erba will entrust its interests to me—to establish a house on a solid basis, and my only desire is that we Italians may find purchasers in Africa for our productions. All the houses here have grown rich. Why should not we do the same? ¹

January 2nd, 1878.—I have read, with all the interest which is awakened by reports of such high importance, the account of Stanley's journey. My attention was arrested with friendly satisfaction to the hypothesis put forward by the daring explorer, that the Albert Nyanza is a reservoir not only of the Nile but also of the Congo. (?)

When in April of 1876 I made the circumnavigation of the lake, I observed that the water only discharged itself into the Nile, nor did I perceive that it had any other outlet. However, in the lecture I delivered at Rome, and in the various plans I sent to the Geographical Society, I related and marked the discovery at two-thirds of the way between Dufilé and the lake, a large arm of a river, more than seven hundred feet wide, which flowed in the direction of north-north-west. I asked for information from the natives, and learned that this new river went very far, but no one knew what course it took.

This arm could not form a cul-de-sac, seeing that the force of its current attained a speed of two miles an hour, and I then thought that this mysterious river must flow into the Sandeh. I think it is not improbable that the arm I observed between Dufilé and Lake Albert joins the river Aruwimi traced on

¹ Gessi's notes are now important to Italy, since the route he took is under her protectorate.—Ed.

Stanley's map; if so, poor Miani will regain the honour he merited, showing once more what glory he would have added to the name of Italy if he had survived his misfortunes.

Miani places the River Congo in the same latitude as Stanley, that is $2^{\circ} 30'$ N. lat. The river I noticed issuing from the Nile and flowing, as I have said, towards Sandeh, might, if it made a curve to the south in harmony with what Stanley writes and Miani has said, be a proof that the Congo also receives its waters from the Albert Nyanza, and therefore from the Victoria Nyanza. At Duflé there are still the two iron boats with which I made the circumnavigation of the lake, so that with very little expense and not much difficulty, the river mentioned could now be explored, and the question of whether it contributes its waters to the Bahr-el-ghazal, the Shari or the Congo solved.²

January 10th.—Gordon Pasha, already suspected of being averse to all geographical expeditions in the territory he governs (a proof of which is given by the expeditions of Junker, Marno, and Lucas) has lately sent a circular to the Consuls of Khartoum, in which he clearly expresses his aversion to similar undertakings, and communicates to them the conditions which he desires to impose on travellers in the Soudan. He does not permit armed attendance to be enrolled without the authority of the Government, and thus he is able to hinder every movement of travellers.

January 18th.—We are awaiting our definite departure. On my return I hope to bring a rich collection of ethnological objects which I have already begun to collect; those of Kaffa will be especially interesting, never yet having been brought to Europe.

² It is now known, after the travels of Junker, Casati, and Emin, that the river Gessi supposed he had found, never existed, what he saw being a wide arm of the Nile, which at that place is full of islands.

I shall try to bring also some animals, alive or stuffed. I will spare no pains to make a collection of the skulls of the various tribes, and a complete collection of the production of the countries we cross.

As to the customs of the people, they will be all minutely observed and faithfully described. Although the means obtained in Italy are very limited for such an undertaking, I have, despite the losses suffered by the fire at Suez, again devoted a considerable sum of money to my enterprise. I shall hope that all will go well. The Italians who are so interested in what concerns geographical studies will not abandon us, knowing that I have also a family of whose future I have to think.

The whole sum collected in Italy for our expedition was about 10,000 francs, a sum which scarcely sufficed to purchase the things most urgently necessary for our journey, and defray our expenses as far as Cairo. From that city to Khartoum I have been obliged to dip into my savings. As ill luck would have it all the means of transport have been doubled in price on account of a mortality among the animals. Only to cross the desert from Korosko to Berber I paid 42/., at other times it would not have cost me more than eighteen or twenty. Finally I have been obliged here, in prospect of the "harif," to have suitable cases made and a thousand articles indispensable for a long campaign. At Fadasi or Fazoglù, I must also purchase mules, camels or horses, the transport by bearers not being customary there.

If I had not lost so much by the fire, I should not have hesitated to send home a ship load of india-rubber and tamarinds, and I am convinced that a trade in these articles could be opened direct from here to Italy.

Monsignore Daniel Combini, the head of the Catholic Mission in Africa with its central seat at Khartoum, is to arrive in a few days. Gordon

arrives to morrow ; I hope he will be favourable to our undertaking.

January 20th.—We are ready to start for Fazoglù. Signor Calisto Legnani has arrived with a cargo of merchandise bought by the Italian factories. Last night, the last of our stay at Khartoum, an evening party in our honour was given by Signor Lombroso, our fellow-citizen and director of the post here. Besides ourselves and the English and German Consuls, there were present Lorenzo Spada, director of the arsenal, Calisto Legnani, and some other friends of Lombroso. The post at Khartoum is conducted as well as one could wish in the most civilized countries in the world, owing to the intelligent superintendence of our friend the director, Lorenzo Spada. He is an old acquaintance of ours, and his name is associated with the few remains we had of Miani, and with the two Akkas, the scanty inheritance of the fatigue and privations of that good old Venetian gentleman.

February 15th.—We are on the way to Fazoglù.



SENNAAR.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE FUNGIS.

Sennaar—Ethiopian antiquity—The Blue Nile—The Fungis—Fertile soil—Fine-looking and good population—Death of the Re Galantuomo—Flag hung with crape in the desert—Low water—Karkog—Trade—Roseres—Baobab—Fazoglù—Gold—Famaka—Anthropology—Revolution in the Galla country—Mount Agarô—The Tumat—Fires—Harif.

SENNAAR consists of a few huts, and a minaret which has partly escaped the decay of time. Here there ought to be the stamp of a grand past; but, instead, there is the sad confirmation of the fact, that when a people is near the height of their glory, they disappear from the earth like a will-o'-the-wisp.

On our journey from Khartoum to Sennaar we were not able to collect important notes, because, travelling by water, we could gain no considerable impressions of the country and the people; these we shall have shortly, when we take the land road across forests and mountains to open a road which will lead us to Fadasi.

The Blue Nile, we hasten to add, is much more attractive than the White Nile; its banks are rich with tropical vegetation; its flora luxuriant and varied; its abundant fauna rejoices the weary soul of the traveller. The air is pure, and the impression made by the people who inhabit its banks is that of a strong and somewhat fine-looking race. Perhaps these natives are the remains of the Ethiopian family, variously mixed and modified, but among whom the primeval type evidently predominates.

This is certainly not the place for ethnographical disquisitions ; but I will merely remark that the family of the Fungi which inhabits an extensive territory on the banks of the Blue Nile, cannot be other than direct descendants of the fine aboriginal Arabo-Ethiopian family. The colour of their skin, their slender forms, their brilliant eyes and aquiline features, present the principal outlines of the Ethiopians. If we remember rightly, some historians assert that the Sennaar race emigrated from the equator four centuries ago, and founded the tribe of the Fungi, establishing a powerful and renowned dynasty. Our opinion does not agree with this view ; it would be necessary, in order to do so, to forget what sort of people could emigrate from the equator to found a civilized kingdom and powerful dynasty ; to forget the brave army of King Fungi, which, though vanquished by Ishmael Pasha in the celebrated battle of Abu Shoka in June, 1823, won the admiration of its conquerors, and, by its valour, twined a noble wreath around the tomb of a people which was dying out. The equator could only contribute a family of savages, and from these could not be derived the type of a civilized race, of a laborious and active people, who opened commerce with the world by sending the products of its industry to the markets of Europe. It is difficult to form a clear and precise idea of how much good one might derive from planting a colony in these lands, which enjoy the smiles of a tropical climate, and can oppose to the excessive heat of the African sun an abundant supply of water, which, if aided by mechanical force and canals of irrigation, would promote a luxuriant and rich vegetation. What grows at present in this immense extent of country is all natural. Man does not take the trouble to lend a hand to prodigal nature, and it is not even necessary that he should, because the cultivated part abundantly suffices for the wants of a people who are among the most frugal.

At Sennaar we received the melancholy news of the death of His Majesty King Victor Emmanuel, and of the succession to the throne of His Highness Prince Humbert. Saddened, as well as surprised, we hung our flag with crape, and across the desert and the sea sent words of profound condolence to the tomb of the august sovereign, taken thus prematurely from his country and the royal family.

We left Sennaar, accompanied on board by the Governor, who during the brief time of our stay was most hospitable. The navigation of the Blue Nile now becomes disagreeable. On account of the low water and the numerous sharp turnings in the course of the river, we can proceed but slowly, drawn by the sailors with cords. The vegetation of the banks is always splendid. The cotton in various parts forms an important product, and if it leaves something to be desired in quality, one must attribute this to the carelessness of the natives, who do not cultivate it, but gather it from a spontaneous growth. Tobacco also constitutes a special product of these countries, and, to judge from its leaves, must be of excellent quality; but the complete ignorance of these people as to its preparation deprives it of all delicate aroma.

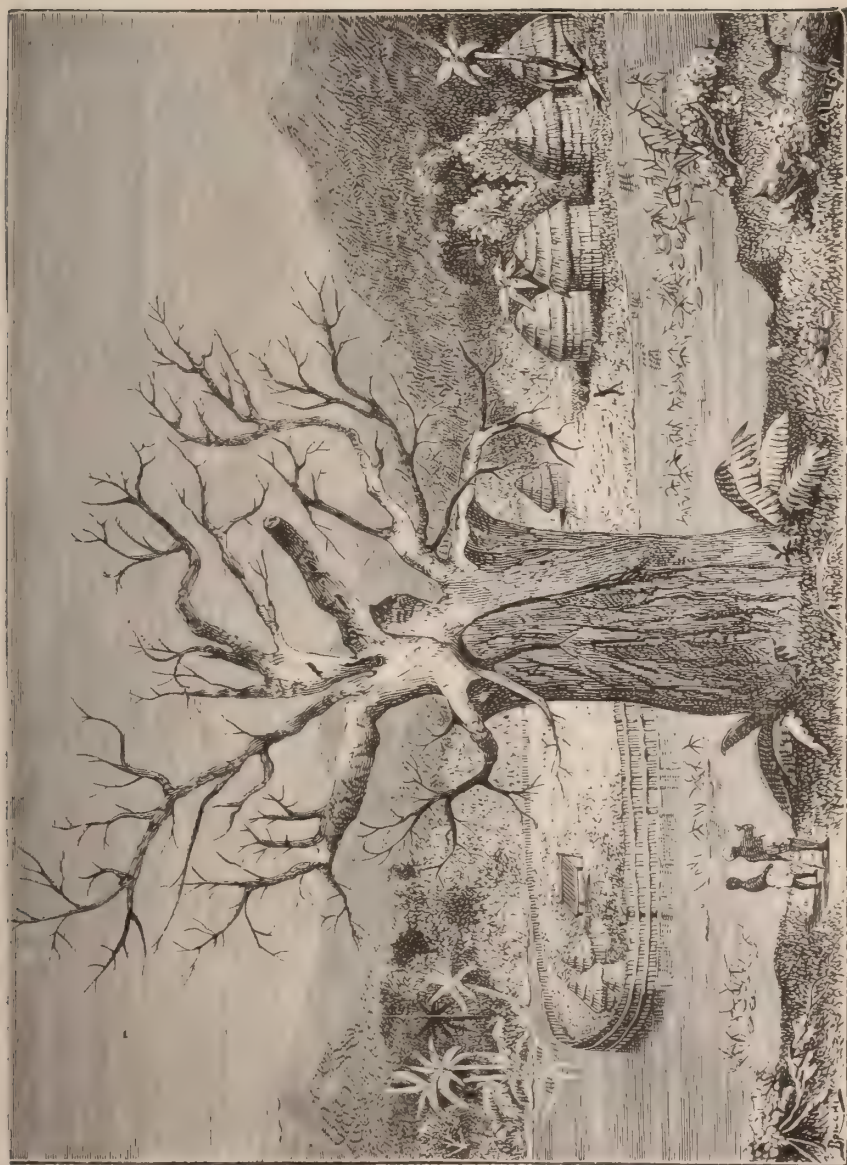
We arrived at Karkog on a market day, and were cheered by the gay aspect which this town presents, hidden, as it were, from the eyes of the world, and in which there yet moves an active commercial life. There are no houses, but the conical huts, the so-called *tukul*, built along the banks of the river, make a favourable impression, because nearly every hut has its corn hill, belonging to the merchants who send their goods throughout the Soudan. The country is vast, and on market days all the natives of the neighbouring villages crowd there to sell their crops, and especially india-rubber and sesame. The trade in these products is very active. The india-rubber alone is exported to Europe in quan-

tities exceeding two thousand five hundred tons, of sesame about five hundred tons, and of doora more than five thousand tons ; but these last two products are consumed in the Soudan.

From Karkog, having abandoned the river, we take the road through the woods and mountains, a road which in twelve or fifteen stages will bring us to Benishangal, the centre of trade with the Galla country. Perhaps at Benishangal we shall form a caravan, with which we shall proceed in long days' marches on the route that is fixed both in our minds and our hearts ; otherwise we shall advance alone to Fadasi, and thence, in one way or other, shall hope to reach our distant goal. It is impossible to say to-day what difficulties we shall have to strive against, but we know how to do our duty, and shall not draw back except after a series of desperate attempts, failures, and misfortunes.

Every day it has been more difficult to forward letters, and Heaven only knows when we can send them. To every caravan we meet bound the opposite way we shall give some letters for Europe.

February 13th.—On the road to Fadasi. We arrived ten days ago at Roseres, where we halted several hours to enjoy the fine prospect afforded by the peculiar site of the town, lying between mountain and plain, and surrounded by the most splendid tropical vegetation. Just in the middle of Roseres there is a monster tree of the Soudanese Flora, the so-called baobab, the *Adansonia digitata*, or Wellingtonia of Central Africa. The road from Karkog is monotonous, passing across an extensive plain, very fertile from the generosity of the soil, but left to its natural resources by the want of labourers, and by the ignorance of the natives. The traveller sees nothing but a rich crop of grass, which has now become dry from want of water ; this grass is burnt up, to be replaced by the new vegetation which



springs up vigorously with the first rains of the approaching *harif*. The woods and forests were formed, in a great part, of the *Acacia gummifera*, which with its products alone offers sufficient resources to the people who live on doora and milk. And these woods and forests suffer seriously from the ignorance of the agriculturists; the burning of the grass on such vast extents of land affects the roots of the trees, which suffer and are stunted in growth.

Near Roseres, the route from being monotonous becomes cheerful, and the eye is delighted with an alteration of fresh prospects and fresh productions; the road is no longer level, but is interrupted by little hills on which grow palms with their slender trunks, and the *Adansonia digitata* with its gigantic proportions. From Khartoum to Roseres one seldom meets with the palm, and then it is weak and stunted; at Roseres, on the contrary, it grows luxuriantly, and on the plains, the hills and the mountains, its picturesqueness animates the tired traveller, and encourages him to seek under its welcome shade a new supply of strength and energy. The *Adansonia digitata* is a tree in which everything is fantastic, its branches have the appearance of roots; it looks like a tree upside down.

It is a dicotyledon of the family of the *Malvaceæ*, and bears its name because Adanson was the first to study it. It only appears at 12° latitude, and if it be transported above or below this line, it dies or is dwarfed. Its size is fabulous. Some trees measure forty feet in circumference, and seventy-five in height. The specimen studied by Adanson is believed to have been no less than five thousand years old. It is a spongy tree, with thin bark, a smooth trunk and roots very strongly developed. We have observed that if it grows solitary in a place where water stays, its trunk becomes more gigantic, but splits as if it were four trees, and, as much

water collects in the middle, it decays, and is only a giant with feet of clay. But if the *Adansonia* grows on sloping ground slightly shaded, its trunk is slender, solid and very tall. At the present season, which is winter, though the thermometer marks 53° centigrade in the sun, this tree is destitute of leaves, and it is very curious to see the fruit hanging on boughs which seem withered. The fruit is oblong in shape, of a greenish colour, with a thick rind. When opened it is found to contain seeds of an acid flavour; unworthy children of such a father!

From Roseres to Fazoglù the route is decidedly monotonous and very fatiguing. Numerous beds of torrents divide the road into so many parts, each of which has its name. The first mountains encountered are very high, and composed of gneiss, granite, iron, and porphyry. At the time of Ernest Marno, a large village called Meaza existed at their foot, but we did not see it, perhaps because it has been destroyed by some conquering tribe.

At three days' camel journey from Roseres, Fazoglù, the principal place in the province, is reached. Fazoglù is a mountain, perpendicular in form, and very difficult to ascend; the town is called Famaca, and is the residence of a Mudir. At Fazoglù there are mines of exceedingly pure gold, but they are not very productive, the principal vein not having been yet discovered. At Famaca the Egyptian Government keeps a large garrison, necessary to collect the tributes from the natives who inhabit the mountains, and who if not compelled by force would willingly withdraw from a so-called civilized government. The town is picturesque; it is surrounded by mountains, and built at their foot in a circular form; the houses are *tukul* of various shapes and sizes, the greater part clean and decent.

We were received by the Governor, Mohamed Faim Bey, a polite and well-instructed Turk—a rarity in the country and among his countrymen. He is

a friend to Europeans, and especially fond of Italians, and paid us every attention which his refined education could suggest. His house is in the best situation. It is on a lofty point between the town and the mountains; it overlooks the former, and has a distant view of the chain of the Gamus, the steep and pointed summits of which show against the horizon. At Famaca there are numerous prisoners, partly political, partly criminal, all of them wretches who drag out a most miserable existence, and I believe they are grateful to the pale Angel of Death who frequently relieves them from the burden of their lives.

The people who inhabit this country are, we think, nothing but aborigines of Ethiopia, and I do not know how Bruce, Calliaud, and Marno made them out to be the descendants of the Dinkas or Shilluks. It is not necessary to be an anthropologist, and still less a member of scientific academies, to perceive that these illustrious writers, in affirming such a thing, have been guided not so much by what they themselves observed, as by what they found written in books that treat of the various emigrations of African peoples. Not even history can escape the exact control of science, and all the more such history as would lift the mysterious veil of epochs lost in the labyrinth of centuries. An ethnographic disquisition here would be idle, but we declare that we will not withdraw from such an imperious obligation, because it is not our desire to affirm but to prove.

Fadasi was the last station visited by Marno in 1870, when he too was travelling in the country of the Galla, but, vanquished by the difficulties he met with, was obliged to turn back again.

Two days ago a special courier reached us, sent from Khartoum by our friend Rosset, the bearer of a despatch from the Italian minister, which announced that the Marquis Antinori had reached Kaffa(?).

The news, however extraordinary it appeared, made us feel a noble enthusiasm for the victory obtained by our friend. It would have been sad, if Antinori's expedition, so rich in means and powerful in recommendations, having as the base of its operations the kingdom of a friendly sovereign at the very gates of Galla, should not, in two years, have accomplished its first object, which was to reach Kaffa. Now it has conquered! All glory to my venerated friend, its valiant leader.¹

If it be true that in all undertakings, as in some poisonous animals, the sting is in the tail, we shall have yet to pass sad and anxious days. The revolution has just broken out in the Galla country, through a senseless war stirred up by a mad Arabian adventurer. It seems that he has been conquered, but this does not prevent our bearing the weight of a responsibility which does not belong to us. We begin already to feel the consequences, when we hear that the merchants of Benishangal and Fadasi have been abandoned by the Gallas, who will not have anything to do with the Arabs who have disturbed the peace of their homes, stolen their flocks, and destroyed their villages.

The good star of Italy brought us safe to Benishangal on March 2nd, we having happily surmounted the difficult passes infested by the incursions of the natives, who occupy the long mountain chain of Tabi. The journey from Fazoglu to Benishangal would present no hindrance to success, if these savages did not descend from their dwellings, and, crouching in some secret and deep ravine, try to plunder all caravans as they pass, killing the Jelabba (traders) and the porters. It is necessary to journey in a compact and well-guarded caravan, and in this we have not neglected the good advice given us when we set out

¹ It is well known that Antinori did not reach Kaffa. This was a piece of African information.

from Fazoglù with a train of servants and Jelabba. We overcame the most difficult part of the road by travelling for two consecutive nights.

Our march was most picturesque and solemn. Imagine a night as dark as in a dense forest, unilluminated by even a pale ray of moonlight; think of the rugged rocky paths, on which men and animals proceed with difficulty; of the silent and measured tread of a long file of men, who, at each rustle of a leaf, at each distant echo, suspect the apparition of a horde of savages, who, taking advantage of the darkness, are awaiting your passage, ready to hurl their lances and sure of their aim; think of this anxious and mysterious walking by night, as silent as if you were dumb, with people unknown to you—and then you will be able to vividly picture to yourself our caravan which, after ten hours' journey from Fazoglù, arrived at Agarò.

It was broad day, but it was necessary to seek quarters where we could rest and recruit ourselves, in view of the next night and the rest of our perilous journey.

Agarò is not a very high mountain, though more than four thousand feet above the level of the sea; but this is owing to the gradually ascending road, which has brought us to a height of one thousand five hundred feet. Mount Agarò has no geometrical form; it is divided into several sections, some of which have a pyramidal, others a conical shape. It rises into space like a confused heap of rocks tossed there by some partial convulsion of nature. It is evidently of volcanic origin.

This mountain arrested our attention because, among the ravines between one mass and another, lay the houses or tukul of the poor savages, and the vast hollows of the whole mountain are filled by such huts; hence the name of the village, Agarò. And to think that at the foot of the mountain extends a plain on which such habitations might be built with more

advantage! But the fear of an invasion by the natives of Tabi caused the natives to prefer homes that differ little from an eagle's nest, rather than



MOUNT AGARÒ.

decent and comfortable houses. But the natives of Agarò have little that is good. They are degraded by idleness, and, taught by the bad example of the plunderers from Tavi, they have become fierce, so that we were told it was dangerous to visit their villages.

When darkness again fell, we broke up our camp and set out straight for the banks of the Tumat, where every fear ceased, since we entered the friendly and allied territory of the Sheikh of Benishangal, who travelled with us. The solemnity of our march was still greater; the moon was invisible, but from time to time the threatening glare of an immense fire shone through the branches of the primeval trees. It was a mere fire of straw, and not of burning villages. The savages had set fire in

many places to the herbage, already dried up by the scorching sun, to make room for younger and stronger growths. They kindle the fire, but in the end can never master it, and very often the flames, driven by a favourable wind, destroy plantations and villages over a vast extent of country. If nothing more serious, these fires ruin the trees along their destructive course.

From Agarò to Tumat the road becomes more difficult from the numerous torrents, which, excavating a precipitous bed in the rocks, impetuously bring down the water, that, during the rains, descends from the surrounding mountains. The beds of these torrents become deeper every year, and it will not be long before some other way of reaching Benishangal must be thought of.

At break of day we encamped on the banks of the Tumat, an important river. At the point where we halted it is about five hundred and fifty feet wide, and flows in a nearly straight course till below Fazoglù, where it falls into the Bahr-el-Azrak. It was not necessary to be told at day-break that we were nearing the banks of a river.

CHAPTER XX.

FADASI.

Kasan—Millions of starlings—Wild animals—The natives and their gold—Benishangal—The Galla country—Our flag—Marno—Fadasi—A Galla market—Salt—The Aman Negroes—Brigandage—Massacres—The Gurguros.

PURSuing our way along the banks of the Tumat, we shortly arrived at the village of Kasan, where we took a brief rest. It is a poor and mean-looking place, built on the top of the little hill, and is governed by the Sheikh, who descends to demand toll when traders pass that way.

The Sheikh was quite polite, and did not demand a farthing from us; on the contrary, he offered us friendly hospitality at the foot of a colossal tamarind tree. From Kasan we pushed on to the foot of Mount Abkulki, where, in a wide sandy bed, flows cool and limpid water.

If, in general, the road from Fazoglù is unattractive because too mountainous and very steep, the view presented by the great valley of the Tumat, one of the principal affluents of the Abyssinian Nile, compensates for all the hardships undergone. It alone is worth the journey. What art could not do for the beautiful villa gardens of Lake Maggiore, what prodigal and generous nature has not accomplished in Switzerland, has been achieved in this part of Africa, where is shown, in striking contrast, the power of tropical vegetation and the rugged desolation of the mountains.

The sun was setting, and from the summit of a lofty peak we contemplated with rapture this stupendous valley covered with tall trees, and by an eternal verdure intermingled with flashes of blue, which was caused by the glancing of the wings of thousands of starlings, fluttering over the immense forests; while from below, the enchanting roar of wild animals reached us, two gigantic elephants passed quietly at our feet, and traces of leopards and panthers were seen everywhere.

To these marvels of vegetation in the valley of the Tumat must be added the treasures of the mines hidden within its rocks. The savages, who know nothing of mineralogy, and cannot even distinguish quartz earth from that formed of oxide of iron, descend to this valley in the rainy season, and, with the patience peculiar to those who have no settled occupation, trace the bright glitter of the auriferous soil, and by the end of the season collect a quantity of the precious metal. And it must be so, for in these countries the only currency for the barter of goods and slaves consists of bars of pure gold of 24 carats. If these diggings were superintended and guided by a master-hand, trade and civilization would certainly benefit by it.

The last stage of our journey to Benishangal was neither long nor disagreeable, but perhaps this was owing to the enthusiasm which prevails when one at length reaches a country long desired and thought of, rather than to the shortness of the way. Not many Europeans have visited this village: Russeger in 1838; Tremaux in 1848; Beltrame in 1865; Marno in 1870, and ourselves.¹

In past times Benishangal was celebrated as a central market for the commerce of the Galla

¹ The most important journey in this region was achieved after Gessi by the late lamented J. M. Schuver, who was killed by the Dinkas on the Gazelle river.

country, and we much hoped to see some of these people, with whom to form friendship and alliance. But now things are changed. For about a year the Gallas have abandoned this market, and we could not have found one had we paid for it. It was the fault of the Arab Wadilotta, who, crossing the passes of Fadasi, carried on war with the Galla of Ganti, intending to subdue them to his rule. We hope, however, to find numerous caravans of Gallas at Fadasi, which place, starting to-day, we calculate in reaching in four days; there we shall immediately investigate the question of the river Yabus, the course of which is the cause of controversy among geographers. If the Aman Negroes will only afford us a little insight, we shall be able to say whether the Yabus flows to the Sobat, as Marno believes, or discharges itself into the Blue Nile, as Petermann seems to think. We shall also organize a caravan to march by long days' journeys to Affilò, where we hope to obtain exact news of our valorous friends, who, guided by the brave Antinori, have now reached their goal.

The critical moment has now arrived for us, not to associate worldly glory with our name, but to do honour to our flag, the graceful gift of the ladies of Milan.

March 11th.—We have now been for some days at Fadasi, on the borders of the Galla country, and we are well off here. Ernest Marno, in 1870, having surmounted many obstacles, arrived here with the intention of reaching the Galla country, but vanquished by the hostility he met with on the way, and still more in Fadasi, he abandoned in thirty-six hours all idea of advancing, and turned back. We recall this fact, not in order to foolishly boast, but rather, while remaining unmolested at Fadasi, to render honour to him who opened the way for us, and who, whether victor or vanquished, was always a valiant and wise explorer. That Marno was the



FADASI.

first and only white man, before us, who set foot in Fadasi we are convinced by the many inquiries we made, and by the frank reply given by the chief of the village, who assured us that Marno and ourselves were the only three white men who had ever visited the place.

From Benishangal to Fadasi the way is not very long, but it is dangerous because of its mountainous and impracticable character ; the paths which descend the mountain lie in deep ravines, and are strewn with immense rocks. The state of the paths and the want of good mules, and the difficulty we experienced in the transport of our little baggage may be easily imagined.

We were told that this tract of dangerous country belonged to the territory of Dar Bertat, but, to say the truth, we were fortunate enough to arrive at our goal without meeting with any serious difficulty or hostility. The rugged way is compensated for by the stupendous views afforded by the continuous succession of mountains and valleys, contrasted with the open country, in the background of which, in many places, is seen the most beautiful and richest vegetation in the world. And to vary this wealth of the vegetable kingdom, was the sight of flocks of antelopes and gazelles bounding through the woods and meadows. Their lives, however, are endangered by the lions. Still, the lion is always generous and strong ; he never lies in wait or attacks by surprise ; proud of his strength and courage, he always keeps the open path, and warns us of his presence by his mighty roar. We saw one not far from Fadasi, alone and solemnly pursuing his way, sure of his own actions, and not deigning even to look at us. The news of our arrival at Fadasi had preceded us, and when we entered the village we were met by a crowd of curious natives. Fadasi lies at the foot of the long chain of the Gogora mountains, and consists of little more than four hundred huts. It owes its celebrity to the extensive commerce which centres

here, through the assembling of the Galla people with their products, which they exchange for salt, of which they are entirely destitute.

It is known that the Gallas could be easily conquered if the way were closed by which they import salt. They are a poor people, who geographically occupy a territory so vast that it could hold all Italy many times. They are obliged to undertake long journeys to obtain salt, and expose themselves to probable death, in order to take back to their country one of the necessities of life. At Fadasi salt arrives in great quantities, brought by the traders, who purchase it at Benishangal, or, more directly, at Galabat. When brought into these distant regions it has a much greater value, and the Gallas exchange for it their oxen, horses, iron and honey. A journey made to obtain a necessary article would be no hardship, were it not for the serious danger incurred by the caravans, which pass through the fierce tribe of the Aman.

We have already spoken of the fear aroused in all the villages between Famaka and Tumat by the tribes of the Tabi, and yet the natives of Tabi, compared with the Aman tribe, are perfect saints. The latter occupy both banks of the Yabus; they have no laws, no faith, are regardless of every tie of discipline or morality, and live exclusively by rapine and plunder, practised on the caravans of the poor Gallas when returning from the salt market. The men of Tabi descend in small numbers from the mountains, and a strong caravan can beat them, but the Aman robbers lie in wait in thousands along the roads for the caravans, and not only plunder, but massacre without pity and with the coldest ferocity. This happens often, and no longer ago than yesterday a numerous troop of Gallas were routed by the Aman people, and the report of this bad news was very grievous to our souls, for it seemed to threaten our plan of travel.

There are three ways open for us to conduct our exploration to a happy issue. Beyond these we know, and it is useless to delude ourselves, there awaits us nothing but failure and return. The two roads which lead to the Galla-Lega would have been best adapted for making our way to Affilò, but they were closed three years ago by the Omons (Bedja), who will not permit any of the Gallas to come that way in search of salt.

There remains then only the road from Fadasi to Galla-Shibouk.

On our arrival here, we revealed our plan to the Sheikh of Fadasi, and offered him gifts, even above our capabilities, if he would aid us in the passage of the Yabus, which is also infested by numerous bands of Omons (also of the Galla race) who daily attack the Gallas. After our arrival there we were witnesses to many sanguinary encounters.

All our staff, besides my companion Matteucci and myself, consists of three domestics, so that it was absolutely necessary to beg Sheikh Hassan to assist us on our passage through the Omons, who block the opposite bank of the Yabus; the Sheikh promised much, but performed little. He begged us to have patience for some days, so as to arrange for our journey either by making a present to the Sheikhs of the Omons, or by providing us with the necessary escort to surmount the difficult places.

Time passed in this way, and though we did not cease to entreat the Sheikh, he kept us in suspense from one day to another in such a way that, after a month, we were at the same point as on the first day of our arrival. Matteucci and I then decided to open a passage for ourselves during the night, leaving the baggage behind, and from Affilò to push forward at any cost towards the Galla country, making our way with all speed towards Kaffa. But the time we passed here had rendered the Omons suspicious, and, for fear we should elude their

vigilance, they redoubled their numbers and guarded all the passes with minute care.



THE GOGORA MOUNTAINS OF FADASI.

Matteucci, who on his arrival had set himself to cure a quantity of sick and wounded, had acquired by this means the gratitude of the inhabitants of Fadasi. Several of these advised him not to risk passing through the Galla country, because the Omons awaited with eagerness the moment to seize upon our effects.

We were also assured that there existed a convention between Sheikh Hassem and the Galla people not to allow any Turk to penetrate into their country. We could neither convince the natives of Fadasi nor the Gallas that we were not Turks, and that we only went among the Gallas with the intention of meeting our friends.

To remove all fear from the Gallas we offered to go among them without arms. Presuming that Sheikh Hassan feared to assume the responsibility of our safety, we proposed to make a declaration

which would save him from all responsibility, whatever harm might happen to us. A similar declaration

we were also obliged to give to the authorities of Famaka before our departure.

During all our stay at Fadasi we did our best to win the sympathy of the inhabitants. Whatever we got from them was paid thrice its real value ; but all our efforts were vain against their obstinacy, and they could not be persuaded that we were not Egyptian envoys sent to establish the preliminaries of the invasion of their country.

March 14th.—Our stay in this village begins to be disagreeable, the noise which the natives make around my tent bewilders and irritates me. I am nervous, and I need calm and quiet to think over my affairs.²

I have therefore decided to go and stay outside the village with the people of Gurguro, a spacious place with large trees, where the air is pure enough. There I shall be better able to occupy myself with my plans. For this purpose I had my tent carried there, and, to shelter myself from the sun, I determined to surround it with shrubberies and grass. The Gurguros immediately set to work, promising to finish it in a day or two. When this time had elapsed I repaired to my new quarters, in the certainty that everything would be ready, when, to my great surprise, I saw that the work was not yet completed, and that the Gurguros, instead of attending to it were all seated in a group, looking very sad and agitated. Astonished at this sight, I asked them the cause of such a change. “ Ya Sidi ” (master), they replied ; “ misfortune has happened ! ” One of the workmen had come to words with another, and in the fury of the quarrel had killed him. Fearing that severity might be used, both the chief and the murderer had fled, and had not been heard of again.

Having inquired carefully into the facts, I was able to ascertain satisfactorily that the case was entirely

² Gessi was displeased and irritated because he could not go on to Kaffa, as he would have attempted to do at all costs, had he not had the responsibility of the fate of his companions.

accidental, and I therefore assured the people that no severe measures would be taken either against the chief or the homicide.

The latter, as soon as he learnt this, returned to the village, but the chief, more suspicious, hid himself for some time longer in the bush.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE SLAVE MONOPOLY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The Yabus—Road by the Galla—The Sheikh of Fadasi—A month of expectation—Insuperable difficulties—We leave Fadasi—Arrival at Khartoum—Departure of Matteucci—The Sheikh of Belinguan and the Sobat—Preparations for the Sobat—Stoppage of a caravan of slaves—Monseigneur Comboni—The slave monopoly of the Government—Interview with Gordon.

I AM writing on the shores of the River Yabus. Our journey had no other purpose than to meet the Italian expedition at Kaffa, and fill up the breaks in the map of the countries which we must cross.

Hitherto our journey, though rendered dangerous by bands of filibusters and almost inaccessible roads, has succeeded fairly well, as we have been able to reach Fadasi with a complete equipment. We believed we had surmounted a great part of the difficulty, and were full of hope at seeing our goal, if not attained, at least near, since Kaffa was only eight days' march distant, when unhappily the undertaking entered another phase.

There were three roads we might take to arrive at the Galla country. The first from Benishangal in a north-easterly direction towards the Galla-Gank; the second towards the Galla-Shibuk on the south; the third towards Galla-Lega on the south-west.

For various reasons, however, none of these roads were available, and, as all our means were now at an end, we found ourselves in prospect of a forced return. We are in the season of the rains, which will increase

daily for the space of seven months longer, and our food and provisions do not permit us to remain so long a time in this village, not having foreseen this untoward event. If we really had the certainty, or at least the hope, of being able by a longer stay to realize our projects, we should be ready at any sacrifice to submit to this necessity; but we are certain not to obtain any advantage, while the behaviour of Sheikh Hassan becomes every day more harsh and rude.

Eventually we were obliged therefore to retreat, conquered by the difficulties and the serious obstacles which accumulated day by day, and which rendered the march across the country of the Aman impossible, Sheik Hassan having absolutely refused to furnish us with the escort for which we had stipulated.

At the beginning of June we found ourselves back again at Khartoum, and now Matteucci sets out on his return to Italy. No one can imagine how grieved I am to see him go home without having been able to satisfy the general expectations of our friends and our country. But my mind begins to grow calmer, because I am conscious of our having done all that was humanly possible to attain our end.

I am also of the opinion, that even if we had been able to elude the cruel Aman in crossing the Yabus, other obstacles no less serious would have rendered our journey very difficult.

Though between Affilô and Kaffa there are only eight days' march, yet, according to the information we received, there live in that space of country various Galla tribes, divided and hostile among themselves, who, without a king or any chief whatsoever, only elect a leader when they go to war with their neighbours, or when they go to make their provision of salt.

The road between Gojam and Fadasi, on the other

hand, offers no difficulty, and is traversed by Greek merchants who purchase coffee, musk, and wax. The Gallas are in constant connection with the Abyssinians of Gojam, and an important trade connects¹ these populations among themselves. The news we received at Fadasi of the arrival of Antinori and his companions at Kaffa leaves no doubt whatever as to their truth.² This is sufficiently proved by the description given of the travellers and of the things they had with them. But I am nevertheless of the opinion that the part of their exploration hitherto achieved is the easiest.

Between Kaffa and the Nyanza, and between Kaffa and the Nile, there is an immense valley inhabited by various tribes. When the expedition of the Egyptian Government had Gondokoro for its headquarters,³ we only commanded a district of about two miles around, and we could not yet venture beyond even that short distance, unless in numbers and well-armed. The tribes which inhabited the mountains of Belinguan, ten miles west of Gondokoro, have never submitted. Whoever has read Sir Samuel Baker's "*Ismalia*" will be persuaded that by hostile measures one could never effect anything with that Sheikh, who, besides possessing an inaccessible mountain, commands brave tribes and has two hundred guns at his disposal, which were bought from the Arab merchants who pass by in search of ivory.

I have had occasion to be with this Sheikh several times, and I believe it possible to gain him for our cause by means of the commander of the station of

¹ This information given us by the lamented Gessi is now of great importance, since these roads are in countries protected by us.—Ed.

² Only Cecchi, as we now know, arrived at the borders of Kaffa.—Ed.

³ I remind the reader that Gessi was major in the staff of the Egyptian army.

Ladò, with whom he is often in communication. There is also Sheikh Lori, who is not to be feared, being accustomed to the passage of travellers.

But three hundred miles of unexplored country with tribes unknown to me still remain, and I ask myself how will our explorers manage to defend themselves from their hostility, and how will they transport their baggage?

I do not know what means are at the disposal of the king of Kaffa, and what facilities he can accord, but in any case I think it unlikely that he will risk three or four hundred men; and even if he did so, I do not know what confidence one could place in such undisciplined troops, who might desert us to return to their country.

June 17th.—I am making every preparation for an exploration of the Sobat, and hope this time to be more fortunate than in the journey to Fadasi. I have much at heart the desire to render some service to my country. The Sobat is a river which is of great interest, and I hope to do myself more credit in this part of Africa.

June 20th.—I am working unceasingly to collect the baggage and material for the expedition that I intend to make to the Sobat.

I have sufficient arms and ammunition for a campaign of two years, not having yet made use of those I received from the Minister of War. Of the instruments which the Geographical Society put at my disposition, I shall take the most necessary with me, leaving all the others in the care of my friend Rosset, the Anglo-German consul. I cannot yet give an exact plan of my intentions, as all depends on the difficulties I have to contend with.

Four caravans of slaves have been arrested at various points, the leaders made prisoners, and the slaves set at liberty. A piece of intelligence which will give great pleasure to all, is that Gordon Pasha has given the necessary orders for the bones of our

lamented Miani to be brought here, whence I shall send them to Italy.

At Ukerewe two missionaries have been massacred. The Church Missionary Society calls them the victims of their self-sacrifice, and proclaims them to be martyrs ; but from news we have had it would seem that the cause of the massacre was some money which was contested, and that violent discussions had arisen between the missionaries, the natives of the place, and their chief.

Monsignore Comboni is preparing to establish a mission on Lake Victoria Nyanza. But I believe that he can hardly make head against the English mission, which has great capital and splendid material at its disposal, things which attract the cupidity of the savages much more easily.

I had been several days at Khartoum making my preparations to push forward to the Sobat, and nothing more was wanting but a permission from the authorities at Khartoum, when, foreseeing that Osman Pasha, who acted as the Attorney-General of Gordon Pasha (who was absent), would perhaps make some difficulties, and in order not to place myself in the disagreeable position of receiving a refusal, I thought I would wait a few days for Gordon, since he was expected back daily from his long journey of inspection in Harrar and along the coast of the Red Sea.

Khartoum at this epoch was in a distressed condition, for Osman Pasha had profited by his double post of Commander-in-chief of the army and Attorney-General to Gordon, to amass a fortune.

All Khartoum was preparing a grand demonstration for the now imminent arrival of Gordon, when a despatch arrived from Berber announcing the dismissal of Osman Pasha. He had to leave instantly for Cairo. The joy of the population at seeing themselves freed from such a functionary was great. His dishonesty had arrived at such a pitch

that no one considered either the honour of his family or his substance safe. It is therefore easy to imagine what displeasure Gordon must have felt on seeing himself betrayed by a man in whom he had placed so much confidence, and to whom he had granted the high emolument of 150*l.* a month.

And here I must go back a step. At Fadasi I had received a number of the *Esploratore* (No. IX., 1877), containing the following article, entitled "Slavery a Government Monopoly." It ran as follows :—



CAPTAIN MANFRED CAMPERIO, EDITOR
OF THE *Esploratore*.

"From the Egyptian Soudan we received sad news which make us fear for the safety of the Gessi-Matteucci Expedition. Gordon Pasha, who was already suspected of being opposed to any geographical expeditions made in the districts governed by him—a proof of which are the expeditions of Junker, Marno, and Lucas—has recently sent a circular to the consuls of Khartoum, in which he clearly shows his aver-

sion to such undertakings, and communicates the conditions he wishes to impose on all travellers in the Soudan. These conditions are really ridiculous; for example, without the order of Khedive no one can have camels gratis, as if they had hitherto travelled gratis in the Soudan! Neither is it permitted to hire armed servants without the authority

of the Government—in short, a series of vexatious restrictions, which, at the desire of the commander, put obstacles of every sort in the traveller's way. This deliberate closing of the Soudan ought to claim the attention of all the geographical societies in the world.

“Since Gordon is in power all news from the interior of Africa is suspended. It is easy to govern and maintain peace when one acts like Gordon on the system of *laissez aller*. He neither will nor can restrain the slave trade, and by this he puts himself in opposition to all the philanthropic societies of England. He can only arrest slavery on the chief highways, but is unable to confiscate the slaves for want of means to support them.

“We have already energetically called the attention of geographers and philanthropists to this subject in an article entitled ‘The Scribe of the Gazelle River,’ (No. 11 *Esploratore*, p. 27), which has been reprinted in several English and Continental papers. But the news which continually reaches us from Egypt and the Equatorial regions obliges us to return to the subject.

“One of our correspondents, who is in a position to obtain official information, communicates to us still sadder news than the foregoing, on which we demand that fuller light shall be thrown. It is said that the Government has sent some people into Bahr-el-Ghazal to capture ten thousand slaves, and that they pay to the executors of this infamous order five francs a head; if this be true, we must not be surprised if Gordon Pasha looks askance at any expedition, and if our friends Gessi and Matteucci meet with obstacles they did not foresee, since from their letters and the assurances of the Italian Consul, made, we believe, in all good faith, they indulge in the delusion that they are supported by the Egyptian authorities, at least as far as Fazogli.

“MANFREDO CAMPERIO, *Editor*.”

Everyone at Khartoum, including the partisans of the government, blamed this article, and a reply appeared in the *Phare d'Alexandrie* in which I was said to be its inspirer. It was expected that Gordon would revenge himself on me. The little article caused a great coolness between the merchants and officials at Khartoum and myself; but their behaviour left me altogether indifferent, since I knew Gordon Pasha too well to fear any hostile act on his part.

Gordon arrived and landed at night so as to avoid all official reception. Everyone was ignorant of his advent. In the morning he received Rosset and some other persons. Towards ten a.m. Rosset came into my room, threw a magazine on to the table, and said, "There! the Governor-General has read everything!"

The magazine contained the famous article of the *Explorateur*. I replied very calmly, "I am glad that His Excellency has read the article, and if His Excellency doubts the truth of what is said, I can furnish proofs."

Towards eleven a.m. a janissary sent to me by his Excellency invited me to the Governor's palace. I went immediately and was received with Gordon's usual affability and kindness. He spoke to me a long time about his tour of inspection, begging me also to narrate my adventures. When I had finished, he said he was most ready to aid me in my expedition to the Sobat, but, he added, considering my strained position with the government, he could not give me any high post, fearing the disapproval of the Viceroy. Alluding to the article in question in the *Explorateur*, he continued, "I know, and you must also own, that Egypt has not a model government, but if she were capable of administrating her interests herself, do you think I should be in this place?"

Eluding the question, I replied that it was not my

desire to re-enter the Egyptian service, and that I expected aid from friends in Europe to establish a commercial house ; but not wishing to remain idle at Khartoum, I intended to push on to the Sobat, ascend it, and study its tributaries at a hundred and fifty miles from its mouth. Gordon Pasha, on dismissing me, begged me to come again the following day, as he had a personal project in store for me.

CHAPTER XXII.

REVOLUTION IN THE BAHR-EL-GHAZAL.

Arrival of Junker—Enrolments—Everything ready—Money, doora, arms, abundant—Wealth of produce—I do not go to the Sobat—An official from Fashoda—Revolution in the Bahr-el-Ghazal—Suleiman—Agitation at Khartoum—A steamer stranded—Gordon in perplexity—Arrest of rebels—Sequestration of cases—The masters of the scribe—My little troop—Forces of Suleiman.

THE next day, June 28th, 1878, the steamer *Borden* arrived from Lado with Dr. Junker on board, returning from his important journey of exploration. He had set out from Khartoum on October 21st, 1876, for Lado, continuing his way to Makraka, whence he made three great excursions into the environs. In the months of July, August, and September he had gone to Rohl, near the former seriba of Malzac (now Rumbek); he had been at the large seriba of Gattas towards the west, visiting also the little seribe which had been visited before him by Dr. Schweinfurth, Miani and Piaggia.

Dr. Junker drew a map of all the water courses which had formed in the harif, and which flow into the Bahr-el-Ghazal. He then directed his way to the tribes of the Dinka, Bongo, Mittù, and Abacca, returning to Makraka by way of Abdelsamet.

After these explorations, Junker turned to the south towards the countries of the Fajela, Kakuaks, and Kalika (about twelve days south of Makraka), whence he observed the Blue Mountains to the west of the

Albert Nyanza. He has collected a large quantity of ethnographical objects, and leaves in a fortnight for St. Petersburg.

The arrival of Dr. Junker was of great importance to us because he could give information on the countries he had traversed which form a part of the Egyptian dominion; places which Gordon Pasha had not yet been able to visit. Dr. Junker expressed his opinion on these countries with great moderation, not wishing to make enemies of the chiefs, whom he expected to meet again in a second exploration which he hoped to undertake. Meanwhile, Idris Bey had returned to his post in Bahr-el-Ghazal and Ibrahim Fauzi to the headquarters of Lado.

Finally Gordon Pasha decided to make an expedition to the Sobat at the charge of the Government, and, not wishing to incur new expenses, he accorded to me, as remuneration, the half of the ivory we should find. Later on he changed his mind, granting me all the ivory if I would undertake the conquest of the Sobat at my own expense. Gordon then offered me three hundred guns, ammunition, and transport with steamers and boats.

These offers were most satisfactory. I had a great undertaking before me. Not only should I realize commercial profits in that vast region between the mouths of the Sobat and the Galla country, but I should make an interesting geographical exploration. My principal aim was to cross the Galla countries and descend the Juba at the time of the rains. The Galla territory, as is well known, is not distant more than three days' journey from the place where navigation ceases. But to accomplish such an undertaking some capital was necessary for the purchase of stuffs, cotton, clothes, and, above all, salt, which is lacking in those regions.

I enrolled three hundred men, some master carpenters and two blacksmiths for the eventual

construction of nugars. The Government arsenal of Khartoum had already consigned three hundred guns to me, with the necessary ammunition; all were strongly packed in tin cases covered with wood, and I had also a small cannon of eight tons, and a culverin. Having then hired two large boats, and being at last in possession of the necessary money, I was ready to set out, when all at once news arrived which destroyed my brightest hopes.

An officer of the Egyptian army had arrived in great haste from Fashoda, bringing the dismal news that the son of Ziber Pasha, Suleiman Ziber Bey, had revolted, massacring all the garrison of Dem Idris, possessing himself of the cannon, arms and ammunition, and killing the natives who would not join him. Then having subjugated all the vast territory of Bahr-el-Ghazal, he had proclaimed its independence.

The Governor, Idris Bey, had taken refuge at Rohl, leaving the great depôt of ammunition consigned to the care of his secretary, Babeker, who, instead of joining Colonel Idris as he had been ordered to do, had halted in a wood and given notice of it to Suleiman.

Such news as this alarmed the country, and the proprietors of the principal seribe established at Khartoum, and all who had relations or interests in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, flocked to the Governor's palace to obtain information.

What rendered the situation more serious was the stranding of the steamer *Ismailia* in the neighbourhood of Meshra-el-Rek. They believed it had fallen into the hands of the rebels.

This news caused serious apprehension to the Governor-General, who only a short time before had quelled the revolt at Darfour, pardoning Suleiman, and appointing him sub-Governor with a monthly stipend of fifty pounds sterling.

To complete the misfortune, dearth prevailed in

the capital of the Soudan on account of the want of water. The doora which generally cost one and a half dollars the erdeb had risen to twelve dollars.

Gordon knew how little he could count on the capacity and fidelity of his officers; he had also no leader at hand to whom he could trust, with hopes of success, the command of an expedition against the rebels. On the very day of the gloomy news I had an interview with the Governor-General, during which he said that my departure for the Sobat was now impossible; at the same time he asked me whether I would assume the command of an expedition against the rebels. I refused this then, giving as reasons that I no longer belonged to the Egyptian army, and that I had no idea of abandoning my plans. Gordon, however, had been sufficiently generous towards me, and I also reflected that in such critical times he could never deprive himself of arms and ammunition, sacrificing the vital interests of the Government for my advantage. As a European also, I thought it my duty to sacrifice my own plans, and a few days later I accepted the command. I was obliged to set out as soon as possible for Central Africa, where I was to collect and organize the forces for the projected campaign.

Yussuf Bey, Governor of Rohl, was then at Khartoum, and received strict orders to obey and aid me by every means in his power.

While I was making preparations for departure, Gordon, in order to prevent Suleiman from hearing what occurred at Khartoum, put the house of Ziber Pasha under guard, and arrested four of his relations who were at Khartoum, that is, his brother, a certain Ziber Rahman; his uncle Hassan Digel; and his two cousins, Babeker Mansur and Abdel Kava Iman. Their arrest caused the discovery of certain cases that had been sent by Ziber Pasha

to his son, and which were seized at Berber and forwarded to Khartoum. They contained forty Turkish saddles, richly ornamented in gold and silver, of the value of 1000 to 1500 francs each, and several swords richly inlaid with gold. For whom were these things destined? At Khartoum horses are not to be found except on rare occasions, and in Bahr-el-Ghazal they are entirely wanting. They could only have been meant for the great chiefs at Darfour, who certainly would also take part in the rebellion as soon as it broke out. This outbreak was not the result of a simple accident, but rather planned in such a way that, at a given day, all the province of the Soudan was to rise in open rebellion. Farther on I shall say more about the subject, giving the clearest explanation of the reason why Bahr-el-Ghazal alone had revolted.

I had proposed to Gordon, with the intention of quelling the revolt, to send out an expedition, and to assemble all the proprietors of seriba who resided at Khartoum and procure their commands for their agents in Bahr-el-Ghazal to place themselves under my orders, so that I could make use of them in pacifying the revolution. For this purpose each proprietor was to send a delegate to join my expedition. One of the most influential merchants on the Gazelle river, a certain El Arbab, proprietor of the seriba of Gangi, who ruled over more than twelve hundred armed men, had been named Vekil of Bahr-el-Ghazal. He was a great friend of Ziber Pasha and his son, who looked upon him as a father.

When the four relations of Ziber knew of the dispositions taken by the Government against Suleiman, they spontaneously offered to come with me as mediators, for the purpose of obliging Suleiman to submit to the Viceroy. They signed a document in which they declared that they would use all their influence, and they guaranteed the good result of their mission, for they said the greater part of the

proprietors of the scribe who had their families at Khartoum, or who were in Suleiman's camp, would certainly accept proposals made by Ziber Pasha's relations. Gordon agreed to their proposal, and ordered them to be ready to embark, first signing their declaration on the eve of my departure.

My last instructions regarding the troops on which I might calculate ran as follows :—

At Khartoum, soldiers and subalterns	...	...	40
At Fashoda I was to take two companies and ammunition	...	...	210
At Ladò, two companies and ammunition	...	...	210
At Makraka, one company under the orders of Behit Bey	...	...	105
From Makraka, irregular troops, calculated at	...	...	700
At Gaba-Shambé I was to find 700 Remingtons in the magazine, at Rohl about 500 guns, and to enlist 1500 men	...	...	1500
Total Force			2765

Besides this scattered force of 2765 men, I also calculated on the men of the different scribe to be about			
about	...	...	2000
The troops of Jenau Abu Muri, about	...	...	1100
The troops of El Arbab	...	...	1200
And those disbanded by Idris Bey, about	...	...	500
Total			7565

Altogether I should have 7565 men, two rifled cannon of eight tons, and some Congreve rockets. This represented a respectable force for one expedition.

On the north of Shakka was a battalion of regular troops under the orders of Colonel Mehemet Bey, and about 2500 men of irregular troops under Sangiak Ottman Tayalla, Mussa, Wad-el-Hag, Ali Bey, Said, and others.

As soon as these received news of my arrival, they were to put themselves immediately under my orders. They were to make a demonstration towards the right flank of Suleiman, and force him to divide his forces,

which were considerable, since he possessed four cannon of eight tons, Congreve rockets, and ammunition in enormous quantities ; besides troops armed with excellent rifles and superior cannon.

It will be seen in the sequel what my force was actually reduced to before the campaign began.

The old traders and slavers, with millions of Jelabba and Arabs, who knew Ziber senior and his valorous troops well, were firm in their conviction that all attempts to make Suleiman yield to my inferior force were ridiculous, and that the Governor-General of the Soudan could not possibly cope with Suleiman's well-trained and well-organized army.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE WAR AGAINST THE SLAVERS ON THE GAZELLE RIVER.

Farewell to Gordon—Hurricane—Forgotten post—Capture of a dahabia—Ismailia—Meeting with Emin Bey—Arrival at Fashoda—Slaves disembarked—The Sultan of the Shilluks—Taib Bey—Difficulties—Sixty irregular Arab soldiers—Emin Bey departs.

WE were to leave Khartoum at noon on July 15th, 1878, but with the usual unpunctuality of the Arabs, we could not embark before four o'clock. Dr. Zucchinetti accompanied the expedition as surgeon. On the eve of my departure I received my last instructions from Gordon Pasha. I was accompanied by a numerous crowd of friends to the *Bordeen*, which had two nugars in tow with ammunition and forty soldiers. A last farewell to my friends, and the signal was given to put the column in motion. As we passed before the Governor's house, Gordon Pasha appeared on the balcony and waved his hand to me in final greeting. All the shore was lined with curious spectators, who gazed at those, whom, as they said, Gordon was sending to certain death.

The strong current and the boats in tow hindered the progress of the steamers. The sky grew dark with clouds, and a hurricane was imminent. Soon the wind blew with such violence that the captain was forced to cast anchor at Omdurman, a suburb of Khartoum, between the Blue and the White rivers,

at the moment when the rain came down in a deluge. Although the steamer had just left the arsenal where it had been repaired in the best manner, the water penetrated the cabin on both sides. When the rain had ceased I heard a violent altercation between the captain and the clerk; the latter had forgotten to take on board the post for Fashoda and Central Africa.

It was decided to land four sailors, and send them to Khartoum, and I took that opportunity to order them to seek my servant, who had disappeared at the moment of our departure. At two a.m. the sailors returned with the mail-bag, but my servant had not been found.

Early on the 16th of July, the relations of Ziber Pasha begged permission to pay me a visit. Meanwhile the steamer had started, but all the same I allowed the four envoys to be introduced. I received them politely, regaling them with the usual coffee. They asked my permission to go on in advance of us as soon as they landed at Gaba-Shambé, before Suleiman should suspect that the Egyptian Government was sending troops against him. They hoped, and were indeed almost certain, that all the difficulties would be smoothed away; but they begged that, in the worst case, I would try as far as lay in my power to obtain a pardon for Suleiman, or at least secure his life. I promised to do what I could, and told them that Gordon might obtain a pardon for him from the Viceroy.

I promised them that they should leave as soon as we arrived at Gaba-Shambé, and that I would facilitate their journey. They blamed the people who surrounded Suleiman, he being very young and inexperienced, and much under the influence of his uncle Hamil Bey, and of his own captains. I was almost persuaded of their sincerity,—their behaviour would have convinced the most obstinate sceptic.

Late at night we arrived off Kava, and the

steamer stopped at nine p.m. to take on board fuel next day. Towards ten o'clock I was walking on the quarter-deck when, in the darkness, I perceived a dahabia with sails set proceeding swiftly, favoured by the wind, down the river. It looked suspicious. As it passed near the steamer I called out for it to stop, but it continued on its way. I immediately gave orders to put on steam and follow with all speed. Letting go the two boats in tow, away we went after the dahabia, which presently would lose the wind in its sails, as the river made a sharp turn.



THE SLAVE-DAHABIA.

My only fear was that the captain of the dahabia would succeed in landing his slaves before we came up with him. I therefore gave the order "full speed," and we reached the boat just as its sails collapsed, and it was carried by the current alongside our steamer.

I went on board and made out that it belonged to the Egyptian Government of Khartoum, under the direction of the reis (captain) Abdulkerim. The hold was full of slaves packed side by side like so

many herrings. Many were in chains. But what surprised me most, was to find in the cabin an officer of the regular army of Ladò.

I made the slaves, ninety-two in number, men and women, come up on deck. Having been in the hold for several days without fresh air, there was such a stench below, that it was impossible to breathe. On making inquiries as to where the slaves came from, I ascertained that the cargo belonged to Colonel Ibrahim Fauzi Bey, Governor-General of Central Africa, Makraka, Manbettu, Rohl, and the Gazelle river.

The delegate of the station of observation on the Sobat, as well as the Governor of Fashoda, must have been implicated in the affair, for it seemed from my inquiries that the dahabia had touched at both those places without being arrested.

I put some guards on board the slaver, passing the night on the same spot, and immediately wrote to report the capture at Khartoum.

At break of day, I was just up when Yussuf Bey announced himself. He was in great agitation, and on entering the saloon he almost threw himself at my feet, and implored pardon for the Reis Abdulkerim, his brother-in-law.

I felt so indignant at this cool request that I could not help ordering him to leave me, adding reproachfully: "And this is the loyalty with which you serve your sovereign and Gordon, whom you honour with the title of Bey, and whom you betray in this manner."

I sorrowfully asked myself what kind of help I could expect from the men placed under my command, if the highest official after myself could betray the Governor in this way. Meanwhile a steamer had come in sight. One of our sailors climbed the mast and reported that it was the *Ismailia*, which had got afloat without help by the rising of the water, and had thus escaped falling into the hands of the

rebels, who would certainly have destroyed it. The captain could give us but little information about the progress of the rebels. He only knew that the native families had taken refuge with their herds on the banks of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, in the neighbourhood of the Nuers. His sailors had been about to take to flight in the boat, which he prevented by threatening to shoot anyone who even touched it. They had been already several days without doora.

A few hours after the arrival of the *Ismailia* came a second steamer, which I supposed to be the *Saphia*, but it turned out to be the *Talahauin*, coming from Ladò with Dr. Emin Bey, and Idris Bey, Governor of the province of the Gazelle, on board. The mails were delivered to Emin Bey, where he found his appointment to the governorship of Equatorial Africa. I presented to him the order to put himself at my disposal, in consequence of which he had to go back. I entrusted the dahabia to the care of the captain of the *Talahauin*, who took it in tow to deliver it and its cargo to the authorities at Khartoum.

From Idris Bey I obtained some little information respecting events in Bahr-el-Ghazal. He had been at Jur-Gattas when his seriba was attacked by Suleiman, and without waiting for further news had fled precipitately, leaving the ammunition in the custody of his clerk, Vekil Babeker, who, instead of securing everything, had delivered the ammunition to Suleiman.

Idris Bey continued on his way to Khartoum, while Emin Bey and I went on to Fashoda with the *Bordeen* and *Ismailia*. Travelling on the *Bordeen* was disagreeable, for the cabin was small, and the wood for fuel encumbered the whole deck; the *Ismailia* very soon passed us.

Near Fashoda I saw a great number of natives disembarking. Emin Bey, who had arrived in the *Ismailia* a quarter of an hour before me (July 15th),

waited for me that we might land together, for which purpose he came on board my steamer. He asked me if I had noticed the unusual bustle caused by our arrival. I replied that I had noticed everything, but could not explain the reason of the bustle.

"It was two nugars," he told me, "full of slaves, and at sight of our steamers they landed in great haste, to go into the interior."

The Greek merchants of the station confirmed the fact, adding that we must not be surprised, for such things happened every day.

In the administration of Fashoda was a Turkish *employé*, who, not being able to live on the small salary given by the government, had sent in his resignation, as he could earn a better living by writing petitions and acting as lawyer. I had known him for a long time, and whenever he saw me he came to chat with me.

From him I received the following news. The territory of Fashoda only yields a few hippopotamus hides, but the officials find means of living by the slave trade. Even after the arrival of Gordon the slave trade was carried on in secret. When one or two cargoes of doora arrive, the Mudir, by means of a confidant of his, has slaves consigned to an equivalent value. The doora is then taken to the government depôt, and as to the account, it is made up as follows :—

	Dollars.
Received from N. N. in taxes from his district	150
Received from Sheikh N. N. for taxes in arrear.....	200
Received from the same for the current year	250
Total.....	600
For the purchase of 200 erdeb of doora.....	600

I observed to my friend that sooner or later Gordon Pasha would come to know of such frauds, and severely punish those who committed them. He

replied, "But who will divulge these things? We are all interested in keeping the secret, otherwise we should incur the risk of dismissal and dying of hunger." I asked afterwards how they managed to get so many slaves, and he answered: "We are continually making raids, either into the country of the Shilluks of the Sobat, or into that of the Nuers, or that of the Shilluks of this territory. When we capture the oxen, we also capture the natives by hundreds, and if they are too many we deliver them to the Sheikhs, who keep them till we send for them."

Gordon Pasha had already taken serious measures to suppress the slave trade at Fashoda, by nominating as Bey the descendant of the Sultans of the Shilluks, who received a high salary, with the charge of suppressing the slave trade in his dominions. But little by little the Bey allowed himself to be bribed by the Egyptian officials, who promised him a part of their profits. This savage, who at first despised gold, and who had formerly, as Sultan, fought for the independence of his kingdom, has now become himself a slave trader against his own subjects. But we must return to our narrative.

Having landed with Emin Bey, we passed through files of soldiers who rendered us military honours. I delivered my letter of command to Taib Bey, ordering him to furnish me with two companies of soldiers, ammunition and stores.

Lieut.-Colonel Taib Bey, Governor of Fashoda, was a Soudanese who had occupied before Gordon the post of Governor of Gondokoro. He received me with much courtesy, but showed great anxiety about the capture of the dahabia. He told me that he found himself absolutely unable to provide me with two companies, the greater part of the troops being absent collecting the taxes; there remained only the sick and the convalescent. These, by my orders, were drawn up in the great square towards noon and from them I made my selection.

There were about one hundred and seventy soldiers, officers and subalterns, but they seemed to be nearly all invalids. The greater part were afflicted with syphilitic diseases, festering wounds, and the itch. I could only choose a hundred infantry and sixteen artillery soldiers. Their officer was a certain Said Aga, who for two years had received no pay. He had robbed the military till, and to pay his debt must still serve five more years. It was impossible for the poor wretch to follow me in such a condition, and I immediately ordered that he should have a month's pay so that he could provide himself with what was most necessary.

I had also asked from Taib Bey fifty cases of ammunition, but he could not furnish me with them, and with difficulty I obtained twenty-five thousand cartridges. As I had only got one hundred and seventeen men instead of two companies, Yussuf Bey advised me to take sixty Arabs of the irregulars under the orders of Sanjiak-el-Fadel, assuring me that they were worth more than a company of regular troops. I accepted this proposal and the sixty men were enrolled.

I had not been at Fashoda for two years and a half, but the town was unchanged. It is the capital of the Shilluk country. Forty years ago it was annexed to the Government of Khartoum, and now serves as a place of transportation of political prisoners and galley-slaves. At present there are no political prisoners, but there are about two hundred at the galleys, working out their terms of punishment. The market, which formerly was full of slight huts, in which the Jelabba kept the slaves, is now abolished. Slavery was publicly prohibited, and the authorities watched that the monopoly should remain exclusively in their hands. The only persons who could give precise information were the Greeks, whom nothing escapes, for they have lived for many years in the country.

But they would say nothing, fearing to damage

their own interests, as the greater part of their goods are sold on credit. I made some purchases of one of them, a man named Themistocles, who carried the articles on board himself. He confessed that the two nugars laden with slaves were really intended to be sent off, for the authorities and everyone else at Fashoda had not known of Gordon Pasha's return to Khartoum. The approach of our steamers, moreover, had not been signalled as usual by the clerks of the slavers with rockets. When the slave-boats arrive at Kaka, they feel pretty safe, and if they see



A GROUP OF ELEPHANTS.

from afar the mast of a steamer, the slaves are landed in haste and sent into the interior. Themistocles, who was cunning enough, was intimately acquainted with all that happened in the Divan (seat of Government), thanks to his friendship with the officials, who assiduously frequent his shop to intoxicate themselves with mastic.

On July 29th we continued our journey to Gaba-Shambé and the Sobat. I have made a few notes concerning the Shilluks, which will perhaps be interesting if published after my death.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CONQUEST OF THE SHILLUKS.

The conquest of the Shilluks—Granaries of the Soudan—Capital of the Shilluks—Mohamed Her—Mussa Pasha—Expedition of the Arab merchants—Defeat of the Shilluks—Trade in slaves—Epidemic at Khartoum—Capture of twenty thousand slaves—The Arabs imprisoned.

AMONG the population and tribes put to the hardest proof and most persecuted by the Government of the Soudan, is that of the Shilluks, who, by the vast territory they occupy, constitute a powerful and rich people.

From the part opposite to Kava, as far as Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Sobat, their dominion extended, and it is difficult to say up to what point towards the west their boundaries might stretch. Agriculturists *par excellence*, they could exchange their doora with all the bordering countries. Khartoum itself was provided with needful cereals from the Shilluk countries, which were called “the granaries of the Soudan.” Cattle were so abundant that the owners did not even know how many head they possessed.

The confines of the Egyptian Government only extended to Kava. This latter place was the great market where the Shilluks and the Arabs of Khartoum met.

The articles brought to Kava were, ivory, india-rubber, ostrich-feathers, hippopotami-hides, goat-skins, oxen, and butter, which the Shilluks exchanged for cotton cloths, glass beads, iron, copper, brass wire, and scented woods for perfumes.

The capital of the Sultan of the Shilluks was Kaka, a place occupying an immense extent of land. There was also a royal guard, consisting of ten thousand men armed with lances, who dwelt around the seat of the Sultan, and served to keep the interior of the country quiet.

A certain Mohamed Her of Khartoum traded at Kava with the Shilluks, and in consequence formed many connections, so that he succeeded in establishing himself at Fashoda.

Little by little, other Arabs, dealing in the articles above-mentioned, joined him. Mohamed Her had also managed to gain for himself the esteem and goodwill of the Sultan; he enjoyed exceptional protection by serving as mediator and justice of peace in the differences which occurred between the Shilluks and Arabs. Meanwhile commerce prospered and was extended every year.

Mohamed Her could not however control his ambition, and began to weave intrigues even at the court of the Sultan, wishing to become himself dictator of the country. The Sultan found that the conduct of Mohamed Her became more insupportable every day, so that he turned him out of his dominions. Mohamed Her swore to revenge himself and went to Khartoum. Endowed with a certain natural intelligence and ready speech, he presented himself to the Governor of Khartoum, Mussa Pasha, telling him of the immense riches owned by the Shilluks, and that the government could easily take possession of their wide lands. Mohamed Her, who knew the places and the Sultan's forces, was able with a few words to persuade the Governor, Mussa Pasha, to take possession of the country, and the latter desired nothing better, it being his dream to aggrandize the Soudan. Mohamed Her asked nothing of the Governor except a steamboat and some ammunition; he would see to all the rest.

It was scarcely rumoured in Khartoum that

Mohamed Her had undertaken to make the expedition, than all the Arabs flocked to him, and in a short time he was able to assemble more than eight thousand combatants at Kava.

The nugars, laden with Arabs, left Khartoum amid the acclamations of millions of voices which wished them success, and thousands of guns were fired in sign of rejoicing. The troop was joined by the Fukara, the Feki, and all the Mahomedan priests of Khartoum and the neighbouring country, the sellers of amulets to protect these new Argonauts against wounds and death.

The steamer which Mussa Pasha had granted was that called No. 15, and too weak to take many boats in tow, for this reason the expedition was put off to another day.

The goal of the journey was Fashoda, but in order that the boats might remain together, it was determined to wait for the periodical north winds. Meanwhile the Shilluks had been forewarned and prepared for defence; they assembled at Kaka believing that to be the point of attack.

All was ready; and one night three hundred nugars silently spread their sails for the promised land. The Shilluks from afar watched the movements of the Arabs. When the boats reached the neighbourhood of Fashoda, the Shilluks were all drawn up on the bank of the river to prevent a landing; but a shower of bullets stretched them by hundreds on the ground. The fusilade ended in overcoming their courage, and the Arabs disembarked on a shore covered with thousands of the slain.

The Sultan and his troops fled inland, abandoning the capital, Kaka, which fell into the hands of the Arabs, as well as Fashoda. The loss of the Shilluks was enormous. The Sultan had lost very many of his relations, and the dignitaries of the country, fighting bravely, were the first to fall.

The success of the Arabs continued all along the

river. The population of the Shilluks being too numerous, they could not all emigrate into the interior, and many therefore remained behind. These the Arabs made prisoners, and the three hundred nugars were laden with the human spoil, and sent to Khartoum as the first proof of the success of the expedition.

The prisoners, when landed at Khartoum, were sold as slaves. The three hundred boats were filled again with other Arabs bound to the new Eldorado. They returned once more loaded with "black ivory," and so it went on, whilst from every part of the Soudan traders learning of the plunder flocked to purchase slaves.

At Khartoum the victories in the Shilluk country were celebrated by processions and thanksgivings to Allah. The caravans of slaves were sent to Masolemia, Senaar, Kordofan, and the coasts of the Red Sea, whence they were forwarded to Jeddah and other parts. Attracted by the gain of the first expedition, the Arabs abandoned their fields and workshops, and hastened to the Shilluk country to give chase to the natives and lead them into slavery.

Mahomed Her was highly rewarded, and appointed Mahmud (governor) of the provinces he had conquered. He bound himself in return to pay a heavy annual tribute.

The ravage of the Shilluk country continued. Khartoum was full of slaves; epidemic diseases, such as cholera, typhus and other fevers, soon spread through the city, decimating the population. In consequence the government was compelled to take summary measures, prohibiting the slave-trade, and sending steamers full of soldiers up the Nile to prevent the transport of slaves, and capture every slave-boat. In one day fifty-three nugars were taken, each of which carried from four to five hundred slaves. The nugars were seized, and the Arabs imprisoned in the arsenal at Khartoum.

CHAPTER XXV.

SLAVE-DEALING GOVERNORS.

Arrival at Gaba-Shambé—Slave dealers—Steamers—Liberation of one hundred and seventy slaves—Ibrahim Fauzi Bey—Gaba Shambé—Want of bearers—Empty magazine—Harif—Agricultural colony of Rejaf—Surur Effendi—Arrival at Ladò—Dismissal of Ibrahim Fauzi Bey—Difficulty of finding troops at Ladò—Dearth of provisions—Hippopotamus killed—Mangries Effendi—The Sultan's horse.

I ARRIVED at Gaba-Shambé at the moment when the *Scebbin* was ready to abandon its post of anchorage. But instead of leaving it stopped, owing to an escape of steam. I went on board to see to the damage, and found to my great astonishment some fifty slaves, all from the district of Moru Kraka and Niambara.

The precise number of slaves shipped had been one hundred and seventy. Of these about one hundred and fifty had been already landed in great haste, it being thought that the rest could be secretly put on shore in the night.

I immediately caused the slaves to be seized, and put under the surveillance of the troops. The officer commanding the station was a relation of the Governor-General, Ibrahim Fauzi Bey, and when confronted with me he lost all his self-possession, not knowing how to excuse himself. Having made instant enquiry, I caused the captain of the *Scebbin* to be called, and asked him to explain whence the slaves came. He confessed that being under the

orders of Ibrahim Fauzi Bey, he could do no less than execute them by delivering the slaves to the Governor of Fashoda, Taib Bey.

I instantly ordered the officer of the station of Gaba-Shambé to return to Khartoum, and put himself at the disposal of the Governor-General of the Soudan.

I set the crowd of slaves at liberty; the greater part were infirm and emaciated by hunger. I wished to send them back to their own country, but they begged me to give them two days of repose in order that they might have a chance to recover their strength. A great part of them were lying down from weakness, and they implored me to give them a little doora, as they were famished, having eaten nothing for three days.

I immediately caused doora and two oxen to be distributed among them, and after having supplied them with some more grain for the journey, I made them set out, giving them an escort of a few soldiers, so that they might reach their homes unmolested.

All this disgusted me so much that I repented having accepted the mission entrusted to me by Gordon. I retired into my tukul, giving orders that no one should disturb me. When I was alone, a thousand reflections passed through my mind, and I thought in what a labyrinth Gordon was. I remembered all the favours distributed by him to these treacherous officials to tempt them into the right way. I thought of Ibrahim Fauzi Bey, who from a simple cadet, in the space of five years had been raised by General Gordon to the grade of colonel, and entrusted with all the Equatorial Provinces.

I now know positively that all the officials, almost without exception, were engaged in the slave-trade, or were at least indirectly interested in it; but I never could have imagined that the evil was so deeply rooted. I certainly did not suppose that it could have originated with the highest officials, and

that, abusing their power, they could have formed such a *Camorra*, not only in Central Africa and Khartoum, but also at Cairo, in the capital of Egypt !



THE CHIEFS OF GARA-SHAGHI

They did not shrink from any attempt even the most infamous. Their audacity went so far as to guard

the slave caravans with officers appointed expressly by themselves.

From this it is easy to form an idea of what might happen in the distant provinces of Makraka, Rohl, the Gazelle river, Shakka, Kordofan, Dongola, Sennaar, Famaca, and all along the banks of the Red Sea. Gordon Pasha found himself in a bottomless pit in everything relating to the slave-trade. All, without exception, were interested in not betraying their friends. The very officers and officials near his person took the greatest care that none of this should reach his ears. They had, in fact, persuaded themselves that with the abolition of slavery, misery would be the fate of all.

The station of Gaba-Shambé was built by me in 1875 by Gordon's orders. I was then able to attract thither with some difficulty the few inhabitants who lived in the neighbourhood. I had also induced them to bring to me various sheikhs of the right bank of the Nile, that they might aid us in building the huts and magazines. The doora and the meat came from the headquarters of Gondokoro. In a short time that station had acquired a gay and lively appearance; but now things were changed and I saw no sheikhs. The population had disappeared as if by enchantment; of the few herds of cattle I saw no trace whatever, and there was no question of any cultivation. The tukuls had mostly fallen into ruins; doora had been lacking for several weeks, and no rations of meat had been distributed for several months to the few soldiers stationed there. Everything presented to the eye a picture of sadness and desolation.

At Gaba-Shambé I caused the troops to land which I had embarked at Fashoda and Khartoum, and gave orders that the four emissaries, the relations of Ziber Pasha, should continue their journey so as to meet with Suleiman. The former sheikhs, my friends, flocked from the interior to meet

me. I ordered Yussuf Bey to repair to Rohl, to provide a thousand bearers for the necessary transport of the victuals and cannon. Besides the military supplies, I observed a great quantity of goods which I thought belonged to the Government also ; but afterwards learnt that these articles and cases were the private property of Yussuf Bey. The latter was preparing to depart, and I too made arrangements to repair to Ladò to take the other two companies and the necessary ammunition. Before leaving I ordered the military magazine to be opened, which was said to contain the one hundred and seventy Remington guns, and was not a little surprised that these had been already taken by Ibrahim Fauzi Bey, who had distributed them at the various stations along the Victoria Nile. The magazine contained nothing but some hundreds of empty cases, and an enormous bottle of spirits.

Emin Bey had already preceded me, so as to organize matters in such a way that on my arrival all would be ready for the march ; the harif had begun long ago, and the continual rains might render progress impracticable. It was therefore advisable to set out as soon as possible, especially as it was feared that Suleiman might have fallen upon Rohl, paralyzing all our movements. As I was sending my effects on board I was secretly informed by a soldier that Captain Peragli had hidden sixteen slaves in a hut ; they belonged to the 170 of Makraka, whom he had been able to conceal. I seized these slaves in person, and took them with me to Ladò, consigning them to Emin Bey, who had expressed his intention of founding an agricultural colony at Rejaf with the ransomed slaves.

I left Gaba-Shambé at the end of July, and in a few hours arrived at the station of Bohr, where I lost the whole day in procuring fuel. The commander of the station of Bohr was Surur Effendi, a Soudanese officer, who had taken part

in the expedition into Mexico against Juarez. But this officer had learnt very little of what concerns military discipline. I was told that he possessed a quantity of slaves.

The last time I was at Bohr I had admired the immense extent of land sown with doora, not only sufficient for the wants of the station, but also for those of Lado. The annual crop exceeded 700 erdeb, and with 1500 oxen captured in various raids, they furnished the means of subsistence, but this station too had fallen into ruins. In place of the doora thorny bushes were growing in the midst of high grass.

The inhabitants, decimated, maltreated and led into slavery, were dispersed, and in the station we only found some sickly Dongolese, and disorderly soldiers. Two-thirds of the tukul were uninhabitable, and the station had shared the fate of all the others founded by Gordon Pasha.

It was not till the first days of August, 1878, that I arrived at Lado. Emin Bey had prepared with Arab formality a festive reception for me, for which I did not care. The first person who came on board was the Colonel, Ibrahim Fauzi Bey! He had already received by post the order of dismissal which told him that he was to repair, on the first opportunity, to Khartoum, consigning the station to Emin Bey. He was very much cast down, and when he entered the saloon he begged me with tears to save him, saying,—

“You have aided me to rise in grade and honours, do not abandon me now.”

I replied that I could do nothing, but that if he could prove his innocence Gordon would reinstate him in his post. I put a speedy end to the scene by landing, when I was received by the troops commanded by Nuer Bey. I repaired to the *Diran* and all the officials were presented to me.

When they came to know at Lado of the capture

of slaves I had made, Fauzi Bey, with the aid of some clerks, falsified the registers, declaring that those people were recruits destined for Fashoda. But the artifice was too absurd, since the greater part of the slaves were women and children.

Also at Ladô they not only could not consign the two companies I needed, but they even refused the ammunition I demanded. Ammunition was there in abundance, but everyone conspired against my expedition. Only two hundred and forty guns of an antique pattern were delivered to me, while the Remingtons were hidden in distant stations. No one would help me, in spite of the strict orders of Gordon Pasha. After various altercations and disputes with Nuer Bey, I got at last twenty-five cases of ammunition and eighty soldiers, part of whom I was to take from the stations of Bohr and Gaba-Shambé. My hopes were founded on a company of regular troops under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Behit Bey ; on the irregular troops of Atruc Bey ; on those of Manbettu, and those resident at Rohl-Rumbek. I was tired of so many obstacles ; all my protests were of no avail ; but I plucked up patience under the hope that affairs might at last take a better turn.

I left Ladô with the intention of proceeding to Bohr, receiving in consignment the forty soldiers who were to form part of the eighty given me by Nuer Bey. What was my surprise then to see soldiers come on board armed with old guns, while all the regular troops are generally armed with Remingtons. My patience was exhausted, and I made an emphatic protest to the commander, Surur Effendi, who was now frightened and instantly sent me the Remingtons.

At length I arrived on the 10th July at Gaba-Shambé, after ten days' absence. Hitherto no news had arrived from Rohl-Rumbek respecting the bearers.

Thus passed the days, one after the other, in constant uncertainty. The rains had already commenced, and the roads of communication became more difficult from day to day, the country being in many parts inundated. I feared that the rising waters would impede my march. The soldiers were without meat; but fortunately, two days after my arrival, one of my orderlies killed an enormous hippopotamus, which was distributed among the troops.

I was anxious at the absence of Yussuf Bey and the bearers, and hoped to have tidings of Suleiman, but my faith in Yussuf Bey as an officer was not great. It being impossible for me to move without means of transport, I began to fear that Yussuf Bey would never return. I might have set out, trusting to raids in the villages, but could not and would not follow the example of the Egyptian troops.

So the days passed with an uncertainty to which I put an end by determining to take a little clothing, provisions for five days, and fifty soldiers without baggage, and march quickly on to Rohl-Rumbek. Fortunately I was able to find ten native women, who, for an *erdeh* of doora, offered to carry our few effects. Besides the doctor, Zucchinetti, I had the owner of Jur-Gattas, who came with me to persuade the people of his seriba to join me.

He was a young man, a certain Mangrios Effendi, of the Copt religion. His parents had died when he was a child. His father had left him an immense fortune, calculated at about eighty thousand pounds sterling. The young man from his stooping manner must have been sickly. He paid me great respect, and having no one who could write Arabic, I employed him as private secretary. Though timid, he was very quick of perception, and knew thoroughly well all the intrigues of Khartoum, and the course of affairs which it is not easy to learn without being on friendly terms with the officials. What astonished

me most in regard to this young man was, that unlike the majority of his caste, he was quite disinterested. He had never seen the Gazelle river, nor had he ever left the capital of the Soudan, or purchased either ivory or slaves, so that he could give me no information about his seriba, excepting what he knew by hearsay. I had procured for myself a splendid horse of pure Arab race, which had belonged to Ibrahim, the late Sultan of Darfour, while Mangrios Effendi and Dr. Zucchinetti mounted two asses.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FATIGUING MARCHES.

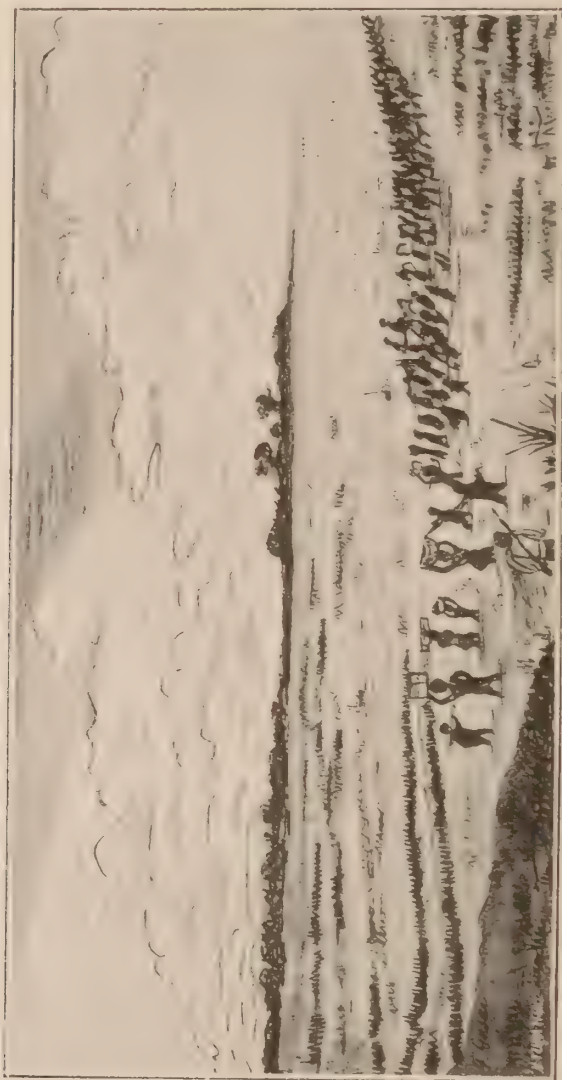
Laoo—The Dinkas and the Kits—Three men drowned—Agar—Rumbek—The Atots—European slave dealers—Obstruction on the Nile.

ON August 26th I left Gaba-Shambé at an early hour in company with Dr. Zucchinetti, taking the direction of Rumbek, a village of about two thousand five hundred inhabitants and chief place of the district of Rhol. Our direction was to the west by a path hardly wide enough for a man to pass. On both sides, the grass, about ten feet high, hid the panorama of the country from our eyes. The abundant rains had swelled the Nile, and the country, except some small tracts, was all flooded. In various places the height of the water reached up to the neck of a man of middle stature, and the march was rendered extremely fatiguing, especially as the weeds entangled the feet of the pedestrians as in a net, so that they were obliged to stop every moment to free themselves.

Two days after we arrived at the village of Laoo. Riding was also dangerous because of the great holes formed by the passage of the elephants, and every moment my poor horse was in danger of breaking his leg.

In the village of Laoo the cabins are distant from each other about four hundred yards, and between them is an abundant cultivation of doora, which quite

conceals them from the eyes of the traveller. They are all constructed upon a scaffolding above eight



A WEARY MARCH.

feet and a half high, to protect them from the attacks of the white ants, and still more from the lions and

the leopards. The natives are of the Dinka race, but they have taken the name of the Kits, to distinguish them from the Dinkas who dwell along the river. The Kits are occupied in agricultural and pastoral pursuits, while the inhabitants along the shore are fishers, who live exclusively on fish and the seeds of wild plants.

Among these Dinkas there exists a rivalry, the agriculturists considering the fishers their inferiors and subjecting them to a species of slavery. On this account those on the banks of the river have long been obliged to furnish the natives of the interior with fish and the flesh of the hippopotamus and crocodile, as well as the skins of the animals they have killed. The population of the Kits which, according to the data I have obtained, numbers about forty thousand souls, are, for the greater part, agricultural herdsmen. The lands sown are vast, which makes it probable that these inhabitants live in a certain affluence which we hardly meet with in other regions. Although the Egyptian Government has been established there for many years, the roads are unsafe, and to cross the country one must have sufficient means of defence. I was obliged to remain three days in this village to procure other bearers. While I was preparing for my departure, an official from the Mudirieh of Khol arrived with about seven or eight hundred bearers, who were going to Gaba-Shambé. They were intended to transport the baggage and the material we had left behind us. From the leader of this troop I was able to obtain some information concerning the rising of Bahr-el-Ghazal, and the state of the roads; the rebellion still continues and the roads are bad.

On September 1st we broke up the camp, and after two hours arrived on the banks of a river which only exists during the rainy season. It has a depth of about fourteen feet, and runs three miles

an hour. We were obliged to cross it in boats made of hollow trunks, and during the crossing three inexperienced boatmen capsized their craft and were drowned. The opposite shore was an inundated island, and only at sunset were we able to reach a place slightly elevated above the shore of the river. The second branch is about one hundred and ten feet wide and seven deep; this we crossed like the other.



THE SHEIKH OF AGAR.

For three consecutive days we continued on our way, and at length arrived at the village of Agar, which contains about two thousand inhabitants, dependent on the Mudirieh of Rhol. In this village the huts are built on platforms like those at Laoo, with the difference that two huts are built on the same platform, which is very large, so that the place beneath serves as a magazine and meeting-place. Here, too, are the straw couch and the

slaves' dwellings. For the first time since our departure from Shambé we have passed the nights sheltered from the rain, and allowed our troops a little rest. The next morning we crossed another river, the passing being rendered easy by means of an immense boat containing thirty men. The country is the same in aspect, high grass, woods, and low inundated lands. On September 7th we approached Rumbek. An hour before our arrival a detachment came to welcome us.



THE VILLAGE OF AGAR.

At last we entered the village, and, the review of the troops being ended, we took up our abode in a vast building where we rested from our labours. To the south of Agar there dwells another tribe, called Atot, which is till now independent, and its presence renders travelling dangerous. The Government has not yet succeeded in subjugating it.

Rumbek was built twenty years ago by a Frenchman, Malzac, who occupied himself, like the Arabs, with collecting ivory and trading in slaves. This Frenchman is not the only one of his nation who has taken up this shameful trade, and I could quote many others, for example, Lafargue, Jules Ambroise, and a certain Alexandre. This last, to escape the search made for him, took the name of Yskender, the Turkish translation of Alexandre. Furthermore a French doctor, a certain Tirant, made his fortune at Khartoum with slaves who were sold in the markets of Cairo and Constantinople.

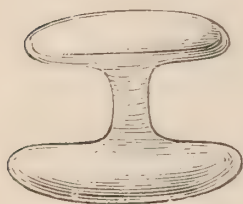
The fauna of Rohl Rumbek is represented by elephants, rhinoceroses, giraffes, buffaloes, wild boars, and a variety of antelopes. Among the carnivorous animals the lion, the leopard, the cheetah, and the hyena are found in great numbers. The ornithology is poor, except a few ostriches, spur-geese, and a variety of turtle doves and ducks.

The agricultural products are very limited; except



A JUR WOMAN.

the doora, a little sesame, a quality of peas called ful, and sugar-canes, there is nothing. In the gardens we find some imported trees, oranges and lemons, some bananas and a tree which yields an exquisite fruit called by the Arabs Gista. In the woods are found the caoutchouc tree, but hitherto no one has thought of extracting its precious milk, so appreciated in Europe for the manufacture of a thousand articles. The soil is sandy, and, I believe, little adapted to the production of other plants. Manufactures are entirely wanting, and the population, women as well as men, go completely naked, the women only sometimes covering themselves with a leaf in the front and at the back.



A LIP-BUTTON.

At Rumbek one finds various specimens of different types assembled; indeed almost all the tribes of Bahr-el-Ghazal, the Jurs, the Macracas, the Gurguros, and the Niam-Niams, are represented there. The women of Jur are very tall in stature and large in size. They are distinguished by the mutilation they make of the lower lip to introduce

a button made of the peel of gourds, which renders the lip protuberant, so that these women, who have good features, are horribly disfigured.

To-day arrived a courier from Shambé, bringing the news that the waters have risen, and that the steamer *Seebbin* on its way to Khartoum has been obliged to go back, having found the river barred by grasses and papyrus; the navigation therefore remains interrupted. If this is true, who knows when I shall have the satisfaction of getting news of my family and friends? No other resource remains to me but to send my letters by way of Meshra-el-Rek to Bahr-el-Ghazal, but I cannot adopt this course until I have asked that a steamer may be sent to me by way of Kordofan.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE JELABBA.

My baggage—Dokumeseie—Sultan Uanda—The great river to the south of Bagangoi—Indian elephants—Ox carts—Trained bulls—Ziber Pasha—The Jelabba—The commercial future—The seribe—Leopard in the camp—Athanassiade's slave—Dragomans killed—The English mission—Mason's voyage on the Mwutan—Zige—Arrival of new troops—The post delayed.

ALTHOUGH the water sank daily, in some places it still exceeded the height of a man, and if I had now continued my journey I should have run the risk of losing all the material for my expedition.

October, 1878.—A few days ago, after waiting for more than a month, I got back part of my personal baggage, but in what a state! Not to mention the provisions, all of which I had to throw away, my clothing was completely spoiled, although it had been shut up in very stout boxes. Three women who had followed the baggage caravan were drowned, and most of the men arrived with horrible wounds in their legs, the effect of the grass and cane through which they had marched. A soldier who had wandered away from the caravan had been wounded by the savages. I had quite decided to leave this on the 12th inst., but two considerations obliged me to wait until the end of the month. One was the high grass and the flood, and the other the want of forage all along the route as far as Abi Muri's seriba, which is about fifteen days' march from here.

Suleiman Ziber Bey, when he attacked the stations, carried away all he could, destroying the rest, so that the poor natives were obliged to nourish themselves with pumpkin leaves and roots. It may be imagined how embarrassed I was, even with my force of three thousand combatants, for the number was reduced to this from seven thousand five hundred which I ought to have had, and an equal number of followers, porters, etc. At the end of the month we shall find a kind of grain resembling our millet (*Setaria Italica*), known by the Arabs under the name of *Dokumeseie*, which, though it may not be quite ripe, will serve for nutriment.

However, though my long stay in this place was rather tedious, it has been of great use to me, as I have been able to obtain some valuable knowledge of these localities and those of the Niam-Niam.

At Rumbek I found negroes from all the western countries, and Arabs who had made journeys into the interior for twenty-seven years. Among them were many who had accompanied Miani everywhere, and six of them had been present at his burial. I sent some of them into the Gurguros' country with orders to bring me the remains of our lamented countryman, and I sent the same orders to the chief of the place, so that within a month I hope to be in possession of them.

The most interesting geographical notes I have been able to gather are those relating to the Monbuttu,¹ the country of Gurguro, Kanna and Bakangoi. They narrate that at five or six days' ² distance to the south of Bakangoi there is such a

¹ "The Monbuttu are accustomed to bore their ears and stick bits of ivory and wood into the holes; in such case they call themselves Gurgur (perforated)."—*Miani's journey to Monbuttu*.

² A negro "day" may be calculated at twenty-five English miles, when accompanying troops, but when marching for their own special purposes the negroes make as much as thirty-five English miles a day.

large and wide river that its banks are invisible from one side to the other, and that the natives are very numerous, savage, and warlike. This river runs westward; ivory is very abundant; the chief food of the inhabitants consists of maize similar to ours, bananas, palm oil, and vegetable butter.

The inhabitants are cannibals. The Arabs who come down from the north with glass beads and brass wire, exchange their merchandise for ivory and numerous slaves.

From these tokens I am convinced that these Arabs can be no other than people coming from Darfour, Wadai, and Baghirmi. When asked why they had not continued to make these journeys, they replied that from that epoch until now the greater part of the troops had been engaged in war in the country of Sultan Uanda, who threatened to invade the places they had taken with overpowering forces. Uanda is a Sultan who governs two-thirds of the western part of Niam-Niam, and has an army of two hundred thousand soldiers. Just lately there arrived a messenger from Niam-Niam with the news that the Sultan Uanda had been beaten, and that now peace would be made.

From all that I have been able to learn, this great river to the south of Bakangoi, of which they spoke to me, can be no other than the Congo. If the people going south from Bakangoi had followed the Welle, which passes near there, they would have been able to give us important information about this river; that is, whether it really flows into the Congo, or continues to run westwards to join the Shari, as the illustrious Dr. Schweinfurth suspects.³

The Governor-General of the Soudan would be able to take advantage of the immense resources of

³ These notes are now partly confirmed and partly rectified by the publications of Stanley, Junker, Casati, and the Belgian explorers of the Congo State.

these little-known countries. Nothing would be more easy for him than to confide the exploration of the Welle and the Congo to some expedition, and, if these rivers unite, to order that one of the little



A JELABBA.

steamers lately arrived from England, and now at Khartoum, should be sent thither and launched in the waters of the Welle.

Incalculable would be the resources which the

Government would acquire if the Congo could be navigated for more than one thousand three hundred miles, and a new track for commerce opened for articles that have never been exported to these still mysterious regions. Until now the only income of Equatorial Egyptian Africa has been ivory, which is scarcely sufficient to meet the immense expenditure. But on the shores of the Congo there is found gutta-percha, copal, and palm oil, without mentioning the ivory and precious dye-woods. The only difficulty would be the transport of the steamers, but even this would be overcome if the system of oxen were introduced as practised throughout Sennaar and Bagara. A trained ox in Sennaar costs no more than from seven to ten dollars, or fifty francs, but there would be no need to introduce beasts from distant places, for as many as would be wanted might be found here.

Gordon Pasha has had five Indian elephants, and one African from Cairo, brought here. These six elephants render valuable service, and at a single time can transport more than three hundred and seventy-five blacks would be able to carry. In Gaba-Shambé, Rohl, Makraka, the countries of Niam-Niam, and the province of the Gazelle, as far as I can tell, there would not be much difficulty in introducing a service of waggons, such as are used in South Africa.

This mode of travelling was not introduced in South Africa by the English, but by the Portuguese, before they were dispossessed of what they had long since acquired. With waggons, besides the greater facilitation of transport, bloody conflicts with the natives would be avoided, for the latter cannot be made to carry goods except by force. The oxen of Niambara, although small, are considered the best adapted to support fatigue and changes of climate. Both at Rumbek and at Agar I have seen saddle and pack oxen that served for three or four years, and

resisted the fatigue extremely well.⁴ I have observed that it is not only the Tsetse-fly, called here *diban*, that so destroys the oxen, but also the want of salt and the quality of the grass, which is too sweet.

When I went to Dufilé I took with me an Abyssinian horse, although many persons had tried to dissuade me from so doing, because, according to them, it would very soon die. Instead of that, it rendered me good service for two years, and I might have had it still had I not been obliged to go to Khartoum.

I have lingered too long on the question of transport, and will now touch on that of slavery.

On my departure from Khartoum my orders were decisive concerning the scourge of Africa. The mild means which the Governor-General had adopted having proved vain, five caravans were arrested within a month, and summary justice done. But, notwithstanding, the merchants eluded the vigilance of the authorities, and in many instances those who were paid to guard against the slave trade profited by it themselves. But the last examples of the *dahabia* which I captured, and two others given to Gaba-Shambé, sufficed to convince these people that the Government, when it interferes, is able to make its laws respected. It is now impossible for slaves to descend by way of the White Nile. I shall be told that the measures I took were too severe, but when all means of conciliation had been exhausted, what was I to do? To argue with these mercenaries would have done no good, and the Government would have given proof of incompetency.

Perhaps I shall have to fight hard in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, a true nest of slave dealers, but I hope to overcome every difficulty, and surely fortune will smile on my efforts to subdue the rebels, who seem to

⁴ Miami travelled here on ox-back, and the Jelabba also.

be prepared for a desperate struggle, convinced that the Government, even if they surrendered, would never pardon the massacres and unheard-of atrocities which they have committed. The *Esploratore* (year I., fascicle II.) has already published a long description of the *seribe* (villages surrounded by hedges) on the Gazelle, which I have seen copied in several English journals, and in which the famous Ziber Bey, now Pasha, is spoken of, whom finally the Central Government decided to imprison at Cairo. His son, Suleiman Bey, succeeded and even surpassed his father in cruelty. It would be difficult to calculate the number of slaves that were exported by father and son, and people here assure me that from the *seriba* called Dem Ziber at Shakka, there is no need for a guide, as it is only necessary to follow for twelve days the track of the skeletons of negroes scattered along the way. Yussef Bey also told me that, while crossing the country not a village was to be found; nothing was to be met with but the ruins of huts, and the posts to which the natives used to attach their cattle at night, the only signs of former habitation. In those times Egypt had only nominal possession of the land, but now that a regular government has been established, it will be able to do as much as has been done on the White Nile.

The question of the abolition of slavery is much more difficult than is believed in Europe. The right of possessing slaves being allowed by the Koran, it will be as hard for the Government here to suddenly destroy slavery as it would be for our Government to destroy the dogma of the Catholic Church. It cannot be denied that a great step has been already made, but it will need time to put the new laws into execution. I have had occasion to converse with many Arabs of some culture who have visited Cairo and Alexandria, and among whom there were even some who had served in European houses. When I told them that to drag one's fellow-man into slavery

is the most horrible action a man can commit, they replied, "Why is it so horrible? Has not God through Mahomet allowed us to possess slaves? Who has a right to suppress the Prophet's laws? Who is superior to him?"

Before the Government took possession of these establishments, every seriba was inhabited by two or three hundred Arabs, each of whom possessed from ten to twenty slaves, employed in different occupations. Some accompanied their masters on raids and searches for ivory, others worked in the fields, others again were employed in leading the cattle to pasture. When the Government took possession of the country, they gave employment to only the fourth part of the inhabitants, paying each individual twenty-five francs a month. Those who had been dismissed voluntarily remained in the seribe to cultivate the land.

But it still occasionally happened that slaves were captured during raids and then sold to the Jelabba, who are wandering merchants that infest Darfour, Waday, Gazelle, Makraka, the Blue Nile, etc., and exchange a little cloth, gunpowder and oil for slaves. A Jelabba, after having acquired some fifteen slaves, starts with them, avoiding the chief paths and settlements, to Kordofan, where he has a depôt. He then sells them off by degrees. The Jelabba race is the one that is most active in keeping up this infamous traffic, and my first care will be to prevent them from coming from Shakka, even if they seriously intend to abandon their profession. When Suleiman Ziber attacked Dem Idris he massacred four hundred Jelabba, who had remained faithful to the Government. From this number it is easy to form an idea of the number of Jelabba in the other seribe, and of the number of slaves they export.

Every year ivory becomes more scarce, and it is necessary to go to the Western Niam-Niam country to procure any. The Government ought to think in time

of introducing some industry to replace the ivory trade when no more elephants can be found. The soil here is very fertile, producing annually four harvests of doora. Cotton grows in a wild state and reaches the size of a small tree, which yields a copious crop for three successive years.

If these agricultural villages were employed in cultivating cotton they would be able to produce more than Lower Egypt. Everyone of these three provinces has its port: Makraka is only five days from Ladó, Rohl four days from Gaba-Shambé, and the province of Bahr-el-Ghazal has its port at Meshra-el-Rek. The Government could easily get cotton for two dollars the hundredweight, and export it from these ports to Khartoum where it could be re-sold at ten dollars. The natives would then begin to appreciate the value of money, and in time come to understand that there are more advantageous means of gain and of procuring comforts than the infamous slave trade. When, God willing, I shall be so happy as to return to Khartoum, I will employ all my small influence to induce the Governor-General to put my ideas into execution.

The river in the neighbourhood of Gaba-Shambé continues to be interrupted, and the steamer sent forty days ago from Khartoum is still labouring to open a passage. The soldiers belonging to the station of Gaba-Shambé are employed in assisting the crew. On board are the missionaries of the English Church Mission, who are going from Mtesa to Uganda. Thanks to the kindness of His Excellency General Gordon they have everywhere found great assistance; and the same advantages were accorded to Monsignor Comboni, when he went to establish the mission on the Albert Nyanza. Monsignor Comboni, however, met with difficulties. Although his jurisdiction extends to 4° south latitude, His Holiness Leo XIII. thought well to accord to another French Mission, directed by

Father Livinsac, the same rights in the same regions.

It is now four months since I had news from Europe and my family, and God knows when I shall hear again.

Province of Rohl, Rumbek, 17th October, 1878.—I had intended to send a letter to the *Esploratore* by means of a post, but foreseeing that the navigation of the Nile would not yet be free and that the letter would therefore remain at Shambé, I will wait, as being safer, and send it when it will be certain to be forwarded. I had prepared two cases of ethnographical objects to be sent to the Geographical Society in Italy, but these I have also retained, fearing that they might be lost, like my provisions and my twenty years. In one of these cases are many things from Uganda, and in Italy people will be astonished to see articles manufactured with such diligence and really extraordinary neatness. The straw-work is not at all inferior to that made at Florence, and the tanning of the skins is worthy of special attention. Among these objects is a skin⁵ given by Sultan Mtesa to Emin Pasha when the latter went to the Sultan's realm on an extraordinary mission, besides stuffs dyed with the rind of trees, terra-cotta pipes, and an infinity of other very curious articles. Here I have also made a small collection, and I hope to increase it by many things which have never yet been exported to Europe.

The day before yesterday I was awakened by loud cries, but knowing that the country is safe, I did not take the trouble to spring from my bed. In the morning I was informed that a leopard had come to pay the station a visit, and after killing two dogs, had retreated, finding it more advisable to return to the fields. These not very pleasant visits are frequent, and in many cases some victims have to be deplored.

⁵ This skin is now in the Prehistoric Museum at Rome.

Yesterday I had a conversation with the Arabs. I pointed out to them the benefit that might accrue from the cultivation of cotton, and the introduction



A BLACK PORTER.

of coined money into their countries, and the like. They seemed to be persuaded, and are now anxious to commence the cultivation as soon as the season shall be favourable. The effect will certainly be to

prevent the exportation and sale of slaves, because when the agriculturalists see what profits they obtain they will be careful not to lessen the number of hands.

It is not permanent slavery that does the greatest harm to the country, but the means by which slaves are captured and exported. Just as one of our peasants takes care of a horse which has cost him a considerable sum, so the Arabs take care of their slaves. In many cases I have seen master and slave sitting eating from the same dish, sleeping under the same roof, and sharing the same *burma* (cup) of merissa.

When Gordon Pasha was nominated Governor-General of the Soudan, he issued an order by which all foreigners were obliged to set their slaves at liberty, providing them with a safe conduct: a very just measure, for we ought to be the first to set an example. All the Europeans submitted with a good grace to this law, and their slaves were given their safe conduct and their clothes, and dismissed. But when freed, these men would not abandon their former masters. I remember a Greek, a certain Athanassiade, giving orders to his female slave to go away. She refused, and for three days remained sitting on the house steps.

"Why do you not go? You are free," asked Athanassiade.

"I do not want to leave you, my master. If you absolutely want to get rid of me, you must sell me. At least he who buys me will take care of me."

Athanassiade took pity on her and kept her.

I might cite many similar facts, and it is certain that a slave who is well treated will never abandon his master.

A messenger has arrived from Gaba-Shambé. He brings a letter addressed to me that was given to him by the chief of that station. It is from the Reverend

Mr. Pearson, head of the expedition of the English Church Mission to Uganda; in it he thanks me for the assistance he has received in consequence of the orders I had given.

Pearson left Khartoum on the 13th August, and took sixty-five days to reach this port; the greater part of the time was occupied in opening a passage through the sett.⁶ As to the post, I must still wait a few days, as it is not prudent to send it across the country of the Atots without a good escort.

Since I arrived here, five dragomans have been killed by these same Atots, but all will be safe again as soon as the grass has been burned. Another messenger brings me letters from Makraka: the news is unsatisfactory, but I cannot speak of it, for it concerns Government affairs. I find obstacles everywhere, but it would take too long to tell about them. It really needs an iron character to be able to bear calmly all the difficulties one meets with in this country, which end by undermining the health of the most robust. The Arabs, who are by nature indolent and fatalists, do not suffer thereby; for them time is of no value. They would not care if they were obliged to employ a year instead of a month in going from here to Khartoum; but we Europeans cannot get used to it.

Towards eight p.m. the temperature is already 18° centigrade, towards ten a.m. 28°, and at three p.m. 35°. The highest temperature yesterday was 40° in the sun. The nights are cool, and at present we cannot complain of excessive heat at any time. The barometer marks 28½ inches.

Yesterday evening I had a long talk with Mudir Yussuf Bey. He is a man of very pleasant appearance; he knows the Niam-Niam country better than anyone else, having traversed it in every direction for about twenty years, both when he

⁶ The masses of grass and weed that choke the rivers are called *sett*.

went in search of ivory and when he was head of the slave-trading expeditions. I showed him Stanley's map, which marks the course of the Congo, and now he is persuaded that the information he obtained was correct, confirming him more than ever in his opinion that the river lying five days' journey south of Bakangoi is the Congo. As to the Welle, he believes that this river can only come from the Nile (?), and assured me that there is a branch which issues from the Nile, flows towards Munza, and then passes Kanna and Bakangoi (?). Mason says that he did not notice this branch, which I believe is possible. Its mouth is rather hidden (at least at the time when I went up the river to explore the Albert Nyanza) by a mass of papyrus and floating plants. I passed very close, and cannot think that I only dreamed, still less can anyone think that I could invent rivers and mountains where none existed.

It may be that this river, after flowing for some distance towards the interior, re-enters the Nile, but in navigating the whole of the latter river I never observed any other important affluent on the left bank, except those already noted.⁷

Colonel Mason explored the Albert Nyanza in a steamer at the most favourable season, and had every opportunity of executing a work, much more exactly and extensively than I was able to accomplish in an open boat at the time of the equinox and the rains, while suffering from hunger, and living for many days on bananas alone, without counting the fact that almost during the whole voyage we were continually wet through. However, it afforded me real satisfaction to know that Colonel Mason, when he arrived at Khartoum, spoke of me in very flattering terms to Gordon Pasha, asserting that he found

⁷ See our previous note relating to the error into which our explorer fell. It is the numerous islands, they say, which hide the true bank of the river, that are the cause of this error.—Ed.

great exactitude in the description given by me of the shape and size of the lake.

In one of my reports to Gordon Pasha, I pointed out that only to explore the river between Dufilé and the lake, taking an exact plan of all the islands and affluents, would require six months' time, even if the explorer were furnished with a good boat and the necessary means. For the moment my task is not geographical, but as soon as I have fulfilled my present mission, and then explored the Sobat, I shall return to those countries with pleasure, in order to go to Monbuttu and solve the problem of the Welle, both with regard to its origin and to its course. It is certain that such a journey will offer serious difficulties, for the savages in those parts are very ferocious and numerous, especially towards the west, but with perseverance and patience it is possible to overcome all hindrances. You, dear Camperio,⁸ will be better able than I to appreciate the interest of such an exploration, and, principally, what importance it would have for the Egyptian Government. If the river seen by me is navigable, one could leave the Nile on little steamers of small draught, and reach the Congo, passing through the richest parts of Central Africa. Yussuf Bey asserts that there are rocks in the Welle, but during the rains these are covered by twelve or sixteen feet of water; taking into account that the *harif* in these parts lasts for about nine months, there would not be much difficulty or loss of time in the navigation.

22nd October, 1878.—My post from Khartoum is already fifty days late, although it was confided to a very energetic person; and to think that only four or five days' march separates us from Gaba-Shambé! Yesterday the Mudir of Makraka arrived with a part of his forces, composed of Besingers, all handsome fellows, from the countries of Makraka, Gurguro,

⁸ These notes are taken from a letter to the editor of the *Esploratore*.

Niam-Niam, and Niambara. This Mudir, who is called Atrusc, has been in these regions almost from his infancy. He has made an expedition from Makraka to the Nile, and then to the Lake Albert opposite Magungo. I was able to obtain from him the following particulars about the branch that I noted down in my map between Dufilé and Lake Albert. He declares that near Wadelai a great river issues from the Nile, and runs into the interior with a breadth of more than six hundred feet for a distance of three and a half days' journey; that it then divides into two streams, one flowing north-east and the other west; but the Mudir could not tell me where it ended, as it ran through countries out of his jurisdiction. And yet Colonel Mason declares he never saw this river! In my opinion he must have passed at night, and therefore it escaped his observation.

I have by me a report by Poncet's elephant-hunters, which was published by Maltebrun. In it this river is also spoken of. The book is entitled *Le Fleuve Blanc (notes géographiques et ethnologiques) et les passes à l'éléphant dans les pays des Denka et Djour, par Jules Poncet*, and both in the report and the topographical maps there is marked a river, which issues from the Nile and flows north-east. Yesterday, after dinner, I took a turn in the camp of the newly-arrived troops, among whom are several natives from the country of Munza. I asked one of them, who is familiar with the Arab tongue, whether he had known Miani.

"Yes," he replied, "I was with him at Bakangoi; he was a great friend of the Sultan. Miani brought with him from Cairo a large dog, which he gave to the Sultan, who in return presented him with two monkeys and several parrots."

From the description given by the Monbuttu, these monkeys must have been young tame chimpanzees, because he told me that when they reached the age of four to five years they were as tall as a man of middle

size, and always walked on two legs. They have very short tails. Their strength is said to be extraordinary, they being able to kill a man with a single stroke of their paw. The same Monbuttu told me also that there is a large river five or six days' journey to the south of Bakangoi. He ended by speaking of the good old Venetian (Miani) in terms of great respect. Miani had often interfered in the disputes between the Arabs and the savages, and had frequently succeeded in smoothing difficulties which, without his intervention, would have ended in bloodshed.

All the people of Makraka and Niam-Niam, although they are cannibals, differ very much from other African negroes. The Makraka, as well as the Niam-Niam of the west, have a much pleasanter cast of countenance, and readily submit to the orders given to them, serving everybody willingly. But it is very sad that all these good populations are sacrificed to officials who will not conform to the orders received, and that the Government has not yet given itself the trouble to ameliorate their condition.

I am convinced that the Governor-General will in future take measures for a better administration and a different system from that used with the other negroes, who will not submit, and make the district unsafe.

I cannot yet learn whether the white Nile has been freed from the vegetation that impedes its course. If the navigation continues interrupted they will be obliged to send people from Khartoum to finish the work.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE MOVEMENTS OF SULEIMAN.

Arrival of the post—Enormous difficulties—Emin believes victory impossible—Suleiman advances—Treachery.—A fatiguing march—Waters up to the arm-pits—The El-Tangi river—Nothing from Makraka—Another betrayal—A little help—Suleiman at Dem Idris—Spies.

At last the post arrived to-day. It was a sack which a negro carried with difficulty, and contained the letters which had accumulated in the post-office at Khartoum, and which had not been able to reach me in spite of the good-will of the authorities.

At Rumbek the inundations had converted the whole country into a great lake. All the roads were impracticable, and I could not get together a force sufficient to oppose Suleiman. With great trouble I managed to get four companies of regular troops, and a thousand men of the irregulars. I could not count on these last, neither as to their fidelity nor courage. The greater part of these soldiers had their brothers, fathers, or other relations in the rebel ranks.

None, except the regular troops, had any interest in fighting Suleiman, because his fall would have damaged their interests, and with it would cease the profitable commerce in human flesh.

My condition was far from enviable either at Khartoum or in Central Africa. Everybody said that my expedition was nonsense; and even Emin Bey considered me lost, because, according to him, it

was impossible, with the means at my disposal, that I should come out victorious.

My life at Rumbek had become insupportable. One cannot imagine a more monotonous village; the huts crowded, and the air pestilential. All the neighbourhood was full of filth. The upper floor of the hut is used by the master and his family, though the last in a separate *tukul* or apartment; the lower floor serves as a kitchen and sleeping-place for the slaves. I am so disgusted that, if fate ever brings me to these parts again, I will do my best to avoid Rumbek.

During my stay there, news arrived that Suleiman had advanced with the intention of extending his dominion as far as Makraka. This news was true, for I had found many documents addressed as follows: "The Lord of Bahr-el-Ghazal, Rohl and Makraka."

On the arrival of such news I caused Rumbek to be fortified with four trenched stockades, sufficiently strong to resist an assault. Suleiman intended to open the campaign when the water should have completely retired, and had fortified his frontier along the shores of the river El-Tangi, erecting a seriba, which was to serve as his headquarters and as a depôt for ammunition and food.

The opposition I met with among the Arabs increased daily. They not only refused to come with me, but they secretly induced the Besingers to desert. In consequence of this I decided, before going to the Bahr-el-Ghazal, to destroy the Arab scribe in Rohl, so as not to have at my back an enemy who, profiting by my suffering a possible defeat, could make common cause with Suleiman.

As soon as the Arabs in the seriba were persuaded of my resolution they submitted, but with a bad grace. To prevent desertion I then caused a deserter to be shot, and by this measure was at last able to gather together a thousand men of irregular troops.

Suleiman's vanguard was already at Jur Gattas, but was obliged to retreat because of the flood, which still rendered communication impracticable.

When I finally left Rumbek on the 17th November, 1878, I was able with great trouble to reach the bank of the river Ajel. The march was fatiguing beyond measure, as we were obliged for the greater part of the way to walk with the water up to our breasts. There were no boats. We made rafts of cane and in this way succeeded in crossing. As soon as two companies had crossed, I hastened to the seriba of El-Hassan, being doubtful of its fidelity. I arrived at the village at dawn of day, so that the inhabitants were greatly surprised. I was in a hurry to cross three other rivers that lay before me, and to occupy Wau, a capital strategical position, as all the roads towards the seriba cross at that point. Wau was also the only post at which I could find sufficient grain for the troops. Everyone knows what a defence a river is, and how difficult it is to cross one, especially when boats are wanting.

I only stopped a few hours in the village of El-Hassan, being anxious to cross the river El-Tangi, on the opposite bank of which a certain Babeker had made a fortified camp, which was later to serve as a magazine and dépôt for Suleiman's troops when he came to attack Rohl. We therefore set forth, but after a few minutes' march we had to cross a swamp. The water only reached to our belts, but the mud was as tenacious as glue and we could hardly draw out our feet. This swamp is only two hours long during the good season, but we took five hours to cross it. The people cursed in their idiom, and said they were not buffaloes, and that this was no season for travelling over this marsh, which in summer was dry, but in winter almost impossible to cross. They called our march "The devil's walk."

I have been obliged to wait all day for the ammunition and cannon to arrive. Every cannon had

three squadrons of men to transport it, and the same for the carriages.

Late at night it was reported that forty-two persons failed to answer the roll-call, and that they were lying in the mud, preferring to die rather than go on, as they had no more strength.

The horizon had become dark with clouds. I possessed only one tent, under which the ammunition was sheltered. It lightened and thundered on all sides. There was such an amount of electricity in the air that the whole country was illuminated, and again as suddenly plunged into the densest obscurity. Rain began to fall in floods, and descended with such force that it took one's breath away. Everyone ran to take shelter beneath the trees, but, thank God, in two hours the storm ceased, and the water ran towards the marsh, forming a real river. The velocity of the current was such that we could not cross it. We had with us only the clothes on our back, and it took two hours to kindle a fire, for the wood was wet and the grass green.

When the sun rose in the morning, I ascertained that two Egyptian soldiers were dead, and twenty-one persons sick, all with inflammation of the lungs.

I departed at dawn, abandoning these miserable people, but promising that as soon as we arrived at a village, which was eight hours away, I would send troops to their assistance. I indeed told myself that it had been folly to leave Rumbek, but I could not do otherwise. I did not possess sufficient grain there to nourish one thousand four hundred men, and if I had delayed leaving, Suleiman would no doubt have occupied the rivers before me.

Another important reason was that I wished to get near Dembo, where a merchant who was faithful to the Government was waiting to join me with one thousand men. He was already in difficulties,

Suleiman having sent him word to come directly with his troops to fight the Government, and from one moment to the other I might lose the force on which I counted for my approaching operations.

It was the 24th November before I reached the bank of the El-Tangi, where I rested the troops; we had to cross the river in three places two hours before daylight. A certain Sangiak Abdalsamet had orders to cross at that point above the village of Babeker, which I have mentioned before, while Yussuf Bey was to cross lower down the valley, and I was to cross when the seriba was in our possession. As soon as Abdalsamet had crossed, he was to occupy the road which leads to Jur Gattas. But whether Abdalsamet found difficulty in crossing, or whether he had not made the necessary haste, he failed to occupy the position indicated. Yussuf Bey crossed in time, but here, too, a difficulty occurred.

While the soldiers were disembarking a gun accidentally went off; the enemy's sentries, posted half an hour off the village, gave the alarm, and thus Babeker was able to escape, abandoning his provisions of salt and other things.

In the morning we occupied the village, and here I was obliged to stop for several days.

The porters could not walk another step; only the Soudanese troops showed any good humour.

Three hundred soldiers pursued the enemy, but, in spite of their good will, they could not overtake him, but they captured about a hundred oxen. The people of Babeker disappeared among the bushes, and on the same day seventy Besingers, with arms and baggage, came to join us, and thus I was able to replace the men whom I had abandoned on the road.

Only on the 28th November was I able to commence the march, arriving without any difficulty at Jur Gattas, whence, after an hour's halt, I pro-

ceeded directly to Abugurum, where I arrived at half-past six in the evening. Three more Besingers joined us with their guns, and on the 1st December I reached the river, opposite which, at an hour's distance in the interior, lies the seriba Kutzuk Ali, on a piece of ground that forms a peninsula. We tried hard to find some means of crossing the river, but all the boats had been captured by Babeker when he fled from Jur Gattas, and the river was too wide to be crossed on rafts.

Two hours later Babeker appeared on the opposite bank with five hundred men and opened against us a lively fire. Thanks to the favourable position offered by the heights of the bank on our side, which then descended into a valley, their balls struck the ground. My servant, however, was so imprudent as to lead my horse to the water, which was wounded in the foot by a ball. Besides this a woman, who had no business among us, was slightly wounded in the thigh. I occupied the shore with two companies armed with Remington rifles. We fired a shot from a mitrailleuse and the rebels fled.

I don't know who spread in the camp the report that Suleiman had crossed the river with heavy forces, intending to go towards the port of Meshra-el-Rek, and that, having heard of our arrival, he had changed his line of march in order to attack us at once. This report raised a tumult in the camp. To tranquillize my troops I made them construct a trenched camp that very night. I myself began to be uneasy on seeing so much cowardice among my people.

Except a few regular troops I had no one on whom I could rely; indeed, all the other armed irregulars were rather an embarrassment than a help.

Finally the sheikh of Aivet arrived. The good

old man wept for joy at our being there. To escape Suleiman he had passed the whole of the rainy season in the high grass with his family.

Suleiman with his band had overrun the country, capturing the natives in order to sell them to the slave traders.

The old sheikh succeeded on the very first day in finding two boats, of which we were so much in need, and four more the next day. So as to raise the courage of the irregular troops, I thought of a stratagem. I went to an Arab, on whom I could rely, and made him write me a letter dated from Meshra-el-Rek, in which he told me of the arrival of ten companies and four cannon sent to our aid. The letter arrived in camp stuck on a split cane carried by a negro, and was read in public by the very Arab who had written it.

The joy and commotion, nay the delight of the troops was so great that everybody embraced his fellow, crying, "Long live the Effendi," and I myself felt more encouraged. Now the Arabs are more impatient than I am to cross the river and occupy the seriba of Kutzuk Ali.

December 4th.—We passed the river under the protection of the cannon. I had scarcely disembarked three companies than I went on to the seriba of Kutzuk Ali, leaving the care of superintending the passage of the remainder of the troops and material to the Arab Saati Effendi (the same who had written the letter). The seriba of Kutzuk Ali was evacuated and burned by the rebels. I followed the enemy, who had proceeded to Wau. We found hidden barges and two fishing-boats, which much facilitated our crossing, though it lasted the whole night. I occupied Wau, which was in flames.

December 5th.—Early in the morning I sent a reconnaissance along the bank; there was found a large barge sunk by the rebels, which we soon got afloat. So here we are, masters of the course of the

river, and safe in a good strategical position. I do not think of leaving before I have received reinforcements.

There ought to arrive from Makraka a battalion of about five hundred regulars, but the great distance, and tremendous difficulties that delay a march in the centre of Africa, and then the Arabs !

In order not to be taken by surprise, I caused trenches to be made, and meanwhile I have sent a letter to Ali Abu Muri Effendi, announcing my arrival and ordering him to march without loss of time.

My people can now rest and satisfy their hunger, thanks to the quantity of fish in the river, and the game in the forest which surrounds us.

Here is what happened to the reinforcement from Makraka. The governor of that equatorial province, a certain Atrusc Bey, instead of obeying my orders, sent no troops towards Rohl in the north, as he wished to avoid fighting the much feared Suleiman, but sent all the men at his disposal westward in search of ivory ! Colonel Behit Bey also refused to come, and I was obliged to deprive him of his command and transfer it to Captain Rehan Aga. I have also sent orders that the coward should be arrested.

The reinforcements cannot reach me for a month, and I will not and cannot remain so long inactive. I therefore shall go to Bisellia with part of my men to reconnoitre.

I took with me a company of irregular troops. Two hours after sailing I met three negroes ; they were the sheikhs of Bisellia, Bongo and Gonfora. They approached and begged me to wait, for they wished to speak to me. I dismounted, and under the shade of a magnificent tamarind tree I gave them an audience. The eldest then said,—

“ A report spread amongst us that the Government troops were arrived. We are the sheikhs of the villages of Bisellia, Bongo and Gonfora. Suleiman has taken our wives and children captive ; he has

destroyed all our substance, and for months we lived liked wild beasts amongst the high grass. We have come to tell you that we are ready to help you with all our men, as much as we are able; command, and we will obey."

One of the sheikhs had a very gentle countenance; he opened a leather sack and took out a small pot of honey.

"I thought of bringing you this honey," he said, "it is all I possess." And the good old man began to weep. In fact, three of his sons and three of his daughters had been led away captive. The tears came to my eyes also, on hearing the old sheikh's sad and simple words, but I was anxious to obtain information about Suleiman's movements, and I questioned my visitors. They knew nothing, but promised to get exact information and forward it to Wau.

Two of the sheikhs came with me to the camp, and the third went to tell his companions, hidden in the jungle, of our arrival, which until now they would not believe.

December 10th.—We have been advised that Abu Muri with his troops is coming to meet us.

December 12th.—Yesterday morning Abu Muri made his entrance into the camp with a thousand well-armed men. I now possess about two thousand four hundred soldiers. The troops passed the whole night in singing and dancing. Among Abu Muri's people I noticed a white man, naked like the negroes. The contrast of the colour of this man's skin seemed to me exceedingly strange, accustomed as I was to see nothing but negroes. After a while I went to him and learnt that he was a Niam-Niam from the west. His whiteness is something astonishing: his face is rosy, his hair red, his eyes blue. He is very robust and about forty years old. I asked if there were any other whites in the tribe, and whether his parents were also white.

“My parents are black,” he replied. “I had a brother as white as myself, but he is dead. I know of no other whites.” At first I thought he was an Albino, but as he had neither the hair nor the eyes of such, I could not understand the phenomenon. But I know that Miani also saw white men who were not Albinos among the Niam-Niam of the west.

December 13th.—I arrived at Bisellia still accompanied by the old sheikh.

December 18th.—Some natives ran to meet us, and by their gesticulations I understood that some misfortune had happened. Fifteen armed Arabs, during the absence of the sheikh, had discovered the hiding-place of his family and people. They had captured one hundred and fifty and carried them off in chains towards Dem⁹ Suleiman. They were encamped in a wood where they were intoxicating themselves with merissa. I immediately sent a hundred men on their track, and, taken by surprise, two were killed, one fled, and twelve were arrested. The one hundred and fifty negroes were set at liberty and returned to their families.

Our appearance at Bisellia was soon known to Suleiman, who, divining my intention of marching upon Dem Idris, had sent to that place Sangiak Abdulgassim, a man who might be termed a wild beast in human form.

As an example of his cruelty, I will relate a fact for the truth of which I can vouch. When he arrived at Dem Idris a blast of wind blew down his banner, and the staff broke into three pieces. This was held to be an evil omen, and his troops were afraid. In order to reassure them he caused four bulls to be sacrificed to the angry gods, and the banner to be dipped three times in their blood. But that was not sufficient. He took a young Bongo negro, bound his hands, cut his throat, and dipped

⁹ *Dem* is a Bongo word, corresponding to the Arab *seriba* or village.

the banner in the blood of this poor human victim. After midday, the wind having freshened, the same banner was torn in several places, which caused a general panic. It was then placed in a magazine where it was sheltered from the wind, but that same evening seventy Besingers were missing at the roll-call.¹

A spy informed me that Suleiman had taken up a position with his troops at Dem Idris, and had occupied several *chor* (torrents). A very favourable position, because covered, where an ambush can be made for an enemy who intends to attack. On hearing this I changed my intention, and marched to Dem Ismail Abu-Muri, where I arrived by a forced march on the 18th December. My plan was to deceive Suleiman and then march straight to his Dem.

A few moments after arriving at Dem Ismail Abu-Muri, I heard loud cries, and saw a man stretched on the ground more dead than alive, surrounded by my people, who wanted to make an end of him. It was a spy from the enemy's camp. I forced my way to him, and with difficulty saved him from the soldiers. Taking him by the hand, I made him enter my tent, ordering the people who pressed around me to go away.

He was a *Feki*, that is, a literary man. I asked why, being a man of letters, he followed such a miserable profession as that of a spy. He confessed that all his family were at Dem Suleiman, and that he could not refuse to execute the orders given him. I sent for Saati Effendi, my faithful Arab, and through him made the spy understand that if he did not do what I told him he would be hanged. I then sent for paper and ink, and at my dictation the literary spy wrote the following dispatch: "Numerous troops advance straight upon the Dem; part have already set out." When he had sealed the

¹ This banner, with twenty others, is now in the Prehistoric Museum at Rome.

letter I entrusted it to a slave who was in the thick grass near the place where my men had taken the spy, and, when the negro had secretly hidden it on his person, he departed. The *H'eki* was detained as a prisoner, and kept from all communication with others. I speedily sent off a detachment in order to discover the movements of the enemy. Next morning, at dawn, the slave returned to tell me that all the troops were marching on Dem Suleiman. Profiting by this circumstance, I set forth while Suleiman was returning to his dominions, and, without striking a blow, took possession of the fine position of Dem Idris.

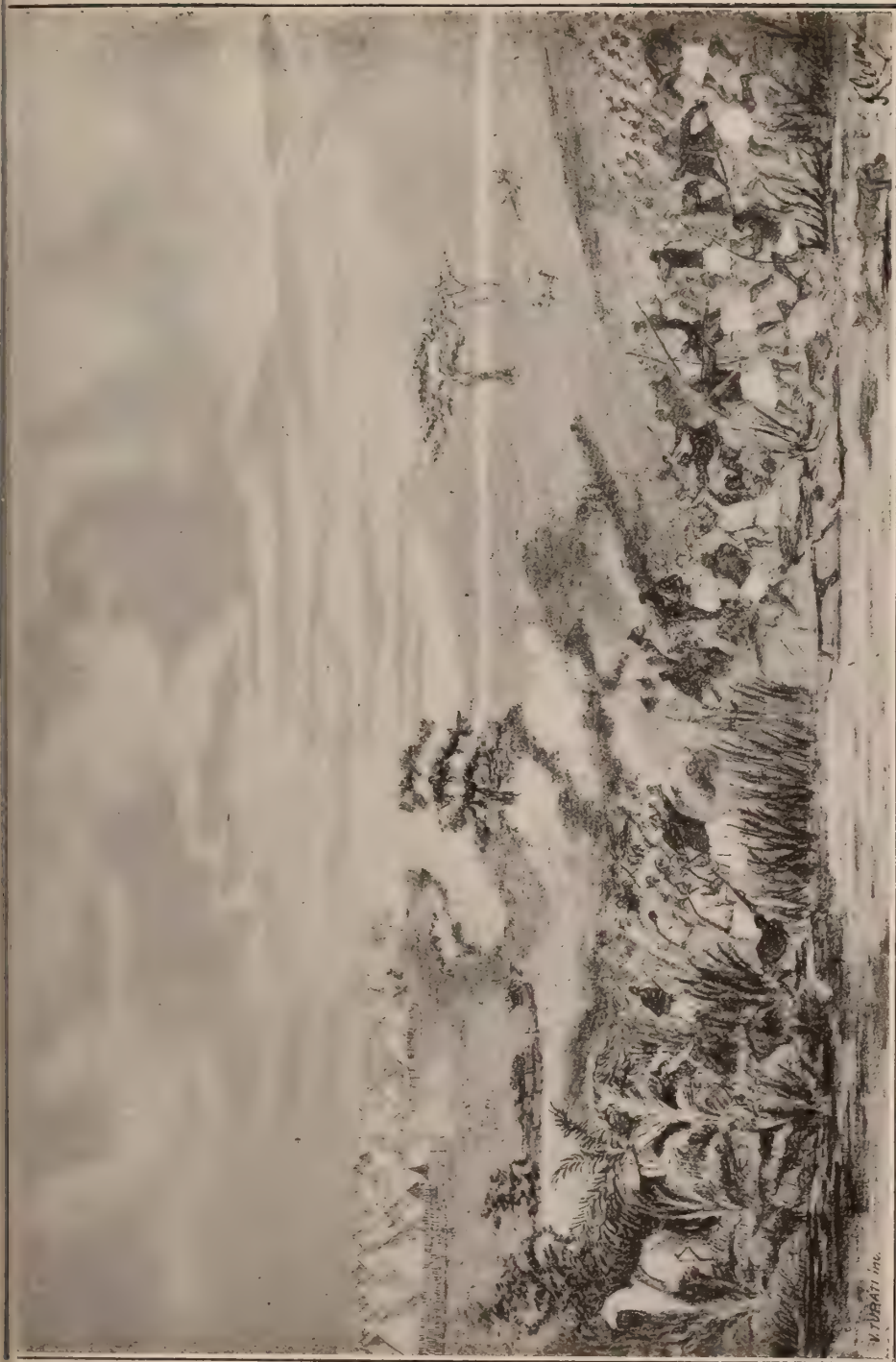
CHAPTER XXIX.

THE BATTLE OF DEM IDRIS.

Suleiman continues to advance—Battle of Dem Idris—Heroism—Conquest—Ten flags, &c.—Four thousand dead—News of the victory runs through all the Soudan—Heroic act of Gordon—England feared—Desertions in Suleiman's camp.

WHEN Suleiman's four relations arrived in the enemy's camp, they, instead of keeping their promise, entered his army, and advised him to resist. The Sub-Governor, Ziber Adlau, possessed, at a day and a half's journey's distance from Dem Idris, an establishment with a thousand armed men. I had hoped that this Ziber Adlau, as an officer of the Government, would have come with his people to my assistance, and no sooner did I arrive at Dem Idris than I wrote to beg him not to lose a moment's time in hastening to me with his troops; but two days passed without a reply. On the third day he let me know that he was gathering all his people together and would arrive shortly.

Suleiman did not move from his Dem, perhaps expecting our attack. The sheikh whom I had met near Wau came to me with his seven sons, all young and strong, and ardent elephant hunters. "I have brought you all my children," said the old man. "We have no arms, because they were taken from us, but you will procure us some to fight that dog of a Suleiman. My children will die in the good cause."



BATTLE OF DEM IDRIS.

And in fact four of them were killed in different combats.

But the delay of El-Arbab in joining us made me uneasy and suspicious of some treachery. On the 27th December I was advised that Suleiman had occupied Dem Jelabba with a heavy force at only two hours' distance from our camp. I took all possible measures of defence. I sent for the Sangiaks and constructed a rampart with earth and wood to protect us from the enemy's balls. Everyone set to work, the huts were destroyed and the wood of which they had been built used, and, by working all night, the great seriba was in a capital state of defence in the morning. I assigned to each Sangiak his special post and six hundred men. Placed in the middle of the seriba, and protected by a small barricade, they were to form a strong reserve to assist at the points most threatened. We now only longed to make our enemy's acquaintance.

At six forty-five a.m., December 28th, our outposts fell back on the seriba to announce that Suleiman and his army were coming. In fact, we perceived long lines of the enemy's force advancing from two sides on our improvised fort. The standard-bearers came up to within ninety feet; firing commenced on both sides—a real shower of bullets. The rebels had of course not expected to find us entrenched, but, calculating on their number, they bravely assaulted us. We repulsed them with great loss, and they retreated, to continue their fire from a greater distance, then returned to the assault, and so on for at least three hours and a half.

The standard-bearers, who fell one after the other, were always replaced by others. Our grape-shot made terrible havoc among the enemy, and finally, seeing that they sacrificed themselves in vain, they beat a retreat, followed by our fire. The retreat soon changed into a precipitous flight in all directions. We pursued them for a hundred feet,

but seeing fresh troops approaching, who might have occupied the seriba during our absence, we desisted.

In this flight the rebels lost ten flags, much ammunition, and many guns, while some thousand dead men lay around our ramparts. Among these were about a hundred Arabs and several chiefs.

About four hundred of the enemy's wounded were carried to Dem Suleiman at the beginning of the battle, where almost all died for want of surgical assistance. Many desertions also took place in the rebel army; the chiefs Feki Bekir and Mohammed Diab left Suleiman's camp and retired to their respective villages. A great number of Niam-Niam deserted, taking their arms with them; altogether we supposed the enemy's loss to be about four thousand men. When they attacked us they were eleven thousand, five thousand of whom belonged to Suleiman, and six thousand to the scribe, which joined him after the rebellion had broken out.

But for the treachery of El-Arbab, we might have ended the campaign that very day, but with such an inferior force we could not risk a pursuit that might have proved fatal. The rebels had been so sure of winning, that each soldier carried a cord with which to bind us as prisoners. I will not deny that, had they attacked us unprepared, we must have been beaten. They were all soldiers inured to war during the campaign in Darfour, and, blinded by their late victory over Idris Bey, when they had massacred the Government troops, they rushed to attack us with incredible audacity. The best European soldiers could not have shown a greater contempt of death.

Our own losses were ninety-three killed and wounded. Our men had never before fought against an enemy armed with guns; the only battles in which they had been engaged were against savages with arrows and lances.

This success was of vital importance to us, both at Khartoum and Darfour, and, I may say, throughout the Soudan it was never believed that Suleiman would be beaten. He had long since prepared a general rising in the waste territory between his Dem and Shakka, and he might easily have made other recruits besides his eleven thousand combatants.

The positions he occupied, his practised troops, who had to fight in the European manner at Darfour; the climate so unfavourable to the Egyptians who opposed him; his abundant arms and ammunition, obtained from the conquered or revolted seribe—all was in his favour. I had little hope of issuing victorious from the unequal struggle that I had undertaken in deference to the wishes of my chief, Gordon Pasha. But before continuing my narration, permit me to mention the true reason of this war, which is perhaps still unknown in Europe.

Eight years before I undertook to suppress the revolt in the province of the Gazelle, a short and unfortunate effort had been made to put down a previous and partial rebellion. But Ziber Pasha, Suleiman's father, who commanded the rebels, defeated the Government troops. It happened as follows :—

A certain Hillali had been sent by the Viceroy to explore and utilize the rich copper mines near Darfour.

Accompanied by about four hundred irregulars, commanded by Avedisi Aga, and furnished with cannon, Hillali proceeded to the Gazelle, where he commenced operations. He was then nominated Governor, and in this capacity he naturally wished to introduce some order among the numerous seribe, which were frequently in conflict with each other. Ziber, who possessed very many and important seribe, foreseeing that in this way the Government would take direct possession of them, and also conquer

all the countries from which he received ivory, put himself into open opposition to superior orders.

When invited to appear before the Governor to account for his conduct, he not only refused to do so, but threatened to resort to arms should any attempt be made to invade the territory he occupied. Hillali then added to his army all the people he could gather together from the scribe, and marched against Ziber, who, advised in time, lay in ambush, and the unfortunate Governor, treacherously attacked from all sides, was completely beaten. Hillali, with two companions, succeeded in escaping the general massacre at Dem Gugio, but after two days Ziber's Besingers overtook and killed him, carrying his head to Ziber.

From this time no other troops were sent to avenge the fallen soldiers. Ziber, thanks to considerable sums profusely lavished on persons of high position in the Soudan, succeeded in deceiving the good faith of the Viceroy, and, by depicting things in his own favour, was not only not punished, but was made a Bey and nominated Governor of Shakka.

From this moment Ziber was looked upon as invincible, and there flocked to him from every part, relations, friends, and all the bad subjects to be found in the Soudan.

Such a state of things lasted until the arrival of Gordon Pasha. When Ziber perceived that the General was taking severe measures against the slave trade, the principal source of his immense fortune, and also that the road to the Sobat was closed against him, he began to make war against Darfour, and finally took possession of that district.

The Government was then also forced to take up arms, but as Ziber declared that he had conquered the district for the Egyptian Government, Darfour, and the capital El-Fasher, were occupied by the Viceregal troops, even before the death of the king

of that country. The Khedive, in order to obtain the friendship of the now powerful Ziber, sought, by conferring honours and the title of Pasha upon him, to gain him completely for his cause.

Ziber was now at the height of his glory, but, as the French proverb says : “ Vous avez beau nourrir les loups, ils regarderont toujours du côté de la forêtte.”

Shortly after the arrival of Gordon in the Soudan a revolt broke out in Darfour which was secretly encouraged by Suleiman, Ziber's son. The scanty Government troops were obliged to retreat on the fortified position of El-Fasher. Suleiman appeared with six thousand men, but before he could commence operations, which would certainly have gone against the Government, the latter had succeeded in allaying the revolt.

However, it was a very critical position, and Gordon, whose courage and coolness are well known, accompanied by only four aides-de-camp, and in full uniform, galloped from the outposts to Suleiman's camp, and presenting himself to the rebels, spoke as follows :—“ If you wish for war, we are ready to fight. If you wish for peace, go back to your possessions. I leave you the choice until to-morrow.”

This unexpected apparition had a great influence on the half-savage and irresolute chief, and he and all his officers were so astonished at Gordon's proceeding, that they believed he was a supernatural being.

At night, however, they held a council, and it was decided that, as soon as Gordon appeared next day to receive an answer everyone should fire at him. But one of the chiefs named Nuer Anger, opposed this decision, pointing out that if they dared to do such a thing they would be inevitably lost, because not only Egypt would take up arms, but England would surely avenge her countryman's death.

“Remember,” he said, “what the English did in Abyssinia.”

Thus these ferocious men were withheld from carrying out their infamous project. Later on several chiefs secretly let Gordon Pasha know that if he would promise to assist them against Suleiman they would go over to his side. Said Bey, Ottaila, Ettman, Mussa Abdul-Gassim, a brother of Said Bey, and others, deserted the rebel camp and made their submission to the Government.

Gordon generously nominated Said Bey Governor of Shakka, and the other chiefs remained in command of their troops with good stipends.

In this way Suleiman's forces were decreased by about three thousand men. Gordon might then have arrested Suleiman, and rendered him for ever inoffensive, but as the latter had promised to go back to his country, our General, on his side, kept his word and let Suleiman go free.

The reader will see later on in what manner Suleiman responded to the noble conduct observed towards him. When the revolt in Darfour was quelled and Suleiman had returned to his country, Gordon undertook a long journey of inspection through all the stations of the Soudan and Equatorial Provinces under his jurisdiction.

I have perhaps strayed too far from my proper subject, but I thought, before continuing, that it would be well to relate the facts previous to the present campaign; facts that render its causes more clear, and give an idea of the character of Suleiman, who has revolted for the third time, and whom I am now fighting on the Bahr-el-Ghazal.

We will now return to our narration.

The unexpected victory over Suleiman was soon known throughout the Bahr-el-Ghazal, but everyone thought that in the end he would conquer. A few days after the battle of El-Arbab he had allied himself with Ziber. Old El-Arbab was deposed, and his

seriba was given to his two nephews, Mahomed and Ahmet. Old El-Arbab having adopted his natural son Rafai, the two nephews wanted to kill the latter, but he fled to Niam-Niam, and when he heard of our arrival at Dem Idris, he joined us with fifty Besingers. On the other hand, El-Arbab's two nephews, with their force of about one thousand two hundred men, passed over to the enemy's camp.

After the battle, two large villages, Dem Bekir and Dem Gugio, inhabited by numerous Jelabba, sent about six hundred Besingers to assist Suleiman, for they lived exclusively by the slave trade which we wished to destroy, and by Suleiman's fall they would be completely ruined.

This is why it was not possible for me to take the offensive until reinforcements arrived from Makraka. In the meantime the enemy is gathering in his deserters, and has already filled up his losses with new contingents arriving from every part.

All the people that the rebels succeed in capturing, and who are not favourable to them, are sent off to Kordofan. I am unable to assist these villages, because of the strength of Suleiman's force.

Surrounded on all sides, I only commanded the ground covered by my cannon. But all round our camp there were many fields of doora, and at four hundred and fifty paces a chor or torrent, whence we procured our water; meat and salt were not wanting, but we will not speak of butter, coffee or other things, which I consider luxuries. I had left all that at Rumbek, because I had not sufficient porters, and did not wish to be encumbered with useless things.

We learned from a deserter that Suleiman had sent people to his Dem to make new provisions of ammunition, and to fetch three cannon with which he hoped to force us to come out of our entrenchment.

On the 3rd January, Suleiman appeared. He

bombarded us the whole day. Although the balls did not do much damage they made a great impression on my Besingers, who were not used to such thunderbolts.

But what embarrassed me most was that five thousand natives had taken refuge in our seriba to escape being led into slavery. These poor devils were hit the oftenest, and at every shot they had to deplore some comrade wounded or killed.

At night the enemy retired, and a certain Mula, whom I had sent to Makraka, was able to come into camp with about four hundred reinforcements. Happily, deserters reached me every day from the enemy's camp, and on the 4th January my force numbered three thousand two hundred men.

January 5th.—The bombardment continued till six p.m.

January 10th.—One of the Sangiaks who had submitted to Gordon Pasha in Darfour, came to re-enter the service, bringing with him four hundred soldiers.

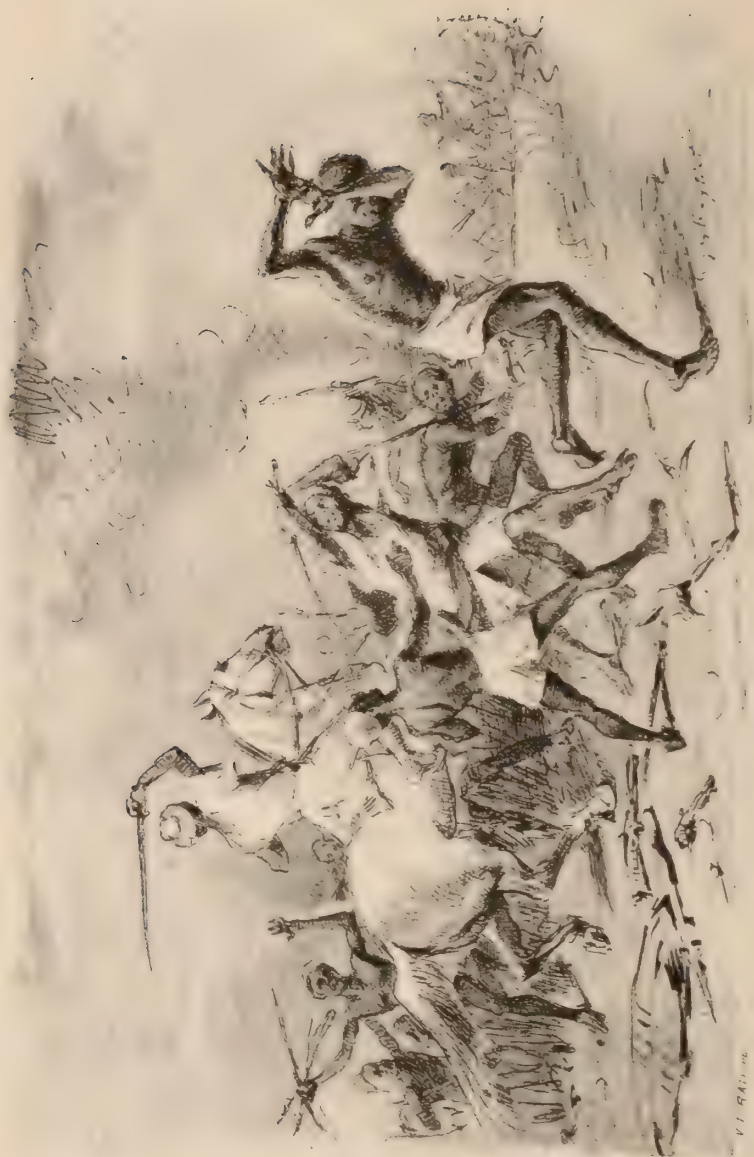
January 11th.—I received another reinforcement of about three hundred and fifty Besingers from Niam-Niam.

January 12th.—Our post was again bombarded. The night of the same day a council was held in the enemy's camp. Sangiak Mussa Wad El-Hag arrived with his people from Darfour to join Suleiman.

The resolve taken by the enemy's council was to possess themselves of our water and doora, and reduce us by famine. A young man, who had deserted the same night, brought us the information.

Profiting by the high grass, I sent one thousand eight hundred men, most of them armed with Remingtons, to hide along the route by which the troops must pass.

On the morning of the 13th, Suleiman's troops arrived in close columns. I gave orders to let them come within two hundred paces and then fire. They advanced as if going to a festival. When they



SULEIMAN'S BESINGERS THROWING DOWN THEIR ARMS.

arrived at the distance fixed upon, our balls showered upon them without cessation. They held firm for about half an hour, but being without cover, they fell in great numbers; and although the Arabs cut off the heads of those who tried to run away, they fled, running round our seriba, exposed to the fire of those posted on the barricades. Then we made a sortie and pursued them as far as the chor, when I ordered the retreat to be sounded.

The rebels re-united, and the firing continued till one p.m.; again beaten, they retired to the chor.

We believed that all fighting was over for the day, but at three p.m. the enemy returned in force. Both sides fought desperately.

It would have been death to us to allow them to take possession of the water. Our grape-shot and mitrailleuse put an end to the massacre. The rebels, fairly beaten, fled in disorder.

On the 14th the enemy returned to the attack. The fight lasted eight hours. Finally, he retired, and we pursued him up to his fortified position.

During the flight the greater part of the rebels took refuge in the woods, and many of them fled in the direction of Niam-Niam, the people whom Suleiman sent to stop them in vain trying to overtake them.

These three fortunate fights contributed no little to demoralize Suleiman's troops, while our own had taken courage, and were almost ashamed of their previous cowardice.

But ammunition was beginning to fail, and I gave orders not to attack the enemy any more, but to await him in our barricades, and not fire until sure to hit. I had sent letters to Rumbek, Makraka, Shambé and Shakka announcing the scarcity of my ammunition.

In order to prevent the enemy from making another attempt to deprive us of water, I had an outwork made which I manned with five hundred

soldiers, and a half-battery of cannon. On the 19th January I received from Rumbek twenty thousand cartridges for the Remington rifles, and five thousand for the common guns. On the 21st and 26th we were again bombarded.

On the 27th I was advised that troops were coming to our aid ; but later on we found that they were not for us, but for Suleiman.

After the defeat of the 14th January there was great consternation in the enemy's camp, and Suleiman sent letters to Shakka and Darfour to his ex-chiefs, who had accepted service under the Government, telling them that if they allowed him to be beaten, they themselves would all fall, and promising them everything if they would only join him.

The effect of these letters was that a revolt took place in Shakka. All the chiefs who had sworn fidelity to the Government came to join the rebels. The very Governor of Shakka was suspected, and taken in chains to Khartoum. His brother had joined Suleiman, who was now able to fill up his losses with more than one thousand six hundred men.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE SMALL-POX.

Pestilence—Cannibalism—Victory—Suleiman sets fire to our camp—The rebel camp burned—Incident at Dem Arbab—Reinforcements arrive—Enemy's escort captured—Want of ammunition—A defeat—Hot firing—My horse wounded—Heavy loss—A great victory—No result—Guerilla warfare—Great mortality—Ammunition exhausted—Famine—The Jelabba beaten at Dem Bekir—Basketsful of heads.

OUR loss was heavy, but, thanks to deserters from Suleiman's army, I had still three thousand five hundred fighting men. Our hopes were fixed on Shakka, thence alone could help arrive. All the other paths to the river were closed.

To add to our misfortunes, a terrible pestilence appeared. Small-pox and dysentery carried off many of my people. I separated the sick from the healthy outside the camp, but as I was obliged to allow them to re-enter every time an attack was threatened by the enemy, I could not help contact.

The air was poisoned by the thousands of corpses left in the field, and vultures and hyenas hovered and prowled continually around us.

Of all our troops only the Sandeh and Makrakas remained healthy, owing to the feeding on human flesh. Directly after a battle they cut off the feet of the dead as the most exquisite dainties, opened the skulls and preserved the brains in pots.

January 28th.—I was advised of the approach of an escort with ammunition, and was about to send

some hundreds of soldiers to meet it, when our sentries gave the alarm. My troops, without waiting for orders, rushed upon the enemy, and after a three hours' fight defeated them with much loss on the enemy's side.

January 30th.—Ammunition arrived, but still not sufficient.

February 1st.—Suleiman surprised the village of chief *Goli*, and after killing many natives, carried off the remainder.

February 2nd.—Suleiman, to revenge himself on Abu Muri, who has joined us, set out to burn his village. I was informed of the movement, and made a demonstration which obliged the enemy to withdraw.

After dinner, a shot fired from Suleiman's camp set fire to one of our huts, and the flames, fanned by the wind, spread all over the camp. Profiting by the confusion, the rebels attacked us *en masse*. Our ammunition was safely buried, so we had nothing to lose. Before the rebels came close on us we made a sortie, and a furious fight ensued, but a lively fire from the Remington rifles and the cannon forced the enemy to retreat. We pursued to within fifty feet of their camp, when the fire prevented us from making an assault on their strong position, and we gradually fell back on our entrenchments. Meanwhile seven or eight thousand natives, who had been captured by Suleiman, made good their escape. The rebel loss turned out to be greater than I at first believed. I heard from our spies the next day that they had been carrying the wounded away all night, and that among these there were many chiefs.

Some days before this affair I had sent a messenger to Shakka to inform the Governor of our critical position, and our need of ammunition.

At the very point of success, I had been obliged to recall my troops, being unwilling to expend our last cartridges. After some delay I received a

message from Mustafa Bey, to say that he had telegraphed to Khartoum and that he hoped soon to send me supplies. It was now that I heard of the death of poor Rosset,¹ the Governor of Darfour. I had lost a friend, and the Government a devoted servant.

February 3rd.—A violent fire destroyed the rebels' camp and many of their huts. During the fight of the day before several Besingers had deserted from Suleiman, who sent troops in all directions to retake them and capture others. Sangiak Feki Bekir, one of the principal supporters of the revolt, had received orders to go to Dem-el-Arbab. Informed of this, I sent a Sangiak (captain) with five hundred men to Dem-el-Arbab by night, and Feki Bekir, who was surrounded on all sides, was summoned to surrender.

He refused, offering such determined resistance that he was not taken until all his sixty men had been killed. This important capture led to that of a certain Ajami and Mahomet Sali, without reckoning other twenty slave dealers, who fell into our hands later. I will now narrate subsequent events, which I hope may be the last in this long and difficult campaign, carried on against the powerful Suleiman under such exceptional conditions of climate, mode of warfare and scarcity of resource.

February 7th.—A post at last arrived from Shakka, the Governor encouraging me to persevere, and promising to send speedy assistance. Meanwhile I learned from a spy that Suleiman was thinking of an expedition on a large scale to cut off our communications with Rumbek. To prevent this, I made my troops perform some evolutions to make Suleiman believe we were ready to take the offensive, but he knew too well what was going on

¹ He was English and German Consul at Khartoum, and left his post for that of Governor of Darfour, where he was poisoned.—Ed.

in our camp, and that our ammunition was very scarce.

During the night a deserter arrived with the news that we should be attacked the next morning, or during the course of the day, showing that the enemy was also uncertain of his plans. The next day I placed another battery of cannon in a more strategical position. Reinforcements continued to arrive in the enemy's camp. On the evening of the 10th we fired a few cannon shots. On the 11th I made a demonstration; the enemy fired eight cannon shots, killing one soldier, and wounding several more. Although the bombs burst in their midst I observed no cowardice.

Shot began to fall in the enemy's camp, and in all Suleiman's settlements they were working hard at manufacturing brass bullets.

Meanwhile the Arabs in my camp began to show signs of discontent. The absolute want of meat and salt made many of them ill, without counting the wounded, whom I could not relieve, because of the want of doctors and medicines.

The small-pox increased, and in spite of all the measures taken to isolate the sick, I only imperfectly succeeded in my intention; the Arabs are fatalists, and laugh at such precautions, saying that no one can escape his destiny. I myself was tired of being confined within a space of scarcely more than half a mile, but was obliged to be patient till the arrival of ammunition.

At last fifty cattle arrived, which, with the exception of ten for the invalids, I divided amongst the soldiers. For myself especially two cows had been sent, but these were used for the sick.

February 15th.—There came an express from Rumbek, telling me of the approach of a company of regular troops, and ammunition from Laddò. I sent eight hundred men to meet and protect them against any *coup-de-main* or ambush.



EXPLOSION OF BOMBS.

In fact Suleiman had sent off two columns of about five hundred men each towards the north-west. But this direction clearly showed that the expedition was not sent against the troops I expected. Three days later I learned that these two columns had been sent to the village of the Sheikh Goli, and killed a great part of the natives, carrying off the rest into slavery, and destroying the cornfields.

The Jelabba Arabs did not cease to bring food and ammunition to the rebels from Shakka and Kalaka, taking in exchange the poor negroes, who were sent by thousands in chains to the copper mines, and thence, profiting by the thick forests, to the interior of Darfour and Kordofan. A large number of Jelabbas had been established for years in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, occupying an extreme territory from the frontier of Shakka to the mines of Hofiat-el-Nahas (oasis of copper). Under the pretence of agriculture, these villages were nothing but slave depôts, from whence the Jelabba and their commercial travellers carried the slaves by hidden ways to Kordofan. Two of these villages, Dem Bekir and Dem Gugio,² were very active in helping the rebels, either with ammunition or soldiers.

These two villages contained about four hundred and sixty houses, and every Jelabba possessed from twenty to fifty slaves, used to carrying arms. I secretly sent an Arab to the chiefs, promising to pardon what had passed if they would cease to help Suleiman. They arrested my messenger, and would certainly have put him to death, had he not had several friends among the Jelabba who found means of letting him escape.

February 17th.—A regular soldier deserted, but was discovered by the natives and brought back to camp; he was tried by court-martial, and shot.

The rebels, who meantime had fallen short of doora,

² Dem is a Bongo word, which corresponds to the Arab seriba.

had sent about a thousand porters, escorted by five hundred soldiers, to a field belonging to the tribe of the Sheikh Calliongo. On being informed of this, and supposing that a new expedition would be attempted the next day in the same place, I had the ground occupied by a strong detachment. Profiting by the jungle, our men awaited the enemy, and when they arrived within a short distance, fired a volley. The rebels quickly retreated, leaving many killed and wounded behind, and, almost without defending themselves, fled precipitately to their fortifications. The porters, the greater part of whom had been captured only a few days before by Sheikh Goli, were set at liberty.

From this day the rebels were in want of food, and were obliged to send for doora from distant places, while the half-famished Besingers were scattered among the woods in search of game. We also possessed only enough doora for a short time longer, but we had a friendly seriba only eleven hours away which was able to supply us.

One day's journey from our camp about twenty-one Jelabba had captured some natives and had succeeded in chaining about twenty. As soon as I heard this, I sent fifty Besingers to seek for them, and at dawn of day the Jelabba were surrounded.

Seeing that all resistance was vain, they surrendered, and were on the way to our camp, when a false alarm on the road frightened my men, who in order to be able to retreat more quickly, beheaded their prisoners.

February 23rd.—I received news from Bisellia, distant about two days from camp, that regular troops had arrived there. I at once sent five hundred men to meet them.

February 24th.—The reinforcements arrived, but, to my great surprise and grief, I learned that for want of porters the ammunition had remained behind at Rumbek.

I had now scarcely sufficient to defend the camp from an attack. I therefore ordered the greatest prudence to be observed, strictly forbidding any firing on the enemy until they came to close quarters.



SHEIKH GOLI.

February 28th.—To-day our outposts were attacked, and some Besingers who were chopping wood outside the camp came to help the enemy. A skirmish ensued,

in which, against my will, I was obliged to take part. The fight became general all along the line, but in two hours and a half the rebels were repulsed. My troops, blinded by their success, rushed to attack the enemy's barricades, in spite of the retreat being sounded. On reaching the barricades, my men fell under the enemy's fire in such numbers that they were obliged to fall back some two hundred feet to recover, in a locality sheltered from the enemy's balls. It was late in the day and time to think of returning to camp. It was then that we suffered most from the pursuit, although our retreat was executed in good order, the men replying to the enemy's fire at every three or four paces. Three of my orderlies were killed, my horse wounded in two places, and once we were obliged to prevent the retreat from degenerating into a flight. After repulsing our adversaries once more, we returned little by little into the camp. This flight was the only one of the campaign in which the enemy could boast of some advantage. But it was not my fault, and if the soldiers had obeyed orders, we should not have had to deplore so great a loss. The rebels, to celebrate their victory, let off fireworks all night, accompanied by firing and shouts of joy; they certainly believed we were definitely beaten.

I passed the whole night in rendering what little surgical assistance I could to the wounded, but they were so many that I could help but few, and was myself so weakened by privation that I felt I should surely die if attacked by fever.

The only advantage that accrued from the fight was, that favoured by the darkness, a thousand slaves escaped into the woods.

After much thought I conceived a plan of routing the rebels from their position. It was to make myself master of the torrent whence they procured water. This torrent was at about nine hundred feet from their entrenchments, so I had a large

quantity of wood gathered to build a powerful barricade near the water.

March 4th.—There was a great movement in the enemy's camp. Fearing that they intended an attack, we prepared to receive them. But an hour later all was quiet again, and I learned from two fugitive slaves that Suleiman had executed twelve Besingers and four Arabs, because they had made discouraging speeches.

March 9th.—The head of the country of Delgauna, a certain Sheikh Fango, arrived to-day in our camp, and asked for ammunition in order to fight the Jelabba who, in considerable numbers, had captured some natives. I gave him six hundred cartridges and he went away.

March 11th.—The escort with the ammunition at last arrived, but there was scarcely sufficient for one battle—only two barrels of powder, each containing about a hundredweight and 18,000 cartridges. Besides this I still possessed 10,000 cartridges for the common guns, and 20,000 for the Remingtons. We began to manufacture cartridges with the powder now received, but there was no paper, and we had to use all the official stationery, down to my poor dictionary by Tomaseo, given me by my friend Matteucci previous to his departure to Italy.

March 15th.—I assembled all the chiefs and gave them my last instructions for the attack to-morrow at seven a.m.

March 16th.—At seven a.m. precisely the troops divided into four columns. The first had orders to go to within nine hundred feet of the torrent, two others were to attack from another side, and the fourth to stand in reserve. No sooner did they perceive us than the enemy opened an artillery fire. While our Besingers dug up the earth, others passed wood from hand to hand, so that in two hours we were able to erect a barricade against the rifle shots. Not so, however, against the cannon, for the balls

knocked down the barricade, and obliged us to recommence the work.

While the men of the first column entrenched our position as well as possible, the other troops lay down on the ground and fired at anyone of the enemy who attempted to leave their camp. Our cannon and congrevs also did good service, so that at eleven a.m. the enemy's huts took fire, and the stores collected inside were destroyed. The besieged attempted a sortie against the barricade, but they were repulsed with great loss. In the afternoon the conflagration spread to their defences. The rebels tried to smother the flames with earth, while our troops never ceased to harass them with volleys.

The despair of the slave traders was great. Suffering from thirst, surrounded by fire, smoke, and suffocating heat, they tried to make a sortie *en masse*, but were repulsed at least five times. Seeing all their efforts were vain, they finally withdrew to their position. It was six o'clock in the evening. The spectacle of the immense burning palisades was indescribable. The confusion, the cries of the people who were dying of hunger and thirst, their fright and despair cannot be imagined. My poor men were also knocked up. They had been fighting without pause from seven a.m. till six p.m. under a scorching sun and without food. I therefore left the fire to do its work of destruction, reinforced the barricades, and withdrew into my entrenchments.

During the night the rebels fled in all directions, abandoning their dead and killing their wounded so that they might not fall into our hands. Suleiman, the famous chief, almost naked, mounted his horse, and with a few faithful comrades fled towards the north, forsaking his routed troops.

Even if my people had been in a state to pursue the enemy it could have led to no practical result.

The rebels scattered among the dense woods, and hidden by the shades of night could easily have escaped our search, and might have done us much harm. Neither could we pursue them next day, seeing that our ammunition was nearly exhausted.

On the morning of the 17th we occupied the enemy's positions. Anyone who has been a soldier and has experienced the horrors of war, can picture to himself the spectacle presented by the burning camp. The dead lay one upon the other, most of them reduced to a cinder; horses, asses, mules, provisions, were all burning and enveloped in dense smoke, so that even near objects could not be seen. Our nostrils were offended by the odour of roasting flesh, which flamed as if it were fat. Such was the scene offered by this abandoned camp.

In spite of our fortunate success, I found myself exactly as before, deprived of the ammunition necessary to undertake the attack of Dem Suleiman, which, being fortified, would need to be besieged for some time. I only possessed 20,000 cartridges, which, divided among my people, represented four shots apiece. I made them gather the spent balls scattered about the enemy's grounds, and, taking a little powder out of every cartridge, succeeded in increasing the number to 26,000. I could no longer expect help of any kind from Equatorial Africa, for Emin Bey, the Governor of those provinces, had sent word that he had exhausted all the ammunition and had only what was absolutely necessary to defend the place.³ The communications by way of Meshra-el-Rek were closed, and I had no other hope than in Shakka. But the direct road thither was occupied by numerous troops of rebels, which obliged me to go a twelve days' journey round in order to get there.

³ Emin Bey, who was jealous of the success of Gessi, possessed on the contrary a great quantity of ammunition —Ed.

Suleiman flying from his Dem, and abandoned by many of his chiefs and adherents, finally arrived at a place of safety with only a thousand men. Sure that he would not dare to attack me again, I sent two-thirds of my men to Bisellia, Wau and Kutzuk Ali to forage for provisions, remaining myself at Dem Idris with only a thousand soldiers.

The news of Suleiman's defeat ran like lightning all through Bahr-el-Ghazal. It extorted a cry of despair from the slave traders, who felt their ruin was imminent. They all joined in trying to procure reinforcements for Suleiman, even the Feki preached a crusade against the Government. It was therefore necessary for me to prepare for fresh difficulties and new battles. I therefore decided to invade and conquer the slavers' villages before they could render assistance to Suleiman.

March 20th.—I proceeded to Dem-el-Arbab and arrested Suleiman's principal recruiters, whom I took to Idris.

March 22nd.—I started for Dem Bekir, a nest of rascals. I was only about two thousand feet away at sunrise of the third day when a gun went off by accident and gave the alarm. The Jelabba, thinking we were few in number, came to the attack with flying banners and fired a volley, but they were soon set to flight, leaving more than fifty wounded in the field.

Their village was destroyed, and in order to get at the fugitives, I sent for the sheikhs and gave them orders to kill whatever Jelabba fell into their hands. Two days after one of my most trusted sheikhs, named Calliongo, came by night to my habitation and asked to see me. I ordered him to be admitted, and he told me that three sheikhs of Dem Bekir desired to see me and were waiting at half an hour's distance. Accompanied by two soldiers, I repaired to the spot, and perceived the sheikhs, followed by many men carrying baskets, which, as they seemed well filled,



FLIGHT OF SULEIMAN.

Here is inscribed an Arab telegraphic despatch in facsimile, the translation is as below.

غور دودہ پشت
موسى حبشى برس ابه من شكا

٥٧ ٤ ٦ فبراير ٧٩ هـ ٥٦ ٤

حيث انه بناء عليما عرض من طرفنا احسنه عبي
جنا بكم من لدن المرحم الخديو برتبة المير الاى
ونيشاه عثمانى من الدرجه الثالثه كما صدر لنا
بذلك الاراده السنيه بتاريخ ٦ فبراير ٧٩ هـ
وشهد الامر العالى الرشيد بالوسطه بذلك فتم
جنا بكم بما ذكر لرفع الاشعار

"Gordon Pasha, to Signor Gessi. Sent from Shakka 57, 4-4, 56, Friday, February 4th, 1879.

"His Highness the Khedive has honoured you with the rank of Miralia (General), also conferring on you the decoration of the *Osmanic* of the 3rd degree. I received the nomination in a cipher telegram from His Highness, dated 3rd February, 1879. The diploma and H.H. order will be forwarded by post. I send you this despatch to acquaint you with this important news."

I supposed contained provisions and presents intended for me. But what was my surprise, when they were uncovered, to see that they each contained two or three Jelabbas' heads !

Thus ended the existence of the village of Dem Bekir and its inhabitants, who, for twenty five years, had carried on the capture of negroes and almost depopulated the country.

CHAPTER XXXI.

AFTER THE VICTORY.

My critical position—Want of food and ammunition—No assistance—Gordon's letter—Reinforcements to the rebels—Sheikh Fango of Delgauna—Victory over the Jelabbas—I summon Suleiman to surrender—His refusal—Attack of Suleiman's residence—Stupendous tropical scenery—Hidden elephant tusks—Ascent of Mount Serago—No enemy—We scatter to eat and explore—Smoked antelopes' flesh—Attack and taking of Fangala—Poor blacks!—Liberated slaves—Our advanced march—Fusilade—Victims revenged.

THE natives of Dem Gugio, a settlement to the south-west of my encampment, also rebelled against the Jelabba; but the latter immediately advised Suleiman of the danger they ran, and he sent to them Sangiak Abdulgassim with three hundred men.

I finally decided to send a faithful servant to Shakka to tell Mustafa Bey of my critical position. This Bey had never ceased to promise that some day he would come to my assistance, but he had never done so. My messenger was a young Arab called Saati Effendi, the only one in whose fidelity I had implicit confidence. I wrote to Mustafa Bey that I desired nothing from him but ammunition. Three days after Saati Effendi had left, there arrived a post from Meshra-el-Rek, bringing me, besides letters, the good news of the approaching arrival of three steamers with goods, ammunition, etc. You can well imagine our delight. It was three months since I had had letters from my family, or my friends at

Khartoum. The post consisted of a large sack, carried by two men. The next day I sent an express to recall Saati Effendi, but my message only reached him at Shakka. Meanwhile, the Governor-General of the Soudan had arrived at Shakka, and was sending three thousand men, commanded by Mustafa Bey, to my assistance.

I had written that I wanted no one, and so the troops which had already entered the Bahr-el-Ghazal territory were recalled and ordered to Dara. I sent a thousand porters to Meshra-el-Rek to fetch the ammunition, and after ridding myself of eight of the principal rebels and nine slave traders, whom I had condemned to death, I began to make preparations for our approaching departure.

Gordon Pasha sent me a telegram, in which he announced that the Khedive had made me a General, and bestowed on me the Order of the Osmanie of the Third Class.

The obstinate rebellion of the Jelabba had exhausted the Governor-General's patience, and he decided to make an end of the rogues, even at the cost of the destruction of all their villages.

He wrote to me as follows :—

“The Jelabba have lost all right to pity; these barbarians do not merit the least regard or consideration. As we are at work, let us finish it, and destroy their infamous commerce in human flesh. If we lose this opportunity, dear Gessi, you must know that all your labour will have been in vain.

“GORDON.”

The towns of Shakka and Kalaka, thanks to the energetic proceedings of two Italians, Messedaglia Bey and Emiliani, were cleared of thousands of Jelabba; and while Gordon acted with such vigour on one side, the Jelabba of Bahr-el-Ghazal fell by hundreds under the lances of the natives, who largely revenged themselves for the excesses to which they had fallen victims when their families

were captured and sold in the markets of Shakka and Kalaka.

The rebel troops were disbanded, and each man sent to his own country. Thus the troops from El-Arbab, Feki Bekir, Idris, Jur, Bongo, Wau, Bisellia, and Delgauna, were all scattered in the forests and living on game.

As I said before, the troops remaining to Suleiman did not exceed a thousand men, but while I was waiting for the ammunition from Meshra-el-Rek, he received new contingents from his scribe in Niam-Niam, and the Jelabba who were pursued by the natives also joined his force, so that before I was ready to attack him he could again command three thousand men.

Sheikh Fango of Delgauna, to whom I had given some ammunition, was the scourge of the Jelabba. Master of the roads, he attacked those who attempted to go to Dem Suleiman. This was a great hindrance to the rebels, and Suleiman decided to send Abdulgassim, who was at Gugio, to put an end to Sheikh Fango and his negroes. But the latter, warned in time, put their families and possessions in safety and took to the woods. For two entire days the struggle lasted, but Abdulgassim and his people were finally put to flight. It was then that the natives of Gugio, profiting by Abdulgassim's absence, murdered a great number of slave traders, and reduced Dem Gugio to a heap of ashes.

With a view to putting an end to so much slaughter, I wrote a letter to Suleiman, showing him the uselessness of further resistance, and advising him to surrender and rely on the clemency and kindness of His Highness.

To this letter, written in the most conciliatory terms, Suleiman replied with arrogance, rendering any further treaty impossible. He sent nine rebel chiefs to His Excellency Gordon Pasha, who was at Shakka, not to implore mercy, but to enjoin His

Excellency to give orders that I and my troops should evacuate all the territory of Bahr-el-Ghazal.

Gordon Pasha, recognizing in these nine chiefs so many abettors of the massacres in Dem Idris, replied by having them shot.

On the 4th of May the preparations for the expedition were ended. We had six hundred men, among whom were one hundred and fifty of the regular troops. As the inhabitants had fled, there were no porters, and I did not even succeed in finding a guide.

The route I followed with my column was in the opposite direction to that taken by the expedition of two thousand men lately sent by me. We marched to the north-east of Dem Suleiman; the others had gone southwards. As will be seen, the warfare we were engaged in was of the guerilla sort, and it was necessary to attack or to stand on the defensive everywhere. When the revolt had been subdued in one place, it raised its head in another as soon as we had gone away; but all this did not deprive me of the hope of mastering it, and pacifying the whole country, vast though it be, if God in His mercy would preserve my health, which hitherto had been proof against everything.

Every soldier belonging to my little army, composed of troops now inured to battle, but knocked up with severe fatigue, carried one hundred and twenty cartridges and enough flour for fourteen days. The object of this march was Mount Serago, near Delguana, two and a half days from Dem Suleiman. The route we followed took us the first day to a large seriba belonging to Suleiman, where a great depôt of ivory was supposed to exist. This seriba, as I afterwards learned, is called Yanga. The country which we crossed during this first march was very fine. Both my men and myself felt in high spirits after the successful campaign in Bahr-el-Ghazal, and the soldiers felt the good influence of the finer climate which we met with while going from east to west in

that beautiful country, intersected with numerous rivers flowing from the higher lands to the west.

To right and left of our road we could see at intervals high hills covered with magnificent tropical trees, and fertile plains watered by limpid streams.

The numerous objects met with on the road, such as scattered doora and broken pots, proved that the enemy must have passed in full flight and great disorder. We marched almost all night, and next morning entered the village of Yanga, mentioned before, which we found deserted. The rebels had fled so precipitously that at every step we stumbled over pieces of ivory; the people had not had time to burn it, as they had at Lifi.

My men even found a quantity of elephant tusks buried in the ground and protected by the usual straw roofs. The corn had been either taken away or destroyed. Here I gave the troops a few hours' rest, and recommenced the march by the shortest route to Mount Serago. The next day we occupied the village at its foot, which also we found deserted, and then began to climb the rocky spurs of the mountain.

Only one path was practicable, and my men reached the summit without finding a trace of the enemy. Shortly afterwards, in a solitary hut, we found a sick woman suffering from the *ferendid* (guinea worm). She was the wife of one of the soldiers of the irregular Egyptian troops, who had been killed at Dem Idris when that village was attacked by Suleiman during the revolt.

The poor woman had been imprisoned in the village, and subjected to the most cruel treatment on the part of the rebel soldiers. From her we learned that Suleiman had passed that way three days ago. According to what she told us, he had intended to fortify Mount Serago, but not finding sufficient grain to suffice for a long siege, he had abandoned the idea and continued his retreat. The sick woman being a

stranger unacquainted with the country, could give us no idea of the route taken by Suleiman.

As I could find no guide, I thought it prudent to scatter my troops as skirmishers to right and left of the principal path, the different groups keeping, however, in touch with one another so as to be able to re-unite in case of a fight. By this mode of procedure I hoped to become acquainted with the country and avoid the risk of leaving a nest of enemies at our backs in these unknown regions, which I believe have never been traversed before, either by Egyptian troops or the various European travellers in Africa.

It has been said by a great general, that soldiers must separate to eat and re-unite to fight. This advice is precious in every war, but especially in our case, among savage races, and in a country sacked by an enemy who continued to retreat, destroying everything on his way.

Our skirmishers scattered in about a dozen different directions. From the reports they forwarded to me at intervals, I gathered that all had found traces of the passage of men and beasts, proving that each rebel fugitive had chosen his own path without any regular order of march.

But this evidence of a disorderly retreat told us nothing about the route taken by Suleiman.

We were marching on cautiously, when we perceived at a distance the glittering of a lance. I went straight to the spot with a few men, and we succeeded in capturing a Besinger armed, not only with the lance which had betrayed his presence, but with a carabine and a six-shooter. One of my servants, the ex-domestic of one of Suleiman's Kedi, recognized the revolver to be the property of a rebel commander called Rabi. On being questioned our prisoner told us that he had deserted two days ago, and, fearing to fall into the hands of the natives, he had wandered about the whole time in

hiding, seeking for some path that would take him to Dem Suleiman, of which he knew that we had taken possession. He then pointed out to us the direction taken by Suleiman. I consigned him to the care of an escort, and sent him to the head of the column to serve as guide. We marched at a quick pace, for the traces of fugitives became more frequent, and we suspected that the enemy could not be far away.

At four p.m. the guide said that if we continued at this pace we should reach a village shortly after nightfall. I now began to observe flocks of vultures and other birds of prey circling in the air, which showed that some carrion must be lying near.

When hunting in these countries it is always the vultures that show the hunter where some antelope, buffalo, or elephant, which he has wounded or killed the day before and not been able to find, is lying, and these disgusting birds are a real assistance in these hilly regions.

When we reached the spot over which the vultures were hovering, we found the half-devoured corpses of two Besingers. One had been wounded in the arm and jaw by bullets, and both had their throats cut. This latter fact made us sure that they had been in the retreat after the battle of Dem Suleiman, that then, on climbing the steep mountain with the others, they had become exhausted from loss of blood and unable to drag themselves any further, and that Suleiman, fearing they might fall into our hands, and give us information concerning his movements, had barbarously murdered them.

Farther on we met with a third and then a fourth corpse in the same state, and still farther some freshly-raised mounds. The tools with which the graves had been dug lay near—three pointed pieces of wood. Through one of the mounds protruded the fingers and toes of the buried man. They were Arabs, for only to men of that race is the honour of

burial accorded, the corpses of slaves, and even of Besingers, are left to be the prey of vultures and wild beasts. Not far from the graves we found a rude litter made of branches of trees, saturated with blood; no doubt some wounded man, probably an officer, had been carried upon it.

Night had already overtaken us, and, not wishing to lose time which was precious, and anxious to arrive at the seriba before the time pointed out to us by our guide, besides which a storm threatened, I quickened the pace, and we advanced almost at a run, while I had sent orders to the skirmishers to make as much haste as possible. Thunder and lightning accompanied our march, and the cry of night birds sounded from time to time, reminding us of our probable fate if we unfortunately fell into some ambush and were killed by the enemy's balls.

It was eight p.m. when we arrived at a village, but alas! it was burned down and the tukul wood was still burning.

My soldiers had finished their provision of flour, although I had warned them to be economical, as probably we should not find anything on the way, but all was in vain; a famished stomach knows no reason, and my advice had not been followed.

Our position was now very critical, for even had I wished to return the way we came, I could not do so within less than four days. It is true that a Soudanese soldier can easily bear famine for two days, but what guarantee had I that we should find anything to eat on the third and the fourth?

We had not to wait long for the storm. It commenced with a deluge of water, followed by a fine rain that lasted the whole night, which at such an elevation was very cold, and my men were almost naked.

We anxiously waited for the dawn, so that we might get warm by marching. At last the sun appeared above the horizon, and as we marched we could dry our ragged clothes in its delicious heat.

Towards ten o'clock my advance-guard arrested seventeen women laden with smoked antelope's flesh. It was a real blessing, although insufficient to completely satisfy the hunger of my people. I myself divided the meat among the soldiers. The women were some of Suleiman's slaves, who had remained behind to smoke the meat, and had then lost their way. The information I gained from them was very valuable, and did me good service. Suleiman was gone to a Jelabba village called Demeraia, and a day and a half from where I now was. He was followed by almost four hundred men, who joined him in the flight from Dem Suleiman towards the north. I marched in the track of Rabi, one of the chiefs of the rear-guard, who had with him three hundred soldiers.

Besides these, Suleiman's march was followed by a thousand slaves led by a certain Abu Suep, the principal slave trader in Bahr-el-Ghazal. Suleiman thought a great deal of this man, and always applied to him for counsel and aid on important occasions.

At midday the head of my column arrived in sight of a large seriba, which I afterwards learned was called Fangala. According to our guides, this seriba, before the present war, had been inhabited exclusively by the Jelabba, who carried on no other commerce than the slave trade.

Having marched about a hundred paces further, my advance-guard was met by a fusilade from within the village. I immediately ordered an advance at the run. Our adversaries were some of Suleiman's Besingers, who naturally received us as enemies. Only one of my men was wounded, his finger being broken by a ball.

The Besingers, who did not run away, were made prisoners. While we were advancing between the tukuls of the village, a white woman, trembling with fear and pressing a beautiful baby to her bosom, came to meet me. She began to speak, but fright

choked her voice, and it was only after I had assured her that she was among friends and had nothing to fear, for we had come to help her, that she gradually grew composed and able to articulate a few words, begging me to protect her. The soldiers also surrounded and encouraged her, caressing the baby and doing all that was possible to put her at her ease. When finally convinced that we meant no harm, she told us that she was the wife of an artillery officer who had been killed in the defence of Dem Idris against Suleiman. Taken prisoner by the rebel victors she had been consigned to the Jelabba slave traders to be sold with the other women captured at the same time. She was almost naked, and on her face might be seen the traces of the sufferings, privation and grief, which, both as wife and as mother, she had endured during eight long months of captivity and terrible marches.

She then narrated the manner in which she had succeeded in escaping from her torturers. One evening after a long march, she had gone with her child, under the excuse of washing some clothes, to the banks of a torrent not far from the encampment. Waiting till night fell, she hid among the high grass and remained there till morning.

The next day she wandered about in the woods in search of food for the child, and at last, not being able to resist its lamentations, she decided to re-enter the village which she was surprised to find deserted by her masters. Shortly after she came to meet us in the state I have described, never imagining that she would be received by friends ready to protect her.

My troops now began to suffer for want of food. But we found in the huts a small quantity of grain, which sufficed for the day.

We continued our march, passing through the village. On the way one of my Besingers arrested a young negro. On being asked whence he came,

he replied that not far off the famous Abu Suep was encamping to rest the slaves, and that he himself had found means of escaping, and was now on his way home.

I immediately ordered the head of the column to halt, wishing to form a plan for capturing the whole caravan, for two reasons: first to set the slaves free, and secondly to procure the food of which we stood so much in need, and with which I supposed the caravan would be well provided.

When night came on I sent scouts to ascertain the precise position of Abu Suep's camp, by observing the fires and examining the surrounding ground.

When they returned late at night, they gave me an exact account of all that they had seen, and I was able to make a plan of attack.

An hour before sunrise I had already gone all round the position occupied by the caravan, and had taken possession of the road towards the north. Then I ordered my men to approach as near as possible by covered paths, and suddenly rush forth upon the enemy. My orders were so well executed that the Jelabba were surprised sleeping near their watch-fires. A single volley of musketry put them to such confusion, that they all, including the famous Abu Suep, allowed themselves to be taken prisoners.

The slaves were set free. Seventeen slave drivers fell during the attack. We found plenty of grain, but as we could not let six hundred slaves die of hunger, we gave each a sufficient ration, and ordering them to go home, we advised them to separate so that they might more easily find subsistence during their journey. They did so, very happy to be free. I only took with me thirty slave traders, bound two by two and escorted by soldiers.

We continued to advance, and towards seven a.m. the head of our column reached a torrent. Close by we found an old Jelabba, wounded in the neck by a ball. He told me that, having been separated from his

companions, Suleiman's Besingers had wounded him and robbed him of his clothes and a piece of linen. He had indeed no shirt, and no petticoat called the *gelabbia*, and was little better than naked. But he had only met with the treatment he deserved.

At midday we entered a village, a great part of which had been burned, and where we could not find a single ration of corn. A boy showed us the spot where Suleiman had passed the night two days before, and also was able to indicate the direction he had taken. A mile further on we met with another *seriba*, which was enclosed by a great hedge of thorns, prickly bushes and trees, and was destined for captured slaves and their keepers.

Calculating each family at five persons, this station might have contained about a thousand *Jelabba*. All these *seribe* were entirely unknown to the people of *Bahr-el-Ghazal*. To the south of *Dem Suleiman* there were two of the principal factories of the slave traders, with well-furnished depôts. The infamous commerce was carried on on the road to *Baku* and the copper mines.

The richest proprietor of these *seribe* was called *Sangiak Mussa Wad-el-Hag*. He had been a chief of *Besingers* under *Ziber Pasha* when the latter conquered *Darfour*; he had then deserted and taken service under the Egyptian Government in the quality of *Sangiak*, or captain of irregular troops.

The Government, with the intention of gradually diminishing *Ziber's* force, received all these chiefs, giving them a post in the army, or other employment. Thus a certain *Said*, after having left *Suleiman*, was made *Bey* and Governor of *Shakka*. Others, like *Etman Taialla*, *Mussa Wad-el-Hag*, *Yacub*, and *Abdulgassim*, were made head *Sangiaks*. When they deserted from *Suleiman*, they took with them their own men, and in this way *Suleiman's* ranks were emptied.

But the desertion of these chiefs was of little

service to the Government. When Suleiman declared himself in open rebellion, the Government saw the rebel ranks again filled by the men who had recently increased its own army. This is another proof that a deserter, whatever be the cause of his forsaking his own flag, can never be trusted. Then they generally make bad soldiers, always following the strongest, and going where there is least danger to themselves.

My troops, though much fatigued, had only time to eat a portion of the millet left from the rations they had received on leaving camp, but the brave fellows never complained. Still I could read anxiety in their faces, and I was much preoccupied as to what I should do, for I knew not where to procure food, and foresaw worse things for the morrow.

Full of sad thoughts, I gave the order to march, and we set forth, following step by step the footprints of the rebels. From this seriba they had taken two paths, which, however, joined again at some miles to the north. Their flight must have been most precipitous, for we found great quantities of baggage scattered in the road, and now and then a little grain, which naturally was gathered and devoured with the avidity of famished men.

By-and-by we found the body of a negro boy of about eight years, with the throat cut. Further on another ; then a third and a fourth, and then a little girl, all murdered in this barbarous fashion. The Besingers, who knew the customs of the slave traders, told me that these unfortunate children must have refused to go on, being overcome by fatigue and famine, and that then, in order to frighten the other slaves, their masters had cut their throats.

Some way farther on we met with a poor little girl with a beautiful face ; her little head was resting on her left arm as if she had fallen asleep, but it was the sleep of death.

I tell the truth : in this campaign I had seen every kind of death, suffering and torture, and ought to have been hardened to everything, but this time I felt my heart swell, and could scarcely restrain my tears while gazing at the innocent, lifeless face, at this victim destroyed by men steeped in ferocity. My sorrow soon gave way to indignation. I wished to avenge these innocent victims of the Jelabba, who are true tigers thirsting for blood, and having caused the thirty slave traders—whom we had taken prisoners and who belonged to the gang which had perpetrated these atrocities—to be brought before me, I said to them,—

“ Look at your infamous work of destruction ! ”

They gazed dejectedly but indifferently at their poor victims. After which, God punished them by my hand, and justice was done according to the law of war. But before its accomplishment, I allowed them to offer up their last prayer to their God, which they did, invoking the assistance of the Prophet, and this proves that, in Islam, religious sentiment can be associated with utter cruelty and ferocity.

I had avenged the victims and felt that I had done my duty, though it is always a sad task to pass a sentence which deprives a fellow-creature of life. The only man I spared was Abu Suep, from whom I hoped to obtain valuable information. I turned to my soldiers, and said,—

“ I have no more millet or food to give you ! The enemy cannot be far off. We must be brave and march quickly to overtake him. Then we will beat him, and take what victuals we need.”

In order still further to encourage the troops, I promised that all the booty should be theirs.

“ God help us ! ” replied the soldiers, “ and may thy head remain sane ! ” *Euta ras taile*, a compliment often used by the Soudanese.

We quickened our pace and at nightfall bivouacked near a torrent. As the soldiers were gathering

sticks they found a woman hidden in the jungle. She said she had left Rabi's camp that same afternoon, and that he was not many hours away, encamped in a plain. "God be thanked!" I exclaimed, "we are approaching our goal!"

I immediately gave orders not to light any fires, and to keep perfect silence, so as not to warn the enemy of our presence.

Towards eleven p.m. I was awakened by a sub-officer, who told me that some rebels had arrived in our camp, thinking we were Suleiman's people. This is how it happened. A rebel chief, called Idris-el-Sultan, was marching behind our column, with the intention of joining Rabi. Believing that we were the rear-guard of the army of Idris, he had sent these men forward to beg us not to march so fast, as he wished to join us the next morning.

I naturally kept away from these men, because my pronunciation of the Arabic, and also my face, would certainly have betrayed me, and I wished to profit by the error of the enemy to entice them, both those before and those behind, into an ambush. It was an uncomfortable position enough; I was surrounded by enemies, and attempted to take the best possible course.

I sent for one of my captains and ordered him to go to these men and tell them to return to their chief, and inform him "that the commander of our column could not wait in this place as he wished, having many wounded who needed assistance to reach the main troops and some village where they could be cared for, but that three hours further on we would wait for him." One of the messengers set off to carry this news to his chief, while the other five remained in our camp. As soon as their companion was gone, they were of course bound and strictly guarded.

CHAPTER XXXII.

A FORTUNATE AMBUSH.

The attack—Rabi's flight—Plentiful booty—An ambush—Courage of the enemy—A massacre—More booty—March on Bekir—Sultan Haroun—Camping in the seriba—March on Delgauna—Copper mines—The Delgauna river.

My plan was to start three hours before dawn, attack Rabi, who was in front, and then wait on the spot for Sultan Idris.

At two a.m. the reveille was sounded and two of my orderlies sent forward to explore the position of the enemy. They returned in an hour and a half with satisfactory information. At a quick march we reached the enemy's camp just as they were leaving. A well-directed fire from all sides put them to flight, they did not even attempt a defence, so rapid was our attack.

Part of the rebels were killed; part were made prisoners.

All the banners, ammunition, baggage and provisions fell into our hands. Those rebels who escaped ran in different directions into the bush, and I did not care to pursue them, fearing that my troops might be scattered, and consequently unable to face the enemy's other columns advancing from the south. I therefore recalled my men who had already begun to pursue, made them erect Rabi's tent in its original place, the rebel flag beside it, ready to receive the famous Sultan Idris with all honour.

We had now sufficient food to nourish all my men

and the liberated slaves for two days, and this circumstance raised the courage, which, however, was anything but exhausted, of my hungry troops. I made arrangements for an African *rancio*, so that all might receive their due rations. Then I sent a detachment of Besingers to meet Sultan Idris.

Towards eleven a.m. they returned. They had met the head of Idris's column, and had even spoken to the men, which at first displeased me, but, faithful to their orders, they had given themselves out for Rabi's men who were out hunting.

"All right," Idris had said good-naturedly; "go to Rabi and tell him that I am on the march, and shall presently join him."

The ground occupied by my troops was an elevated plain entirely surrounded by a thick forest.

I had made all my dispositions, and was impatiently awaiting the arrival of the rebel column, when a violent storm from the valley of the Arab to the north burst upon us with thunder, lightning and torrents of rain. The first column of the enemy's advanced-guard came in sight, and confident that they were among friends, they ran up to Rabi's great hut to shelter from the rain. They were followed by many oxen laden with goods, and after these came mounted officers and men, and asses, slaves, Besingers, and Arabs.

When the plain round which we were stationed was almost covered by these people, we opened upon them a well-directed fire. I had of course given orders that the slaves should be spared, and as these people cast themselves on the ground as soon as the firing began, we had no victim to deplore among them.

The rebel soldiers, though taken unawares, and surrounded on all sides, attempted like brave men to force a passage through our lines, but were repulsed; other attempts at different points were also repelled by our fire.

I felt very sorry for these soldiers, but though I admired their pluck I was obliged to order the firing to be continued against those who obstinately refused to surrender.

As may be imagined, the struggle was short. I then searched the field of battle for Sultan Idris, whom I imagined had fallen, but I could not find him either among the wounded or the dead. Some prisoners whom I questioned explained the circumstance. On the march to rejoin Rabi, Idris had kept in the rear with his women and his court. When the storm began he had taken his harem under a great tamarind-tree, and was waiting until the rain ceased when he heard the guns, understood that he had fallen into an ambush, and fled precipitously in the opposite direction.

I was much vexed, for the capture of this chief was of great importance to the pacification of the rebel provinces; but I was obliged to make *bonne mine à mauvais jeu*, and content myself with the victory obtained with so little, or rather no loss on our side.

Our war booty consisted of a large quantity of calico, very many copper drums, tents, provisions, ammunition, cattle, horses, asses, saddles, harness, and all the treasure of Sultan Idris and the jewels of his women. Among the numerous prisoners we found many chiefs, while some hundreds of slaves were liberated.

Among the chiefs who fell fighting was Taialla's brother, who afterwards succumbed to his wounds near the torrent Huri, when we captured Suleiman.

This day's victory recompensed us for the fatigues endured for so many days. We had destroyed two powerful rebel bands, taken all their ammunition and provisions, which, thanks to Heaven, were abundant, and which we sorely needed, and the soldiers were enriched by bales of cotton carpets, and a thousand other articles of great value to them

in their present circumstances ; and all this without loss on our side.

Among the prisoners was Sheikh Cottu, an influential head of the tribe in the district of Dem Suleiman. This sheikh had been forcibly dragged with them by the rebels, to prevent him from helping us to gather together the native population dependent on him, and enlist them in our ranks. The capture of Cottu was a real blessing to us, for he had a close acquaintance with all the localities in the country, and could lead us to the villages where we should find corn whenever we needed it ; and thus we were not obliged to wander without guide amongst enemies.

After such fatigues it was only just that I should allow my brave soldiers some repose, all the more because we were all wet to the skin, and it would have been too much to expect if I had ordered the march to be continued.

I then decided to go to Baku, a large seriba, where, as I learned from the prisoners, all the band of fugitives who had escaped from the late fights at Dem Idris and Dem Suleiman were to meet. The distance from the elevated plain, where we had destroyed the bands of Rabi and Idris, to Baku, was, according to Cottu, only a day and a half's journey, but there existed a difficulty which spoiled my plan.

Between the plain and Baku extended an immense forest void of villages, torrents or wells, and we were a numerous troop, without either skins or buckets in which we could at least have carried a scanty provision of water. I learned besides that the ground was so sandy that when rain fell it was immediately absorbed. Then there was another consideration, that the rebel bands probably destroyed all the grain they met with on their flight, and I should find myself in the same predicament as before, unable to feed my people, and, if I could get no provisions in a neighbouring village, should

be obliged to push on to the copper-mine settlements.¹

Cottu also assured me that at Baku two thousand rebels were already concentrated. If they offered serious resistance and I should be obliged to retreat, I should probably be unable to recommence the offensive.

All these considerations determined me to make a forced march to Dem Suleiman, there reinforce my ranks and organize a great expedition to push on to Kalaka and Shakka, where I knew that Suleiman intended to act, in the hope of being assisted by a vast insurrection in Darfour.

The old Ziber had been for a long time preparing this combined movement to the south and north of Bahr-el-Arab, and the rich saddles covered with gold and silver ornaments, to the value of from 1500 to 2000 francs each, which were sequestered at Khartoum, were without doubt intended for the influential Darfour chiefs. At Obeid there was also a hidden deposit of powder of about 1000 Egyptian *oke*.

Sultan Harum still occupied the Gebel Mara, and with five thousand rebels from the Bahr-el-Ghazal and those of Gebel Mara, would certainly greatly endanger the Egyptian rule in Darfour and Kordofan. The struggle might then be prolonged beyond the Bahr-el-Arab, and we must be prepared for every contingency.

While I was acting to the south of the river, His Excellency Gordon Pasha had arrived at Shakka and Kalaka. His first care was to remove all the Jelabba from the frontier of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, an exceptionally wise measure, for these men have aided the insurrection by frequent reinforcements of men

¹ The locality between Dar Fertit and Bahr-el-Arab had never before been traversed by a European traveller, and when Gessi was chasing the slave traders, he was at the same time exploring an unknown country.—ED.



MARCH ON MOUNT SERAGO.

and ammunition. When the Jelabba of those districts were removed, Gordon did the same thing at Darra and all the country bordering Jebel Mara. In one village he arrested the powder manufacturers, and did much to render my task more easy.

But I will take up the narration of my operations.

The next day, after the successful result of my stratagem against the rebels in front and behind, I returned to Dem Suleiman by the same path as before. When I reached the village Fangala, I was met by two deserters from Suleiman's Besingers. They had been attacked by the natives, and showed me two deep wounds in their sides. I gave them all the help I could, and the one the least hurt was able to follow our column on foot, whilst the other was carried in an *angerep*, a kind of litter used in the Soudan and Abyssinia.

During the march we passed the torrent where we had left the old wounded Jelabba. He still lived, but was at the last extremity. He was also joined by another Besinger deserter, wounded by an arrow in the right shoulder. The point had entered deeply, and I was obliged to make a large cut in order to extract it, a difficult and painful operation.

The following day we arrived at Mount Serago, where, by means of Cottu, I was able to have parley with the sheikh of the mountain. He furnished us with corn, and placed all his people at our disposal for the transport of the ivory we had sequestered from the enemy's magazines. I left my troops to pass the night at Serago, while I, being in a hurry to reach Yanga, in order to organize the transport of the ivory left there, departed with an escort of only twenty men.

Our guide lost his way during the night, and unknowingly led us in exactly the opposite direction to that we wished to take; but towards eleven o'clock he perceived his error, and was able to find the right

path. At midnight, while resting a moment, we heard a gun-shot in the distance, then another, and then the noise of many people. I sent three or four men to reconnoitre, and they presently returned to say that they had seen a crowd of men and heard them speaking Arabic. I sent another patrol, and then learnt that these people were no rebels, but a troop sent by me the day before to carry ivory to Dem Suleiman. They had lost their way and were camping till daybreak. Reassured, I pursued my way to the Seriba Yanga, where we passed the rest of the night.

The following day I was joined by the troop I had left at Jebel Serago with the ivory, and we proceeded without other inconvenience to Dem Suleiman, where our people were awaiting us in great anxiety, having heard rumours of our being in danger.

Things being in the state I have described, I was not quite content with the results obtained, although they were tolerably satisfactory. After all, Suleiman was still alive and at liberty. He had been rejoined by many of his captains, could still dispose of numerous seribe where he possessed many resources, and the Jelabba continued to furnish him with powder and smuggled lead by means of the slaves whom they still possessed.

I therefore immediately began to organize a column, which, though not numerous, consisted of chosen men, so that I might not be obliged to return to Dem Suleiman until the war was entirely ended. In five days all was ready. My force consisted of two companies of regular troops and four hundred Besingers. I left at Dem Suleiman the garrison necessary to defend that important place in case of attack, and sent towards the frontier of Niam-Niam four hundred men under the command of four Sangiaks to capture the rebel chief Mustafa Arnaut, who was manœuvring with six hundred Besingers to rejoin Suleiman towards the west.

I stationed the rest of my troops in different seribe, both to defend them from eventual attacks by bands of rebels, and because my men, thus divided, would be able to find sufficient grain to nourish themselves. Many persons who were fond of me endeavoured in vain to persuade me that an expedition at that season (we were in the middle of the *harif*) could lead to nothing; that the river and torrents would be impassable and the roads impracticable, and that we should meet with a thousand misfortunes and hindrances; I ought to leave them to finish the rebels that still remained, and they would carry on the work with as much humanity as possible. All this fine talk did not in the least influence my mind. I had well considered the conditions of my plan, and was determined to overcome all obstacles.

The honours heaped upon me by His Highness the Khedive, the friendship and generosity shown me by His Excellency Gordon Pasha, were so many spurs to continue the work I had commenced without pause, careless of the *harif* and never stopping until the last rebel was put down, the last slave liberated, and the slave trade suppressed for ever.

When I had left Dem Suleiman, my future operations were to be directed to Delgauna, Shakka, Kalaka, Tuesha and the copper mines at Hofrat-el-Nahas.

On the evening of the day of our departure we arrived at a torrent, where we were surprised by violent rain and wind. We were obliged to wait till dawn to cross the torrent, which had become so swollen during the night that we could only pass it by the help of a cord stretched from bank to bank.

That day we continued our march to Delgauna without any obstacle. The road, in spite of the previous rain, was dry, thanks to the sandy ground. The country was beyond expression picturesque, a true hunter's paradise. Hundreds of antelopes and gazelles continually ran at some distance on each

side of our caravan. After the third day we arrived at a deserted village, but when the natives heard that we were a Government troop, and not followers of Suleiman, they returned to their habitations. In the morning we crossed the river Delgauna, which we found to be about three hundred and ninety feet wide ; at this point it was only about four feet deep. The current was very rapid, and the bottom so sandy that it was necessary to cross quickly in order not to sink into it.

The sheikh of the locality, named Yango, with whom I was acquainted, had been to Dem Idris some time before, and I had furnished him with six hundred cartridges to fight with and arrest the Jelabba who were driving slaves. He behaved admirably, destroyed all the Jelabbas who fell into his hands, and liberated the slaves. Such conduct being very damaging to Suleiman, the latter had sent two Sangiaks to attack him. They were the famous Abdulgassim and the Sheikh Abdelmasi. Yango, warned of the danger that threatened him, put his family and property in safety, barricaded his village, and firmly awaited the arrival of the enemy. He was very soon attacked. He defended himself all day, but then, finding his ammunition exhausted, he took advantage of the night to fly. In this affair the rebels lost about fifty men, while Yango had only two wounded. Some days after, the bands of Abdulgassim and Abdelmasi were beaten by our people and Abdelmasi killed. Abdulgassim, informed of the taking of Dem Suleiman, fled towards the copper mines, and thus Delgauna was liberated from the scourge.

The Sheikh Yango received me with all honour, dressed in his suit of ceremony, which consisted of a long silk garment richly embroidered in gold. He looked like a bishop in pontificals.

The inhabitants of Delgauna, and about a thousand Arabs from Darfour, Bargo and Shakka, were

subject to Suleiman, and were treated as if they were negroes, and made to work like slaves. They paid a large tribute in ivory and ostrich feathers, themselves hunting elephants and ostriches in the territory of Yangeh.

The river Delgauna is rich in fish, which are dried and smoked and forwarded to various places in exchange for other objects needed by the natives and Arabs.

After the presentation of the principal chiefs of his court, the sheikh gave me a pumpkin containing honey mixed with water to quench our thirst. He then gave me two kids, two fowls, and a pot of pure honey. "I am ashamed," said he, "that I am so poorly provided. I should like to do more for you, but Abdulgassim has destroyed, devoured, or carried everything away. I did not expect you; you came so suddenly that it is impossible for me to provide as I should have wished for your needs."

I was inclined to refuse his gifts, but I was afraid he would be offended. I accepted with thanks, and told him that I should need a little doora for my men.

"We have none," he replied, "but I will do all I can to procure some. This is a real famine year. The cultivators of the ground are more anxious to save their families from the rapacity of Suleiman's people than to till the fields. It is a cursed year. And then, even in the most prosperous times and most abundant harvests, we are always short of grain, because Suleiman carries away such an enormous quantity. Only imagine that these villages must feed more than three or four thousand Besingers and three or four hundred Arabs."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ZIBER'S CONSPIRACY.

Suleiman's harem—Thousands of women—The baobab—The Bahr-el-Arab—Juicy melons—Ziber's treasures—Copper bullets—Suleiman's father—Ziber's conspiracy—Connivance with Darfour rebels—March to Kalaka, Dara and Tuesha—Meeting with Gordon Pasha.

SULEIMAN'S harem consisted of seven hundred women, either wives or slaves; that of Rabi of four hundred, and so on down to the smallest chiefs, who possessed only about forty. Every Arab has from fifty to a hundred slaves, and every Besinger, although himself a slave, from five to ten other slaves. But what consumes the greatest quantity of doora is the manufacture of merissa and spirits. Although Mohammedans, the Arabs' chief occupation is getting drunk, besides practising every kind of debauchery, theft, murder, and the hunting of negroes. The whole country was deprived of its cattle, and raids were made into Yangeh to supply the wants of Suleiman and his principal chiefs, while the Besingers procured meat for themselves by hunting the wild buffalo, which is found in great quantities throughout Bahr-el-Ghazal. Sheikh Yango succeeded in procuring for me about three hundredweight of grain, and as he needed seed for sowing, I authorized him to get some from Lifi, where I had four hundredweight of doora in a depôt.

At Delgauna I was informed that an Arab called

Bellen was near Lifi, with about forty men acquiring honey and ivory, and capturing as many slaves as he could get. He was the same man who, during the campaign, had once brought me letters from Shakka, and had even talked to me about his numerous cavalry, promising to place them at my disposal, so that although I had no great faith in what he said, I was induced to give him five hundred cartridges. But he never appeared with his men. In fact, he had deceived me; he only possessed one horse, and his sole occupation was to stop the fugitive Besingers of Suleiman's army, and enlist them in his own troop. He had finally captured Sheikh Rumbek's family and carried them off.

I charged Yango with the office of either driving Bellen away or taking him prisoner, ordering him to set all Bellen's slaves at liberty.

After Yango had procured for me the necessary porters, I set out for Shakka.

The country we traversed as we proceeded north was perfectly flat, and so badly watered that we were deprived of that necessary element for three consecutive days. We found a quantity of gum acacias on the way, but this tree produces gum of inferior quality, classed under the name of *thalla*. It is never collected by the natives, for it would not pay the cost of transport. Tamarind trees were also abundant.

A little north of Delgauna commences the giant tree of Africa, the baobab (*Adansonia digitata*). The dulep tree is also found in great numbers, and, when doora is scarce, furnishes food for the Arabs of Shakka. The whole country is totally deserted because of its dryness, and the little rain-water we found in a few ponds was bad in quality and made us very ill. We observed frequent elephant tracks, the traces of giraffes and other animals, and by hunting my men supplied our deficiency of grain.

On the fourth day after our departure from Delgauna, we approached the Bahr-el-Arab, but before reaching its banks we crossed a valley about three miles long, which at this season was perfectly dry, but which during the *harif* receives the overflowings of the river and becomes a great impassable marsh.

Night was far advanced when we reached the river. Here and there were ponds of a greenish colour and very bad odour. The porters caught a quantity of fish in them, which I did not partake of, for fear of fever. In spite of all precautions I felt very ill the next day, and left the place as quickly as possible. A flock of about twenty ostriches was feeding at a short distance; we saw an enormous quantity of game, and my men killed three buffaloes, two giraffes, a wild boar and seven antelopes.

The banks of this river, which are deserted during the *harif*, become populated in summer. More than a hundred thousand cattle and sheep are brought to the rich pastures from Resegat, Shakka, and Kalaka.

I therefore hoped to procure meat, milk and butter, but the cowherds had left before the usual time. We pursued our way through a *dulep* wood, in which we found wells of bad water. After three days' march we had arrived within four hours of Shakka. Here a man, sent by Madibo Bey, brought me some sardines, a Dutch cheese, and two bottles of liqueur from the French factory of Rivoire Frères; besides these, fifteen sheep and sufficient milk for the whole column was offered us by the numerous Arab shepherds who came to welcome us. These good people brought us the same evening a large quantity of polenta of millet. The next day, in good time, we set out for Shakka. At about an hour from the town we were met by a numerous troop of Arabs mounted on fine horses, which they dexterously manœuvred while brandishing the three

lances—two large and one small—which each man carried as if they were in action. Farther on Madibo Bey came to meet us with about twenty horsemen, and a Greek merchant who happened to be at Shakka trading with European articles, which he exchanged for ostrich feathers.

Madibo Bey is a tall man of about thirty-five. He had joined the Egyptian army in the war against the Sultan of Darfour. In reward for his services, Gordon Pasha gave him a decoration and made him chief of the Horban—the generic name of these populations. The horsemen who came to meet us continued their fantastic evolutions till we arrived at Shakka, when we were lodged in the great shed that served for the Government palace, the same which shortly before had been Gordon's habitation, when he stopped here for about three weeks to quell the Jelabba.

The Bahr-el-Arab marks the limit separating Darfour from the Bahr-el-Ghazal provinces. Ghazal, Shakka, Resegat and Kalaka, the stations to the south of the river, were also subject to the ancient sultan of the realm. The tribute they paid to the sovereign was one sheep for every four inhabitants. The sheep were exchanged for cattle and horses, which were then sent to the Government at Darfour.

Properly speaking, I ought to say that no central government existed there. The country was divided among the greatest chiefs who commanded the provinces dependent on them without control; the strongest drove the weakest away. The Sultan of Darfour never meddled with the internecine quarrels of his vassals. It was enough if they paid their tribute regularly; he cared for nothing else. The Arabs, according to what I could learn, came to Darfour from Bargo during a vast emigration which took place two centuries ago. Some occupy themselves with cattle-breeding, others with agriculture.

Millet is the only grain which thrives in the district, yielding a copious harvest. The soil of southern Darfour is sandy, and the want of water a real scourge.

The proprietors of the settlements named above, as I think I have already said, send all their cattle during the dry season to the Bahr-el-Arab and the vicinity of Yangeh. They only keep a few milch cows for domestic use, which, like the inhabitants, quench their thirst with the water melons which are cultivated on a large scale. In this sandy region the melon plants derive the necessary humidity from the air and the subsoil.

All the cooking is also done with the juice of these providential melons. In one word they replace the missing water.

The population, as can be imagined, never wash. When they have once put on their dress, consisting of a long shirt, it remains till it falls in rags.

The peasants let their hair grow, dressing it in many small braids, while the people of the large villages shave their heads completely, and always go bare-headed, in spite of the blazing sunshine.

Greedy of others' goods, mendacious and brutal to ferocity, they are consummate hypocrites. This is the most striking quality of the race.

The women take the place of the men in everything. They watch the cattle, milk the cows, superintend the cultivation of the fields, make the butter, look after the kitchen, and carry the merchandise to market.

The men occupy themselves solely with their lances and horses, making raids into the bordering country of Yangeh to capture slaves. The only thing in which they are better than the other slave drivers is, that they do not sell their captives, but keep them for their own use.

Their current money consists of pieces of cloth about eight yards long—two pieces are worth a

dollar. When buying retail in the market, purchasing, for example, a single fowl, a little piece of the cloth is torn off. The articles of commerce are identical with those in the rest of the Soudan : scented woods for perfumes, red pepper, glass beads, cotton goods, seeds, odoriferous oils, eggs, butter, milk, sheep, cattle, and horses. An ox or a bullock costs about ten pieces of cloth—*taga* (the name of a certain quality)—that is to say, about four or five dollars. The ox is taught to carry loads and serve as a saddle beast. Ostrich feathers constitute the principal merchandise, and the price of every bird, if it be a male, varies from one hundred and fifty to two hundred *taga*. The Arabs tame small ostriches in order to pluck their feathers twice a year, but these birds never acquire the beauty and, therefore, the value of the ostriches killed in the chase.

During the *harif* a great part of the districts of Resegat, Shakka and Kalaka are flooded, and in consequence communication becomes extremely difficult.

Shakka is surrounded by a trenched camp, constructed during Suleiman's rebellion by Messedaglia Bey. It has also four or five hundred wells, which, during the summer season, are so scarce of water that the inhabitants must either suffer thirst or pay fabulous prices for a few quarts of water.

In these three districts the Arabs had numerous scribe, and occupied themselves with commerce in cotton goods, ostrich feathers and, above all, slaves. Joining together frequently to the number of six or seven hundred and armed at all points, they carried on their raids against the negroes into Bahr-el-Ghazal and the very borders of Niam-Niam. Before Shakka, like Darfour, was annexed to the Egyptian possessions very few Jelabba ventured to come there, fearing the above-named robbers.

At Shakka I had some news about Suleiman's

intentions, and was also informed that many rebels had taken refuge at Kalaka, and with the sheikhs. I therefore decided, after having given the necessary rest to my troops, to attack Kalaka, but Madibo Bey begged me to leave to him the charge of arresting these fugitives.

Ali Agif, a Jelabba rebel who had fought against us during the taking of Dem Idris, was arrested at Shakka; he had with him about thirty slaves, of whom he had already sold ten. I freed the rest and condemned their masters to be shot.

Madibo Bey departed for Kalaka, and I remained at Shakka expecting news of Suleiman from the scouts who had been sent on his track.

The district of Shakka was in the greatest disorder. The chiefs would know nothing of Madibo, and everything caused me to fear that some revolt would break out; so much the more because Madibo, who was not a pearl of honesty, had offended almost all the principal chiefs by his continual oppression. The arrival of our troops compelled them to obedience, and various deputations came to lay their complaints before me.

“We do not complain of the Government,” they said, “we only desire to be commanded, not by one of ourselves, but by a foreign Arab.”

I told them to be patient till I had spoken to the Governor-General, declaring that if meanwhile they should act for themselves, I should on my return use the utmost rigour.

After a sojourn of ten days at Shakka, I went towards Kalaka; on the way I met Madibo Bey returning to Shakka, conducting about thirty rebels, mostly Arabs from Resegat and Mandarle, some also from Darfour, Kordofan and Berber.

Two hours later a post brought me a box of letters from Emin Bey, and a voluminous packet of correspondence from the English Church Mission, established at Mtesa's in Uganda.

Towards three p.m. another carrier brought me two letters from His Excellency Gordon Pasha, one of which contained an order to meet him at Darra; in the other he enjoined me to proceed to Tuesha.

Although I was not completely rested after the fatigues of the journey, I gave the necessary orders for departure the same day for Darra, which was three and a half days' journey from the place where I now was.

Many believed and some still believe, that it was an impossible undertaking to abolish slavery in the Dark Continent, as Stanley calls it. Many thought that even if it succeeded it would be at the cost of thousands of human lives, and that therefore it would be better to bear existing evils philosophically than to create others.

The late events on the Bahr-el-Ghazal which destroyed the slave trade, did, indeed, cost torrents of blood; but why?

Because the Government, when, seven years ago, they learned that Ziber had massacred the Egyptian garrisons left in these provinces by the Government of Khartoum, instead of sending an army against him to punish him, nominated him Bey and Governor of Bahr-el-Ghazal. Ziber had succeeded in corrupting the authorities at Khartoum, who represented him to the central Government at Cairo as a colossus whom it was impossible to conquer, and advised that he should be handled "with a pair of gloves," as the saying goes, while instead, he ought to have been made to feel the weight of a firm and iron hand. Suleiman Ziber, gaining courage from this impunity, revolted again in 1878 in the manner I have already described; but things had changed both at Cairo and at Khartoum, and Gordon Pasha was not the man to leave acts of revolt and the massacre of his soldiers unpunished. He immediately charged me to march to the rebellious provinces of Bahr-el-Ghazal, while he in person marched to

the north to execute a diversion which should decide the campaign.

If the war, in the words of our great poet, was "savage, harsh and strong," it was owing above all to the want of communication with Khartoum, caused by the obstruction of the White Nile, which completely hindered navigation during several months just at the commencement of operations, when I had the greatest need of assistance. Thanks to God, we have succeeded in spite of all contrary circumstances.

But in order that slavery shall absolutely cease in the Soudan, we need three well-disposed, courageous and above all firm chiefs; and what has been done in the great western valley of the Nile must be repeated in the eastern valley. Then I do not doubt that slavery would be completely abolished.

Ziber was not only powerful in Bahr-el-Ghazal and Shakka, but could count on numerous followers throughout the Soudan, and the conspiracy had extended its ramifications over an immense tract of country. They reached not only Khartoum, but descended the Nile as far as Cairo. The powerful rebel was served by the very employés of the Government who ought to have watched and prevented the introduction of materials of war.

The immense treasure which Ziber was able to accumulate by the enormous profits of the slave trade, enabled him to be prodigal to an extent which even a nabob of India could not equal.

He gave a present of five thousand dollars to Ellettoni, a simple delegate from Halfai; five thousand dollars to a certain Aved-el-Kermi; the same sum to Avlad Said-el-Hassan, and eight hundred Napoleons, two horses, and two richly ornamented saddles to a certain H—— Pasha, whom I do not wish to name, lest his position at Cairo should be damaged. The Sheikh of the desert who accompanied Ziber to Korosko received a gift of two thousand dollars.



R. Buchta del.

DER SULEIMAN.

I have no time to enumerate all the other presents which were distributed, and which came to my knowledge.

In this way it was easy for Ziber to introduce as much gunpowder into the country as he wanted. All the material was carried such a great distance without the least difficulty, being furthered by the Government employes. Indeed the latter watched over and facilitated the transport as if they had not been paid by Government to prevent the introduction of war materials, but by Ziber to promote it.

When I took possession of Dem Suleiman, I found a letter addressed by Obeid to Suleiman Bey, in which was written exactly the following words: "Thy father is still in Cairo, and in good health. He sent me a thousand *oke* of powder which I hold at thy disposal. Try, however, to send for it quickly, so that the Government may not get to know of it. If then thou shouldst have need of more powder, I can give thee some."

Now, how is it possible that a thousand *oke* of powder by means of boats and camels, could pass through such an extent of country, under the eyes of so many policemen and custom-house officers, unless both police and custom-house officials had been accomplices?

When a poor traveller or explorer arrived at Assuan furnished with a single gun, he met with so much trouble and difficulty that he generally, not to lose time, left his gun and the hundred cartridges that he possessed behind, while thousands of *oke* of powder were subject to no prohibition.

The poor European, who had to part with his only gun, which he had taken for the defence of his own life, and for shooting game to procure food in those inhospitable regions, might appeal to the authorities in Cairo, but they would only rub their hands, pleased that the custom-house officer was faithful and did his duty well, and the European could neither get his

gun back, nor obtain an indemnity for his sequestered property.

While I occupied Dem Suleiman, I found, besides a large quantity of cartridges, thirty cases of powder and two hundred and seventy bombs, besides one hundred and thirty boxes of grape-shot. Nothing was wanting but lead, but the rebels could dispose of much copper from the mines of Bahr-el-Arab, with which they made as many bullets as they needed. If we also calculate what I took in the different battles, and what the rebels succeeded in carrying away, one is easily convinced that Suleiman might have continued the struggle for a long time.

Succour from outside would not have failed him, but the diversion made by Gordon Pasha in driving away all the Jelabba of Shakka and Kalaka, greatly contributed to the final success, because these Jelabba, far from providing the rebels with ammunition, depopulated the country by carrying away thousands of natives.

The Government in Cairo (rather late, it is true) at last perceived that Ziber Pasha would some day or other become very embarrassing to them, because he had the means of declaring himself independent. So that, after the conquest of Darfour, he was nominated Pasha, and invited to come to Cairo, where he was received with much distinction and all the honours due to a prince. The Khedive placed a palace at his disposal, but at the same time told him that his return to the Soudan was prohibited.

Ziber, enriched by all the spoils of the late Sultan of Darfour—besides his own fortune—was able, although a prisoner, to exercise great influence at Cairo, and play on the sensitive nerves of those whose co-operation he desired.

Many very influential personages took his cause to heart and pleaded for him, but the Viceroy adhered firmly to his decision. Later on, Ziber embarked with Hassan Pasha and the Egyptian contingent

that was sent to take part in the war of Turkey against Russia, but the corps to which he belonged remained a simple spectator of the struggle while occupying the fortress of Varna. Ziber lost no time, and had interviews with influential persons in Constantinople, attempting intrigues, in which, however, he did not succeed.

All his efforts in Turkey were fruitless, and he returned to Egypt, whence by means of his secret postal-service, he could correspond with his son Suleiman.

Before leaving his Dem to go to Cairo, Ziber had had a presentiment that he would be detained in Lower Egypt, and two hours before taking leave of his followers, he gathered them together under a large tamarind tree to give them his last orders in case he never returned ; orders which they promised to execute. When his son Suleiman perceived that his father had fallen into a trap, he immediately began to show an evil disposition towards the Government.

The council and appointments he received from Gordon availed nothing ; he abandoned the purchase of ivory, and for two consecutive years even refused to pay tribute to the Government, and began to govern his own country like an independent prince.

Egypt kept in the Bahr-el-Ghazal a governor and about two companies of regular troops, with two cannon and seven hundred men of the irregular troops. These troops, obeying Gordon's orders, did not molest Suleiman, but rather avoided every cause of dispute ; when, one day, without the least provocation, Suleiman, followed by about four thousand men, fell upon the seriba of Dem Idris and massacred all the garrison down to the very babes. He then devastated the vast province, putting everything to fire and sword, destroying and massacring the natives who were faithful to the Government, sacking all the Government magazines and depôts

of ammunition and disarming all the inhabitants of the seribe.

After which he returned to his Dem and prepared to attack Shakka, thus carrying the war into Darfour, where he naturally counted upon finding a large party that would support him.

It was at this epoch that I, having left Khartoum and gathered a nucleus of soldiers along the way, was able, by my presence at Rumbek, to paralyze



EMIN BEY.

Suleiman's original design. Suleiman immediately withdrew the troops who were marching towards Delgauna and ordered them to meet and attack me. Believing it easy to overcome me, he ordered his men, after having beaten me, to recommence the march on Darfour, following the plan he had made before my appearance in Bahr-el-Ghazal.

But not even the conquest of Darfour satisfied

Suleiman's blind ambition. He had arranged to proceed afterwards at the head of his troops to the capital of the Soudan, and, from this seat of the Governor-General to oblige the Viceroy to set his father Ziber at liberty.

Among the papers which I found there was one, the last letter from Ziber to his son, which had been transmitted by a confidant, in which was the following order :—

“ Free Bahr-el-Ghazal from the Egyptian troops ; attack and make yourself master of Shakka.”

In fact the troops which marched from Dem Suleiman upon Delgauna had orders to attack Shakka. All this proves that the insurrection had been long and carefully planned, and that the strings were moved from Cairo, in Ziber Pasha's palace.¹

¹ It therefore cannot be doubted that there was connivance between Ziber Pasha and the future Mahdists who revolted not long after, assisted by the same elements on which his son Suleiman had relied during the earlier revolt.—Ed.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE MEETING WITH GORDON.

Commerce with Meshra-el-Rek—Navigation to Wau—Wealth of timber—Palms—Vegetable butter—The death of my son—Milanese expedition—Kalaka a nest of slaves—Arrival at Dara—No water—Doctor Altieri.

I AM attempting the navigation from Meshra-el-Rek to Wau and Kutshuk-ali. If I succeed, the difficulty which hinders commerce between these rich provinces and Khartoum will be overcome, for all kinds of goods can be then forwarded on a large scale without the trouble of porters, at least from Wau and Kutshuk-ali, stations in the heart of Bahr-el-Ghazal, while nowadays goods from those places to Meshra-el-Rek have to be carried on men's backs across a muddy country, where there is no store of doora. I am preparing a case of seeds of all kinds, among which figures some Niam-Niam coffees never before noticed; and wild rice from Bahr-el-Ghazal, Shakka and Kalaka, greatly resembling Indian rice; besides which the country produces tamarinds, wax, honey, oil, vegetable butter in abundance, maize, doora, beans, two kinds of peas, like English peas, a gum which I believe to be mastic, and millet.

As to timber there is much of splendid quality, but it is impossible to export it further than Khartoum or Berber. There is also wood that much resembles American *acmatac*.

Copy of a letter to the editor of the *Esploratore*.

“ September 9th, 1879.

“ DEAR CAMPERIO,—Your last letters have made, so to say, the tour of the world. They arrived at Dem Suleiman while I was away hunting Suleiman himself, and were sent after me, only reaching me after innumerable journeyings backwards and forwards.



FELIX GESSL.

“ It is difficult to describe all the inconveniences suffered on my journey ; I only arrived at my residence on the 22nd August, when I found the sad news of my son's death at Trieste ; news that has so overpowered me that I have neither heart nor head for anything, and I shall need time to recover myself. Of seven children there only remain two, Felix and

Gisella.¹ Work, work, and again work is the only way to alleviate but not to cure the grief I feel. This very day I must leave this, and to make the effort I must take my courage in both hands.

I hear that the Milanese Commercial Expedition has stuck fast in Abyssinia, where, I know not. If it had gone by way of the Nile, as I advised, it would have made better progress, and might have established a business at Galabat; but there must be the proper men for such an enterprise. Besides honesty, which is indispensable, it needs courage, perseverance, energy and intelligence, qualities not often met with in the same individual. Above all, there must be no chatterboxes or scribblers.

“I have still an idea of exploring the Welle, which is now in my jurisdiction, but probably Gordon will order me to go to Jebel Mara, in which case I must put off the plan to another period.

“Bagangoi, which Miani reached, was known years ago to the Nubians, who there procured much ivory. But I must speak of Miani’s remains, being anxious about the matter. The people I sent to the place where that great Venetian traveller died, found nothing in the grave but a few bones, all else having been destroyed by termites. I possess a document signed by all the ‘Gurguro’ chiefs in Munza, which

¹ Gisella died at the age of sixteen on the 7th July, 1890, by accident. She was bathing at Trieste in a very rough sea, and on trying to come on shore, she was dashed by a wave against the iron railing of the bathing establishment, and received such internal injuries, that she succumbed within twenty-four hours, leaving her mother and brother inconsolable. Gisella was a very intelligent and beautiful girl, endowed with uncommon courage. She remembered her father well.—Ed.

² Gurguro (stopped ears) or Monbuttu. I was therefore wrong when, in my pamphlet “*Miani’s Journey to Monbuttu*,” I expressed the opinion that he died at Numa or Ndoruma in the west of Niam-Niam. The real place will be Numa in the south of Munza. See Schweinfurth’s map. *Esploratore*, year III., map No. 3.

proves the genuineness of these bones. A traveller, whose name I will not reveal out of respect for our country, boasts that he is taking Miani's remains to Italy ! I should like to know what kind of remains he has ! I much fear that he has not even an approximate knowledge of the place of Miani's burial, and certainly he does not follow that traveller's noble example, but it is better to draw a veil over such ugly things.

“ Non ti curar di lor, ma guarda e passa.

“ R. GESSI.”

At Kalaka I met a Greek, a native of Lemno, who had gone to Darfour two years before it was conquered. Knowing Arabic and the local customs thoroughly, and provided with goods useful to the inhabitants, he went there to exchange them for ostrich feathers. He adopted the name of Suleiman Effendi on leaving Khartoum, and on reaching Bahr-el-Arab, stayed there for some time, establishing relations with one of the principal chiefs of Shakka, and securing his protection with a view to penetrating the country, and opening up commerce. The chief promised the Greek all he asked.

Although the Greeks are generally considered to be very acute, Suleiman Effendi did not perceive that he had fallen into a trap. When he arrived at Kalaka, the chief lodged him in his house as well as he could, but when the unsuspecting Greek spread before the eyes of the greedy chief things that had never yet been seen in Darfour, such as thirty richly ornamental guns and other objects, the chief changed his mind, and planned to rob his guest of these riches. In fact, he told Suleiman the next day that he had found out he was a spy of the Egyptian Government, and only spared his life because he was his guest. He must take good care not to leave the house, else he could not answer for his safety. Then

little by little, he confiscated all that Suleiman possessed, telling him that he ought to be thankful that he was not killed. Some days later Suleiman was treated by his jailor like a slave, and forced to submit to work in the fields and render other mean and fatiguing services.

But Suleiman, even in his position of slave, was able gradually to acquire the confidence of the Darfour chief, who had so infamously betrayed him; so much so that the latter gave him a gun and ammunition, and permitted him to hunt ostriches.

Kalaka, the population of which is perhaps scantier than that of Shakka, is the true nest of slavery. The numerous caravans that come from the south are accustomed to stop there. The Jelabba—merchants of these human goods—inhabit about six hundred huts. The slaves are separated into different classes, and other merchants hasten from all parts to make their purchases.

When I returned to Bahr-el-Ghazal from my excursion to Darfour, I took in preference the route followed by the Jelabba of Kalaka and Shakka, in order to study these people attentively.

The horses that were to carry us to Darra were only ready towards evening. I left at five o'clock, accompanied by two orderlies, a guide, and four native horsemen.

The country which we crossed is covered with acacias and tamarinds; the soil is sandy; the villages are numerous, but only consist of about fifteen or twenty badly-built huts, because of the difficulty of procuring the necessary material. For about five or six hours, as we marched towards Dara, we met with peasants who possessed cattle; but farther on there were none, because of the total want of water. Millet is the only grain sown in this soil. When I asked why doora was not cultivated I was told it could not thrive like millet. Wood was entirely wanting, and the common *melocchia*, which

grows wild throughout the Soudan, was not to be found in the territory I crossed from Kalaka to Darra. But game is very abundant. We found gazelles, antelopes, and, near the ponds formed by the rain, myriads of geese and ducks of all species. Lions and leopards are also numerous, and no native ever ventures out of his house, either by day or night, without carrying two or three lances.

The rains had ceased a few days ago, and the water we met with was very bad and of a red colour. After two days of quick marching, I arrived at Darra. Generally the distance takes three days, or three and a half, but I wanted to lose no time.

At Darra I was received by the major commanding the garrison, and was not a little surprised to learn that His Excellency Gordon Pasha was at Tuesha, about two and a half days' distance from Darra. The Governor of the latter place had gone to meet His Excellency, and I could not do otherwise than continue the march to Tuesha at the same pace as before. I therefore, after partaking of a splendid banquet offered by the major, departed, accompanied by a guide furnished by the Vice-Governor.

From Darra to Tuesha water is still more needed, and for half the way I found myself entirely without any. Three villages we passed were deserted from the same cause, and I could do nothing but gallop a whole day so as to arrive at a station where I knew water was to be had.

It was really unpardonable negligence not to have provided myself at Darra, and I owed it to the good qualities of my horse that no misfortune happened to me. When we arrived in sight of Tuesha my tongue was swollen, and my mouth inflamed from thirst. But I was not so much afraid for myself as for my horse, which had galloped the whole way and might fall exhausted at any moment.

At last we arrived at a village and could quench our thirst. I could not drink enough, and cannot

tell you how much water I swallowed. I was swollen like a full wine skin, and yet felt the necessity of drinking more.

His Excellency Gordon Pasha was now at about three quarters of an hour's distance from the village. They pointed out his tent erected on an eminence that overlooked the place.

We started again, and after a while I saw a young Neapolitan named Alfieri, who accompanied Messedaglia to Darfour in the capacity of doctor, coming to meet me. He led me to the tent of Signor Rigolet, who, like Messedaglia, had been employed for a short time as Governor of Darra. When His Excellency Gordon Pasha was informed of my arrival he came to meet me and received me with his usual amiability. We talked for some hours, telling each other our adventures and facts concerning the war.

Gordon had been at Tuesha for about fifteen days, employed in driving away the Jelabba who had taken refuge there after being chased from Shakka and Kalaka. Six hundred slaves in their possession had been liberated, and the Jelabba had received a lesson which they will not forget for some time.

Both Alfieri and Signor Rigolet were obliged, after a certain time, to resign, because of their bad state of health.

The evening was, of course, employed in discussing the means and mode of capturing Suleiman, who still held the field with a nucleus of faithful followers, and was still able to carry desolation into the countries he traversed.

Considering the bad season now at its worst, it was very difficult to pursue him, but I promised Gordon that I would do my best. In order to aid me as much as possible, His Excellency ordered the military authorities of Darra to put at my disposal everything I might require, and the next day, while Gordon returned to Khartoum by way of Fasher, I returned to Darra to make my preparations.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SULEIMAN A PRISONER.

Difficulties of the English Mission in Uganda—Proposals of colonization — Rapid March — Drought—Lions — Messedaglia Bey, governor of Darfour—Intelligent scouts —Considerable forces of the enemy—Suleiman in Darfour—Midnight march—Rain —Cold—The Uadi Ibra river—Disagreement among the enemy —The village Gara surprised—Absolute silence—Successful stratagem—Suleiman a prisoner.

“ Bahr-el-Ghazal,

“ 14th September, 1879.

“ To the Editor of the *Exploratore*.

“ From letters received by this post I am informed that Doctor Felkin, employed in the Church Mission in Uganda, has arrived at Lado on the way to England. A later notice tells me of the arrival of the Rev. Mr. Wilson at Mruli, from whence he will go home to England.

“ Without being a bird of evil omen, I am of opinion that this expedition, set on foot with such care and expense, will suffer a check. We who have lived with Mtesa for some time can judge him thoroughly. He is not wanting in a certain intelligence, and he was cunning enough to strike when the iron was hot.

“ We cannot well believe in his intention to embrace Christianity, which he shows towards Europeans who visit his realm, because he did the same as regards Mohammedanism, when Arabs of distinction paid him a visit. The interests that bind Mtesa to the

Arabs are so important that he could hardly decide to abandon them in order to throw himself into the arms of the English missionaries. It is from Zanzibar that the numerous Arab caravans arrive, bringing silk, Indian carpets, wood and odoriferous oils, powder, swords and guns to be exchanged for ivory and slaves.

“When Stanley was in Uganda I was in Unyoro, and raised the Egyptian flag at Magungo, taking possession of the Mwuta-Nzighe, the last basin of the Nile, in the name of my Government. Mtesa, who was alarmed and feared that our troops would advance towards the east and conquer his realm, put himself at Stanley’s disposal, furnishing him with all the means necessary to carry out his grand exploration.

“Perhaps I am mistaken, but the departure of the missionaries of Uganda for England, which apparently is meant to give a greater development to the Protestant Missions, seems to have a very different reason—but he who lives will see, as the French say.

“We must not deceive ourselves. Neither the Anglican nor the Catholic Churches can at present compete with Mohammedanism, which is the first step from fetishism. Our European missionaries naturally condemn slavery, polygamy, and the right to cut off heads in the flush of power, but as soon as they actively oppose such customs, and blame the king, every relation between him and them ceases, and the latter at once must think of packing up, because all their efforts are completely paralyzed.

“The only way to Christianize these countries, to my thinking, is colonization on a large scale, which course might counterbalance and keep down the Mussulman preponderance. It would be easier to make proselytes if the sultans, and especially the chiefs, could be persuaded by the manner in which the colonies and their commerce were carried on, of the enormous difference between the doctrine of

Mohammed and that of Christ, and also that Europeans are much more advanced than the Turks in the industries which might be useful to the natives.

“ These colonies, I insist, must be very numerous, so as to be able to defend themselves in case of attack on the part of those with whose interests they interfere.¹

“ The South of Africa was civilized in this way, and the Dutch Boers became masters of the country because they were numerous, good agriculturists, and active merchants.

“ The Soudan was conquered by the Egyptians only after long and bloody wars. What thousands of pounds sterling have been spent during late years in those districts ! It is true that a great advance has been made towards the interior of Africa, but it seems to me that it is time to give up exploration by single individuals, who, however, have done good service in tearing away the veil which hid the country, and follow up their noble but partial efforts by a common action of capitalists, who will construct railways in the richest and most populated districts.

“ The expense of opening up such roads would no doubt be largely compensated by the advantages that would accrue, if the choice of route were determined by certain and not hypothetical data, and according to the judgment of those who have lived in Central Africa for a long time, and are thoroughly well acquainted with it ; as, for example, the missionaries. These roads should meet the interests, not only of a single European nation, but of all nations. In short they should be *international* railroads made with capital from Italian, French, English, German and other cities. Then indeed Mohammedanism would receive its *coup de grâce*.

¹ Gessi's advice might now be followed by the English, who have extended their protectorate to Uganda.—Ed.

But as long as communications are wanting, the capital expended on missions, as well as on partial commercial speculations, may yield some small but never an important result. If I had time I could enumerate all the missionary expeditions, especially English, which have been lately made at the expense of millions and millions of francs, and not one of which, as much as I know, has corresponded to the sacrifice.

“ R. GESSL.”

On the evening of the 27th June, 1879, I set off on the same road by which I had come to Tuesha, wishing to reach Dara without delay. The night was cold, and we hastened our rate of travelling in order to cross the arid portions of the country quickly, never stopping till towards morning. After two hours' rest we started again. At ten a.m. I and my companion lunched under a large tree with Abu Muri Effendi, while our people went forward with the guides. We had retained a special guide, and after about an hour were ready to start, but he had meanwhile disappeared, so that we were obliged to follow the footprints of our men; but very soon these became confused with each other and with those of the animals, and diverged into different paths. Still we marched on, but soon observed that, in spite of the swiftness of our horses, we never overtook our people. We tried another path, and then a third, so that at last we did not know where we were; but we still went on, until we had marched for ten hours without result. There was no water anywhere. I had with me only one compass, and we had no arms.

It was a really anxious day; we were in danger of dying of thirst or of being devoured by lions, of which there are numbers in these districts.

We had been on horseback for fourteen hours, and my companion was no longer able to proceed. He halted and said he would remain where he was at

the cost of being possibly eaten up by wild beasts. I had much trouble in persuading him to remount. My greatest fear was that our horses would fall exhausted for want of water. As we now slowly proceeded, I noticed a place which must have been cultivated the year before. We reached it and found signs that some village must be near. All at once the cultivation ceased. The night was far advanced and there was no moon. I determined to halt, in the hope that some smoke or cry would show us the track of our people.

In fact, ten minutes had hardly passed when we heard afar off the braying of an ass. Without loss of time we turned towards the sound, and half an hour later rode into a poor village of five or six houses. There we were informed that our people were an hour distant, and I sent news of our arrival to reassure them. We passed the night in the best way we could, and early in the morning rejoined our escort. Only one who has been lost in a desert can have an idea of the moral suffering we endured while in danger of dying of thirst, which I think must be the most horrible torture.

The day after I reached Dara, where I found my friend Messedaglio, the Governor of Darfour, and Signor Rigolet, Governor of Dara. After a few days' sojourn there, I prepared to depart. I took three companies of regular troops, and on the 4th July set off for Kalaka to join six hundred men whom I had ordered from Shakka to meet me. The rainy season was far advanced, and it was with great difficulty that we reached Kalaka after four days' march. The troops from Shakka had not yet arrived, and I was obliged to send another messenger to tell them of my arrival, and to hurry them forward. At the same time I had sent men in every direction to gather news concerning the movements of the rebels. As I had noticed long since, the rebels were intending to go to Jebel Mara and join the

people of Sultan Haroun, to carry the war into Darfour.

Six days after I reached Kalaka I was informed that Suleiman was already at Tasha, exchanging his slaves for cattle, giving two slaves for one ox. But, as I have already remarked, I had no faith in the people of Kalaka, who, in order to be able to carry on their own affairs quietly, tried to make me go another route, and to all my inquiries as to the road to Tasha, only replied that they did not know it. The chief of the place joined in the chorus, fearing to make enemies of his subalterns.

Weary of waiting for the troops from Shakka, I gave orders to depart on the morrow. All the baggage was left behind under the charge of twenty-five soldiers, while two hundred and seventy-five men with the necessary ammunition were to accompany me. At night I had the chief of the village arrested and brought to me, forcing him, at the risk of being shot, to show us the way to Tasha. He pretended he had never been there, but he knew it perfectly well. I ordered the guide to pass through the woods at a distance from the villages, so as to prevent the rebels from suspecting our movements. At dawn a violent tempest burst upon us. Although my troops were composed of picked men, I having left at Kalaka those whom I considered unable to support severe fatigue, we still had to halt and turn our backs to the rain and wind. Fortunately the storm only lasted two hours; the rain fell in such quantities that the ground was converted into a lake. It was impossible to proceed in the state in which we were. But at last, the rain having given place to splendid sunshine, I gave orders that the men should dry their clothes.

Towards eleven o'clock, just as we were preparing to depart, a man came galloping up, making signs of satisfaction while still at some distance. It was a scout whom I had paid well to get some news of the

rebels. After five days' absence from our camp, he now brought news that Suleiman had crossed the frontier into Darfour, and was making forced marches to Jebel Mara. His army was marching in three columns, one under the leadership of Rabi with eight hundred men, the second under Abdulgassim with four hundred, and the last commanded by Suleiman himself with eight or nine hundred men. All three chiefs had with them a number of slaves whom they bartered for oxen along the road. My force was too inferior in number to think of attacking these troops, but the least delay on my part would have compromised, not only the possession of Darfour, but also of Kordofan, the populations of which wished for nothing more than an excuse to rise in rebellion and profit by an opportunity of sacking and robbing. The common people, it is true, are content, but the chiefs are against the Government, because the latter prevents them from treating their subordinates as they used to do. If the nephew of the ex-sultan of Darfour should carry the rebellion into Kordofan, it was certain that more than fifteen or twenty thousand rebels would join him.

I had not much time to reflect, and I gave the order to march, confident that fortune, who had smiled at me so long, would not now forsake me. But it was more than ever necessary to reach the rebels unseen, so that Suleiman might be unaware that I only commanded two hundred and seventy-five men. We marched from mid-day till late at night, and when we halted the wood was so wet that it was impossible to kindle it, while towards ten o'clock the rain had begun to fall again. As it was impossible to lie down I thought it better to continue the march, the night being also very cold. So we marched at a slow pace till morning. We halted for a short rest at break of day, but the sky was cloudy, the thunder and lightning never ceased,

and the wind beat the compass all round. Again we started, each encouraging his neighbour. Poor men! they slept and walked, while all the nourishment they could get was a few cakes of doora which they cheerfully swallowed. With the hope of coming to an end at last, we marched till the evening was far advanced. The rain had ceased, I gave orders to sound a halt, and we rested till midnight. Meanwhile I had sent out other scouts to find if the rebels had halted, thinking that in such weather they must have encamped. Neither Suleiman nor his chiefs, embarrassed as they were by convoys of slaves, and having a greater number of men, could possibly march quicker than we. In two more days I should be in the neighbourhood of Tual, a position which commands the road to Jebel Mara.

We started again the next morning, and in the evening, having crossed the Wadi Ibra, we stopped in a thick wood, where we learned from a scout I had sent out the day before, that Suleiman was in the village of Gara, and Abdulgassim at Tual. At the same time I learnt that Chief Rabi, having disagreed with Suleiman about going to Jebel Mara, had abandoned the former, and was taking his eight hundred men to Dar Benda in the Niam-Niam. This news was welcome, for there would be eight hundred men less to fight.

We spent the night in camp at about four hours' distance from the enemy. No fires were lit, every precaution taken, and profound silence maintained. At midnight the usual rain commenced, but very fine, so that, although wet, we could sleep for a few hours. At 2.30 a.m. we began the march, as I wished to reach my position at dawn. At 6 a.m. in a violent shower of rain, we arrived at Gara. Everyone there was asleep. There was neither sentinel nor scout to give the alarm. The village was completely surrounded by thick bushes as high as a man. I posted my men in the wood, with

strict orders not to move, while I went forward some twenty paces and sent a message by a negro to Suleiman. I had written the message the night before ; it ran as follows : “ I give you five minutes to surrender. That time passed, I shall attack you from all sides. Remember that you are surrounded.”

Ten minutes passed and no one had discovered our presence. When my messenger reached the camp he approached Suleiman's tent without even being seen, and sent the letter in by a slave. We were waiting at about two hundred and fifty feet from the village, and, being in an elevated position, could see all that passed.

In a few seconds the enemy's camp was aware of the state of things, and I am unable to describe the confusion that succeeded the previous silence. The cries of the women, the screams of the children and slaves, increased the bewilderment of the rebels. At about a quarter of an hour's distance from the village about two hundred Besingers were encamped with numerous slaves. The Besingers fled, leaving the slaves behind. From that moment I was convinced of our complete success. We saw Suleiman and the chiefs hurrying about. No one, except the chiefs, seemed willing to fight. At last Suleiman, followed by about ten chiefs, advanced and surrendered. I immediately ordered all arms to be deposited at about a hundred paces from the village, which done, we took possession of them and the ammunition, and posted sentries all round the village. At the end of two hours Suleiman, seeing so few men, asked me where was the rest of my troop. I replied that I had no others. And here I might venture to say that I had even fewer men than before, having left thirty soldiers behind, as they were utterly unable to march further. At this information Suleiman became extremely dejected ; one could read in his face his rage at

having allowed himself to be captured by about two hundred men, when he had more than eight hundred at his disposal, not counting the two hundred Arabs who had fled, and Abdulgassim's troops, who were not far distant. Suleiman's troop was composed of Arabs and Besingers, who were his best men, having fought under him from the very beginning of hostilities.

The slaves, although a great number had been sold, and many had died or were dying, numbered eight hundred and ten. Among our prisoners I found a lieutenant of the regular troops who had been made prisoner at Dem Idris during the first battle. This officer, who was named Lemiu, reported to me as follows.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE DEATH OF SULEIMAN.

Lemin's report—General Desertion—Suleiman and nine chiefs shot
—Letter to the editor of the *Esploratore*.

Lemin's Report.

“WHEN things began to go badly for Suleiman, he shut up his prisoners in different seribas, fearing that they might escape. I was taken to Serago, and guarded day and night. Early one morning I was awakened by a great noise of people running in all directions. Thinking that something was on fire, I rushed out of my *tukul*, and saw a great number of Besingers and Arabs, who were capturing all the population of the village Serago. I did not know what to think, and no one had any time to explain. But Besingers, Arabs and slaves continued to arrive without interruption, while hundreds of Jelabbas were driving before them hundreds of asses loaded with cotton or mounted by women, and all, in great confusion, took the same direction. I then began to believe that Suleiman had suffered some serious defeat, and that this was a *sauve qui peut*. The day before I thought I had heard cannon-shots, but did not pay much attention to it, because it was Suleiman's habit, even if defeated, to fire shots in sign of victory. I was very much perplexed, and wished to fly, but the roads were full of rebels. I had been there so long that everyone knew me,

and it was impossible to escape into the country. Towards eleven a.m. Suleiman arrived riding a white horse; he was very pale and evidently suffering. One of his shoes was off. I was afraid he would vent his rage on me, so I hid myself. Suleiman remained in the village for some hours. Before he left he gave orders that no one should be left behind, and that all who were unable to march should be killed. I was placed among several Besingers, and walked on without knowing where they were leading me. We were a company of at least five or six thousand persons, men, women, children, slaves and Jelabbas; and as there would have been great difficulty in marching all together, we separated into four columns, each taking a different road, which ultimately led to the same point. I followed the column led by Suleiman. The native population of all the villages we passed were carried away with us, and the Arabs and Jelabbas followed us voluntarily. But the villages were burned before being abandoned, and the doora and all other food carried away, or if that was not possible, was thrown into the burning houses. It would take too long to describe the horrors committed by the Jelabbas on their slaves. You have gone the same road, and you will have seen how many victims cover the ground.

“I cannot tell how many people were gathered from all these villages, but when our camp was set up it took more than an hour to cross it. I have never seen anything like it. The roads were encumbered with dying Arabs placed in improvised beds. Many of them had more than one ball in their bodies. All the wounded and dying Besingers, as they could not be taken with us, were beheaded. We only halted, after an almost uninterrupted march of five days, at the village of Dem Daoot. I was only able to observe what happened from a distance, and was ignorant of all that had been decided.

“At Dem Daoot there was a great quantity of doora, but the natives had all fled in time, so no more slaves were made. Every two or three hours a new detachment arrived. At night strict watch was kept; all the roads were intercepted, for it was feared that the Government troops might overtake us at any moment. We had passed, if I do not mistake, five or six days in this village, when early one morning we heard firing at a distance. Suleiman sent out scouts, but before they returned we saw Rabi galloping rapidly towards the camp. He said, that having been unexpectedly attacked by regular troops, some of his men had been killed, others taken prisoners, and many had fled into the woods. This news disturbed Suleiman exceedingly, for Rabi's men were his best troops. While waiting for the Sangiak, Idris-el-Sultan, who was expected immediately with numerous troops well furnished with clothes, provisions, and cotton, vigilance was redoubled in the camp.

“Towards eleven o'clock we heard rapid firing, as if a battle were in progress. Scouts were again sent out, and we had not to wait long before Idris-el-Sultan himself brought the news that he had fallen into an ambush, and that all his people had been killed or taken prisoners, and all the provisions, stuffs, camp material, and money lost. This last news gave the finishing stroke. The discouragement and confusion became general. Later on I learned that it was you who commanded that troop, and that you were determined to follow us until Suleiman was captured. We left Dem Daoot at night, and took the direction of Dem Bako, which was about a day's march distant. Being informed that your troop had returned, we remained at Dem Bako to re-form our regiments, which had been quite demoralized, and gave signs of insubordination. The chiefs, in order to hinder desertion, were obliged to treat the Besingers with the utmost consideration,

promising them great booty, victories, &c. Although the Besingers were only savages, they very soon found out that Suleiman and the chiefs were impostors, and finished by losing all faith in them. Many soldiers deserted to the villages of the Niam-Niam.

“Though Dem Bako, on our arrival there, had been found well provided with doora, our prolonged stay there soon led to scarcity. Suleiman then determined to depart, first setting fire to a magazine full of ivory, the flames being fed with pots of honey, of which quantities are kept in this village.

“The number of Jelabbas who had joined us was not more than three thousand, but they were accompanied by more than five thousand women and slaves. Adding to this number about two thousand five hundred Besingers, their wives, servants and slaves, I do not think it an exaggeration to say that the whole number of fugitives was twenty thousand, all suffering from hunger and exhausted by fatigue.

“From Bako we were ordered to march towards Jebel Kara—(not to be confounded with the village Gara)—but the natives, having heard in time of our approach, had carried away all the grain, so that on our arrival in that country we suffered still more from famine, and were obliged to devour leaves and roots. Here the Jelabbas and slaves died by hundreds a day; only the Besingers, who had munition, were able to hunt and so provide themselves with food.

“Suleiman was obliged to go away as quickly as possible, and sent a letter to Harun, offering to aid him to fight the common enemy, and to reconquer the realm of his forefathers. From Jebel Kara we went to the river Meringhi, then to Dulep towards Darfour; we reached Kill, Musheshena, and lastly Tasha. There was great scarcity everywhere, and we pushed on with great difficulty towards Magdud and Mundua. All along the route thousands of



EXECUTION OF SULEIMAN AND PARTY.

Jelabbas were killed by the lances of the infuriated natives. At last we arrived at Gara, where you surprised us. This very day we ought to have joined Abdulgassim at Tual to go to Jebel Mara."

Having heard this officer's deposition, I sent for a chief of the rebels named Pirindgi. He was a slave who had been brought up by Suleiman, whom he blindly obeyed.

"Listen," I said, "thou art Suleiman's slave, and fight by force. I will grant thee thy life. Thou wilt take all the Besingers and immediately depart for Bahr-el-Ghazal, and there put thyself at the disposition of the Governor."

Pirindgi obeyed, and left the same day.

Afterwards the Arabs were mustered. Only a hundred and fifty-seven were healthy, the other eighty were so weak that we had to abandon them to their fate. The hundred and fifty, under an escort of a company of regulars, were sent to Darra to be tried. Eight-and-forty natives of Bahr-el-Ghazal were sent home. I caused Suleiman and nine of the principal rebel chiefs to be shot on the 15th July, for Suleiman, after a futile attempt to make my troop revolt, had tried to escape.

Abdulgassim soon learned these facts. His Besingers deserted him, and he was obliged to fly, escorted by about thirty Arabs. I had already sent people to arrest him, and the expedition had the best result. Not only Abdulgassim, but also three of Suleiman's relations, were captured after my departure, and are now on their way to Bahr-el-Ghazal under a strong escort.

I had nothing more to do at Darfour, so I resolved to go as quickly as possible to Bahr-el-Ghazal. I sent the rest of the troop to Darra, and, accompanied only by my usual guides, I abandoned Gara, casting a last look at the place where lay those ten unfortunate men.

God had assisted us. Who knows what misfortunes would have taken place had the rebels, favoured by fortune, succeeded in reaching the mountains ! Our past sufferings were forgotten ; I now thought only of organizing the country, and rendering return to the old system impossible in the future. Copious rains had inundated all the country. We walked in the water, which, though not deep, prevented us from moving rapidly. After six days I arrived at Kalaka, where I met with the troops coming from Shakka. I took a few days in organizing this province, confided to me by His Excellency Gordon Pasha. From Kalaka I went to the Bahr-el-Arab, the banks of which we reached in four days. The water was deep, the breadth of the river about seven hundred feet. Both shores were covered with thick forest, containing many dulep trees. We set to work to make *zattere* (light boats), with dried canes, and, pushed by good swimmers, we were transported to the opposite shore. Those who could not swim clung to the sides of the boat, which in this way carried across ten persons at a time. Other boats were destined to transport baggage, ammunition, etc. Though the work was carried on without interruption, we took four days to get across, and set forward on our march into the country of Bahr-el-Ghazal.

Our route led through Faragué, inhabited by an Arab race, half-pagan, half-mussulman. It is rich in grain and especially in maize. The population had fought for Suleiman till the last minute. Lying on the principal route for slave caravans the tribe had made friends with the Jelabbas, making, one may say, common cause with them. The Sultan, a certain Rashid, pretended, on our arrival, to have no provisions for us, and sent us some pumpkins ; but the next day I learned that he had more than fifty magazines full of doora which belonged to Suleiman. The behaviour of this chief enraged me ; I gave him



CROSSING THE FAIR-FL-ARAB.

a good lesson, after which he hastened to send us what was necessary.

The road from the Bahr-el-Ghazal to Faragué is void of water during summer. There is only a single well two hours before Faragué. The slave traders halt at this well to provide themselves with water, but as it was not possible for us to transport the quantity necessary for all our people, we had to do a three days' journey in the space of two. A short time before I had heard it said that no guide was needed from Faragué to the Bahr-el-Arab, and in fact the scattered bones of human victims guided us straight to the river. The slaves being mostly boys or girls, these being preferable to grown men and women, as they were more disposed to submit, the greater part died of thirst and fatigue before arriving at their destination; but still the slave trader did a good business, for thirty per cent. of his human merchandise arrived safely. He acquired a slave for a piece of cloth worth about two francs, and sold him for at least a hundred.

From Faragué I went to Lifi, which is a large village belonging to Suleiman. In this place I had put about four hundred men to hinder the disbanded Besingers from harming the natives. Here I was informed that one of Suleiman's rebel chiefs had occupied an inaccessible mountain with about six hundred men, and after having killed two sultans and carried doora away, thought of maintaining himself in that position until Suleiman should have taken his revenge.

Another rebel chief, a certain Abu Mangur, occupied another mountain, so that the communications were interrupted. Here, when I believed all was ended, were new complications!

I succeeded in compelling Abu Mangur to lay down his arms, but the other rebel, called Messi, was obstinate. I was therefore obliged to cut off all his communications, and prevent him from descending

to the plain. He had barricaded the road to the mountain with great trees, and if I had attacked his position, it would have been at the sacrifice of too many lives. But now the doora began to be scarce, and, later on, when obliged to eat leaves, and foreseeing that his people would soon tire of that sort of life, he surrendered. All his followers were disarmed, and thus the episode terminated.

At last I reached Dem Suleiman. The next day several sheikhs arrived, and during the whole week there was nothing but new arrivals and fantastic dancing, in sign of delight at being freed from the despotism of Ziber Pasha and his son, who for twenty-five consecutive years had tormented the unfortunate natives, subjecting them to the hardest labour, robbing them of their children, and leading whole tribes to the slave market.

Now the poor negroes begin to breathe once more, and become aware of the benefit of a protecting government, occupied with furthering their well-being. Thanks to the richness of the soil and its great variety of natural products, until now greatly neglected, I believe that the provinces of Bahr-el-Ghazal and Niam-Niam will soon become the finest jewels of the Soudan.

“ Dem Suleiman,

“ 8th November, 1879.

“ To the Editor of the *Esploratore*.

“ If I do not err, I wrote to you that I supposed the Gazelle river, which flows into the Meshra-el-Rek, was navigable ; now I am certain of it. Here is what was reported to me by an old ivory and slave merchant :—

“ ‘Some years ago, when the exportation of slaves formed the principal part of commercial enterprise, our boats reached Hau-el-Kutshuk-Ali by way of the river, carried by a strong current, which at some points reached a velocity of four and a half miles an

hour. The boats had about forty-three to fifty tons burden. The crew consisted of forty to fifty men, as it was necessary to tow the boats for the greater part of the voyage on account of the strong current. The crew received a part of the profit accruing from the sale of the slaves. Besides which, the captain, the steersman, and the sailing-master had the right to choose one or two slaves for himself. When the embarkation of slaves was rendered impossible by the measures taken to repress the trade, such expeditions were no longer convenient, for the monthly cost of each boat was as follows :—

“ ‘ Pay of fifty men at five dollars a month each	...	250
“ ‘ Dried meat and doora		50
“ ‘ Pay of the reis and steersman		7
“ ‘ Dollars		307

“ ‘ The length of each voyage, calculated at six months, including the hiring of the boat at sixty dollars a month, made a total of 2202 dollars.

“ ‘ It being therefore not possible to make any profit out of such a trade, we began to transport ivory with our slaves by land to Meshra-el-Rek, and finally abandoned the navigation of the river.’

“ ‘ The Arab, who, it seemed to me, had uncommon good sense, and was very frank, added,—

“ ‘ I myself have been occupied with seeking ivory and buying slaves. I was very fortunate with the first, but had very little profit from the exportation of the latter.’

“ ‘ How was that ? ’ I interrupted, ‘ others have gained considerable riches in the trade.’

“ ‘ I will tell you. I had no place at Khartoum or the neighbourhood in which to keep the slaves, who generally arrived in a sickly state, and I was obliged to sell them at a low price. Rich proprietors, who could nurse and cure them on their property and sell them at a favourable moment, gained double the price that I received.’

“After a short pause, he continued, ‘But the Europeans have good reason to wish to abolish the slave trade. It is true that I am poor, but even among the rich how many can be glad or enjoy the fruit of their labour?’ And he mentioned a number of Arabs who, from being the possessors of millions, were now beggars. ‘Yes,’ he added, ‘this trade is cursed by God, for not one dies with a tranquil mind.’

“‘So,’ I observed, ‘the Government has done wisely in putting an end to this trade?’

“The Arab, shaking his head, began to laugh.

“‘Why do you laugh?’ I asked. ‘Is not what I say true?’

“‘Dear sir, I should have too much to say. You travel, it is true, but you are ignorant of many things, because no one takes the trouble to make them known to you. At first nothing but ivory was transported, the natives taking cloth and beads in exchange. A load of ivory was soon made, and we were furnished with beasts and grain, in which the country was rich, without recompense. But later on, when the inhabitants began to be captured, there arose resistance, and nothing could be obtained without the help of powder and balls. The difficulty in finding ivory augmented, and the natives, on our appearance, burnt their houses and hid in the woods. The Government, by preventing the transportation of slaves by way of the rivers, has only increased the evil. I will tell you why. When the transport was made with boats, although the slaves were heaped together in great quantity, the mortality only reached ten per cent. But now that this route is hindered, what happens? Bands of thousands of Arabs gather in Kordofan, and descend to devastate the country. The slaves are made to walk over mountains, through woods and across deserts for months and months before arriving at Kordofan, and during the journey water and grain become scarce,

and only a third part of the caravan reaches its destination.'

" 'But,' I said, 'why has the Government not done the same thing in the north part of Bahr-el-Ghazal?'

" 'The Government,' replied the Arab, 'has never had the firm intention of abolishing slavery. Although precise orders came from Cairo no one took care that they were executed, and Khartoum and the Viceroy were too far away to exercise any vigilance. Baker Pasha prevented the traffic by water, so that you and your consuls might write that slavery was abolished. But the Europeans never penetrate into Kordofan; only the Arabs, Copts, and a few Greeks went there. The Arabs and Copts, except as to religion, have the same principles, and the Greeks, if only they make a profitable business, do not trouble themselves about anything else. And, really, can we live without slaves? Who would grind our doora? Who, if not a slave, could cultivate our fields under such an ardent sun? When once slavery is completely destroyed, the Soudan will, in a very short time, become a desert.'

" 'But do you perhaps think,' I said, 'that in future slaves can be got from Bahr-el-Ghazal?'

" 'Oh, that will be impossible, now that you have occupied the country. Once it might have been attempted, for in case of non-success there was only the risk of being arrested for a short time, a thing that rarely happened, however; but now things are changed. Now that the punishment is to be shot, no one is so mad as to go there to trade in slaves, all the more, that they can do so freely in other places.'

" 'But,' I asked, 'are you not afraid that the trade will be prevented in those other places also?'

" 'It is possible,' replied the Arab, 'but will Gordon remain many years among us! And, after him, will *another* Gordon come?'

“ This conversation, carried on in a familiar way, shows what hopes are nourished by the Arabs as to a possible change of things after Gordon’s departure. They hope that that departure will soon take place, and that an Arab is destined to succeed Gordon, and the slave trade will once more flourish as before.

“ Yours,

“ R. GESSI.”

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE RICHES OF BAHR-EL-GHAZAL.

The missionaries Wilson and Felkin—Return to Dem Suleiman—Sultan Mtesa—Indiarubber—*Æriodendrum aufractuosum*—Richness of the land—Copper in quantities—Rice—Ivory—Graphite—I organize transports by river—English and Italians—African missionaries—Lieutenant Marocco—Another capture of slaves—The article in the *Times*.

“Dem Suleiman,

“3rd December, 1879.

“To the Editor of the *Esploratore*.

“I have returned to Dem Suleiman with Mr. Wilson and Dr. Felkin, who are on the way to Khartoum *viâ* Darfour and Kordofan. Nothing is known of their companions, who, according to all probability, are Mtesa's prisoners. Emin Bey, the Governor of Lado, has been, and still is, making efforts to liberate them, and let us hope that he, being much esteemed in Uganda, may succeed in obtaining their freedom. Wilson and Felkin have with them four natives of Uganda confided to them by Mtesa, that they might visit England. The day after their arrival at Dem Suleiman, these natives came to me to beg that they might be sent home. Poor fellows! they believed they were already in England!

“As to the possibility of establishing missionaries in Uganda, Mr. Wilson believes that at present all

attempts would fail. The chiefs are against it, and the country is disturbed by the intrigues of the Arabs, who have established themselves there in great numbers. Mtesa is suffering from an incurable malady, and it is believed that when he dies the new ruler will be much more hostile to Europeans.

“During late years Mtesa has been able to introduce many fire-arms, and now possesses four thousand guns and much ammunition. When the English missionaries presented themselves he was rather astonished that they had brought no arms, but that the presents sent by the Church Mission consisted of stuffs, cottons, fancy articles, &c. The avidity of these people to possess arms and ammunition is such that they offer any quantity of slaves for a gun. For a box of caps two slaves are sometimes given.

“In the chronicle of the *Esploratore*, fascicle VII., I read of the death of Buchta the photographer. On the contrary, he enjoys perfect health, and is at Dem Suleiman. He will soon return to Europe. It is unnecessary to say that he has fully succeeded in his intention. His numerous collection of types, landscapes, &c., will be of great interest to anthropological students, all the more because he has made some notes on craniology. I have seen some of his work, and am persuaded that it will be greatly prized by all who are interested in Africa.

“I had prepared my account of the ending of the war with Suleiman, but all my correspondence was forgotten at Jur Gattas. I will send it as soon as possible. It seems that the river is again blocked, so that I have received no letters or papers since May.

“The war against the rebels and slave traders being ended, I have occupied myself in the internal administration, remedying the horrors and atrocities committed by Suleiman's troops. War, even in civilized countries, leaves sad traces of its work; you

can then imagine what unheard-of horrors occurred during our desperate struggle. The rebels knew that they could hope for no quarter, and fought to the last gasp. Suleiman commanded fifty-three Sangiaks, of whom fifty-two perished fighting, and only one, named Rabi,¹ took refuge in the Sandeh country.

“Slavery and the slave trade have now ceased in all the country under my charge, and I am pleased with the arrival in Bahr-el-Ghazal of Wilson and Felkin, because, knowing the language, they can convince themselves that the infamous traffic has disappeared in these districts. The Government has generously recompensed me for my labour; but the greatest reward is the gratitude of the natives. I am now occupied in clearing the province of all the Arabs, retaining only a small garrison of regular troops.

“This country cannot be compared to the other parts of Africa that I have seen, and Bahr-el-Ghazal and Sandeh are destined to become great commercial markets. When I was at Cairo I cultivated the friendship and hospitality of the brothers Stross, who received me like a relation. These excellent gentlemen showed me the enormous profit that might accrue from African commerce. They gave me instructions about the indiarubber tree, and I can now bear witness to the truth of what they said. The indiarubber tree is found in all the district of Rohl and Bahr-el-Ghazal, and I have collected a great quantity of the gum. Mr. Wilson and Dr. Felkin are taking a sample to England, and they assure me that the quality is superior to that from the Brazils.

“But indiarubber is not the only article; there is the *Eriodendrum anfractuosum*, which produces a fibre resembling silk. It is found in great profusion in Sandeh, and I send you a sample to show our manufacturers.

¹ Rabi, called Rabeh by the Arabs.

“The tree called *Sula* produces a butter which is eaten, and which I believe will be much sought after for industrial purposes. Until now all the wax from honeycombs was thrown away, but now it is collected according to my recommendation. There are ostrich feathers in great quantities, and the savages, not knowing what to do with so many, used the black feathers only as head-ornaments, leaving the white plumes on the spot where the birds were killed.

“The country of Hofrat-el-Nahas is very rich in copper of best quality. Iron veins are met with everywhere. Timber of every kind is abundant, and especially a tree that is used for tanning. It is said that coffee abounds in Sandeh, and I shall soon have a sample. Rice is also abundant there, and the grains are three times the size of the best Bolognese rice.

“At Khartoum I had asked for cotton seeds, and his Excellency sent me a hundredweight. It has been sown in various places, and yielded a splendid result. Dr. Felkin, who occupies himself a great deal with these matters, asserts that the quality is perfect both as regards the length and fineness. I have found cotton growing wild in many places, and intend to give a great impulse to its cultivation.

“I will not speak of the ivory, which is a government monopoly. From Sandeh alone more than a thousand hundredweight are received yearly. In the beds of the rivers Wau and Dembo is found a kind of stone with which the natives dye the mud walls of their huts black. I believe that it can be nothing but graphite, and Wilson and Felkin are of the same opinion. When the water subsides I shall take care to send you a sample that you may have it examined. There are many other articles adapted for commerce, but those I have mentioned would be sufficient to ensure the prosperity of the natives and of the European factories.

“ One of the principal difficulties is the transport, but even this can be overcome. The river Wau, or Jur, is navigable. I lately had a boat built at Wau, of forty tons burden, which I loaded with seven hundred and nine elephant tusks, and the boat reached Meshra-el-Rek without difficulty. To send the above quantity of ivory by land I should have had to employ more than a thousand porters, and it is useless to say what a relief to the natives would be the suppression of such fatiguing transport.

“ When I have time I will go into greater particulars. I have begun a topographical map of Bahr-el-Ghazal, which will be sent to our Geographical Society. The great number of rivers and torrents prevent me from finishing it as soon as I should like, having to follow them from source to mouth.

“ I have recommended Mr. Wilson, when he arrives in Rome, to visit the Geographical Society there and also at Milan. I am sure that he will give you some very precious notes about the countries he has travelled in.

“ 4th December, 1879.

“ The English missionaries are astonished at what I have been able to accomplish, and I am well content that they came this way, because they can describe *viva voce* in England the results obtained by an Italian, not only against slavery, but also in developing commerce and agriculture.

“ I have already written about the caoutchouc, which I am collecting on my own account. I have more than four hundred boys employed in doing so.

“ As to the silk, I will not send you any of what I have, because it has been used as a pillow. When new silk arrives I will send you a sample. I have had no news for a long time and feel much discouraged.

I have written to you whenever I could. I do not know what Gordon is doing in Abyssinia, nor why he went there. I presume that new complications have arisen, and that he has gone to calm the warlike humour of King John. I should like to go to Khartoum, but I cannot do so until I have sent away all the Arabs in these localities. You may imagine how they hate me, but I have succeeded in making them obey me ; I keep up the state of siege, and in consequence all crimes are judged by court-martial.

“What millions have been thrown away on purely scientific expeditions ! The Abbé Debaize has committed unpardonable errors. It is said here that he attacked a caravan of ivory and slaves. As he possessed magnificent fire-arms perhaps he believed that he could march in a military manner through Africa. But, being abandoned by all his people, his life must be in danger if he has not already been killed. The Jesuit missionaries from Algiers are with Mtesa, suffering from hunger and in a miserable condition. Mtesa does not look favourably upon them, because they brought him presents of no value. Miramba has taken possession of part of the material of the Belgian expedition, and attacked Broyon, depriving him of all the merchandise sent from Europe. As to the Church Mission, its defeat is complete. The African chiefs in Uganda, now the possessors of a great quantity of guns and ammunition, can offer such resistance that we shall not be always able to oppose them.

“ R. GESSI.”

“ Jur Gattas,

“ 19th December, 1879.

“ To the Editor of the *Esploratore*.

“ I profit by the arrival of a steamer that has at last forced its way to Meshra-el-Rek, to acknow-

ledge the receipt of your welcome letters which gave me much pleasure. I am sorry that Lieutenant Marocco² cannot come; patience! I have sent several letters from Dem Suleiman and the account of the end of the war in Darfour; you will receive them by the steamer *ciâ* Khartoum. I shall also, later on, send an account of another expedition I made against the slave traders who returned to the Sandeh after Suleiman's defeat. They were about six hundred, and I captured them all, so that the country is everywhere rid of them. I am too busy to send you the account by this steamer, but you will have sufficient material at present for the *Esploratore*. Many thanks for the maps, they will be of use. Thanks also for the provisions. I have sent you a packet that Emin Bey entrusted to me, and sent me *viâ* Shakka.

“Apropos of the *Times* article³ I can assure you that at the beginning of the campaign I only possessed one thousand four hundred fighting men, of whom only four hundred were regular troops. Adding the contingent from the Sandeh I could count on two thousand four hundred; towards the time when I took the offensive, I had in all three thousand two hundred fighting men with which to face thirty thousand.

“At the beginning of the campaign Suleiman had fifteen thousand men, of whom four hundred were armed with carabines for elephant-hunting, and one thousand seven hundred with Remington rifles. The rest of the troop was armed with simple carabines or double-barrelled guns of Belgian manufacture.

“Besides these fifteen thousand soldiers Suleiman had a reserve of other eight thousand, mostly from

² Lieutenant Marocco, Italian naval officer, had offered to make a journey to central Africa, which plan, for private reasons, could not be realized.—*Ed.*

³ Copied in the *Esploratore*, year III., Supplement No. 2.

Shakka, who had deserted from the Government and joined the rebels. I do not wish by what I say to enhance my own merit, but I am anxious that the truth should be known. When, solicited by Gordon, I accepted my mission, everybody began to laugh, saying that Gordon wished at all costs to get rid of me, and that he was sending me to certain death. Suleiman was not only the master of Bahr-el-Ghazal, but was feared all over Darfour, and even at Khartoum.

“The successive pashas tried all in their power not to make an enemy of Suleiman, and though the Government succeeded in exiling Ziber Pasha to Cairo, they did so by cunning, that is, by loading him with honours and autographic letters from the Viceroy of Egypt, so that he fell into their trap.

“But though Ziber Pasha was no longer in Bahr-el-Ghazal, he had left many faithful friends with his son, who, before he departed for Cairo, had sworn that they would never abandon Suleiman, and that, should the father never return, they would rise and conquer Bahr-el-Ghazal, Kohl, Darfour, and Kordofan, and finally plant Ziber’s flag on the Government palace in Khartoum; then the Viceroy would have been forced to make a treaty, and allow Ziber Pasha to return to Bahr-el-Ghazal as absolute master.

“The rebel plan was not without merit, because possessing themselves of Kohl, Makraka, and the stations along the river, they would not only have had in their hands immense deposits of arms and ammunition, but other twenty thousand Arabs would have joined them, and followed Suleiman with enthusiasm. At Shakka, in Darfour and Kordofan, his forces would have exceeded thirty thousand men, without counting Haroun. At Khartoum more than half the population was for Ziber, and you cannot imagine what would have ensued.

“When Suleiman, defeated on all sides, entered

Tuesha, and I informed Gordon Pasha of the event, so that he might act on his side, he wrote to me as follows :

“ ‘ If Suleiman, as you say, is at Tuesha and intends to come to Darfour, I am in greater danger than before. I have not sufficient forces to resist Suleiman and Haroun together, and the consequence would be the loss of Darfour and probably of Kordofan.’

“ He sent me in haste to Darra, whence I wrote to him the following words : ‘ If fate be not against me, and everyone does his duty, I promise to take Suleiman, alive or dead, within a fortnight.’

“ Sixteen days after the letter was sent neither Suleiman nor his vassals any longer existed. On receiving news of this, Gordon said to some high officials who were present : ‘ Gessi has kept his word. I did not doubt that he would, and was quite easy. I knew him to be the only man capable of such acts.’⁴ It was only just that the Government overwhelmed me with honours, and compensated me for the fatigue and privation I had endured. They would have done much more had I been an Arab or an Englishman. I mention this, not from pride, but to show you that Providence and the fortune of war have been favourable to an Italian.

“ I have described the state of things when I was called to assume the command of an army which I had still to create, and to lead against an enemy ten times stronger, inured to war, and drunk with recent victories over the Government troops, while my men had hitherto only encountered savages armed with arrows.

“ I was the only Christian among all the Moham-medans whom I led against other Mohammedans, and who at any moment might have revolted and left me at the mercy of the enemy. Notwithstanding

⁴ Gordon repeated these words on several other occasions, both before and after his resignation.—ED.

this exceptional position, I used the utmost rigour against everyone. This discipline, and above all, Divine Providence, enabled me to succeed.

“ It seemed as if God were weary of the iniquities committed by these wild beasts. That the rebels fought bravely, is proved by the fact mentioned before, namely, that of fifty-three chiefs, fifty-two were left dead on the field of battle.

“ R. GESSI.”

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE SANDEH CHIEFS.

Submission of the Sandeh chiefs to Gessi Pasha—Immense field of exploration opened to south and west—The eunuchs of Monbuttu.

“Meshra-el-Kek, March 15th, 1880.

“To the Editor of the *Esploratore*.

“On February 29th there arrived two steamers from Khartoum with two of your letters. I had another by favour of Signor Prada, who had the kindness to send me the provisions forwarded by you. I beg you to thank Signor Lattuada for sending me the whole without demanding even the cost of transport. By the same steamer Dr. Junker arrived on his way to Monbuttu. He could not have chosen a more favourable moment, all the roads being free, and all the hostile chiefs pacified, having voluntarily submitted to the Government.

“The submission of the powerful King Mdarama is also a great event, not only as regards the new resources acquired by the Soudan, but because it opens the doors to Sandeh in all directions. Mdarama, his brother Mbio, and a relation called Mofio, command a vast still unexplored territory which remained closed both to the united enterprise of the Dongolese, and to the slavers' settlements. Scarcely had the

campaign against Suleiman ended—I could dispose of about four thousand soldiers—than all the chiefs expressed a wish to attack Mdarama, to revenge themselves for his having killed in various combats some thousand Arabs and perhaps five times as many Besingers and porters. But I did not listen to their desires. I felt more inclined to fight those who had revolted than Mdarama, who, by killing so many Arabs, had rendered a great service to humanity.

“By means of a faithful negro Sangiak, named Raffai, I opened secret negotiations with Mdarama, assuring him that I would not molest him. All news in Africa, spite of the want of post and telegraph, is swiftly propagated to the most distant regions. Mdarama was aware of all that had happened in the district under my jurisdiction, and he sent me salutations through Raffai, with a gift of sixty large elephant tusks, asking me to send him a seal, that he might seal and forward some letters which he had got a friend of Raffai to write. I did what he wished, sending besides a sword and some cloth and beads.

“When Mdarama received these presents, he let me know that he meant to come in person to make my acquaintance and see the man who had annihilated Suleiman and his troops, and had done so much good to the persecuted natives.

“About a month ago news came to Dem Suleiman that a great Sandeh chief was on his way with a numerous suite. I gave orders that he should be received with due honour, and festive preparations were made. Mdarama soon arrived. He is a man about thirty-five years of age, more than six feet high, well proportioned, with broad shoulders, intelligent expression and a perpetual smile. He examined our Remington rifles, the cannon, and the depôts of ammunition and cloths with the greatest curiosity. He then presented me with forty large tusks. I gave orders that he should choose some

clothing from our stores. He was shown the best Arab clothes, but said he wished to be dressed like a Frank, for he was no Jelabba. Then he wished to see a cannon fired, and I hastened to gratify him, but when the piece went off he fell to the ground from fear.

“I also clothed his following, consisting of more than fifty persons, and after being feasted for several days, Mdarama made up his mind to go. On leaving he said, ‘I will submit to you, and I desire that you send me a person to whose care I can entrust all the ivory found in my country. To prove my sincerity, I am ready to give up to you about seven hundred guns taken from the Arabs when they invaded my territory.’

“I accepted the ivory, but advised him to keep the arms, because it was difficult to foresee how events might turn out, and it might happen that the Arabs would later on attempt to carry their raids into his states. When Mdarama left, he assured me that his brother Mbio, and their relation Mofio, would do as much as himself, and, having chosen one of my confidants to accompany him, he returned to his kingdom.

“A few weeks later Mdarama let me know that he had sent one thousand three hundred of Mbio’s negroes to Dem Suleiman, laden with ivory, and at the same time he sent me a present of a male and female ape. These apes, when they reached my residence, were recognized by Dr. Junker to be chimpanzees, but the Arabs said they were real gorillas.¹

“Mdarama told me that his brother Mbio would also have visited me, had not the advanced season prevented him, and assured me that both his country and that of his brother’s were open to me, and that Mbio desired to make my personal acquaintance.

¹ They were chimpanzees. The gorilla is only found much farther west.

“ If you will glance at the map, you will see what an immense tract of country is now open to exploration and with what ease and safety—for these chiefs have more than 50,000 warriors—the countries of Sandeh, Monbuttou and Akka can be traversed in all directions.

“ Dr. Junker has one hundred and fifty trunks with him. I shall furnish him with all the means of going to Monbuttou.

“ The chiefs of Sandeh are not the only ones who have submitted. The whole country between Meshra-el-Rek and Bahr-el-Arab is inhabited by the powerful tribe of the Nuer, and, protected by the marshy soil, has hitherto escaped the raids of the Arabs. Seventeen chiefs of this tribe have submitted to the Egyptian Government. All the country between Meshra-el-Rek and the Jur was deserted eight years ago, when the inhabitants retreated to inaccessible regions. But during the last eight months it has become populated again and villages have arisen all along the paths. Dr. Junker’s arrival is a great consolation to me. He can assure himself of the truth of what I say. To what can be attributed the change mentioned above, if not to the security which the natives now enjoy? The country so deserted was once so rich in cattle, that during a single raid by a certain Murgian Ali of Rohl, 20,000 head were carried away. This will give you an idea of the thousands carried off in twenty-seven years by the Arabs encamped in twenty different settlements, and to what riches such a country may be restored.

“ The irregular soldiers of these settlements were the scum of all that is bad. The greater part, escaping the justice of the Soudan Government, committed the vilest actions; every day they were intoxicated, ravished the native women and carried away everything that fell into their hands. One day, three men in the service of a clerk belonging to the station of Jur Gattas went to a neighbouring

village, and demanded and obtained a quantity of merissa, or beer. Excited by the beverage, they tried to carry off the daughters of a sheikh, who, foreseeing a fight, sent two messengers to inform the Governor of the station of what had occurred. The messengers were driven away without being listened to, and when they returned to the village found that the natives had attacked the soldiers, who, before they could use their arms, were overcome and killed. In a few hours the settlement learned what had happened, and the Arabs, obeying only their spirit of revenge, went in great numbers to the village and shot every person they met, so that about four hundred natives fell under their fire, which never ceased till night. The few natives who were left alive were led into slavery.

“I could mention many examples of this kind. If the natives refused to submit to the caprices of the Arabs or to part with their daughters, they were treated as *assi*, that is, rebels, and were either killed or maltreated in every sort of manner. All over Africa it was the same. I do not shrink from the truth, persuaded that the Egyptian Government have no wish to conceal what crimes are committed by the Arabs against the good and harmless population. In any case, what I say will put the Government and all who take an interest in African affairs on their guard. I am ready to show proof of all that I assert. Neither rank nor high salary can ever purchase my silence.

“Listen then to the account of what occurred in Monbuttú during the administration of Jussuf Bey, now Yussuf Pasha and actual Governor of Sennaar.

“When I went to Rumbek for the first time to organize the troops that were to fight against Suleiman, I observed several eunuchs standing before the doors of Mudir Yussuf Bey, and of his cousin, Hassan Ibrahim Bey. I made inquiries, and heard from Mudir Yussuf Bey himself that this

mutilation was much practised in the Monbuttu country, where a certain number of eunuchs were made annually to supply the harems of the Sultans. I must confess that I had but little faith in the above-named Governor's account.

“ At half an hour's distance from Rumbek, about a hundred Monbuttus were encamped, who had been brought to Rumbek to construct huts and other wood-work, being very dexterous in the art. Their chief was a certain Mai, the same whom I knew when I wrote to you about Miani. The Monbuttus, who had become confidential with me, asserted that what I had been told about eunuchs for the harems of their Sultans was false, and that only the Arabs allowed themselves to commit such an infamy. I could do nothing for the moment, and left the affair to a better opportunity. One day, not long after the campaign had commenced, while we were being attacked by Suleiman, Sultan Gambari arrived from Monbuttu to pay me a visit, bringing with him the few remains of poor Miani.²

“ I profited by this occasion to inform myself exactly about the affair of the eunuchs, but I had scarcely put the question, than the Sultan, much disturbed, asked where I could have obtained such particulars. Comprehending the false situation in which he found himself, I cut the conversation short and spoke of something else. Gambari had said that he would leave in eight days, and I hoped in the meantime to get out of him what I wanted to know. Two days passed without my seeing him, and later on I learned that he had departed on the very day of our interview. I asked Yussuf Bey's people what could be the reason, and they told me that the Sultan had gone away because he was alarmed at the cannon balls and bombs which burst into our barricade.

“ But Yussuf Bey told me quite another story. He said that the Sultan, offended by the questions I had

² These remains now repose at Rovigo, Miani's native place.

put, had left in anger, adding that I did wrong to enter into particulars about native customs, and finally told me that he had already sent some one to calm the Sultan, and had given him presents, etc. All this was told so confidentially and accompanied by so much gesticulation, that I was almost convinced of the truth of his words, and had resolved also to contribute something to appease the Sultan. With this intention I went to my cabin and fetched one of those dresses embroidered in gold that you bought for me from the tailor of the Theatre La Scala.

“A few days afterwards, a young Monbuttu, one of the workmen I had seen at Rumbek, came to complain to me that an Arab had taken possession of him at Rumbek, and that he did not wish to remain in his service, having been maltreated. This youth was wounded by my side some time after this, and I took him into my tent to nurse him. From him I learned that Yussuf Bey had been informed that I had visited the Monbuttus at Rumbek, and, fearing that I should speak to them about the eunuchs, had threatened them with death if they gave me the least information. As a further precaution he had removed the Monbuttus to Ayak, forbidding them to leave that place. The same young Monbuttu, from whom I learned all this, is still in my house, I having rewarded him for his honesty by making him my steward. He assured me that all the eunuchs made in Monbuttu had been so by order of Mudir Yussuf Bey. As the presence of this youth in my house made Yussuf Bey very uneasy, he tried in many ways to take my life, but in order to do so he needed the co-operation of a sheikh who professed a great esteem for me. This sheikh informed me of everything, and at some favourable time I will tell you all that was attempted against my life.

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“During the war, and when there remained nothing

more to do than take possession of the last fortification of Dem Suleiman and rid the country of the fugitives, I was informed that negotiations for peace had been secretly commenced by Yussuf Bey. At the very beginning, fearing that their regular troops might some day join the rebels, I surrounded Dem Ibris with a strong palisade under pretence of precautionary measures, and, taking possession of all the ammunition, which I placed under the custody of the regular troops, I calmly awaited events, and decided, on the first desertion, to fire on my own irregular soldiers. Seditious words were spoken, and one evening, Yussuf, surrounded by his followers, made a little speech which I translate : ‘This war,’ he said, ‘is not waged against Suleiman, but against ourselves. When the war is ended, slavery will end. Who will then guide our boats ? Who will cultivate our fields ? Who will prepare our *kishra* (bread) ?’

“The next day, in order to counterbalance the conspiracy, I called all my people to arms, praised their conduct, and told them that, as a reward for their courage and fidelity, I would divide amongst them all the money, goods, and slaves belonging to Suleiman, promising them besides a present of two days’ pay to each soldier and to all the chiefs. In proof of the sincerity of my sentiments towards them I divided among them forty bullocks, which I had received a few days previously. The effect produced by this gift surpassed my expectations, and the soldiers waited impatiently for the day of departure. After the taking of Dem Suleiman and various partial conflicts with the rebels, I ordered Yussuf Bey to re-enter Rohl, not requiring his services any longer. He immediately left for Rohl, but when night fell he changed his route and went *ciã* Shakka to Darfour. He met His Excellency Gordon Pasha, who was returning from an expedition near Kubei, where he had destroyed some establishments in which gunpowder was manufactured for the rebel Haroun. From that

time I saw Yussuf Pasha no more, nor do I know how he merited the rank of Pasha or the nomination to the governorship of Sennaar.

“Yussuf gone, I easily learnt the truth about the shameful drama that took place in Monbuttu. Both the country of Sultan Munza and that of his brother Ganga were subjected to the Mudir of Rohl, and the two sultans consigned to a functionary of Yussuf Bey all the yearly produce of ivory. Munza and Ganga possessed large harems. It is useless to speak of the sumptuous habits of these sultans. Dr. Schweinfurth, in his magnificent account of the court of Munza, has described it exactly.

“The two sultans had several beautiful daughters, and Yussuf Bey, as well as his *cekil* Fadl-Alah, made proposals to Munza and Ganga which were rejected. It is an old custom in Monbuttu that the Sultan’s daughters may only marry chiefs who have proved extremely brave in combat. The repeated and persistent demands of Yussuf and Fadl-Alah were continually refused, and they determined to settle the question by a decisive blow. Fadl-Alah was to assassinate Munza, while Yussuf and his men undertook to end Ganga’s life.

“On the day fixed Fadl-Alah presented himself before Munza while the Sultan was dining with his family. Raising his gun, Fadl-Alah said,—

“‘Will you give me your daughter or no?’

“‘I will rather die,’ replied Munza, ‘than infringe a custom established by my forefathers!’

“‘Then die!’ cried Fadl-Alah, and immediately took aim and fired. Munza fell dead, and Fadl-Alah’s Arabs, profiting by the confusion that ensued, carried off the family and the whole harem of poor Munza.

“Yussuf Bey did the same thing by means of his slave Gambasi; Ganga was also murdered, and all his family led into slavery. Yussuf Bey, in order to

reward his accomplice, the slave Gambasi, made him sultan in place of Ganga. The families of the murdered sultans were taken to Rumbek and Ayak. But the persecution of the race did not end here. The young brother of the murdered men was mutilated, and from that time the manufacture of eunuchs commenced.

“The present Sultan of Ganga was he who made the first operations, but he was inexpert, and his victims died; on which Yussuf Bey, now Yussuf Pasha, sent certain brothers of the name of Bekir to perform them in his stead. They succeeded in mutilating about twenty youths, who were sent to Yussuf Bey and his relations.

“Arriving one day at Jur Gattas, I was informed that two eunuchs were there. I immediately wrote to Emin Bey, and sent some soldiers to arrest the brothers Bekir and their victims.

“When the steamers with ammunition reached Meshra-el-Rek the first time, a certain Taha Aga, father-in-law of Yussuf Bey, and Governor of Latuka, was in charge of the voluminous correspondence sent to me. He remained with us till the struggle against Suleiman had ended, and then I ordered him to re-occupy his post at Latuka. I had gone towards Sorago in pursuit of the rebels, and while Taha was marching towards Rohl, he and his men captured forty-five negroes, and sacked the huts of the natives. I arrived too late to prevent this, but hearing that some eunuchs had also been sent to him, I sent soldiers to effect his capture. These infamous brigands are now all in my hands, and will shortly pay the penalty of their crime. Thirteen of these unhappy creatures, boys of eight to fourteen years of age, are in my house, and I will soon send them to Khartoum, to show what sort of a pasha governs Sennaar.³

³ One of these boys is now at Monza with Major Casati. He is called Farag, and faithfully serves his new master, who is very fond of him.

“A few days ago an order reached me from Khartoum to send thither the family of Yussuf Pasha, consisting of thirty-eight persons. No sooner was the arrival of Yussuf’s messenger known than the daughters of Munza and Ganga presented to me a protest in which they declared that they had been abducted from their homes, their fathers assassinated, and that they refused to go to the murderer of their parents.

“‘We prefer,’ they said, ‘our miserable huts to the sumptuous palaces of such scoundrels.’

“R. GESSI.”

CHAPTER XXXIX.

REORGANIZATION OF THE COUNTRY.

Burned villages—Riddance of the Arabs—Proclamation—Energetic measures—Famine—Arrival of the Jelabba—El-Arhab—A man carried off by a leopard—Isolated slave traders—Natives set to work—Indiarubber, tamarinds and gum sent to Khartoum—Arabs embarked—Crossing the country—Dr. Junker's exploration.

“Wau,

“17th December, 1879.

“DEAR CAMPERIO,—Before leaving Dem Suleiman to pursue Suleiman to the copper mines of Hofrat-el-Nahas, and into Darfour, I had caused all important positions to be occupied by the most faithful of the Arab chiefs, charging them to watch that the rebels did not unite and commit brigandage.

“The war being ended with the death of Suleiman and his fifty-two principal chiefs, my thoughts turned to the organization of the country and the restoration of all that had been destroyed. But though no longer troubled by the rebels, I had still a difficult mission to accomplish. The country was in extreme misery, the grain was exhausted or destroyed, the cattle had disappeared, and a fowl could not have been found at any price. Thousands and thousands of natives had fled into Sandeh and the neighbouring plains; the villages were for the greater part razed to the ground, and Bahr-el-Ghazal had the aspect of a country destroyed by fire. How could I re-establish

confidence and order with only four thousand Arabs to keep up discipline and who were no less brutal and savage than Suleiman's troops? It was therefore absolutely necessary to get rid of these soldiers, sending them by degrees to Khartoum, and rendering their return impossible. They were all armed and provided with ammunition, and I had only four hundred men on whom I could count in case of revolt. I began by scattering them in more than fifty localities, confiding Dem Suleiman to regular troops. Two batteries were erected, and whoever entered was obliged to lay down his arms outside the *seriba*.

"I published the following notice: 'The war against the rebels is terminated and order restored. The Government intends to take active measures in order to insure discipline and protect the natives. All Arabs, without exception, must aid the authorities against any individual who commits a crime.

" 'Those will be punished with death who are convicted of the following crimes :

" 'Carrying on the slave trade ; abducting boy, woman or girl ; premeditated murder ; burning or damaging a village with the intention of robbery or destruction.

" 'Those will be expelled from Bahr-el-Ghazal and consigned to the authorities in Khartoum who are guilty of the following misdeeds :

" 'Maltreating a native ; carrying away by force any grain, or objects belonging to natives ; using force to oblige a native to build a house, cultivate the ground or transport private effects ; hiding a Jelabba, or any person sought for by the Government.'

" This notice was published in all the localities, and I assembled all the sheikhs, so that, having taken special cognizance of my orders, they might in future present the complaints of their dependents.

" These new arrangements were not of a kind to

satisfy the Arabs, who believed that, as a reward for the services rendered during the war, they would be permitted, as usual, to dispose of the life and property of the natives.

“ I had already disarmed about a thousand Arabs on the pretence of economy, sending them by degrees to Jur Gattas, on the way to Khartoum, when a report arose all through Bahr-el-Ghazal that the Government had recalled me, and that an Arab was on the way to take my place. This news overjoyed all the Arabs and spread like lightning to the remotest parts of Sandeh.

“ A few days after I had given the above disciplinary directions, three Arabs who had killed three slaves were arrested. Their guilt proved, they were all three hanged in public. The discontent of the Arabs increased. They could not understand how one of themselves could be condemned to death for killing a slave, who, after all, was considered as exclusive property which they could dispose of as they liked.

“ I have already stated that when the rebels were beaten, many Jelabba had joined Suleiman and fled into Sandeh. About two thousand died of hunger because the natives burned or carried away all the provisions. Suleiman himself had had to kill even his horse and dry its flesh for his own particular use. He had then occupied Tuesha with the object of attempting a union with Sultan Haroun, who had then not yet submitted. Five hundred Jelabba joined Suleiman, while six or seven hundred went to another part of Sandeh where they knew they would find means of subsistence. These last were informed not only of my recall, but were assured that I had already departed.

“ The sheikhs of the country came to inquire if the news were true. They were very sad, and many of them showed a desire to follow me with their families. I learned from them that the Jelabba were on the way to retake their villages near

Dem-el-Arbab. They had with them many slaves, although the greater part had perished of fatigue and hunger. They moved with great secrecy, and even the Arabs in my service made a mystery of it—the office of spy being considered by them vile. I gave them time to instal themselves in their own *seriba*, intending to assault them at some propitious moment, and strike a final blow. As soon as I was certain that they had re-established themselves, I caused a report to be spread that I had started for Jur Gattas and Meshra-el-Rek, the ports of embarkation. They had therefore no doubt of my final departure, and said among themselves that I had lately embarked all my effects. I marched on the 1st October for Jur Gattas, accompanied by thirty soldiers and the usual guides. I went to Dem Idris to make plans with Sultan Calliongo, one of my most faithful chiefs, who had fought for the Government from beginning to end. He reinforced my troops with about forty Besingers, and the next day we left for Jur Gattas, so as not to rouse any suspicion, but on the way I changed the route, penetrating the jungle and avoiding the roads and scattered huts. It was very fatiguing work across a country full of all sorts of obstacles. The river Jey was so swollen, that its bridge was four feet under water, and it took us almost a whole day to cross it. Finally, on the 4th October, towards five p.m. we approached the first Jelabba village, and hastened our steps so as to arrive before nightfall.

“When within five minutes of the village, three gunshots from within gave the alarm. The balls whistled close to my head, one striking the front of my saddle.

“‘Dismount!’ cried the guides, ‘they are firing at you!’

“The soldiers pursued the aggressors, but could not overtake them because of the high grass.

“When we reached the village we found about two

hundred women and a great many slaves ; but the Jelabba had escaped into the woods. The night being very dark, it was impossible to find them, and I recalled my soldiers and took the necessary precautions against a night surprise. Late at night, Calliongo's Besingers succeeded in arresting eleven Jelabba, who were brought before me naked and bound. In the morning more than eighty Besingers arrived, begging me to set their women at liberty.

" ' We are slaves,' they said, ' and are not guilty of any crime.'

" I replied that I was ready to restore their women, and not only that, but to make them free men, promising at the same time that the huts, utensils and cultivated ground should be their own property, on condition that they would arrest their masters and bring them to me bound. At this proposition, the Besingers, after consulting among themselves, departed at a run, howling and vociferating. Calliongo, who knew their language, translated what they had said, which was, ' We are free men ! we are free men ! Death to our oppressors !'

" In a very few hours there appeared in every direction groups of Besingers leading their masters bound and despoiled, whilst distant gunshots proved that the struggle between the Jelabba and the slaves was still going on. This scene continued all the day.

" The next morning I departed for Dem-el-Arbab, arriving at about ten a.m. There, at night, a leopard entered our camp and carried off one of my servants. The poor wretch was found the next day hanging, half eaten, upon a tree. My orderly, Murgian Ali, chased the leopard, but, having missed his aim, it escaped. Everyone believed the leopard to be an evil spirit which could not be killed.

" Some days after the arrest of the Jelabba, there arrived a few Arabs of the irregular troops, and I inquired whether any slave traders were to be found



THE LEOPARD OF DEM-EL-ARBAB.

in the neighbourhood. They replied in the negative, assuring me that only one Jelabba, old and infirm, lived not very far off, and that the country was free of slave traders.

“Dem-el-Arbab is situated at two days’ distance from Dem Suleiman. Its position is magnificent. There were once several edifices of unbaked bricks and earth, but they were mostly destroyed by Suleiman. The commercial establishment here belonged to two Khartoum merchants, named Arbab Ziber Adlau and Agal.

“When Suleiman revolted, the Governor-General of the Soudan sent Arbab Ziber Adlau to him in the capacity of procurator of the Government (vekil). As he was an old acquaintance of Ziber Pasha, and enjoyed a good reputation among the ivory and slave merchants, it was hoped that he would be able to convince Suleiman of his mistake, and persuade him to submit and lay down his arms. But El-Arbab’s intervention was of no avail. When he arrived at Suleiman’s camp, he was obliged to walk for an hour between two ranks of rebels, and was received with a volley fired in the air. When Suleiman saw him, he cried, ‘You are certainly come with proposals for peace. You throw away your time and words.’

“He had scarcely ended when the chiefs, drawing their swords, swore by the Koran that before they again sheathed them they would hang them upon the walls of their houses at Khartoum, for that there alone could conditions of peace be made. Having failed in his mission, Arbab returned to his settlement.

“I had nourished the hope that on the opening of hostilities, he would have come to my assistance with his thousand soldiers ; but one of his nephews (who paid the penalty of his treachery when made prisoner at Darra) joined the rebels with his uncle’s troops, and fought against us to the last.

“ Let us now return to the Jelabba. I could not place any trust in what the irregular troops reported, so I assembled all the sheikhs, and declared that if they had not arrested all the Jelabba within twenty-four hours, I should hold them responsible for the consequences. They told me, that besides the Jelabba already captured, there were about three hundred more in the woods. They then began a hunt that lasted two days and ended in the capture of all the remaining Jelabba. Reckoning those taken before, they numbered more than six hundred. Those belonging to Darfour, Shakka, and Kordofan were sent under escort to Darra ; those belonging to Khartoum, Sennaar, and Massolemia were kept at Jur Gattas to be sent later to Khartoum. The irregular troops, of whom I could expect nothing but treachery, were all disarmed and also taken to Jur Gattas.

“ I was obliged to stay for some time in the south of Bahr-el-Ghazal to rid the province of Rumbek of the Arabs and slavers. Means of transport are scarce, so that the work of cultivating the fields will be slow, and I fear it will be impossible to sow them all this year. It will depend on what is sent me from Khartoum. The number of Arabs still settled in the province of Rohl exceeds two thousand.

“ Yours,

“ GESSI.”

“ Jur Gattas,

“ January 8th, 1880.

“ I have found at last a means of employing the natives. I set them to work collecting the caoutchouc, tamarinds, and gum which I discovered during my last journey to Meshra-el-Rek. The first load of caoutchouc that has ever been exported from this region of the Soudan will be sent by next

steamer, and presently tamarinds will be exported. This new industry promises to be a real progress for the country, as hitherto nothing was exported but ivory, which, being a government monopoly, was of no profit to the natives, while by collecting gum, tamarind and caoutchouc, they earned wages proportionate to their labour, either in money or goods, so that already very many negroes are seen decently clothed. The first distribution of goods that was made in the villages, whose inhabitants had brought me caoutchouc, aroused great jealousy among the others, so that now everyone works with a good will, and rival each other in furnishing me with this material.

“Mr. Wilson and Dr. Felkin will shortly be in Khartoum. I am glad they came to Bahr-el-Ghazal, for they stayed more than a month, and talked with the natives, observing what has been done for the benefit of the people. They assure me that as soon as they reach England they will publish all that they have seen through the Church Missionary Society.

“What has lately happened, and the fear of a war with Abyssinia, have forced me to send away two companies of regular troops, so that, deducting the sick and wounded, I have only about one hundred and fifty regular soldiers with whom to govern this immense district, but I am organizing native troops. Surrounded as I am by seven or eight thousand Arabs, all enemies, it is a great trouble to keep my men to their duty until they can embark. I am obliged to rule by fear, and it is quite a miracle that I am still alive. My whole strength lies in the inhabitants, who obey me as if I were their Deity, and, if necessary, I should have more than ten thousand armed men ready to defend and die with me.

“On board the *Ismailia*, February 17th, 1880.—The news of Gordon Pasha's resignation spread rapidly all through the Soudan. Though some thousand rich men, old oppressors of the poor, may rejoice,

the people lament the loss of one who was a real father to them. In fact they are most affected by this blow. No one will ever do as much as Gordon has done to ameliorate their condition.

“When Gordon was nominated Governor of the Soudan, all the sheikhs, without exception, were indebted to the Government in sums which they could never have been able to pay. The Government taxes were not the only ones ; under the old regime others were illegally imposed by Government officials. During Gordon Pasha’s brief administration, however, the sheikhs paid their debts, and all illegal taxes were abolished, so that the peasants had never been in such good circumstances.

“The traders in human flesh truly rejoice at Gordon’s resignation. In the hope of the revival of the infamous traffic, and that I also should soon be recalled, the Jelabba returned by thousands to Shakka to attempt a grand attack on Bahr-el-Ghazal. The great demand for, and scarcity of slaves, the price of whom had trebled, encouraged the Jelabba to make four raids in Bahr-el-Ghazal, but each effort ended unfortunately.

“One raid was made at Delgauna. The negroes allowed the slavers to advance, and when they reached a certain point received them with an effective volley. After losing fourteen men, the slavers fled, leaving a quantity of material and cotton. I am assured that the fugitives were killed.

“The second raid took place near the mines at Hofrat-el-Nahas, but unfortunately the slavers were warned by scouts that the natives were waiting for them armed with four hundred guns, so that they retreated in haste.

“The third attempt was made at Abi Muri, near Dem Suleiman, where our troops arrived in time to arrest the three principal slavers, who had with them sixteen slaves in chains. It seems that this band, forty in number, had arranged with some

Arab to be furnished with slaves. Their cotton served to pack their guns. They were all captured, and I hope that the rest, who are being hunted in all directions, will soon be taken.

“The fourth inroad occurred at Lifi. I had placed there a Sangiak called Drar, and it seems that, finding himself near Shakka, he had entered into negotiations with the principal slavers, promising them his assistance. His proposals were accepted and the slavers came with a great quantity of cotton. Just then I was fully engaged in the south of Bahr-el-Ghazal, and never suspected such treachery.

“I arrived at Dem Suleiman with Wilson and Felkin, and the Jelabba, informed that I intended to go to Kalaka, escaped with about forty-five slaves. A sheikh arrested the fugitives and delivered them over to a detachment of regular troops posted at Terogue, composed of a corporal and ten men, who set the slaves at liberty, and possessed themselves of all the cotton, but let the Arabs escape. Informed of what had happened, I arrested the superintendent Drar and the corporal, and seeking out the negroes, they pointed out the slave merchants to me, who were soon arrested and tried. In spite of Drar's treachery I was very fortunate, for none of the slaves were carried away, and the slave traders had the worst of it, having lost a large quantity of stuffs. I hope that, according to an agreement made with the Governor of Darra, I may soon effect the arrest of the slave traders who have fled towards Kordofan. The frontier is now strictly watched by the troops, and the punishment inflicted on the slave merchants who are taken prisoners will be a warning for the future.

“On February 29th there arrived two steamers with the boats I had asked for in order to commence the opening of portions of the river rendered difficult for navigation. Dr Junker arrived with the

Ismailia, and assured me that the river was still blocked in twenty-two places.

“The river *Jur* is now found to be navigable above *Wau*. As soon as the rains have swollen it sufficiently, the boats and steamers will begin to go up. *Dr. Junker* brought with him much material, and I have already furnished him with all the means for going to *Monbutt* without difficulty. His exploration will be greatly facilitated by *Mdarama* having given in his submission; I expect also that of his brother *Mbio*. These two kings have massacred all the Arab expeditions that entered their district. Four years ago the natives of the settlements of *Kutshuk Ali*, *Wau*, and *Jur Gattas*, made an alliance, and marched against *Mdarama* with more than two thousand soldiers armed with guns and three thousand native spearmen. *Mdarama*, who possessed more than six hundred guns, defended the passes, fell upon the Arabs, and massacred them all. The poor spearmen suffered the same fate, and since then the terrible *Mdarama* was never again attacked. His district is very rich in ivory and other products. *Suleiman Ziber*, after some unfortunate enterprises against *Mdarama*, had tried to bribe him to be a friend, but the cunning emperor refused his gifts and repulsed all treaties.

“The changes which have taken place in the country, the liberty allowed the natives, the suppression of slavery and the slave trade, have been well received in this remote district; and *Mdarama*, who had never left his kingdom, having heard of the result of the war, sent word that he would pay me a visit, being desirous of establishing good relations with me.

“By the submission of *Mdarama* and *Mbio*, all the *Niam-Niam* country is now open to exploration, and this is a piece of good fortune for *Dr. Junker*; he will go straight to *Mdarama*, who I am certain will assist him to visit *Monbutt* and the *Congo*. Almost

all the secondary Niam-Niam chiefs depend on Mdarama or Mbio. But these two princes are not the only ones who have submitted; other seventeen sheikhs of the Nuer, who have escaped Arab persecution, have also given in their voluntary allegiance. This is a proof that the negroes are sociable and



DR. W. JUNKER.

good, and that it needs neither powder nor lead to subdue them. They only desire that their families and their cattle may be left in peace. Dr. Junker's arrival is a great satisfaction to me, for during the exploration he will see with his own eyes what progress has been made in so short a time."

CHAPTER XL.

CAPTAIN CASATI.

The small farm on the Lake of Como—Captain Casati—Schweinfurth and the Monbuttu—King Mbio—Gifts to Mdarama—Repose—The Guinea worm—Atrocious sufferings—Everyone infected—The Horbans of Resegat—Letter to Dr. Junker—Emin Bey incapable of governing his province.

“ Meshra,

“ 16th March, 1880.

“ To the Editor of the *Esploratore*.

“ My greatest wish, if God permit me to see Italy again, would be to purchase a small farm either at Como or at Naples. But this is a course which I shall take later on. When I have established my family, and made enough money to assure their future, it is very probable that I shall return to Africa, where there will always be a great deal to do, and whither I am drawn by a strange fatality. Accustomed as I am to live in the forests, with the chase and violent emotions for my only recreation, I could not easily adapt myself to European life. But still I count upon seeing my family again towards the end of this year.

“ They say that the present Viceroy is not well-disposed towards Europeans, and the numerous dismissals of European officials prove this. What will become of the Soudan? Will all my efforts be in vain? Will these poor people who have beheld the sunshine of liberty, be once more persecuted and led into slavery?

“ May the Government of Cairo cherish no illusions!

May Europe forbid it! A unanimous cry should arise from all parts and tell the Viceroy that he must follow Gordon's example, destroying the slavers, and assuring the liberty of the negroes, by preventing them from being dragged like beasts to the markets of Kordofan.

"When atrocities such as I have described were committed by public officers like Yussuf Pasha, what could be expected from the subalterns?"

"I will not sell my silence. I have the future of this people more at heart than worldly honours, titles and decorations. If I were silent I should be an accomplice. I have provided myself with the documents necessary to prove that what I have said is the pure truth. Poor Munza, and poor people! Who knows what fate awaits them if the conditions again become such as they were before the war? I shall write a long letter to Schweinfurth to tell all about the sad fate of his friend Munza. . . .

"Your correspondent, Captain Casati, will shortly arrive. Bahr-el-Ghazal has been pretty well explored, as Schweinfurth allows; at least his friends say so. But Bahr-el-Ghazal can still occupy an explorer without going further, for several years. All the courses of the rivers have been indicated to the best of our knowledge with their probable sources and directions. I do not believe that the courses indicated are wrong, but the rivers were not followed throughout. It is certain that several years would be necessary to do the thing thoroughly. Although all these rivers are not very broad, they are extremely long, and rise in the most distant regions of the Sandeh. If Casati arrives during the rains, he will occupy himself with the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and when they cease go to the west of Sandeh, and he can then push on towards Lake Chad and throw a little light on the connection of the Welle and the Shari. I believe this would be a magnificent exploration.

“ Meshra,

“ 16th March, 1880.

“ Gigler Pasha writes me that I shall have an opportunity of gaining new laurels if the war with Abyssinia should break out. I will not accept service against Abyssinia; it would be a shame to fight against Christians. . . .

“ 18th March, 1880.

“ To-day Dr. Junker left with all the material for his journey. I am obliged to remain here for I know not how many days, to get rid of more than fifteen hundred Jelabba who returned some months ago, and are a constant menace to the tranquility of the country.

“ The departure of these people would comfort me greatly, and be an immense joy to the natives, who have suffered from their tyranny for a quarter of a century.

“ R. GESSI.”

“ June 10th, 1880.

“ From the *Gazelle*.

(Retarded by the obstructions in the Nile.)

“ To the Editor of the *Esploratore*.

“ By the letter-bearer I informed you of the arrival of Dr. Junker, and his departure for Jur Gattas with his numerous train of about two hundred and twenty porters. I remained at Meshra-el-Rek to hasten the departure of the steamer, and superintend the embarkation of about four hundred slavers whom I was obliged to expel the country. Three days after, I set off for Jur Gattas, but, being unwell from a sunstroke, I was a day later in meeting Dr. Junker, who was arranging his baggage for his approaching departure. He has chosen well both useful and

curious articles to amuse the natives with. Among the useful things are knives, pen-knives, tools, cloth, wire, needles, and a hundred little objects. Among the curiosities there are an organette, paper lanterns, masks, playthings, balloons and various other things that will be much enjoyed by the savages. Dr. Junker's effects were sent off some days before we started, and we found them all in perfect condition at Dem Idris.

"The route he chose, as you know, was through King Mdarama's country, so that his baggage was sent on to Dem Bekir by way of Dem-el-Abab, marked on Schweinfurth's maps as Ziber Adlau. While Dr. Junker's effects were being forwarded, we set off for Dem Suleiman, where I wished to furnish him with yet other things that were wanting. There the doctor stayed for about six days, and, when provided with all things necessary, I accompanied him part of the way. We said good-bye under a sycamore. I have faith in his happy return, because he is—as the English say—the right man in the right place.

"The morning before we parted I had been witness of an affecting scene. Governor Saadi Effendi and two superior officers arrived, accompanied by a number of girls and boys, while we were at breakfast. They begged me to sign certain documents, which they said were the papers setting free their slaves. One of the latter, called Moffio, asked what he was to do with his paper. He was answered, 'You are a free man, you can go where you please.' 'Then,' replied Moffio, 'take back your paper, for I have not the least intention of abandoning my master.'

"Every slave, according to his age, received from fifteen to twenty dollars, but they went away without showing the pleasure we expected they would feel. This is a proof of the good disposition of the negroes, who, when well treated, become fond of their masters.

"Before Dr. Junker disembarked at Meshra-el-Rek, I had sent a special messenger to King Mdarama,

telling him of my friend's approaching arrival. Mdarama, although on several occasions he had renewed the assurance of his friendship and devotion to the Egyptian Government, replied with diffidence, as is general with all African potentates, and it is not surprising after so many bloody acts committed in Monbuttu, by order of Yussuf Bey.

“The last letter I received from Dr. Junker is dated from Dem Bekir, where he found everything in perfect order, and the porters, numbering two hundred and thirty, ready to depart. The day after his arrival there, Dr. Junker received the agreeable news that King Mdarama was only a few hours away, and was coming himself to meet and welcome him.

“In fact, Mdarama arrived, was received with all honour, and during three days there was dancing, music and illuminations. Dr. Junker astonished the king with the lanterns, organette, and a masquerade representing all the wild beasts in Africa. Mdarama went on to prepare lodgings, leaving Dr. Junker an escort of fifteen men to assist him on the way. As might be expected all has proceeded well till now, but at present the season is too far advanced for Dr. Junker to make a rapid journey to Monbuttu. It will be much if our friend can reach Mbio's district. On leaving Dem Gugio he will have to cross a small river, called the Dishî by the natives, which, after traversing the territory of Bahr-el-Ghazal, takes the name of Khor Dembo. Then he must cross the Busseri and then the Jur. We have a post of observation within a few hours of the Busseri. When he has crossed the river Komo, which is a branch of the Jur, he will enter the country of the Shere tribe, settled near the little river called by the natives Nomatella. He will traverse the possessions of King Isolongo (who has been dead for some time, his kingdom being now governed by his son Tissa), and finally he will enter Mdarama's kingdom, crossing

the country from the seat of Komunda, one of Mdarama's chiefs, to the royal residence, which bears the king's name.

"All these little streams at the time of the greatest rains become quite large rivers with a very strong current. Till the end of May they are almost without water.

"I am persuaded that Dr. Junker must now have reached Mdarama.

"The kingdom of Isolongo is traversed by numerous branches of the river Mbomu. To the east of that kingdom are the possessions of King Jedi with his capital Bambia. To the south of Mdarama lives King Jettua, the brother of the former, and still farther south lives King Malingde, where the governor of Bahr-el-Ghazal has a seriba for storing ivory. To the east of the Kings Mdarama and Jettua, lives King Mbio, and south of Malingde, across the river Blima, is the powerful tribe of Uanda. Continuing towards the south the Welle is met with, after crossing which one is in the midst of Monbuttu.

"Although King Mbio seems friendly, I have no faith in him, and I have advised Dr. Junker to be on his guard. King Uanda is a great enemy of the government of Monbuttu. I hope that Dr. Junker, by means of suitable gifts, will be able to cross his states without difficulty, the more because on his previous journey he sent a present to the king from Makraka. The son of King Uanda, having been pursued by his father, who wanted to kill him, took refuge with our troops camped in Monbuttu. Mbio is the uncle of Mdarama, but at present they are actual enemies. Uanda and Mbio are allied for defence or attack against Mdarama and the Government troops. I am now sending a governor to Monbuttu to try every means of making friends with Uanda, promising that no aggression will be made on his states. To tell the truth, I have little

faith that my messenger will succeed. Uanda possesses about four to six hundred guns taken long ago from the slavers; he also preserved the ammunition, and has enough to make a bold resistance. Mbio, without being exactly a sincere friend, gives us no cause for complaint, although he sends us very little ivory. In general it is wise to be on one's guard with all these potentates, who have an inconstant and flippant character, and from being friends sometimes suddenly become enemies.

“ By Dr. Junker I sent an Indian shawl, richly embroidered in gold, a brass drum, a gun with ammunition, a sword chased with silver, and some clothes to King Mdarama. Dr. Junker added other gifts, and Mdarama was delighted with these and the reception he met with.

“ Farther west than Mdarama is a tribe which professes the Mahomedan religion. It has a peculiar dialect, and I believe derives its origin from emigrants from Baghirmi. In Bahr-el-Ghazal there is a tribe called Mandala, which occupies the north. The principal villages are Perogie, Tembeli and Delgauna. The people were also originally Baghirmi, but the race became mixed with the inhabitants of Darfour. The Darfourere, although the Mandala are Mussulmans, looked upon them as slaves, and the Mandala, to escape slavery, emigrated to Bahr-el-Ghazal. The chief is a certain Sultan Rashid, the subject of Suleiman Ziber, who during the war sent many combatants to assist the rebels. All the Mandala country is very fertile, and the quantity of honey produced there is fabulous. They used to throw the wax away, but now it is collected, and forms part of the taxes paid to the Government. The tamarind harvest is also very rich. Maize is there preferred to doora, but the principal harvest is furnished by millet, which succeeds better than doora. The Mandalese are occupied in hunting elephants with spears. Almost all are

clothed in a long shirt reaching below the knees. They cultivate cotton and weave a grey cloth called *damur*. The well-to-do dress in Indian cotton of bright colours, but they never cover their heads.

“From November to the end of April the river Delgauna is quite dry, but during the rainy season it becomes about two hundred and seventy feet wide and twelve feet deep, with a current running four and a half miles an hour. When the waters subside the Mandalese go fishing, and preserve the fish by drying, smoking, and packing them in balls, for use during the rainy season. Among the fish they catch, I know of only one which has a good flavour; it is called by the natives *bagara*, and in form and taste resembles the bass or wolf-fish.

“I thought that after Dr. Junker’s departure I should be able to take some rest, for the fever had greatly weakened me. It was not severe fever; on the contrary, very mild, but it lasted sixteen hours at a time. I could not rest, though I was so greatly in need of it. An express arrived to inform me that those robbers of Atots, between Lau and Agar, had committed all sorts of depredations, stopping the post to Shambé, and killing an interpreter; in fact that they were masters of the road, and all communication was impossible. Some time before, the same Atots had committed similar crimes, and I sent them a warning, which seemingly had little effect. Encouraged by previous victories over the slavers, they hoped to lord it over them as before, and by their conduct defied us to fight. I sent about three hundred men armed with guns to make a simple demonstration, but my people were obliged to retreat on finding that they were facing thousands of Atots, who would have the advantage of the high grass, which remains green the whole year round in these marshy districts. I arranged an expedition on a more solid basis, and assembled a thousand combatants armed with guns, and a

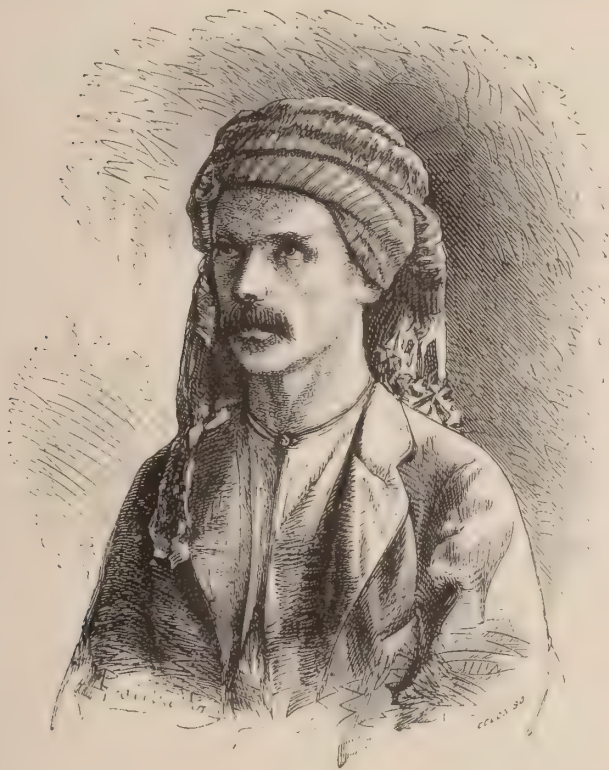
thousand spearmen. This force, divided into three columns, was to unite at a fixed place and make a trench.

“The first column, on meeting with the Atots, halted to give the other two time to make a flank movement. The Atots, finding the enemy behind them, turned aside, allowing the column of attack to advance without much resistance. During their retreat the Atots found themselves between two fires and were punished severely. They were pursued from one place to another for a whole month, and lost more than three thousand bullocks. At last, decimated and tired out, they came to implore for peace, saying that they had been badly advised by their Kojur (magician), who paid for this unfortunate war with his life. They now submit to all our demands, and guard the roads from the imprudent people who attempt to commit new aggressions.

“During this expedition there was no bread for a whole month, and my Besingers had nothing to eat but meat, so that a thousand bullocks were consumed. The remaining two thousand I sent to Bahr-el-Ghazal, to propagate the race which had quite disappeared after the raids of Suleiman and his Arab robbers.

“I intended to make an excursion to Delgauna, when I began to feel acute pain in my left ankle. Supposing that I had sprained it I paid no attention, but the pain increased and changed its position, feeling like needle-pricks in the sole of my foot, which was very much swollen, so that I was obliged to go to bed. The pain brought on strong fever, and I was at last convinced that I was attacked by the guinea-worm. I had always heard that one got it by walking in mud or water, but, in spite of every precaution, it was impossible to avoid marching in the water, because my horse sank too deep, so that I was obliged to do almost all the marching on foot. After thirty-three days of suffering and sleeplessness,

a blister like that arising from a burn was formed ; I made an opening and there issued water mixed with blood, and a guinea-worm as thick as a violin string. But unfortunately the worm retreated again, and the wound closed, so that it is probable it will seek another issue. I must therefore expect the continuance of the atrocious pain, and I can assure you



CAPTAIN (NOW MAJOR) GAETANO CASATI.

that it is a terrible scourge, for which no remedy is known. It seems that this evil is worse this year than in others, and almost all my companions are afflicted with it also. At a station where I have twenty-five soldiers, twenty are affected, and six of my nine servants are in bed.

“I am expecting the steamer daily, which I calculate ought to have reached Meshra-el-Rek long ago. Its delay makes me fear it may have encountered some obstruction. I have sent the necessary orders in case of Captain Casati or Signor Fraccaroli being on board, and I regret that the state of my foot will prevent me from going to meet them. In Wau two large nuggars are ready to descend to Meshra, and I should like to go on to Khartoum, but I cannot leave my post without having first obtained permission ; and secondly, I should not like to leave without setting Casati on his way.

“The Horbans of Resegat have attempted an attack on Jangeh, which forms part of Bahr-el-Ghazal. These robbers wanted to profit by the weakness of the garrison (twenty-five men, of whom twenty are ill, as I said before) to carry off some slaves. But, warned by the preparations they were making, I had stationed a force of about four hundred men with guns near Delgauna. Informed in good time that the Horbans were advancing, our troops made a charge and put them to flight, with severe loss. It is time that the Government should think of disarming these Beys, who each can dispose of four to six hundred guns.

“The Resegat have submitted to the Government ; their country is occupied, and I ask myself why they still keep up some small troops, which, in former times, only served to capture slaves near the mines and in Bahr-el-Ghazal. Now these times are over, and my frontiers are closed and rigorously guarded, and all the invasions attempted have been repulsed with great loss to them. Lately three Horbans came to prove the ground, but were arrested, and are now at hard labour in Wau. The new Governor-General will have too much to do to occupy himself at once with all these questions, but I will soon point out to him that it is a constant peril to leave these Beys with armed men at their disposal. In a future letter I

hope to give you more interesting particulars ; for the present you must be content with the above, as I am annoyed with my lame foot, and incapable of writing anything better.

“ Yours ever,

“ R. GESSI.

“ P.S.—I was about to close this letter, when I was told of the arrival of three of Mdarama’s relations with letters from Doctor Junker. The last is dated Isolongo, June 1st, and includes one for his brother in St. Petersburg. Dr. Junker is in perfect health, and his baggage has arrived in good condition. Mdarama had sent two hundred and eighty porters to replace those from Dem Bekir. The active doctor is on the point of visiting the residence of the Sultan of Isolongo.”

Letter from Gessi to Dr. Junker.¹

“ Wau,

“ June 16th, 1880.

“ DEAR FRIEND,—To-day I received your letter of the 1st June. I frankly confess I was surprised at not receiving any news from you, and felt anxious. Mdarama’s messengers will probably leave here to-morrow ; I gave them two sheep and they are delighted. Your letter is extremely interesting, not only from a geographical point of view, but also because it is of great importance to the Government. If I wrote you that Mbio is the brother of Mdarama I made a mistake, and correct my error by assuring you that Mbio is Mdarama’s uncle and brother of the late Sultan Basimbe. I know that he and Mdarama are enemies, but that is not the reason why Mdarama told me he had never seen Mbio. . . .

“ Three hundred and fifty-nine Nuer families with their cattle, etc., have settled in the neighbourhood

¹ This letter was in the possession of Dr. Junker, who has kindly lent it.

of Meshra-el-Rek ; I sent them three hundred loads of doora for sowing. Also many Bongo families, who in former years emigrated into Niam-Niam (Sandeh) came to establish themselves. I consigned the two thousand head of cattle taken from the Atots to different sheikhs, so as to prevent the cessation of cattle-breeding, and I sent two thousand goats to the north of Bahr-el-Ghazal. I have ceased to write private letters to Emin Bey, he really tires me to death. He wants me to send him the cattle taken from the Atots, that they may serve to nourish his brigand troops, but I cannot deprive this country, which will certainly have a future, of these beasts. He is much vexed with me, and wrote me a rather impertinent letter. He complains that I promised him the province of Monbuttu, but did not keep my word, and after I had given it I withdrew it. I wanted to write him, that he ought to acknowledge that as he has the province of Hat-istiva (province of Ladò) he has already more than his force can manage. I will not deny his scientific knowledge ; theoretically he is perhaps very strong, but in practice he is a cipher. The officers who pass this way to embark for Khartoum laugh at him because he exaggerates his affectation of being a Mussulman. They all know that he is playing a comedy, and that, to avoid being recognized and treated like a Christian, he leaves many things unpunished. The demoralization in his province has arrived at such a point, that I am obliged to ask Hassan Pasha to send a better officer to Ladò to put things in order. Lately an officer assassinated five natives ; another officer bound his *soria* (female slave) to a tree, smeared her with honey, and left her to be eaten up alive by insects, flies and ants. Emin Bey held a strict inquest, and every fact was proved. When the inquest was ended, a deputation of officers went to Emin Bey, begging him not to sacrifice the life of a Mussulman for having killed a few heathen

savages. And in fact Emin put aside the verdict, suspended all further steps, making a great secret of it all; but a secretary, who it seems was not altogether devoted to him, collected all the documents of the inquest, and now I am in possession of these tragic facts. While Emin bothers me with a thousand trifles,² he is silent about such infamies. I can do no other than presume that he is afraid of his dependents; or else that his conduct arises from the wish not to alter the Soudanese custom of concealing all iniquities committed against non-believers. The post unfortunately has not yet arrived, and I am sorry that I have nothing wherewith to help you to pass the time; but I presume that you will have enough to do in collecting notes about the different races of Niam-Niam. I have sent a circular to several Vekil of the scribe of Abu-Muri, to order them to put at your disposal all the troops, who must accompany you when you wish. Abu-Muri sends his salutations, and in case of my being recalled you may apply to him; and the Mudir Saati Effendi will also be at your service. I have a presentiment that I shall be recalled, because I have sent decided letters to the Governor-General of Khartoum, which, though courteously expressed, are clear and precise in frankly declaring that I shall continue to proceed with the utmost severity against the slave traders, and do all that I possibly can to abolish slavery. If this conduct on my part displeases the Governor-General, he is free to recall me. Dear Junker, you know me well enough, and can well imagine that I cannot support what is not adapted to my character.

“Gordon has also been obliged to leave his post as Governor-General of the Soudan at the request of the Government in Cairo.

“Yours,

“R. GESSI.”

² Emin Bey depended on the Governor-General of Bahr-el-Ghazal, that is, on Gessi Pasha.—Ed.

“Wau,

“July 23rd, 1880.

“To the Editor of the *Esploratore*.

“I have been still nailed to my bed for about sixty-five days by this cursed guinea-worm. I ought to answer many of your questions, but I am so knocked up by my illness that every effort is painful. As to my wound I have said nothing. I wrote my wife that my horse was hit in two places. I was slightly bruised on the head by a piece of a shell that burst about a yard away, throwing me to the ground amid thick smoke. Everyone believed I was dead, but, thanks to my fez, I was only scratched. I did not mention it not to alarm my family, as it was only a trifle, and not worth while. According to all appearances we are again cut off from all communication with Khartoum. It is now one hundred and twenty days since any steamer came, and if the Government does not prevent it in time, the Bahr-el-Ghazal will be quite unnavigable, which would be a great loss, as it is not convenient to export goods by the long and difficult route of Shakka and Kordofan. I am anxious to return to Europe, and may do so soon, as I fancy I shall be recalled in a short time. You may be sure that the Government means to get rid of all foreign elements, not only for economy's sake, but also to prevent what is happening in these districts from being known in Europe.

“R. GESSI.”

CHAPTER XLI.

GREAT MORTALITY THROUGH FAMINE.

One hundred thousand slaves—Who is Emin Pasha?—Return from Bahr-el-Ghazal—Famine—Cannibalism—Marno's arrival—A few saved—On the *Bordeen*—A terrible night—Arrival at Khartoum—The last notes of Gessi Pasha.

AT last, after waiting five months, we have the satisfaction of a post from Khartoum. By the same steamer arrived Captain Casati, sent me by Captain Camperio. The Gazelle river is blocked by more than sixty bars formed of vegetable flotsam from a thousand to six thousand feet long, and is almost unnavigable. If the Government at Khartoum does not take energetic measures, the navigation will entirely cease, and we shall be obliged to send ivory and other merchandise by way of Gaba-Shambé. A glance at the map shows the immense distance, and one can imagine what the toil of transport would be to the porters. More than eight months ago I reported the state of the river, asking for a steamer and boats when it would have been easy to remedy the thing, but now it is different, and it will take at least six months to open a free passage. I am now on the steamer for Khartoum; we have taken fourteen days to make a run that could be done in one day if the river were not blocked by grass, papyrus, and ambash. I have two companies of regular troops, who are all day in the water working to clear the way, and our provisions are beginning to fail; a third of my men are suffering from fever, and I have

finished almost all the quinine : this is my position at the present moment.

The news from Khartoum is unsatisfactory. People whom I have expelled are being questioned about me, and they will certainly not speak well of me. What a source from which to obtain information !

The Arabs in general do not hesitate to say that I have ruined the Soudan, and that the measures I took to prevent the exportation of slaves has caused the abandonment of all agriculture, so that the people cannot pay the continually increasing taxes. After the departure of the old Governor the slaves believed that the hour of salvation was come, but were very soon cheated of their hope. Some who went to complain were beaten and sent back to their masters.

They accuse me of wishing to exclude the Arab element, of propagating the idea of emancipation, and employing natives in the administration ; that I make great military preparations and evolutions, and that I am working to the end that these districts may one day achieve their independence. Who knows what they will still invent in order to get me out of the country ! It is certain that I have struck a terrible blow at all the slavers without distinction.

Bahr-el-Ghazal, Rohl, Monbuttou, Makraka and Kufra-el-Nahas furnished at least eighty thousand slaves a year ; this number may seem exaggerated, but I am able to furnish the most exact statistics. Among the papers and documents collected in various scribe I have found some accounts current, and at Dem Suleiman I found some obligations to the value of about ninety thousand dollars, gained by the selling of slaves. Suleiman Ziber had credited with this sum several Jelabbas, merchants, and government employers.

There were more than twenty thousand Arabs in these regions occupied in the slave trade. Reckoning that each Arab captured on his own account only

six negroes, the number would reach a hundred thousand. But calculating also the thirty seribe, the Jelabba establishments, and the trade driven by the governors, the number of eighty thousand may be doubled. I have never found an Arab in a settlement who did not possess from thirty up to two hundred slaves. From Yussuf Pasha, who made expeditions of eight hundred slaves at a time, I took lately more than five hundred slaves; from the Jelabba Woad Alem three hundred, and so on in the case of a number of merchants who possessed from forty to a hundred. Here is the true source. The most miserable Arab possessed some twenty huts in an enclosure made of matting surrounded by thorn bushes; in this enclosure the slaves were crowded, tied to each other by long chains and guarded by Besingers. I destroyed all these enclosures, so that it might be seen what everyone did in his own house. No one at Khartoum would have dared to attempt to destroy their traffic. The principal proprietors of these seribe were established at Khartoum, where they succeeded in bribing the officials, and ended by finding, in the latter, protectors who enabled them to carry on their inhuman trade without hindrance.

When Gordon Pasha was first nominated Governor-General of Equatorial Africa, the frontiers of that country commenced at the Sobat, so that Bahr-el-Ghazal formed part of the country under his administration. When I first arrived at Khartoum I was ordered to occupy that province. On the same steamer in which I now am, the *Safia*, I arrived at Meshra-el-Rek, in which post I found six nuggers, waiting for their load of ivory and slaves; in fact, about eight days after my arrival, there appeared a quantity of porters laden with ivory and conducting six to seven thousand bullocks, and about six hundred slaves, whom they had captured on the journey. I could not learn what happened after, because a steamer, sent expressly, brought me orders to go back

at once to establish the station of Gaba-Shambé. Only later, when I arrived at Khartoum, I learned the reason of this recall.

The fact is that by the destruction of the slave trade, the city of Khartoum loses at least two million eight hundred thousand dollars a year. For this reason the Arabs lost patience with me, and concerted a *coup de main*. They enrolled at Shakka five hundred Jelabba, five hundred Besingers, and five hundred mounted men. They entered Bahr-el-Ghazal, and crossed the Bahr-el-Arab and the river Delgauna, giving themselves out to be Government messengers sent to collect the taxes. Meantime they began to capture the natives. Then, in all haste, I sent a company of regular troops and four hundred Besingers. The Arabs took to flight, and, when pursued, abandoned part of their slaves, but succeeded in carrying away a certain quantity and a large number of cattle. The owners of the Besingers and cavalry belonged to the most influential chiefs of Resegat (Shakka) called Ageil Bey, Daudau, Madibo Bey and Bellen. I have sent a protest to Khartoum, and am curious to see whether they will proceed against these highwaymen.

All the strip of land that borders the Bahr-el-Ghazal from Delgauna to where the river Bahr-el-Arab flows into the Bahr-el-Ghazal, was, some time ago, inhabited by more than two hundred thousand families of the tribe of the Jangeh. The Arabs of Bahr-el-Ghazal, as well as those of Shakka and Kalaka, preferred the Jangeh country as the place of their raids because of the numerous cattle. The Jangeh diminished to the number of thirty thousand families who, to escape persecution, emigrated to the Nuer country along the banks of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, in places inaccessible because of the marshes and morasses. It was only after the war against Suleiman that I could persuade them to return to their native homes, promising that their life and

property should be respected. The country therefore had been repopulated, when, all at once, peace is again disturbed! It may be foreseen what terrible vengeance the natives will have to suffer from the Jelabba, for having helped me to destroy their settlements; although I am still here, they do not conceal their intentions, but threateningly say, "Wait; this nostrano Christian will some day resign." It is certain that I cannot remain here for ever, and I am ready to resign my post. Enough for me, if the fate of these populations be confided to a person who will continue to hinder the slave trade!

Between Shakka and Kordofan there is a route called the Zaharia Road, which, during the rainy season, is traversed by numerous caravans, but avoided during summer because of the scarcity of water. Another route used by slave caravans is that from Darfour to Siut; the journey takes forty days. With four or five stations commanded by honest persons, all slavery might be ended for ever.

"On board the *Safia* for Khartoum,

"1880.

"DEAR CAMPERIO,—If I should not have to return to my post, I advise you to send by means of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, either a telegram or a letter to the Italian Consul-General at Cairo, telling him by means of the Khedive, to forward orders that Casati shall be protected and assisted in his explorations, as was done in the case of Dr. Junker. When you get this Casati will be in Monbuttu; that country is now under the jurisdiction of Emin Bey, who is always ambitious of being the first to solve the question of the Welle and its tributaries. Emin Bey is a man full of deceit and without character, pretentious and jealous—a German Jew, he passes for a Turk, or at least wishes to be understood as such. Anyhow, you would do well to recommend Casati to

him, for that can do no harm. I have warned Casati to be on his guard, and not allow himself to be deceived, because Emin Bey, besides being what I have described above, is a hypocritical person, ridiculously complimentary and cringing in his manner, and capable of deceiving the acutest man in the world. Now you will know what to do. . . .

“Yours,

“R. GESSL.”

September 25th, 1880.—We have been voyaging with the *Sajia*, a sloop, a nigger, a sandel, and a few ordinary boats, without meeting with much difficulty for five consecutive hours. We passed the place where the Jur flows into the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and are stopped in front of a bar of vegetable matter about five thousand feet long.

September 31st.—We are still under steam, passing four other bars, but fuel begins to grow scarce, and it is considered prudent to work with the windlass and towing ropes. We hoped a short time ago to reach the banks of the Bahr-el-Arab, where we might find the necessary wood, but the difficulty was such that we remained at a considerable distance. I was much surprised at the deteriorated state of the grappling irons, and there were only two blocks or pulleys with one rope. From the beginning of the voyage, as soon as we had shipped our anchor, I judged the captain to be incapable and ignorant both of manœuvring and commanding the engine. It was a continual stop ; go ahead ; full speed ; stop ; turn ; stand ; easy ; full speed ; and so on, enough to make the engine-men lose their heads. They became so confused that they never perfectly executed a single command, not knowing what movement to make. I therefore appealed to a certain Meki Effendi and Alsaga, an officer, and told them that with such a commander we might expect

great delay, begging them to take the necessary measures that the soldiers might not consume more than a half-ration a day. It is incredible, but a fact, that the soldiers who receive their rations every fifteen days, consisting of fifteen oche of doora, generally eat it all in three or four days. You will say, "How do they manage the rest of the time?" Well, when we are on land they find means of selling, purchasing and re-selling various objects, and the sheikhs are generally very liberal when they possess any provisions; so much the more because they admire the discipline I uphold amongst my men contrasted with the former rapacity of the irregular troops, etc. But all this can be done on land, but not on board, and the men must remember that here they will find nothing.

October 9th.—We are working steadily at a single bar about twelve thousand feet long. Day by day the task becomes more difficult, the men being tired with working always in the water. As I have a great many people, I counselled the captain to divide the labour, half working from morning to noon, and the other half till evening. He promised to do so, but afterwards paid no heed to my advice; on the contrary, I was informed that he complained to my men that I interfered with his affairs, for after all he was the captain, and had the responsibility. During the last nine days the work was daily interrupted by two or three hours of heavy rain.

At night the mosquitoes are a terrible nuisance; my people cannot sleep, but walk about and curse. Sometimes one treads upon another who has managed to fall asleep, on which there arise howls, cries and quarrels, which last till day-light. The captain is brutal in his treatment of the crew; they have all large scars, and one sailor had the thumb of his left hand crushed by a blow from a piece of wood. We see in the distance the wooded shores of

the Bahr-el-Arab, but it would take four hours of uninterrupted navigation to reach them. Our provisions are almost finished; my advice was not listened to, and instead of being economical from the beginning the soldiers' wives crowded the galley and cooked day and night. Our only hope, in case of famine, is to find among the cane the plant called sutep, which looks like an artichoke, and is full of seeds smaller than millet; it would do instead of doora. But it is impossible to find any near the steamer, and the soldiers already begin to chew the sweet bulrushes, some of which cause swellings of the gums, feet, etc.

October 10th.—About four thousand five hundred feet in advance of us the water is free, and we hoped to overcome this immense bar in three days; but we are disappointed, for to-day a formidable tempest burst over us, followed for two hours by hail of an extraordinary size, which fell with such violence that, in a few seconds, a goat which had been left unsheltered, was killed. The deck was covered with hail to the depth of nearly a foot, for there was such a quantity that the heat could not melt it.

This bar has been an unfortunate circumstance for us, as it dragged other bars away from the sides of the river, and surrounded us as if with a wall. The free way in front has closed again, and even from the mast top we cannot clearly perceive where the river is free. I am very uneasy about the future, and busy thinking what can be done for our safety. To turn back is as difficult as to go on. It is impossible to send messengers to ask for help, for both shores of the Bahr-el-Ghazal are populated with savage tribes, warlike, and enemies of the Nuer. There is nothing to be done but persevere and try to reach the woods of the Bahr-el-Arab, where we may perhaps find sutep and bacium.

The numerous hippopotami which I met with on

other voyages, and which might have provided food, are not to be seen, and we only hear their grunting at an immense distance. Not a single aquatic bird is visible either. I am miserably provided. I had eleven tins of flour, which are reduced to six, and twenty-eight baskets of grain, which I am keeping for critical moments. Being disgusted with my soldiers, who must be implored to work, I made some observations to the officers, who, however, did not urge them, but even showed great indifference as to whether we advanced or were stationary. The officers replied to my remonstrances by saying that the men were hungry, and that more could not be expected of them, for they had worked continually for sixteen days, while what had been done was nothing compared with what has to be done.

“Well, then,” I asked, “what do you think of doing? If we hunger to-day, we shall starve to-morrow. God has said, ‘Help thyself and I will help thee.’”

“It is better to die,” they replied, “than to labour in vain.”

Now these gentlemen, thinking that I am returning to Khartoum because I have been suspended or dismissed, believe that they may disobey me. They secretly incite the soldiers against me, saying that I am taking them to certain death, having neglected to take provisions sufficient for even two months. The behaviour of the Arab soldiers therefore became more suspicious every day. I never lose sight of my three carabines, and at night one of my Monbuttu sleeps across the door of my cabin.

October 20th.—They are working by force; the workmen have to push one another down among the canes; when down, instead of working, they begin to chew the bulrushes. The captain himself remains for whole days in his cabin selling grain, absinthe, spirits, tobacco, honey, and tamarinds, at fabulous prices. He sells the grain, which at Khartoum costs

two dollars, for thirty-six dollars; a pot of honey, which costs one dollar in Bahr-el-Ghazal, he sells for ten dollars, and tobacco, costing at Khartoum twenty-five piastres, he sells at sixty, or three dollars. His cabin has become a real *bucette militaire*, and he an inn-keeper.

It is easy to imagine the effect of these spirituous liquors on the soldiers, especially a kind of absinthe, composed of noxious substances, and manufactured expressly for the Soudan. At night the soldiers are intoxicated, and the officers have now very little authority over them. Three soldiers and five infants have died. The soldiers had been ill for more than eight months, but everyone said they died of hunger. The officers came to beg me to give them the twenty-eight baskets of grain, and then the people would go to work eagerly on the morrow. I gave them the grain, but it was very little for so many people, and I foresaw that the same thing would happen again in two days.

Thefts are beginning to be frequent at night. Now someone is caught in the act; now another complains that his provisions have been stolen. Three days ago I begged Jinau Bey to send two of his men to see if they could find some sutep; in the evening they returned carrying each a load. The next day more than a hundred men went ashore, but instead of seeking sutep they brought some cane, saying that the water was too deep, and that it was too difficult to go to the place where Jinau Bey's men had found the sutep. Yet there was still enough left to have sufficed for all the people for two or three days.

In the evening five soldiers and two women were missing at the roll-call. A report was immediately spread that I had exposed them to certain death by sending them away unarmed, and that they had fallen victims to the lances of the Nuer.

The boats at our bows cannot make much progress,

for their crews have to clear the way, and we are often obliged to go to their assistance, so that the work is trebled and the discontent of the people increased.

One of the boats, laden with ivory and timber, had remained far behind, and the people in the steamer refused to obey the captain and go to fetch it. If we had had to abandon it, it would have been a great loss, so I offered a reward of fifty dollars out of my own pocket to volunteers. A crew of four hundred then went to save it, and after hard work for two days brought it up to the steamer.

The soldiers begin to eat the skins in which they wrap their property to keep it dry. They cut up the skins, soak them in water all night, and the next day remove the hair, boil them, and then roast them on the fire.

October 25th.—The captain comes to tell me that he does not know what to do, for the soldiers will not work, and also the provisions of the sailors are beginning to fail.

October 26th.—It had been said that I had a depôt of sixty sacks of flour, and the news is believed more firmly every day. It was that rascal of a Fadle Mulle who spread the report, wishing to excite a rebellion against me. Yesterday, finding that it was being more and more confirmed, I called all the sub-officers and told them that I knew of the report spread about me, and I invited them to pay a visit to my room, where I kept all my things, and to assure themselves that the assertion was false, as I had nothing but six tins of flour for myself and servants for fifteen days. I went down with them, made them examine the whole ship, and thus calmed them. I bought from the captain, the sailors and the head fireman, honey and tamarinds for the sum of thirty dollars, and to others I gave money, so that they again began to work.

October 28th.—An Arab soldier, while I was

writing, came and threw his little boy, a year old, into my cabin, crying, "His mother has eaten nothing for three days, and is dead of hunger! As I cannot give milk to my son, take him!" I took up the poor baby, which had been pitilessly thrown on the ground, and set him down outside the cabin. I then called the officer on duty, telling him that if he could not keep order among his men, I should know what to do in case of a similar impertinence being repeated. At midday, seeing a soldier who refused to go to work, I gave him a push. He tried to resist, but fell on the deck. He then pretended to be dead, and his comrades surrounded him, crying, "He is dead! He is dead! He has been killed by the Pasha!" He remained quiet for at least two hours, and then I went to see whether he was really dead; but his heart and pulse were beating, and it was only a pretence. The next day a soldier was attacked with extreme giddiness, and thinking he was going to die, called an officer, who profited by the occasion to tell him that he was dying in consequence of bad treatment, and called many witnesses to hear him say so. But the soldier said, "It is not true, I cannot tell such a lie; I am often subject to such fits of giddiness." Fortunately he did not die, but got quite well.

October 30th.—A council was held at which I would not assist. The captain wrote to me, begging that I would advise them what to do. He said that if he had fuel for the furnaces he would be able to conquer all difficulties. So we set to work to encourage the people, and were fortunate enough to arrive near the woods of the Bahr-el-Arab.

November 2nd.—For three days everyone went to cut wood; they made three great piles on the shore. The captain loaded two, and left the other where it was, saying that what he had taken on board would be enough. Although everyone protested, he refused to take the third pile, pretending that there would

be always time enough to furnish ourselves with fuel from the shore.

November 15th.—All this time the work of removing the bars continued, but with little success. Our fuel is diminishing, and because of a curve in the river, we are still further away from the forest. I gave away four of my flour tins, and have now only one and a half left. The rest of my provisions consist of eight bottles of barbaries, four tins of sausage, six pounds of barley, and thirty cigars. I observed long since that the soldiers began to eat their shoes; they devoured every kind of herb they found to the very roots, and they made lines with iron wire and took some little fish. It is a critical moment. No hope of salvation; everyone begins to abandon himself to despair, and, sitting on deck with bent head, quietly awaits death. There have lately died twenty-two children, nine soldiers, and eighteen women. The people came to beg me to take eight strong men and go with a boat to Fashoda to seek help. But first I thought it dishonourable to forsake my post at the moment of danger, and it might be said that I only cared for my own safety; and then, in order to reach Fashoda, passing through we did not know how many bars, it would need in the most favourable case ten or twelve days to go, and as many again to find provisions, reinforcements, etc. The third consideration was that it needed a steamer to go up the river, and as all steamers are dismantled there was every probability that I should find no means of returning. Besides that, I had not sufficient provisions to last during the descent of the Bahr-el-Ghazal as far as where it flows into the White Nile, either for me or my men, who, as they would have to work all day, could not conquer the difficulties they would meet with unless well fed. Finally, I should have had to cross a country thickly populated with natives, who asked nothing better than a chance of revenging themselves on their oppressors.

The only person who appears to enjoy our situation is the captain, who now only busies himself with his sales, asking a hundred times the real value of the goods. He sells doora at a dollar the *oke*, or four hundred and fifty francs the *erdep*, which at Khartoum only costs ten francs. In other circumstances I should have acted despotically. Certainly, if Gordon Pasha had been still in Khartoum, I should have taken command of the steamer the third day after our departure; but, surrounded by rebellious soldiers and officers who did not believe in me, how could I undertake such a responsibility? I believe after the experience I have had up till to-day, that none of us will be saved.

November 16th.—This morning I was awakened by two of my Monbuttu, who, with tears in their eyes, told me that some thieves had stolen all my provisions except the bottles, which had been in a separate locked box. The news is very discomfoting. Yesterday evening, before going to bed, I thought of locking up the flour, and putting all of us on quarter rations, but I decided otherwise. Now I am as badly off as the others. The worst is that I have finished all the grain, tamarinds, and tea, things which cannot be bought at any price. Though we are thus stranded, I tell my boys not to be discouraged; we will set to work and do our best to find some suted.

November 20th.—Four of the boys went and stayed four days on land, returning with sufficient suted to last other four days. I let them rest, sent them out again, and in this way we are able, not to satisfy our hunger, but to fight death for the moment. Every day six to ten soldiers die. The corpses are thrown into the water near the steamer, for no one will carry them to a distance. Corpses of women, infants, Soudanese, Arabs, Dongolese, are all mixed in horrible confusion, while a terrible stench infects the air. The fever which had left me when I departed

from Meshra-el-Rek, has reappeared with great violence. Jinau Bey came on board to beg me to remove to his nugger, where I should be quieter. He also had exhausted his provisions, but had many servants who went out and collected sufficient sutedep to keep them all alive. I accepted his offer. But it was high time to put an end to this state of things, so I determined to break up a boat for firewood. At the same time I ordered crews to take care of the sloop and the nugger, and thus the steamer, rid of the labour of tugging, would be able to go more quickly to Fashoda to obtain men and help. While the captain broke up the boat I and Jinau worked at the bars.

November 30th.—For many days I only see the steamer at a great distance, but never lose sight of its mast. We are already at the end of November. The steamer made but little progress, getting about two miles in advance of us, when it found itself again blocked. It then turned back to join us.

December 12th.—The steamer has been able to approach us. During this terrible interval, soldiers, women, children, and Dongolese have died. The steamer has now very few men. The captain came on board to ask us to send him assistance. He had again consumed all the fuel, and had not enough people to do the work. Later on, my servant with the engineer and others came to tell us that, for the second time, the captain had neglected to load a large part of the fuel obtained by breaking up the boat; that some men had gone ashore to gather sutedep, and the captain had started without waiting for them, thus leaving forty-three persons at the mercy of the savages. The men on land with great trouble had returned to the river bank, but the captain refused to send a boat to take them. Among the forty-three men there were four of my boys, and it may be imagined how furious I am at the inhuman conduct of this faithless and lawless man.

December 15th.—At the petition of the captain Jinau Bey's men were sent to work on board the steamer. Turning to the captain, I said,—

“It is now time that you should set a good example by going on board yourself to direct and join in the work.”

But he contemptuously replied that he alone was responsible, and that I should meddle with my own business in Bahr-el-Ghazal! This was too much. I lost patience, and attacked him, forgetting where I was and everything about me. He fell on the deck of the nugger, and at the same moment all the crew of the steamer declared they would no longer submit to the orders of such a person. I went on board the steamer. Our position was extreme, and I was obliged to arrest the captain and confide the command to the head-engineer. I told the crew the decision I had come to, and warned them that they must not obey any orders given by the captain.

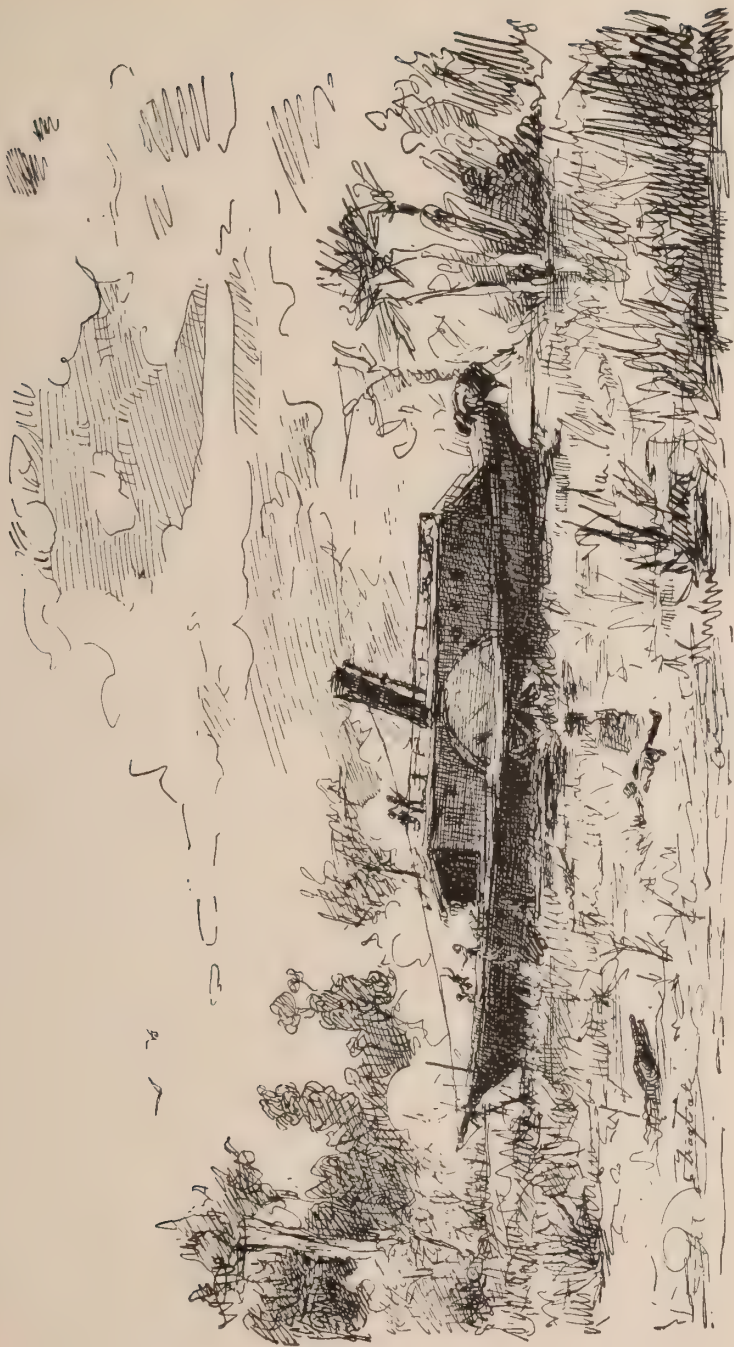
December 20th.—We are encountering enormous difficulty, but we hope that they will not prove insurmountable. If we had had at our disposal the forty-three men who have been abandoned, twenty of them would have helped us to overcome two or three bars which we must pass before getting into free water. A sailor and five of Jinau Bey's men died.

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We are dying of hunger. If things remain as they are now for two days more, I feel that I also must succumb.

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From the bridge can be seen at a distance the huts of the Nuer fishermen, who, however, are enemies. I decided to attack them in the hope of finding some provisions, but only seven men would accompany me. When we drew near the huts we



THE "SAPHIA" IN THE SHALLOWS.

fired a volley, and advanced to the attack. The Nuer took to flight, evidently believing that we had come in great numbers. We took from their huts a little grain, some tobacco and sutep and four small goats. When those on board saw our booty, they also landed and got some more sutep. But all together was scarcely sufficient for one day. I kept one goat and divided three among the men. I also kept a basket of doora for myself and servants.

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We have reached the worst. I cannot remember anything like it in all my life. Scarcely does someone die than he is devoured during the night by the survivors. It is impossible to describe the horror of such scenes. One soldier devoured his own son.

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The day after this, the cannibals died. It is noticeable that the Arabs were the first and the most numerous of those who devoured the flesh of the dead.

Of the one hundred and forty-nine Soudanese soldiers, except twelve whom I left in the sleep and the nugger, only eight are alive, but they are in a desperate state. As to the women and children, I cannot at this moment give the exact number of dead, but I believe it is more than two hundred and seventy.

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Four days ago I gave orders that all the tables should be broken up for firewood, that we might get out of this desperate situation. At night the steamer was hampered by two immense bars behind and before, and the river was at our right; we should have been obliged to recede about seventy feet so as to turn our prow to the current, an operation that it was impossible to execute with so few people and the useless engines. I have

prepared everything, intending to commence the work to-morrow, the 1st of January. I hope that with the beginning of the new year our terrible situation may be changed.

New Year's Eve! a sad day for me! I think of my home, my wife and children, who are ignorant of the miserable condition of their father. What thoughts overwhelm me to-day, in the midst of so many putrefying corpses, and poisonous air filled with hungry vultures, who hover above the inexplicable mass of cane, papyrus, and bulrushes!

So ended the year 1880, which led us to extremity, not because of our previous efforts and fatigues, but because I was so fortunate in my campaign against the slavers; because the most influential men in Khartoum had condemned this war against Suleiman as a false step unfortunately taken by the Government!

As to me, it matters little to my personal interest whether Arab fanaticism labours to destroy what has been obtained at the price of such immense sacrifice and bloodshed. I am perfectly satisfied with the letters written to me by Gordon Pasha to thank me for my work. He alone can appreciate the difficulties that I had to overcome, and the scarcity of the means at my disposal. I am compensated by the gratitude of the people liberated, and by the fact that I have proved it to be possible to cut the Gordian knot of slavery and the slave trade. It is now seen that they can be suppressed, destroyed to the very roots, if only the Government and those who administer the Soudan provinces have energy enough to carry out faithfully the orders of the Viceroy.

Such a festering wound cannot indeed be healed

by gentle methods ; it needs caustic treatment and the touch of fire. Some twenty examples carried out in the Soudan would crush all the slave traders.

I am confident that with the New Year my fate will change, having taken all possible measures to extricate myself from my present position, the worst I have known since I came into the world. If Providence favours me, I am inclined, as soon as I reach Khartoum, to return to the bosom of my family after three years of a tempestuous life.

January 1st, 1881.—The day dawns ; it is New Year's Day, and in my thoughts I send my good wishes to my family and friends.

As early as seven o'clock I called the men to work. The anchors were raised, the engines set going, and we gradually backed till we could turn our prow to the river. After four hours' work, always going astern, the engines stopped ; it was found that the grappling irons were rotten. Still we succeeded in tearing away a large piece of flotsam, which, carried off by the current, left our prow free, and the currents acting on it, enabled the steamer to turn to the channel. But behind us an entire island of vegetation got loose. There was not a moment to lose ; we were obliged to draw back the ropes. For the moment the grappling irons hung above the herbage, and we put on full steam so as not to be driven into another bar.

We are stopped again by another bar, which we hope to pass to-morrow. Meanwhile we employ the time in getting back the ropes. We are in a better position than before, as the woods of Ghudera, where we shall find tamarinds, and probably game, are only an hour distant.

January 2nd.—We commence work in good time. The bar presents difficulties. Towards ten o'clock the part in front breaks away and is carried off by

the current, but stops short some distance away. Meanwhile we must recover the ropes and postpone work till to-morrow.

January 4th.—We advance at full speed, but fresh masses of flotsam break away from both shores of the river. Still we succeed in gaining ground on the bar in front, and in stopping those descending the river, so that they remain behind. The woods are now only an hour and a half away. By procuring a sufficiency of fuel we hope to issue from this chaos. But I have now only four sailors, my two servants, and Jinau Bey with his three men. They must attempt to provide the steamer with fuel, which work will cause us to lose at least eight days. We are all weak, and cannot work rapidly.

At four p.m. we heard a gun-shot, and, a few moments after, cries arose. The launch was manned and went to see what had happened. My two boys, who had gone in search of sutedep had been attacked by the Nuers; the eldest had a gun. he fired, and the Nuers fled. Enough sutedep was collected to last for two days, and a few tamarinds. The sutedep is ground to flour and boiled with tamarinds, which gives an acid taste and makes up for the want of salt.

To-day we cannot work on our own account, having to go to the assistance of the nugger, which is rather far behind. At last we are rid of all the corpses that surrounded us. The air is pure, and the vicinity of the woods gives courage and hope to the survivors.

We work from morning till night to free the nugger from another bar. Hunger has exhausted our strength, and hope has again vanished. The depression of the crew is such that if we cannot reach the woods to-day, we shall all indubitably perish to-morrow.

Even the engineer and the captain eat rushes. The captain who had sold his provisions for one

thousand per cent. is now obliged to furnish himself with suted porridge at two piastres the spoonful, and it needs at least fifty spoonfuls, not to satisfy him, but to keep him barely alive.

I have expended all my strength in persuading the people to work, but in vain; I spoke to bodies without souls. The fresh bar in front has so demoralized them, so depressed them, that all my efforts are without effect.

Here we are, after all the hopes we nourished yesterday, in precisely the same condition as before, overwhelmed with the same sad and desolating apprehensions.

What could I say, and what remained for me to do with these cowardly men? A thousand thoughts preoccupy my poor imagination! There is no way open to me unless to take the boat and trust to fortune. But what would be said if I were to abandon my post? I should be a mark for slander; should be dishonoured in every way. Better perish with the others than abandon them to certain death.

I leave this letter in my cabin, directed to Consul Hansal. If it should providentially reach him, at least the causes of our disaster will be known in Italy. All my collection of living animals, including a black monkey and an Abu merkup (*Baleniceps rex*), which I believe would be the only living example in Europe, and all of which were destined for Marquis Doria in Genoa, have been devoured by the soldiers. I have nothing left but a few ethnographic objects which I intended for the Geographical Society, and a few scientific instruments which that Society lent to me.

Would that fortune might again smile on us! It is possible that our departure *via* Shakka has been reported from Bahr-el-Ghazal and that they have thought at Khartoum of sending us assistance.

January 5th.—Last evening, after forming my plans, I had gone to take some rest, as for a long time I had been unable to sleep. I was in Jinau Bey's boat, when all at once I heard a volley from the steamer. The flag was hoisted and the people shouted, "A steamer! a steamer!" It is the *Ismailia*! Great God! thanks be to Thy mercy!

Everyone had tears in his eyes; I myself could not restrain my emotion. Everyone came to kiss my feet and hands, crying, "God be thanked! We are saved!"

It was difficult to recognize whether it was the *Ismailia* or some other steamer, for it stopped at a great distance, unable to advance by reason of a bar. But we remembered that it would be provided with sufficient people to conquer the first obstacles, and that when our hunger was appeased, we should gain new life and strength. Under these circumstances we practically learned the value of a piece of bread that many people throw contemptuously away.

When the steamer, which turned out to be the *Bordeen*, approached the *Safia*, I was on board the nugger, which was prevented from advancing by a bar. We got into a boat and forced our way through, and when we drew near I saw a European face, but could not distinguish who it was. He asked if His Excellency the Pasha was in the boat. I rose and asked to whom I had the honour of speaking.

He replied, "Marno!"

His thick beard, thin face, and also the distance, had prevented me from recognizing him.

Assisted by some men, I was able to go on board the *Bordeen*, where my friend Marno nursed me most affectionately. Soup was administered to me and I gained a little strength, having also been in great extremity.

The night before the arrival of this steamer I believed I was dying. I was overcome with an

internal emptiness and great languor; in fact my last remains of strength were fast ebbing away. It was then that I had written my last wishes, and was waiting for evening to shut up all in a tin box that had contained my tobacco, and write the Arab address to Consul Hansal.

It is incredible and impossible to describe the thoughts that traversed my brain during that night! Death had never before approached me so closely, neither in the many combats I had fought, nor during all the treacheries and plots against my life. And now I must die ingloriously in the middle of a river, by the death met with by thousands and thousands of Jelabba in Niam-Niam, or the scorching deserts of Darfour.

Thanks to the attentive nursing of my good friend Marno I was greatly restored in a few hours. It had not been only hunger, but chiefly moral depression that had prostrated me.

Victuals were distributed equally to the crew of the *Safia*, and twenty-five men were left on board to take her to the woods of Ghudera to provide the vessel with fuel, while the *Bordeen* forced a way through the bars to go and meet the slep and the nugger, which we had abandoned. At 1.30 we reached Jinau Bey's nugger, and freed it from the flotsam which hindered its advance; we then let it descend the current to join the *Safia*.

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Work was carried on the rest of the day without interruption.

January 6th.—In the morning we started, and two hours later arrived at the spot where the captain of the *Safia* had so cruelly abandoned forty-three men. People were sent out in all directions to seek the wanderers, thirty-eight of whom they succeeded in finding, but in a condition that excited our compassion. The rest we believe to be lost or dead.

Having embarked the survivors and provided them with food, we continued in search of the other nugger. The flotsam not being very compact, we reached the nugger and the sandel at 1.50. Almost all the people, except the Yubashi and Hassan Bey, were two hours away from the shore, seeking food. As soon as the steamer was seen those who had strength enough came on board; we had to send people to carry the others, who were too weak to move, being reduced to mere skeletons.

As soon as we had made sure that all the survivors were on board, we put on full steam, and on the 7th of January anchored once more at the place where the *Bordeen* had first found us.

January 9th.—The steamer, going full speed, conquered the difficult passage of the bars, some of which were very compact.

January 10th.—We finally left the *Gazelle*, found ourselves in free water, and set our course for Bahr-el-Seraf, where we were to stop to get fuel.

January 12th.—We started for Fashoda, where we were received with great rejoicing. Our arrival was unexpected. The Governor and authorities were much preoccupied about some unheard-of atrocities that had been committed against the poor and harmless populations of the White Nile, who previously had been under my jurisdiction.

I stayed two days at Fashoda to give time to everyone to provide himself with what was necessary, and then started. After a voyage of five days we reached Khartoum.

I was received on the quay by our Consular Agent, Callisto Legnani, accompanied by the whole Italian colony, the Austrian Consul, and a large crowd of people.

His Excellency Raouf Pasha was absent, but was expected back in a few days from his mission to Abyssinia. I repaired to the Government Palace, and was received by His Excellency the Vice-

Governor, who was entirely ignorant of the catastrophe which had overtaken us.¹

Up to to-day the deaths of more than four hundred and thirty persons have been ascertained, and some of the few survivors die daily, for they are not as carefully nursed as they ought to be.

Accepting the hospitality of our Consular Agent, I acquired, thanks to his care, a little strength, and I hope within two weeks to be perfectly recovered and able to leave for Europe, after an absence of three years and a half, during which time I have been constantly active. After so much fatigue some rest is absolutely indispensable.

“On the way to Fashoda, January 11th, 1881.

“DEAR DR. JUNKER,

“On the 25th September, 1880, I left Meshra-el-Rek to go to Khartoum; but what misfortunes ensued!

“The inability of the steamer to break through the bars of vegetable flotsam on the river, and the incapacity of the captain, were the cause of all the misfortunes that I describe to you below. The captain, who was not even a sailor, having been a simple turner in the arsenal at Khartoum, owed his post to his wife, who was the mistress of Raouf Pasha.

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“Everyone says that Gordon's absence is much felt; the slave traders have recommenced their infamous commerce with renewed courage, favoured by Raouf Pasha, and it is extremely necessary that a European should be made Governor-General of the Soudan. Raouf Pasha has taken from me the

¹ The then Vice-Governor was a certain Gigler, who was quite aware of the state of the river.—FELIX GESSI.

province of Monbuttú, fearing that I should make the affair of the eunuchs public. Emin Bey seconds him, and it is certain he has spoken much evil against me.

“Yours,

“R. GESSI.”

CHAPTER XLII.

FROM KHARTOUM TO SUEZ.

“Khartoum, February 12th, 1881.

“To the Editor of the *Esploratore*.

“I FOUND Khartoum after an absence of three years very different from what I had left it. Fine edifices along the river bank, luxurious vegetation, new law-courts, a garden to the Government Palace; all these things on arriving from the marshy countries of the Nuer and the Shilluk, arouse a certain wonder even in one accustomed to the great cities of the world.

“It is the European colony which has transformed this region, instructing the people in the art of making brick and lime and cutting stone, and proving to them that the most unpleasant places can be rendered habitable, and life therein supportable. The Catholic mission was the first teacher, later on the Maltese Del Bono, and then different Arab, Copt, and Greek merchants, and now there is general rivalry in building houses provided with all the comforts of European civilization.

“There are also many fine shops and warehouses abundantly furnished with European articles, such as preserves, confectionery, and a thousand other things which would please the most refined taste.

“Among the merchants M. Marquet, a Frenchman, distinguished himself by dealing in an immense

variety of goods. Besides all imaginable articles of food, he has linen, silk, cotton, and stuff warehouses, stationery and all kinds of European manufactures. Other shops are resplendent in ornaments, lamps, and chandeliers. In fact, it is now possible to procure all the articles necessary to a house, even down to locks, chains, nails, and paint and brushes ; everything that we could expect to find in the best Milanese shops.

“ If exportation be a capital outlet for European industry, the importation of products direct from the Soudan to Europe is not less important. Fifteen months ago Italy was obliged to purchase at Alexandria, Cairo, or Trieste, the gums necessary for her manufactures ; but thanks to your enterprise, and chiefly to the efforts of the *Esploratore*, we begin to understand that, till now, we did not work for ourselves, but for those nations who knew how to provide themselves with African products. The firm of Lattuada set the example by their first direct commercial expedition, and now the second, directed by Messrs. Medici and Cuzzi,¹ is on the point of starting. When they return to Italy they will be able to give good advice as to the establishment of a representative on the spot, for the continual journeys are not only expensive, but often lead to the depreciation of an excellent business, for gums are an article very subject to change of price. Besides this, the speculator must neglect many other articles, such as wax, caoutchouc and ivory, which now begin to arrive in large quantities from Bahr-le-Ghazal.

“ The Italian Commercial Society in Milan could not be more efficiently represented. Messrs. Micheli and De Mitri are very industrious, intelligent, faithful young men, and will shortly prove their activity by sending good and choice gums, and probably other products to Italy.

¹ Cuzzi is now a Mahdist Governor.—ED.

“The Italian Consular Agent, Signor Callisto Legnani,² does all he can to maintain good relations with the Government and his colleagues the Austrian and Greek Consuls. M. Voisson, the French Consul, will arrive shortly, and has probably already reached Berber. An English Consul is also expected, and very soon all the flags of the civilized nations will wave in the capital of the Soudan.

“Allow me, however, to make an observation which I believe is not out of place. All the other representatives having the title of consul, it would be advisable that our own representatives should have the same rank, if only to do away with hierarchical differences that might be misunderstood by the Arabs, giving to other nations a greater importance or value than to our own.

“I do not like to close my remarks about consulates and commercial enterprises without drawing your attention to a constant source of danger to capitalists, who, for want of knowledge, are often exposed to the loss of all their merchandise. I allude to certain rocks that lie between Khartoum and Berber, and which, at very little expense, might be destroyed by blowing them up at low water. Signor Legnani has already suffered a considerable loss, and last year the boats of Messrs. P. Prada and Melici were nearly wrecked. The Egyptian Government might very well execute the work without any prejudice to the exchequer. A trifling tax of one piastre per boat or raft would cover the whole expense, and great service would be rendered, not only to trade but also to the Government, as steamers could then navigate the river safely even at low water.

“The country begins to profit by the coming of the Europeans. The Arab merchants who deal in native products are no longer obliged to sell to the great firms, who, having formed a trading union,

² He is now Italian Consular Agent at Suakim.—Ed.

obtained the goods at their own prices. This evil has ceased, and Europeans, who were first looked upon with dislike, are now received in a very different spirit and preferred to the native swindlers.

“The lower female classes have also found lucrative occupation, working in all the places where Europeans collect gums, which they sort according to density and purity.

“Let us hope that the initiative taken by Italians will lead to greater things, and that they will not allow themselves to be beaten even if, contrary to all expectation, they should be overtaken by adversity. If we Italians are firm and persistent, victory is certain; especially if we set to work under the triple watchword:—Union, perseverance, and honesty.

“R. GESSI.”

The following is Gessi Pasha's last letter to Captain Camperio.

“On the way to Berber.

“March 18th, 1881.

“DEAR CAMPERIO,—What you foresaw has happened. By God's mercy my life is spared from two enemies: Raouf Pasha and my serious illness, which no one believed could be conquered. The doctors, my good Comboni, and my friends gave up all hope. Everything was prepared for my burial; the very doctors say it is a miracle that I am still alive.

“And during my illness what persecutions, what tyranny had I not to suffer on the part of Raouf? They reached such a point that the European colony, indignant at such base proceedings, unanimously raised their voices in my defence.

“The Austrian Consul and Italian Delegate, and M. Marquet, decided to go together to Raouf Pasha

and tell him that, as witnesses to all that had been plotted against my existence, they would know how to do their duty in case I succumbed.

“Raouf, much alarmed, and now conscious of the danger in which he was, gave orders, and at last a dahabia was put at my disposal. I was carried on board in a litter, and here I am on the voyage to Berber, where I hope to arrive in three days. There I must stay about a week to get the means of proceeding on my journey, lying in an *angerep*. I can neither stand nor sit, being so weak and a mere skeleton; God and I alone know how I have supported such suffering.

“Raouf until the last moment pitilessly showed his cruel sentiments towards me by deducting ten thousand francs from my stipend, that is, reducing me to the pay of a colonel, while that of a general of brigade was due to me.³ I hope to acquire during the crossing of the desert and the sea voyage strength to go on to Cairo and remonstrate with His Highness the Khedive, and then proceed to Italy. In case of need De Martino will help me, for I only ask what in justice is due to me. I shall make the journey direct: Suakim, Suez, Port Said, Alexandria, Cairo, so as to profit as much as possible by the sea air.

“What a sad period I have passed through! It distresses me to describe it; you will learn the details from other sources. And this has been my reward for having saved the Soudanese possessions for Egypt, and contributed to the prosperity of the exchequer by the introduction of products and the communications I have opened! But I will not complain. A Raouf cannot destroy all I have done, and public opinion, which is the glass of truth, will one day give me the recompense I have merited.

³ The advocate, Jilo Sigari, of Cairo, was named executor of Gessi's will, but till now the Egyptian Government has never paid the ten thousand francs to Gessi's family.—F. GESSI.

“ I beg you not to publish what I have written. I think of going to Cairo to save a small sum, and an article from you might vex the Khedive. If my attempts fail, then we will act. While I am at Cairo I will take some iron baths at Helwan, which is only half an hour’s distance from the city. I was recommended to do so by my doctor at Khartoum, a Swiss who is very clever in his profession. I beg you to tell your commissioner at Milan (the same who sent me provisions) to order at Genoa about forty pounds of sea biscuits to be sent direct to my house at Trieste, that being the only bread recommended to me. And if six bottles of old Barbera or Barolo wine could be sent, it would do me good. Who knows whether I shall not be obliged to remain shut up at Trieste for a long time? We shall see where the doctors will send me. You cannot imagine how much I have to tell you! The ethnographical collection was saved from the voracity of Raouf Pasha by the Consular Agent, who has charged himself with sending it to the Italian Consul at Suez. As soon as I arrive there I will forward it to Trieste. Casati will now be in Monbattu. Raouf is furious against him because of the last articles in the paper. I have sent him the things he wanted through Legnani. You will do well to obtain orders about Casati from Raouf Pasha through Cairola and the Khedive. Write to me *poste restante*, Cairo. Many compliments at home.

“ R. GESSI.”

The last note written by Gessi Pasha a few moments before leaving Khartoum, is as follows :—

“ I cannot tell you what I am doing now, nor what I mean to do. Everything will depend on circumstances. I have suffered too much. I have been exposed to too many fatigues. The last catastrophe of the voyage has quite crushed me. Another in my

place would have died of horror. Imagine that during two months many persons fed on human flesh alone! I was at the point of death, but I could never have dared to feed on my fellow-creatures. I would rather have put an end to myself before the final sufferings terminated my existence. Fortunately the *Bordeen* arrived."

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE DEATH OF GESSI PASHA.

Last moments—Letter from Count Pennazzi—Gessi Pasha's report, written ten days before his death.

THE letters of Gessi Pasha, written by himself, end with the previous chapter. It remains for the editor of this book to describe his last moments.

We have seen, from his latest notes, that he arrived at Khartoum on January 25, 1881, and that he was received in the house of the Italian Consular Agent, where he was kept almost a prisoner by the Egyptian Government. His enemies, among them, alas! some Europeans, continued their secret persecution of the dying man. The Sisters of the Italian Mission, whose names we will record because they afterwards fell into the hands of the Madhi, nursed Gessi by turns, giving a good example of the highest Christian virtue.

Here are their names :

Sister Vittoria Zaganini, Superior; Guiseppa Scandola; Matilde Lombardi; Fortunata Zanolì; Elisa Suppi; Rosalia Conte; Francesca Dalmasso; Amalia Andreis; Maria Colpo; Caterina Chincarini; Elisa Venturini.

But their and Consul Legnani's loving care only delayed the final catastrophe, and Gessi wished to die, if die he must, in Italy. He embarked on the 11th of March for Berber, whence he was carried in



GESSI PASHA'S JOURNEY ACROSS THE DESERT.

a litter, placed on two camels, across the desert, a journey of twenty days of intense suffering under a burning sun. During the journey he met the French Consul Voisson, who was going to Khartoum. To him he confided a young Akka who had hitherto faithfully accompanied him. Let us here publicly thank this distinguished French consul for the remembrance he has always entertained of Gessi Pasha, for what he wrote about the memorable campaign in Bahr-el-Ghazal, and for his generous offer of five hundred francs for the publication of these Memoirs. Honour be to him, and may our gratitude reach him across the ocean.

Gessi arrived at Suakim on the 10th of April, was assisted by the Director of the Post, Signor Samuele Mei, and his wife. On the 24th he embarked on the *Zagazig*, where he found Count Pennazzi and Gerhard Rohlfs; but when he arrived at Suez on the 28th he was too weak to continue his journey. He was taken to the French hospital, where he was visited by the Viceroy, Tewfik Pasha, accompanied by Lesseps, who happened to be at Suez.

The Khedive, taking Gessi's hand, so pale and wasted, said,—

“Courage, Gessi. Egypt has need of you!”

But Gessi, baring his skeleton arms, replied,—

“I should like to serve her, your Highness, but, as you see, I am nothing more than a corpse. I recommend my family to your care. I die because I have done my duty.”

These were his last words. He breathed his last at 7.20 p.m., April 30th. He preserved his mental faculties to the last, and faced death with the greatest fortitude. Beside his deathbed stood Count Pennazzi, the Vice-Consul, Cavalier Vitto, the Chancellor Marino, and the Director of the Post, Signor Giordano.

Gessi is one of the glories of Italy, and his

name will be indelibly united with the words: Humanity and Progress.¹

The following is a letter from Count Pennazzi, who accompanied Gessi from Suakim to Suez :—

“ To the Editor of the *Esploratore*.

“ Suez, 2nd May, 1881.

“ Gessi Pasha left Meshra-el-Rek on the 12th September, 1880, on board the steamer *Safia*, and reached Khartoum on the 19th January, 1881, after having suffered the most cruel moral and physical tortures ; after witnessing the death by famine of four-fifths of his six hundred men ; and after being cruelly punished by the Government which he had served for several years with zeal and energy, and which, instead of thanking him, deprived him of his post.

“ His anxiety to see his country once more, his family and relations and friends, impelled him to quit Khartoum in spite of his weak health, and after much suffering he arrived at Suakim on the 10th April. During the fourteen days that he stopped in that city his health gradually improved, so that on the 24th we carried him on board the Egyptian steamer *Zagazig* ; he arrived safely in Suez on the 28th, where, by the aid of Vice-Consul Vitto, he was speedily removed to the French hospital. The four days of sea voyage had so weakened him, that from the time of our arrival in Suez we all despaired of his recovery. In fact he gradually sank, until on the 30th he was quite exhausted, and at 7.20 p.m., in full possession of his mental faculties,

¹ The year after this event, Gessi's remains were taken to Ravenna by care of the African Society in Naples. The municipality of Ravenna erected a monument in the cemetery, designed by the sculptor Bagioni, and representing, besides Gessi, two other illustrious Italian explorers, Matteucci and Negri.

and looking death frankly in the face with calmness and serenity, he breathed his last.

“Gessi is one of the glories of Italy, and his name will be joined to the words Humanity and Progress, because, by his means, the slave trade and slavery received a violent blow, as the liberated provinces of Bahr-el-Ghazal, Monbuttu, Makraka and Hofrat-el-Nahas can prove, which provinces formerly furnished eighty thousand slaves a year to the Jelabba merchants. The now unmolested natives will gratefully remember their *abu* (father), who rescued them and their families from the terrible scourge.

“Gessi is dead, and the sympathy of the liberated people and of all those who have a heart must console his family for their loss.

“The funeral took place yesterday at four p.m., and the remains were followed to the grave by the Italian colony, headed by Vice-Consul Vitto, by all the other consuls, the Governor, many Europeans, and half a company of soldiers.

“May this tribute of respect be some compensation for this sad loss, which will be felt most of all by the mother, wife, and children of poor Gessi. May they remember that he sacrificed his life for the good of humanity; that the benedictions of the people will follow him eternally, and that the whole world owes him a tribute of gratitude.

“I cannot conclude without recording the brotherly friendship which Gessi received from Vice-Consul Vitto, from Signor Marino, the Consulate Chancellor, and from the Director of the Post, Signor Giordano, who rivalled each other in marks of affection, remaining constantly at his side during his illness, comforting him in his last moments and receiving his last wishes.

“PENNAZZI.”

In the number for 18th January, 1883, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* published the report of Romolo Gess

to His Excellency Raouf Pasha, Governor-General of the Soudan, written while the author was on the voyage from Bahr-el-Ghazal to Khartoum, a voyage that ended so tragically.

Gessi left as a legacy to Captain M. Camperio, the editor of the *Esploratore*, his diary, including a copy of the above-named report, and many documents in the Arabic relating to his administration of the war against Suleiman, and the question of Slavery. The latter papers reached their destination, but not the report, which went astray for reasons on which we will not touch.

We are therefore extremely obliged to the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, for having courteously sent, at our request, the original document written in French by Gessi Pasha himself.

The following is the translation:—

“If your Excellency had been *au courant* of what happened in Bahr-el-Ghazal, you would certainly not have attached so much importance to the petition of the slave traders, nor apostrophized me in your note of the 4th September, in the words, ‘for the slave traders were indignant at your mode of procedure.’

“My conduct has been that of an honest and devoted servant to your Highness; I regulated my actions according to my conscience; indeed, I am convinced that I was too mild. How could I have aroused the confidence of the natives in the Government without adopting the severe measures required by the situation? The native chiefs were only convinced of the goodwill of the Government to protect them from the injustice to which they had been victims for at least twenty-seven years, after summary justice had been done. By any other course the interests of the Government would have been sacrificed. Ought I to have abandoned several millions of inhabitants who might contribute to the prosperity of their country and of Egypt? ought I

to have allowed filibusters and an unbridled militia to continue their raids and massacres?

"I gained the confidence of the people over whom I ruled long ago, confidence much more solid than that felt in the capital of the Soudan, and a thousand times more profound than what is felt in Kordofan, Senmaar, and Darfour.

"The day when we halted at Kava to collect wood some Arabs came to visit me. In the presence of Jinau Bey and Hassan Ibrahim Bey, these good people assured me that they could not go for half an hour's walk into the interior without an armed escort for fear of the Bagara, whose reputation as robbers is well deserved, while in Bahr-el-Ghazal people can travel in all directions, from north to south, from east to west, and to the farthest parts of Niam-Niam with only a stick in their hands.

"The Rev. Mr. Wilson and Dr. Felkin, when they returned to London, publicly expressed their astonishment. Doctor Junker visited King Mdarama without escort, and latterly Captain Casati bore witness to his surprise at such an unexpected change.

"Two Greek merchants, Nicola and Costandi, having finished their business, and being obliged to carry seven thousand dollars to Meshra-el-Rek, asked me for an armed escort. I told them that none was necessary, and sent their money by porters without an escort. The merchants found the sum untouched.

"Bahr-el-Ghazal is not the antipodes of Khartoum, and I should be very glad if your Excellency would send there some confidential person to prove the truth of what I assert. Kings who had never been subjected, having always preserved their independence, came to offer their submission to me. When I reported this circumstance to your Excellency, you briefly replied, that "to the best of your belief those kings had always been subject to Egypt."

“ I have the honour to inform you that the persons who may have given your Excellency such information, only meant to deceive you.

“ How long is it since King Wauda, after having killed Hagi Khalil Yussuf Pasha's father-in-law, and repulsed the expedition, continually attacked the Monbuttu possessions ? Is it not only seven months since we established ourselves in the heart of his country ? King Mdarama, who repulsed several attacks, exterminated the troops sent against him, and massacred all the members of the expeditions of Abu Gurum, Avet, Kutshuk Ali and Bisellia, kept his independence till the fall of Suleiman Bey, and only gave in his submission when the Government substituted a judicial authority for that of the previous guilty rulers.

“ If the kings were already subject to Egypt, why were expeditions of seven or eight hundred men sent wherever ivory had to be collected ? I now keep only a simple clerk at the residence of each king, charged with executing the orders I send them, and yet ivory, in quantities five times greater than when it was sought for with powder and ball, is brought from every region. This is why I consider the country as really subjected.

“ At the end of the war there was nothing left but burned, abandoned, or ruined villages. The natives had fled into the jungle or inaccessible forests ; not an ox, goat, or fowl was to be found at any price. I caused the villages to be rebuilt ; I opened depôts, warehouses, and a school to which the sheikhs now send the children of their tribe for primary instruction, and which is frequented by a hundred boys belonging to the irregular troops. I opened easy communications by boat or bridge across the rivers ; I restored to their families more than forty thousand slaves who had been dragged away from cultivating their native lands, to be sold at Shakka. I destroyed all the settlements which had served as depôts of

slaves, and with the liberated people I created agricultural colonies. Peaceful Arabs, who submitted to the established laws, found protection, and founded three agricultural colonies; one at Wau, another at Kutshuk Ali, and the third at Tonja. I furnished them with goats, seed, etc., and helped them to build their villages.

“As the timber of Bahr-el-Ghazal, being of good quality, promised a new source of revenue, I established saw-mills that furnished planks and beams for the arsenal and city of Khartoum, rendering the expensive importation of such material from Trieste superfluous.

“At Wau I founded a small arsenal for building river boats for the transport of ivory and timber. Two of these boats, loaded with goods, would have arrived at Khartoum had we not been obliged, in our critical position, to make use of the load of one of them as fuel. These loads had cost respectively sixty and eighty dollars, and could have been resold after the voyage for nearly eight hundred dollars.

“I created iron works, and had nails made for the boats and for houses. If I had had better means for melting the ore, I could have provided Khartoum, and rivalled the quality of European iron.

“In Bahr-el-Ghazal the great difficulty was the means of transport, the population having been carried away, as your Excellency is aware, and sold by the pretended servants of God. Twenty years ago the slave traders navigated the Jur, but from that time navigation ceased because of the thousands of trees thrown into the river by the natives. I completely cleared the river, so that during the rainy season boats could go up it to Wau, a length of about seventy miles, without inconvenience. I established tan-works, which furnished beautiful shoe leather, so that the Government need no longer trouble itself about shoes for the troops. In Bahr-el-Ghazal a pair of shoes costs the Government one dollar, and is

equal in quality and strength to those sent from Khartoum.

“Knowing the importance of cotton, both as material for clothing and as an article of commerce, I encouraged its cultivation along the banks of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. In some places I set hand-loomes at work, which produce excellent *damur*, of which dresses are made in the Soudan. These hand-loomes, worked by young negroes, will be a powerful means of spreading civilization among the blacks, for they are very fond of dress. The cultivation of cotton, if extended to other parts of the Soudan, will become, as in America, the principal article of production, and here there is the advantage that the cotton is better, finer, whiter, and longer than that of America or Lower Egypt. The trees yield a crop for twenty years in succession, and the greatest production is between the tenth and the fifteenth year. I have seen trees which the natives say have existed since the first invasion, that is, twenty-seven years. This year the crop will not suffice for local consumption, as the seed did not arrive from Khartoum in time.

“I was the first to discover caoutchouc in this region and to profit by it. This precious gum, which no one knew of here, is now collected throughout Bahr-el-Ghazal and in the vast region of Niam-Niam, whither I have sent gatherers for a long time. Two days before my departure from Wau a brother of Mdarama came to visit me, who brought a hundred and fifty elephant tusks, and told me that a large quantity of caoutchouc had been already gathered.

“In all the stations (also at Meshra-el-Rek) there was accumulated such a quantity of caoutchouc, that it was not possible to load it all on the boats for want of space. I firmly believe that if the Government continue the work I have begun, it will be easy to procure five hundred tons of caoutchouc per year, representing a value of about £72,000,

while the expense would not exceed £3,200 or £4,000. I have already said that the want of means of transport paralyzes all traffic, but as the Jur flows towards Niam-Niam and the territory of King Mbio, and is navigable for great part of its course, one might build stations near the rapids, and maintain communication by means of boats such as I am building at Wau.

“These two products, cotton and caoutchouc, are alone sufficient to render any realm prosperous, for it can be foreseen that ivory will become scarcer every year, as the elephants that furnish the precious material are being entirely destroyed by the hunters, and in a few years will only exist in the dense forests of Central Africa.

“We have here, now, crops of tamarinds as excellent in quality as those of Darfour, and a large quantity was left on land for want of space on the steamer that takes us to Khartoum. Among the other products of this region are copal, palm oil, arrowroot, and incense from Niam-Niam.

“The oil, or rather the butter, of the arachis, although not adapted for exportation, the expense permitting no competition with that from the West Coast, might be utilized on board the boats, in the arsenal, and in the manufacture of soap. Also honey is, without doubt, one of the most valuable products of Bahr-el-Ghazal and Niam-Niam; and if even a small price for every hundred-weight were offered to the sheikhs, in a short time double the quantity of that furnished from Abyssinia might be procured.

“In concluding this review of the improvements I have introduced into Bahr-el-Ghazal, I must add that I have neglected nothing in procuring for the troops the means of subsistence indicated by the rules, and not yet furnished by this country. Thus I have had more than fifty thousand bananas, pomegranate, and lemon trees planted along the banks of the rivers and torrents. In the orchards there are now found,

besides the native vegetables, such as *banie* and *melokhia*, melons and pumpkins, European vegetables, such as cauliflowers, cabbages, carrots, beans, some species of radishes, onions, garlic, peas, cucumbers, and beetroot in abundance. I also introduced American maize, which is cultivated along all the banks of the rivers.

"I have recruited as volunteers more than seven hundred Besingers, abandoning the former system of the Government, which was to pay seven francs a head for recruits, a system which encouraged the slave trade.

"One of my first cares was to reduce the expenses, and by sending away the Jelabba I have succeeded in reducing them to a tenth of what they were under Idris Bey's administration.

"Under the administration of Yussuf Bey the expenses of Rohl-Monbuttú were monthly 45,000 <i>l.</i> , or per annum	£546,000
"Those of Bahr-el-Ghazal, which territory was occupied for a third by the Government and two-thirds by Ziber Pasha	1,300,000
	£1,846,000

"Under my administration the expenses of Rohl-Monbuttú were monthly about 19,500 <i>l.</i> , those of Bahr-el-Ghazal and Niam-Niam, including the annexed countries occupied by Ziber Pasha, were 54,224 <i>l.</i> a month or per annum	884,688
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"Total sum per annum difference	£961,312
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"These are not imaginary sums, as the Egyptian Government well knows.

"The above expenses can be still further reduced, as large garrisons are no longer necessary. Bahr-el-Ghazal, under the former administration, had twenty-seven thousand guns at its disposal, distributed among the various irregular troops, the merchants, and the Jelabba. The armed force was reduced by me to only three hundred men of regular troops. My Moslem predecessors made the Govern-

ment believe that the natives were all rebels, and obliged the Government to maintain large armies, and spend considerable sums, which ended by being pocketed by Yussuf Bey, Atroush, and Idris Bey.

“As to the natives, they are the most peaceful, laborious, and gentle creatures in the world. It is true that these poor people now and then defend themselves against those who rob them of their wives and children; but what would an Arab do if anyone carried off his son?

“During the war we had clear proofs that it was the Arabs and not the natives who revolted. The negroes helped the Government, fighting, carrying our materials, and assisting us under all circumstances. Is it not therefore the duty of the Government to protect these their faithful subjects, and watch over their safety and domestic peace?

“I know that, with the intent of exciting your Excellency against me, it has been said that I labour to exclude the Arab element, and prepare the people to gain one day or other their independence. Nothing can be more false, and the best proof is, that I have founded schools in which the children of the slaves are educated, enabling them to influence their families beneficially, teaching them to worship a Supreme Being, and everything else that is necessary to lead the growing generation on the path of civilization and social order.

“Before my time an Arab travelled from one village to another, and found them all empty and no one left to offer him a cup of water. Now the traveller is always welcome. He finds food and lodging, and no native thinks of deserting his home, being sure that the law will protect him.

“The Atot tribe, between Shambé and Ayak, had preserved its independence for twenty-seven years, living by brigandage, attacking the villages dependent on the Government, and assassinating the porters. I was obliged to attack the Atots, and

after a campaign of six months, during which they were repeatedly beaten, they submitted. They now pay tribute, furnish us with porters, and guard the roads. During the above-mentioned campaign I took from them two thousand bullocks and cows and two thousand goats, dividing them among the chiefs of Bahr-el-Ghazal, who, because of damages suffered, are now allowed to profit by the milk, the cattle remaining the property of the Government. In this way I have re-introduced the bovine race, which had suffered severely from the rapacity of the irregular troops and Jelabba.

“All the territory of Jangeh between Meshra-el-Rek and Jur, and the country extending from Delgauna parallel to Bahr-el-Arab towards the south, had become a vast desert. The population of these regions, composed of shepherds, were chiefly aimed at in the raids of Suleiman and the Resegat irregulars. A part of the population, escaping from slavery, had emigrated to the Nuer, hiding themselves from the pursuit of the Arabs in the extensive marshes which cover that country. It was only when I guaranteed their life and property, that, after an absence of five years, they returned to their country, which now contains more than forty thousand families dedicated to agriculture, the seed having been furnished by me, with everything else that I had at my disposal.

“But while these populations were beginning to enjoy the benefits of good government, they were exposed to new persecutions. Five hundred Jelabba, the same number of Besingers, and four hundred cavalry, furnished by Ajiel Bey, Madibo Bey, Dandan and Bellen, and organized at Shakka, crossed the rivers Bahr-el-Arab and Delgauna, and presented themselves in the name of the government, extorting taxes. In order to deceive the lieutenant of the place, Amied Aga, they showed a forged document, by which the Mudir of Darra

authorized them to collect taxes. The lieutenant refused to recognize them without my order. He was threatened and arrested. What could he do with only twenty-five men, of whom twenty were ill with guinea-worm, against fourteen hundred? He could only send me word of what had happened. I immediately sent Saati Effendi with a company of regular troops and four hundred Besingers. The invaders fled, but while retreating killed five natives and wounded three, carrying away men, women, children and cattle, and once more sowing desolation in the regions I had colonized with such care and perseverance.

“Precisely a week before this invasion, I received a telegram from your Excellency, ordering me to cede Jangeh to Darra, and the irregular troops—believing that Jangeh no longer belonged to Bahr-el-Ghazal—had the audacity to commit the above-named stroke of brigandage. It cannot be supposed that the authorities in Shakka were in connivance with the brigands, although it is impossible that enlistment on such a large scale could be carried on in such a small district as that of Shakka and neighbourhood without attracting the attention of the Governor.

“Is there not an order promulgated by his Excellency Gordon Pasha which prohibits the Jelabba from remaining at Shakka? Madibo Bey, Ajiel Bey, Dandan and Bellen, in spite of my sending remonstrances to Khartoum, still continue to maintain small troops of four or six hundred men, whose only business is to make raids and capture slaves. It is clear that the invasion of the irregular troops was the consequence of your Excellency's order to incorporate Jangeh with Darra; an order that caused them to believe that they could carry on their thievish raids just as before, as is done in other provinces not under my administration. In spite of the report I sent your Excellency, and although the Mudir of

Darra confirmed the facts, and exposed the whole affair of the abduction of women and children, and the murders and robberies committed, your Excellency did not cause the culprits to be arrested, so that it seems these brigands enjoy immunity for their crimes and have a right to laugh at the laws sanctioned by the Khedive.

“I have abolished slavery throughout Bahr-el-Ghazal and dependencies, not by vain words or empty promises, but in fact. All are free subjects of the Khedive, and none can be kept by force or against his will.

“No raids are allowed, and war between the tribes has ceased. This state of things has exasperated the slave traders, and, in order to revive the iniquities of the past, they believe they can find in your Excellency a means of getting rid of me. If this were not so, they would never have dared to present their ridiculous petition.

“In order to content them I should have had, as was the case under the rule of Yussuf Pasha, Atrouch Bey, Idris Bey, and Tangi Bey, to permit slavery, encourage the trade, allow the making of eunuchs, the robbing of the Government, the neglect of agriculture, and the committing of massacres. Then, without doubt, I should have given them no reason to complain of me, and should have been called a model Central-African governor. But now, as if to punish me for all I have done in the interests of the Government and the people, your Excellency is pleased to restrict my authority, reducing me from the rank of governor to that of a simple mudir (or head of a district), and decreasing my power to the point of not being able to dismiss the least of my servants without previous Government permission. In justice to my cause I hope to find elsewhere the assurance of satisfaction which the Government of your Excellency is pleased to deny me.

“In three years I have received in all 1400*l.* sterling

and goods to about the value of other 500*l.*, and with this I was to provide for all the wants of Bahr-el-Ghazal, Rohl, and Makraka. The poor soldiers have nothing to distinguish them from other men but their Remington rifles; for the rest they are entirely naked, and have not even a rag to protect their women from the scorn of the passers-by. We do not merit such neglect, for your Excellency has had sufficient proof that we have done what we could to create revenues for the Government, and to send ivory in quantities never seen before.

“The state of my health was such as to oblige me to seek immediately a change of climate. I intended to profit by my stay at Khartoum to inform your Excellency of all that has been done, and submit to you my projects for the amelioration of the province which is destined to become one of the most important possessions in the Soudan, both as to extent and the riches of its soil.

“The incidents of our voyage from Meshra-el-Rek, the loss of so many lives and the misery endured, have contributed to render the state of my health still worse, and after twenty days’ rest I suffer more than ever.

“I must not forget to mention that a hundred irregular troops have been sent from Khartoum to Ladô, and another hundred will follow shortly. These men have no women with them. As soon as they arrive in the interior they will each lay claim to three wives, three concubines, and many servants, and in all will require at least sixteen hundred persons. Where will they get them? The poor population must expect fresh captures, fresh raids, and many assassinations on the part of these undisciplined hordes, whose bad reputation is well known in the country.

“When they arrived at Fashoda, even the regular troops and militia made raids all along the Nile, capturing almost ten thousand slaves. The fact

cannot be concealed, because we noticed not only slaves marked with the signs of recent beating, but it is also proved that thousands of slaves have been sent towards Toghela. At Sobat the soldiers received their salaries in so many sugar-canes! The other employes at Fashoda were paid with cattle captured during raids. Considering what happened in the neighbourhood of the capital, I can assure your Excellency that Bahr-el-Ghazal may serve Khartoum as a model of administration.

“I have the honour to be,

“R. GESSI.

“To His Excellency Raouf Pasha,

“Governor-General of the Soudan.”

APPENDIX.

A QUOTATION from the book "To the Egyptian Soudan," by R. Buchta :—

"Gessi conducted the campaign against Suleiman with such energy, personal sacrifice, and cleverness in profiting by all the mistakes of his adversary, that history will compare him with Gordon when combating the Taiping. Between the war fought against the latter and the war against Ziber there is great affinity, but Gessi's task was perhaps the most difficult. With a few troops composed of people of all kinds, who had never been under fire, he had to fight against troops greatly superior in number, which had been hardened in the war in Darfour, resist the attacks of negroes and Arabs animated by hatred against Christians, and struggling for the defence of their most vital interests."

AN EXPLORATION TO MONBUTTU.

(Letter from Doctor Junker.)

"Meshra-el-Rek,

"March 28th, 1880.

"To the Editor of the *Esploratore*.

"First of all, these few lines from the heart of Africa to express my profound gratitude for the great

interest you take in my enterprise, and for what you wrote in your journal about my new exploration, illustrated with the fine map of our mutual friend, Dr. Schweinfurth.

“Amid the general indifference, it is a great comfort for us travellers to see that we are followed in our peregrinations by the sympathy of men who dedicate their own studies and time to the progress of geographical science. After the modest results of my first journey, I was tempted to undertake a second exploration in regions where other and illustrious explorers have met with glory and death.

“As to my constitution, I nourish a well-founded belief that it will resist the pernicious influences of the climate, and this is what especially gives me confidence in my success, for all other difficulties—and they are not few—will be overcome by the able help of our common friend, Gessi Pasha, who will earn all my gratitude if I can but reach the goal I have proposed to myself. The rest will be overcome with a little energy.

“During my voyage from Suez to Berber and Khartoum I met with no difficulty. Even in Khartoum I was favoured by circumstances, for I was able, after only twenty days’ sojourn in that city to start for the south. That was at the end of February. For several months before that time no steamer had been able to navigate in the regions of the Upper Nile because of the obstruction of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, which, as you well know, prevented communications for a year and a half. The *sett* (flotsam) was finally got rid of after long labour, by three steamers under Marno’s direction. In this respect, however, the Bahr-el-Jebel will perhaps offer difficulties for navigation in the future.

“When we passed the barriers of grass, although there was a passage for the boats, we had still to work in many places for several days, and we could only overcome the difficulty at the cost of great fatigue.

“ Here, in the great seriba of Meshra, I met Gessi who had come there to expedite the boats that returned from Jur Gattas. Gessi has now become the father of the poor slaves; and I had often occasion to witness the anxiety with which these poor disinherited people look forward to the day when their defender must leave them for other tasks.

“ As to the plan of my journey, you will allow me to say that in a few days I shall start for Jur Gattas. From that station I hope to go to Monbuttu by way of Ndruma (the same as Mdarama) and Mbio, and I hope that in 1881 I shall be able to establish myself for some time in Munza’s country, where I count upon undertaking the explorations of which you already know. If you will allow me, I will keep you *au courant* of all that happens to me.

“ DOCTOR JUNKER.”

EUROPEANS IN THE SOUDAN AND SLAVERY.

(Letter from Dr. Schweinfurth.)

“ Cairo,

“ May 24th, 1880.

“ To the Editor of the *Esploratore*.

“ After having informed you of my return from my annual tour in the desert, it remains to reply to your last concerning the basin of the Congo and the Binue. What Crowther said about the latter river is not possible, because, as the Binue is a river of itself, it cannot belong to any other basin than its own, neither to that of the Wellé, nor that of the Congo, and, what is more, its sources are probably to be found to the north of the Congo.

“ It is not admissible that the Binue, in its upper

course, can lie between the Wellé and the Congo. It is so far west of these rivers that it is useless to search for its source so near the Wellé. For me the question is simple. You say well that the Congo must be pushed further towards the south, but at present no geographer would venture to draw such a deduction, because we must either accept all that Stanley has told us, or reject all. That he calculated it too far to the north (always admitting that his astronomical observations of latitude were erroneous) is explained by the circumstance, that during voyages on rivers it is not always possible to calculate exactly the time employed in following them. The more the Congo is pushed north the more its course is lengthened. The shortest way between two points is a direct line; if Stanley calculated the course of the river as longer than what was actually traversed by him, it is natural that he must mark the river as being farther north; that is to say, he must more largely develop the arc to the north of the Equator. My friend Ravenstein writes to me from London that he is working at a map of Equatorial Africa, on a scale of one per five-hundred thousand for the Geographical Society. At present it does not go beyond the 10°, but Ravenstein hopes, if he is authorized to do so, to go till the 15°. You know that Ravenstein is the first cartographical authority for Abyssinia hitherto known, and all that he says about that country must interest you. 'Very little of my last work refers to Abyssinia; the Italians, it is true, traverse the country in all directions, but they produce no scientific material¹ that can be utilized, and they have only slightly increased our knowledge of the coast.' What Ravenstein says of the astronomical position is also important. 'It is very necessary that some competent astronomer should go into the

¹ The important work of Captain Cecchi, Italian Consul-General in Aden, was not yet published.—Ed.

interior to establish a greater number of fixed points. What use would there be in a single observation of lunar distance? In my map I can take no other course than to neglect these isolated observations, for only a long series can offer a satisfactory result. The Belgian travellers have now been for years in the interior of Eastern Africa, but they have not yet furnished us with any scientific results. An isolated traveller can be forgiven much, but when a great society with large means sends out a well-equipped expedition, a large number of astronomical observations may reasonably be expected. The Italians in Shoa do the same thing. Certainly Antinori makes collections of animals and plants, but what do the others do? What has prevented them from making a complete map of all the south of Abyssinia, and noticing what Beke has sent us from Gojam within a few months? One hears of theodolites and other instruments, but it seems to me that they are scarcely used.’²

“As you see, Ravenstein’s criticism is severe, but just. If you do nothing but praise travellers without criticizing them, you will never excite in them a noble *amour propre*. I have little faith in those travellers who do not keep a journal, or who feel too tired after a day’s march to write down their observations. How is it possible that no one marks his itinerary on the map? One sees mountains and villages to right and left, and should take note of their names: it is thus that the maps of unknown districts get filled up, and this is the least that can be expected of explorers.

“By the last post I sent you a number of the *Pharos* of Alexandria, where a great caravan is spoken of, which arrived at Siut the end of April. We owe the revelation of this affair to a young master of the American Mission school in Siut, and to Rath, a

² Schweinfurth wrote this letter before the journey made by Bianchi, the late delegate of the Milan Exploration Society.—Ed.

Swiss. On the 16th May a second caravan arrived with thirty slaves, who were set free like the first ; and lately there was news that a third caravan had arrived at the oasis El-Khargeh. A thousand slaves must be hidden on the borders of the desert, waiting to be sent to Lower Egypt. Signor Suarez, of this place, has seen, during a sporting tour in the village of the natron lakes, a large caravan taking slaves to Siuah (probably for Tripoli). Mr. Rath calculated the total number of slaves lately arrived at Siut from Darfour at three thousand. It is really incredible, and cries to Heaven for vengeance. This is the immediate effect of the beginning of Raouf Pasha's administration.

“At the first news that Gordon would have no European successor, the great caravans from Darfour re-appeared in the old style. Messedaglio may be blamed as much as they like, but he would never have permitted a similar scandal as long as he was governor. What an incredible neglect of the obligations contracted ! Was the treaty of the 4th August, 1877, made by the Khedive with England, perhaps only signed for a joke, and has not England a right to interfere in this business ? The neglect, indolence and ill-will of his officials will cause the Khedive to lose both throne and realm. The English philanthropists cannot be indifferent to this news, and as they are so powerful that they can overthrow any minister who does not please them, it is to be hoped that Gladstone will take energetic measures against Egypt. In truth the English Consul-General, Mr. Malet, has, according to Rath's report, done what is necessary. But how do they liberate slaves here ? Always in the old way. They divide the slaves between the pashas and the beys ; these give them to their dependents, who, if in want of money, resell them as slaves, so that their liberation becomes a legal robbery. It is necessary, first of all, to give the post of Governor-General of Khartoum to a

European, and all the powers ought to insist that Gessi, who has done so much, and more than anyone else to suppress slavery, shall remain at his post. It is truly incredible. So much blood shed on the Gazelle, merely to return to the former miserable state of things!

“Gordon passed through here on the 21st with the suite, as private secretary of the new Viceroy of India, Lord Ripon.

“I send you a table of the exportation of ivory that took place during the last twenty-five years. I owe it to the kindness of Mr. W. Westendarp of the firm of A. Meyer, who does the largest business in ivory with all the European houses that deal in such articles.

“Mr. Westendarp, who, during the seventeen years of his commercial activity, has bought and sold more than a million elephant tusks, is the author of the article which I send you by this post; it contains many novel things about the ivory trade, and the sources of production. The notes, you will find, show a great decrease in Egyptian ivory during last year. From the following table you will be able to take notes regarding the other countries.

Year.	Number of Kilograms.	Year.	Kilograms.
1853	92,000	1867	137,000
1854	149,000	1868	95,000
1855	123,000	1869	138,000
1856	79,000	1870	113,000
1857	144,000	1871	167,000
1858	202,000	1872	107,000
1859	174,000	1873	155,000
1860	154,000	1874	113,000
1861	114,000	1875	166,000
1862	186,000	1876	120,000
1863	115,000	1877	185,000
1864	166,000	1878	205,000
1865	97,000	1879	80,000
1866	130,000		

“The Mudir of Siut, the Vice-Mudir, and the chief of the office for the Abolition of Slavery, Achmed

Daramali Pasha, have been dismissed from their posts and subjected to a court-martial. At the request of Mr. Malet and the German Consul-General, the Government has nominated Count Della Scala (an Italian) to the post of Chief of the Office of Siut, with extraordinary powers.

"Della Scala will have five hundred men with whom he will traverse all the oases as far as Siuah, occupying them with a military system of light police. Under the Ex-Emperor Maximilian, Count Della Scala was head of the *Contro-guerilla*; he is a man of great energy.

"Yours,

"G. SCHWEINFURTH."

ARRIVAL OF CAPTAIN CASATI IN BAHR-EL-GHAZAL.

Letter from Captain Casati, special correspondent of the *Esploratore* :—

"Wau, September, 1880.

"To the Editor of the *Esploratore*.

"Finally, after a delay of quite four months in Khartoum, I left the capital of the Soudan, on the 4th July on board the steamer *Safia* for Bahr-el-Ghazal. The navigation was rendered difficult by frequent obstructions (sett) of the Ghazal River, so that we reached the station of Meshra-el-Rek only on the 5th August. Courteously received by the Delegate of Meshra, who had precise and formal orders on my account from his Excellency, Gessi Pasha, I removed to the village, where I stayed till the 18th. On the morning of the 19th, accompanied by the men sent by his Excellency, I mounted a good mule, and took the path, which, passing by Jur Gattas, leads to Wau. The villages (helle) are frequent along the road, but all of recent construction, for the negroes had

deserted these parts several years ago to escape persecution of the Jelabba, and only after the war against the slavers, when peace was restored and confidence revived, did they arrive in numbers to settle here, dedicating themselves to agriculture and cattle breeding.

“ The road we followed is sufficiently easy and good, and although it is the rainy season, not many places are flooded nor does the water arrive at any considerable height. After seven days’ journey I reached Wau on the morning of the 26th, and there had the honour and pleasure of presenting myself to his Excellency Gessi Pasha, who received me with all courtesy and affability.

“ You, dear Editor, know better than I the eminent qualities that distinguish this dear man, and my words could add but little to the fame he has acquired. He is eminently distinguished for nobility of sentiment, tenacity of will, and intelligent activity. He has completely regenerated these districts, re-establishing order and tranquillity, guaranteeing the safety of person and property, and developing and increasing the resources of the country ; and, though he was and is the terror of the Jelabba, the population love him like a father. Two days ago there returned two boys who had departed with Doctor Junker ; they came from Mdarama, and arrived at Wau without molestation. Would this have been possible in other times ?

“ Once the army was formed of slaves purchased by Government at a medium price of one hundred and fifty Italian lire ; now it is composed of volunteers, and yesterday I saw myself a young man who came to Gessi Pasha asking to be enlisted in the militia. During the short rest I took at Jur, I was present at the military exercise of the young recruits, and can assure you that I could not have believed that I should find so many men, and such discipline. Education is also one of Gessi’s first

cares, and a school at Dem Seleiman is already bearing good fruit; the sheikhs send their children, and in a few years the employés can be taken from the natives of the country.

“Gessi’s activity had happy and prompt success in the research and study of the natural riches of the country. At one time ivory, and especially slaves, constituted the only products of these districts; now a good quantity of excellent tamarinds are gathered; caoutchouc, better than that of Brazil, can be furnished to commerce to the quantity of about four thousand hundredweights; and another product, vegetable silk, procured from the *Eriodendrum amfractuosum*, of which Gessi sent samples to Khartoum and Italy, will perhaps form an item of riches at a no distant future. The existence of the incense tree was ascertained, and the harvest will be initiated as soon as the rainy season is over.

“One of the articles which is scarce at Khartoum, and in almost all the Soudan, is timber for building, which reached a high price and is generally imported from Trieste. Well, they now transport to Wau from the forests trunks of trees of different qualities, on small carts purposely constructed, which make excellent planks. Four natives manage the two saws. I have seen the timber to be sent to Khartoum in a few days; it is superior in toughness, hardness, compactness and beauty of fibre to that produced in Italy. With the wood sawed at Wau, two boats of the draught of about forty tons each were built, and in a month they will bear witness at Khartoum to the progress made in these provinces. They cost the Government together sixty dollars—even the nails were manufactured on the spot—while a boat at Khartoum sells for not less than four hundred dollars. Three days ago loads of ivory, tamarinds, caoutchouc and timber, left for Meshra.

“And here I note that the opening of the river

Jur to navigation between Wau and Meshra, is one of the great works done by Gessi lately, and renders real service to the Government by saving a considerable quantity of porters, who can now turn their attention to agriculture and speculation in the products of the country.

“In order to complete these scanty notes as to the regeneration of these parts, gathered during the few days of my stay at Wau, I must say a few words about agriculture and the tanning of skins. Two new agricultural colonies, free and prosperous, were formed of the slaves taken from the Jelabba. I have already described how the cultivation of the soil was recommenced in the numerous villages along the road; the production of doora alone is sufficient to feed the inhabitants, but the cultivation of maize and native vegetables has extended, and numerous market-gardens in every village produce European vegetables. Cotton is a product which in a few years will furnish a considerable revenue, rivalling in quality and quantity that of Lower Egypt.

“There are now eight looms at work, which will soon be raised to the number of forty. Skins are tanned on the spot, and shoe factories have been instituted which will provide the troops with articles better than those sent from Khartoum.

“This is but a brief list, dear Editor, of what Gessi has done for the welfare of these people, after having liberated them from the oppression of the Jelabba. But how long will this state of tranquillity last? Will the progress commenced proceed in a regular manner? Will the welfare of these populations be really consolidated? Leaving aside every question that may point to a return of the oppression of the natives on the part of the Arabs, I wish to dwell on what regards the welfare of the negroes.

“It is just that the population should contribute

by its work to covering the expenses of the State, and besides this, there is a balance in favour of the Government. The whole expense of the administration of Bahr-el-Ghazal and the countries of Niam-Niam, subject to the former, do not exceed, according to the exact information I have been able to obtain, 7800*l.* sterling. The ivory sent to Khartoum from the time when Suleiman ceased to exist, exceeded three thousand hundredweights, representing the value of about 90,000*l.*, and I do not calculate the ivory already accumulated in the stations, and not yet forwarded for want of means of transport.

“As I said before, the country is rich in many other products besides tamarinds, caoutchouc, timber, etc., and my friend Gessi assures me that the butter of the arachis, and nut oil and palm oil, are so abundant as to be able to form an advantageous item of commerce for the Soudan, but that it is not convenient to export them to Europe, as, by reason of the expense of transport, they cannot compete with those from the West Coast of Africa, where there are French and English establishments exclusively occupied with the exportation of these articles.

“The interior of Niam-Niam was not yet visited by Gessi, but he tells me that he has been informed that copal, so much valued in Europe, is to be found there in great abundance; he is expecting the arrival of a sample. It was a mistake on the part of the Egyptian Government and Baker Pasha to seek for the riches of Africa in the districts of the Equatorial lakes; the commerce of Uganda does not exceed the fifteen tons of ivory which are annually transported to Zanzibar.

“Gordon Pasha, with the insight that distinguishes him, did well to cease making other conquests in those districts; they would ultimately have been of no profit, and only weakened the other possessions in Central Africa.

“But that the country may really make progress

in civilization, it is of urgent necessity that the Government should abandon the system of monopolizing, besides the ivory, all other products, depriving the natives of the benefit of free trade; and Gessi nourishes the hope of being able one day to introduce this free trade, securing the welfare of the populations, and making them understand that having got rid of their masters, the slave traders, they are really no longer in the condition of slaves. To this end Gessi will shortly go to Khartoum and try to induce the Governor-General to initiate the regeneration of the African race. The Government could only gain by this; the villages would increase, and capitalists, finding advantageous employment for their capital, would hasten to establish industries and build factories, and in a short time these countries would become the true jewels of the Egyptian possessions.

“From many vague conversations with Gessi, I have divined his firm resolution, should he not succeed in persuading the Governor to accept his method of administration, of retiring from the service, as he feels his position to be humiliating; it being contrary to his sense of dignity to remain the simple jailor of the people he has delivered from the slavers, in order that the Government may keep them in servitude for the Government's own advantage. These considerations are not without foundation. On the eve of my departure from Khartoum, I heard that all boats were forbidden to touch at Meshra-el-Rek station. I do not believe that this injunction is meant to prevent the embarkation of slaves, for the measures taken by the Government of Bahr-el-Ghazal are such that no one would attempt such a thing. Gessi assures me that if slaves are now embarked, it can be only with the connivance of the superior authority of the province. I believe, rather, that the above-named measure is only the last step to the complete

monopolization on the part of the Egyptian Government of the whole produce of Bahr-el-Ghazal.

“ While writing, I was interrupted by the arrival of King Mdarama’s brother, who, with a large following of dignitaries and about a hundred porters laden with ivory, came to visit Gessi Pasha, at the same time announcing that his brother—who was anxious to keep up the present good relations—would arrive with another caravan of ivory. This brother of Mdarama, who is called Zambaré, is about twenty-five years of age, and I was surprised to find that his features were perfectly regular. Only his complexion, which was dark olive, made him look different from Europeans. He is of middle stature, well proportioned, with an aquiline nose, small mouth and thin lips. His hair is long and woolly, and is entwined and ornamented with large beads. He has thin whiskers and a black beard some twelve inches long. He has round his neck a chain made of the seeds of *bogó*, the kernels of a wild fruit. His head-dress is formed of a monkey’s skin with a thick plume of cock’s feathers, resembling that of our Bersagliere, on the hinder part, giving to his figure a martial air that at once shows he is a warrior-chief. Round his waist he wears a cord about an inch thick, to which is attached a piece of bark-cloth, the only stuff used by these people.

“ The very Arabs hastened from all sides to gaze at this brother of the celebrated Mdarama, who had bravely resisted all the invasions attempted in his territory. The companies of Hassabub, Abugurum and Kutshuk Ali, comprising two thousand men, and carrying more than eight hundred guns, had penetrated Niam-Niam, but Mdarama, warned in time, fell suddenly on the caravan and almost completely routed it; the chiefs Auad and Abugurum lost their lives. Other attempts were also repulsed, and for several years no one has risked disturbing this brave king. Suleiman himself tried by peaceful

means to get into the country, but Mdarama, who well knew what things Ziber and his son were capable of doing, always refused to have any connection with him. Some months after Suleiman's death, Mdarama, aware of the transformation that had taken place in Bahr-el-Ghazal, sent an embassy of about twenty persons to the new authority, with a present of a hundred loads of ivory. The intention was to ascertain if all that had been told him about the abolition of slavery were true.

"As soon as this embassy had returned, Mdarama himself came at the head of about two hundred and fifty soldiers to the village of Dem Suleiman, where he was received with great joy. After being provided with different stuffs and other gifts, he returned to his kingdom, giving his word that he would preserve the best relations with the Government, and give besides all the ivory that is annually collected in his territory. From that day—now about a year ago—Mdarama has solemnly kept his promise. At present Doctor Junker is his guest, and has been furnished with the necessary means for excursions into the surrounding countries.

"I have entered too freely into particulars extraneous to my future undertaking, but as my other news will probably be delayed, I thought it well, in the interests of the readers of the *Exploratore*, to mention all that I learnt during my journey to Bahr-el-Ghazal.

"The plan of my future campaign is fixed as follows :—

"I shall shortly leave for Rhol (Rumbek) and go to Ayak, Lessi, Amadi, Anzia and Monbuttu, and I hope to reach the capital of Munza in a month. It is impossible at present to say whether I shall reach Bakangoi to explore the Wellé. All depends on the season and the means at my disposal. You can appreciate the difficulties that may be encountered and not to be foreseen. I will not flatter

anyone with vain hopes, but, on the other hand, you may be sure that I shall do all in my power to carry out my undertaking. And if, as I believe, the Wellé flows not *to* but *from* the Congo, then I shall be inclined to return to Bakangoi and possibly go to the Congo, which, according to Petermann's last map, cannot be further away than about six days' march. Gessi believes that this immense horse-shoe curve is not natural, for in the first sketch by Stanley there are no mountains either south or north, and therefore no reason exists why the Congo should make such a round.

"I will take care, before leaving Rhol, that my correspondence shall be forwarded as quickly and carefully as circumstances permit.

"Yours,

"G. CASATI."

THE RETURN OF GESSI PASHA TO KHARTOUM.

(Letter from Captain Casati.)

"Jur Gattas,

"4th October, 1880.

"To the Editor of the *Esploratore*.

"On the 5th August I arrived at the station of Meshra-el-Rek, and, at the recommendation of the delegate of that place, wrote immediately to Gessi to inform him of the fact. At the same time I removed to the village of the same name. On the 17th the men and animals sent by Gessi arrived and on the morning of the 19th I started for Wau, which I reached on the 26th.

"I will not describe my reception by Gessi Pasha. To you, who know him, all words are useless. It was the reception of a near relation, of a friend.

About what I saw and verified with my own eyes, I have written in my fourth letter from Wau.³ In it I exaggerated nothing, and indeed, I believe I kept within the most moderate limits.

“I ought to have described my journey from Khartoum to Meshra-el-Rek, but I will do so at Rumbek. Till now circumstances independent of my will have prevented me. As you already know, Gessi had decided to go to Khartoum, to confer with the Governor Raouf, about his own affairs, and to clear up matters, ready to resign his post unless his just demands were granted.

“We left Wau on the 9th, and reached Jur Gattas on the 11th. Gessi counted upon going on immediately to Meshra, so as to embark on the steamer *Safia* for Khartoum, but that very evening I was seized with violent fever. It was an attack of pernicious typhoid. Gessi said it was a sun-stroke, but the intestinal disorder from which I suffered confirmed me in my opinion. Gessi decided to defer his departure. My illness rapidly increased, so that on Monday night, the 13th, my life was seriously endangered. The next morning the crisis was overcome, and a sensible improvement took place. I owe my salvation to Gessi's energy and careful nursing. He administered truly African doses of quinine and watched me with as anxious solicitude as if I were one of his nearest relations, and yet he had only known me for a few days.

“I thanked him for all his care, but I was so sick and confused that I doubt I did it but imperfectly. You, who are such a friend of his, when you see him in Italy, or have occasion to write to him, will please thank him for me, and assure him of my everlasting gratitude. On the 15th, finding my health established, he departed for Meshra-el-Rek, whence he wrote me that he was going to Khartoum on the 25th.

“Will he return to Bahr-el-Ghazal? The war made

³ This letter was lost. —Ed.

against him at Khartoum by Raouf, Gigler, and Macropoli is violent and provoking. Imagine that, after Gessi departed, a letter came from Emin Bey, announcing that an order from the Governor-General of the Soudan deprived Gessi of his command, and confided, to Emin Bey himself, the provinces of Rohl, Lado, and the Equatorial regions ! The same evening I sent an express to Gessi, which happily arrived the morning before the steamer left Meshra. Gessi wrote that all should be continued to be carried on according to the orders he left. He would not recognize as a fact any change that was not communicated to him by the Central Government.

“ I fear that Gessi, embittered by all this, will leave the Soudan, which would be a real misfortune. At Khartoum he will take care that the Viceroy sends orders to the authorities to protect me in the execution of my exploration of the Wellé. I am almost completely restored to health, and count upon going to Rumbek in a few days ; there the air is pure and not poisonous like at Jur Gattas during the rainy season.

“ Mr. Editor, I speak frankly. I must carry on an exploration which is neither easy nor short. I do not speak of material danger, but of the deficiency of scientific means. It is an affair of unexplored countries, whether of the Wellé, or of the region bordering the Congo. It is, however, necessary to fix the latitude and longitude, to ascertain the heights, in order to exactly determine the line of the watershed. As far as Bakangoi all is well, for Petermann's maps will serve as a guide, but beyond that, either to the west or to the south, the maps mark nothing. I wrote about this to-day to Gessi at Khartoum, and I believe he will find my observations reasonable. I should like to describe to Gessi and you, as exactly as possible, the new countries I shall traverse. The choice of instruments I leave to you and Gessi, only begging that they may

be accompanied by a summary of the method of use, and their various application. I have no scientific books of any sort, and, in the unknown regions of Africa, one single doubt can cause the whole geographic exploration to fail. I have also thought that if a small photographic apparatus, for example, that of Candère with prepared glasses, were added to the other instruments, the photographs obtained might in part pay for the scientific apparatus.⁴

“ I will forward reports as often as possible ; I will make ethnographical collections ; I will prepare a herbarium with the names of the places, reserving the classification to be made by persons acquainted with botany. I have with me two youths who know how to stuff birds, etc., pretty well. In short, I will do all I can to satisfy you and Gessi, and, permit me to say, also myself.

“ Yours,

“ G. CASATI.”

The opinions of the Missionary clergyman Wilson, on returning from Uganda, concerning Gessi Pasha the Governor of the Gazelle:—

“ Pavenham Vicarage,

“ Bedford, 30th August, 1880.

“ To the Editor of the *Esploratore*.

“ I must ask pardon for the delay in replying to your letter ; but I have been very busy since my return to England from Uganda. You ask my

⁴ The instruments required were generously furnished by the illustrious Professor Schiapparelli, but never reached their destination.

opinion of your compatriot Gessi Pasha, and what is the conclusion I have come to on his account.

“As you already know, I was with him two months, from October to December 1879, and I travelled in his company through a great part of the province of Bahr-el-Ghazal. I had therefore an opportunity of observing his method of government, and treatment of the natives.

“I believe he was exactly the man fitted for the task to be accomplished, and that Gordon Pasha could have found no man more useful than Gessi for the work. Gessi had an arduous task and thoroughly fulfilled it. He conducted a difficult and dangerous war to a happy conclusion, having been obliged to fight against troops larger in number and better armed than his own. I crossed a great part of the country where the battles took place, and can witness to their fierceness. Besides, I spoke with many persons, independent witnesses, who had served under Gessi Pasha, and all agreed in what I now tell you.

“The province of Bahr-el-Ghazal is a beautiful country, which might yield a rich revenue to any intelligent government, who would adopt a liberal policy, and not that of the Turks, which is suicidal. Under an active government the district of Bahr-el-Ghazal would become an important source of revenue for the power who had the good fortune to possess it.

“But, till now, it has been bled by the slave trade, which Gessi Pasha has fortunately been able to suppress in great part. If an Arab governor were sent to that province, the horrible trade would flourish as before. I consider it to be the duty of the European powers in the interests of humanity and civilization, to insist that the local governors of the Soudan shall be Europeans; otherwise we shall have no guarantee that the slave trade, with all its horrors, will not revive.

“I shall be very glad to write an article for your Review on Uganda and the Victoria Nyanza, if you will accept it.

“Believe me, dear Captain Camperio,

“Your sincere friend,

“WILSON.”

THE DEATH OF GORDON PASHA.

Having dedicated this book to the sainted memory of C. E. Gordon Pasha, we must not neglect the sad task of describing the manner of the death of that hero.

As everybody knows, after the abdication of Ismail Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, his son Tewfik Pasha succeeded to the throne. The latter encouraged the Mussulman preponderance, and employed only Mussulmans in his service.

For this reason Gessi Pasha, after Gordon had resigned, was not appointed to the Governor-Generalship of the Soudan, and Raouf Pasha was nominated. Raouf executed some economical modifications in the administration, which marked the first step to the loss of the Soudan.

Gessi had scarcely left Khartoum, when the Jelabba went to Bahr-el-Ghazal and neighbouring provinces in numbers, giving a new impulse to the slave trade.

Darfour and Kordofan revolted, making common cause with the Mahdi. Egypt sent several army corps into the revolted provinces, but they were totally defeated. Raouf was recalled, and the post of provisional governor of the Soudan was filled by a certain Gigler, who made a very ridiculous figure. The complete defeat of two army corps, one under

Hicks Pasha near El-Obeid, the other of Baker Pasha in the neighbourhood of Suakim, is well known. Then Egypt called on Gordon for help, but only when the Soudan was already in full insurrection. Gordon accepted the mission, but without possibility of success, as he hurriedly wrote in his travelling diary, forwarded fifteen days before his death, his last words being: "All is lost, and if help does not arrive within fifteen days I am a dead man."

Emin Bey, who knew in what a critical position Gordon now was, might with a contingent of his troops, which numbered more than four thousand men, have saved Gordon, but he thought it more prudent to remain in Ladò, whither the Mahdists could scarcely go in great numbers because of the difficulty of communication.

It would be useless to make a long story about well-known facts. The long siege of Khartoum by the Mahdists, the treachery of the officers of the Egyptian army, and of the latter itself, opened the gates of the city to the rebels.

Gordon alone, in the Government palace, furnished with a few carabines, fired more than four hundred and fifty shots against the rebels from the window. There were present the Austrian Consul, Hansal, and a Greek physician. Gordon had exhausted his ammunition, and seeing that further shedding of blood would be useless, attired himself in his full general's uniform, and, accompanied by the above-named gentlemen, descended, smoking a cigarette, to the door of the palace, where, with a calm and resigned aspect, stroking the handle of his revolver and addressing words of encouragement to the Greek physician, he awaited events.

The rebels had stopped short at fifty paces from where Gordon and his companions stood. Suddenly, a ball fired from some person among the Mahdists struck Gordon in the forehead, and he fell dead.



HEAD OF GORDON IMPALED IN FRONT OF THE MAHDI'S TENT.

Then the rebels, armed with whips, fell upon Hansal and the Greek physician, who succumbed under their blows.

The heads of Gordon and his unfortunate companions were severed from the trunks, and that of Gordon was impaled and erected in front of the Mahdi's tent.

Gordon, the father of the negroes, has not yet been avenged !

FINIS.



THE NILE SOUDAN

to illustrate
"SEVEN YEARS IN THE SOUDAN"
by Romolo Gessi Pasha

Scale 1:17,000,000
English Miles
0 50 100 150

District of the camp sign against the slave trader
Route of Gessi Pasha
Limit of the Italian Protectorate
Water parting of the Nile and Congo

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