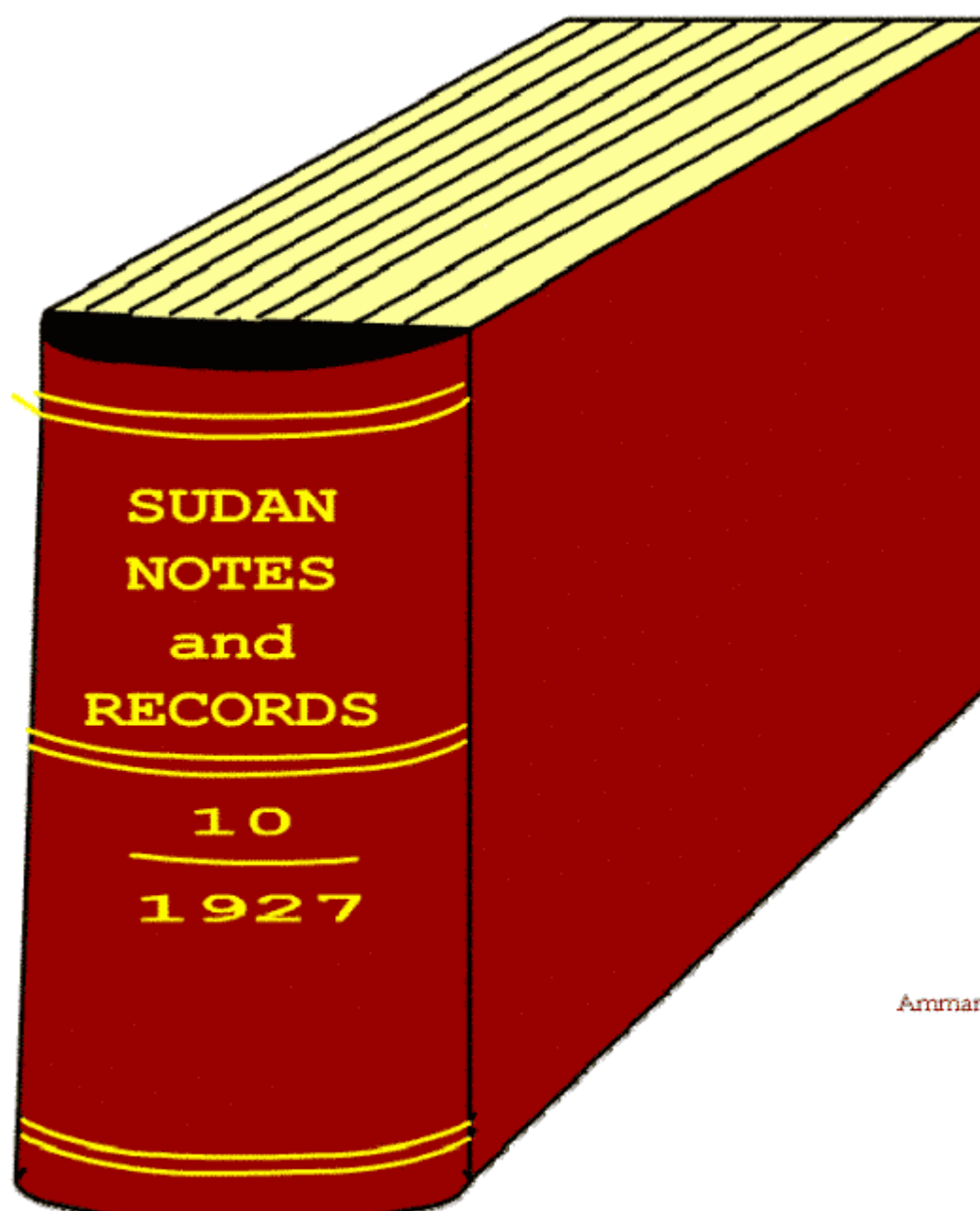




Ammar Yasir

SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS

VOLUME X

1927



KRAUS REPRINT
A Division of
KRAUS-THOMSON ORGANIZATION LIMITED
Nendeln/Liechtenstein
1975



McCorquodale & Co. Ltd.

SUDAN NOTES
AND RECORDS

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Transliteration of the Arabic alphabet

adopted by the Editors of «Sudan Notes and Records».

ا	{ at beginning of word omit, ham- za elsewhere }	ذ	dh (coll. d)	غ	gh
		ر	r	ف	f
		ز	z	ق	q (coll. g)
ب	b	س	s	ك	k
ت	t	ش	sh	ل	l
ث	th (coll. t or s)	ص	ṣ	م	m
ج	j	ض	ḍ	ن	n
ح	ḥ	ط	ṭ	ه	h
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	و	w
د	d	ع	ʿ	ي	y

Vowels.				Diphthongs.	
fatha	a,	lengthened	ā	اَـ	ai (as in aisle) coll. ē
kasra	i,	—	ī	اِـ	au (as in mauser) coll. ū
damma	u,	—	ū	The ا of the article always remains <i>l</i> .	
				Silent <i>t</i> (ة) to be omitted.	

Notes.

1. The system will not be applied to well known names. Write Khartoum, Omdurman, instead of Khartūm, Umm Darmān.
2. In transliterating colloquial Arabic follow the pronunciation and not the spelling, giving the vowels their value as in Italian.

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. X.

1927

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF CHARLES GEORGE GORDON.

THE letters published here for the first time were addressed by Gordon to General Sir E. Stanton, C.B., who held a diplomatic appointment in Cairo and later became British Chargé d'Affaires at Munich. The originals are in the possession of his son, Colonel E. A. Stanton, C.M.G., who served in the Egyptian Army during the Sudan wars of the eighties and nineties, took part in the battle of Omdurman, and became the first Governor of Khartoum after the re-occupation. To him the editors are greatly indebted for permission to publish the letters.

It may be recalled that Gordon, early in 1874, accepted the appointment of Governor of the Equatorial Provinces in succession to Sir Samuel Baker, who had made the first attempt to establish an administration in what are now the provinces of Mongalla and Bahr el Ghazal. Gordon remained in the Equatorial provinces until October 1876, when he returned to Cairo with the intention of never going back to the Sudan, though he did not definitely resign his appointment. He had actually gone to England, when the insistence of the Khedive Ismail prevailed on him to reconsider his decision, and he returned to the Sudan, this time as Governor-General of the whole country, including Darfur and the Equatorial Provinces. During his second period of service, which lasted until 1879, Gordon was mainly occupied with Abyssinian affairs and with the insurrection in Darfur.

The bulk of our letters belong to the first period spent in the Equatorial provinces, and they give a vivid picture of Gordon's difficulties in that inhospitable country, of his energy in overcoming them, and of his ever-changing moods. They happily supplement the letters published in 1881 by G. B. Hill, in a volume entitled "Colonel Gordon in Central Africa, 1874-1879," and though they do not add much to

the known history of the Equatorial Provinces, they will be read with interest as human documents throwing fresh light on Gordon's enigmatic personality.

The editors have refrained from changing the spelling and the eccentric punctuation of the originals, except where this was necessary in order to render a passage intelligible. Words added by the editors are enclosed in square brackets and omissions are indicated by dots. The passages omitted contain personalities and impatient criticisms of subordinates, which Gordon himself would surely not have desired to place on permanent record. The rough sketch-maps with which many of the letters are illustrated, have not been reproduced, but their nature is shown in the facsimiles of pages from the original letters, which form Plates Nos. I, II, III, IV and V.

No. 1.

SUAKIN.

26th February, 1874.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Lestrangle will have told you of the dénouement of the special train, of our arrival and departure from Suez. I saw Stokes in bed the evening before I left and the morning I left he was cheery enough and hoped soon to be out again. I met Lesseps near Ismailia but I could not stop for Ibrahim Bey wanted to be off to Suez. He is a nice old man and had ridden out some way with his two nieces. On arrival here we were kept in quarantine for the night and are to land this evening 220 men on board who [*sic*] I am to have the pleasure of taking up to Khartoum. The Adj. Major who commands them says they are a bad lot and are sent up for punishment, he was with Baker and does not go on with them. Two of the officers who do, have been degraded for theft, but I dare say that I shall find them tractable enough and if they are not, some may remain in the desert. This Adj. Major says that there was no attempt to poison Baker at Masindi, nor any attempt to molest his retreat, and a lot more utterly contradictory of Baker's report. All I can say is that it seems perfectly inconceivable if there is no foundation to these reports of Baker. We have been well fed and looked after on board. We shall be two or three days here I expect. Kind regards to

After to leave the farm field. I
 hope Russell & Simon are all
 right & will enjoy the trip up
 as far as I could I made
 every arrangement that they
 should want nothing and they
 ought to get on better than I
 shall. In the morning we take
 about 1000 to help me.
 Goodbye. I was since 1880
 over the summit of the mountain
 last Englishman except perhaps
 I was.



Simatun.
 hot winds in low flat sandy plain

Mrs. Stanton and Alick and Queenie. Also to Smart and Greenfield. I hope Russell and Anson are all right and will enjoy their trip up. As far as I could, I made every arrangement that they should want nothing and they ought to get on better than I shall, for I have no one like Abou Saood to help me.

Goodbye. I saw nice old Owen the moment of departure—last Englishman except Lestrangle I saw.

[Sketch of Suakin—See Plate I.]

Suakin.

Hot oasis in low, flat sandy plain.

Goodbye with many thanks and defiance to certain folk.

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

Very (many) thanks my dear Stanton for your kindnesses. Wish I could be more tractable but fear I cannot change in my old age. Remember me to Stokes.

No. 2.

KHARTOUM.

20th March, 1874.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Will you if you can read my letter to Lebrun [?] and send it on to Hughes. I expect you have seen Stokes by this time, he was the last Englishman (except Professor Owen) I saw before I left. I hope he is all right again. I got up here on 13th March, having the Pall Mall Gazette 13th February you gave me with me. It was an agreeable journey and the nearer one approaches the scene of action, the less the difficulties appear, thanks to the Governor General, a first rate man, [who] has done much for me by opening the "Sud" and putting Gondokoro within 18 days of this place about 7 weeks from England. I leave tomorrow for Gondokoro and hope to be there in 18 days, by steamer. Khartoum is a large place and the Governor General has very interesting districts about him, he could not have been more civil or obliging than he has been. His troops are in first rate order, his hospital ditto and also his

school. I think that the slave trade as far as I have seen is down to a minimum and have witnessed no signs of it at present. I have no time for more so conclude with kind regards to Mrs. Stanton and the little ones and Revd. Clarke.

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

P.S.—How is my poor friend Nubar.

Tell Aleck I was "naughty" on the way up.

No. 3.

BERBER,

17th May, 1874.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Thank you for your kind letter given me here by Russell. I have had a time of it and found it absolutely necessary to come down to Khartoum for divers matters and when there, came on to drive on my stores which are now all before me and I am bringing up the rear and hope to be at Gondokoro again in a month . . . If I could get Watson, R.E., who would accept £500 a year, vide his note, I would take him, but how at this distance can I ask the Khedive and arrange for his coming up. I would also like Chippendall, R.E. if I could get him. I do not ask you to use your interest unless you can do so without involving yourself. All I can say, I would like these fellows for a year or so to survey the country and I think they would earn their keep but I cannot arrange for their coming out, for I do not like the responsibility of bringing them to these horrid parts and one does not know what may have happened by the time they get to Gondokoro. I am glad Mrs. Stanton and the children have gone to England, my kind regards to them. At Gondokoro there is a post of 300 men, at Latuko 200 men. Not a single thing else in the Province and it is not safe $\frac{1}{2}$ mile outside of the posts. I shall not have any difficulty with slavers or the natives, everything has been greatly exaggerated and I anticipate no trouble. The climate of the Bahr Gazal portion is very bad, and certainly makes one much depressed, if one is in the habit of being so, which I am not. I quite rejoiced at not having any more Europeans with me when passing through those parts.

I am sending Anson and Russell up in a quick vessel to spare them, they seem nice fellows enough. I have started off the party this morning and leave tonight for Khartoum and hope to be at Gondokoro again or at any rate in my district in less than 3 weeks. I have had, do not let it appear you know it, a great deal of trouble with Governor General of Soudan, who has in the passive resistance way done all he could to thwart me. He has in consequence of his conduct had a bad time of it from me and I have not been over complimentary to him. You ask me to tell you my impressions of the affair. I think that in time one can make something of these districts, there is a large amount of passive resistance made but if you are firm, they give in. I think after a year, the Province will pay its way, but when the Baker debt will be paid off I do not know. It is a very trying climate and the discomforts are great, but I am now acclimatised and do not feel the weather as I did. The worst of it is that the richest part of the Province is in the north, i.e. in the marshy land. I will write more after I have done a lot of other little letters.

(No signature.)

No. 4.

RABATCHAMBÉ.¹

30th August, 1874.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Since I wrote to you from Berber I have had much to do and could not write. I was at Khartoum a month and had a good deal of trouble with Governor General who tried to put obstacles in my way. I left on 8th June for the Saubat which now forms the northern boundary of my Province, and I placed a station there, as it cuts off the slave trade most effectually and is a splendid strategical point. I captured 120 slaves and 300 cows whilst there and £2,000 worth of ivory. We had a heavy rainfall for some days and this made the place unhealthy for some but I have kept my health well thank God. I sent up in three detachments or in rather four the other fellows. Gessi and Anson went into Bahr Gazal to make some inquiries. Three of the parties fell short of wood

¹ Ghabat Shambe.

for their steamers, and got detained in the Bahr El Abiad, here Gessi and Anson got fever and Anson died after four days' illness. I send his journal to your care and will ask you to send it to my sister at South'ton, the address is on the packet. Gessi did what he could for him and had no fear of his life when one night he said "I feel cold" and soon after died. I have lost at Saubat 8 men in one day and altogether some 40 during July. It is a very bad climate no doubt and requires the greatest caution. I anticipate no difficulties in my government, everything goes on quietly. Kemp . . . was the cause of the steamer in which he and Russell were in being delayed, he would not let the Captain stop to cut wood, and then got to a place where there was none and had to stay there causing great discomfort to the whole party and indeed danger . . . Russel is all right and a good fellow. I cannot say I am happy in my selection, the motto is to "Be comfortable" with them all. I will write to you from Gondokoro and remain with kind regards to Mrs. Stanton.

(No signature.)

No. 5.

GONDOKORO.

18th November, 1874.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Thank you very much for your kind letters April 26th, July 2nd, August 26th which came up with Watson but above all thank you a thousand times for sending up and getting me those officers. I cannot ever express how much I feel indebted to you for them, for I can tell you I have had a life with my people that would be incredible. I will not enter into details for four of these poor fellows are dead and two invalided, I merely say I have been more of a servant than a master. It is entirely due to Tomson that I never got a letter for 8 months from April to November . . . I . . . have abolished his agency, which cost me a good deal too much. I wrote to you from the Saubat to tell you I was waiting for a convoy of slaves, well, I got tired out running right and left, till at last I came up here, (I had had to wait, for my steamers had gone up before me and had not come back) the day I left, my own Mudir let 1600 slaves pass for £360. You must know if I did not tell you that these slaves

are the slaves of three zerebas on the Bahr Zeriffa which Baker kindly spared for me to destroy though why when on his way down he did not do so is past my understanding. On arriving here Raouf Bey asked for leave and went down. Abu Saood began well enough but soon after I detected him in lie after lie and so at once sent him down, he was a despicable creature. Baker wrote to me about him, and I told him that I thought he, Baker, had made a great deal too much of the man, etc. etc. if Baker had waited, it would have been better for him, he might have given me credit for being able to judge the man. I told Baker that as for my taking him I did no more than he did, for he knew the man was a slave dealer from his experience in the first expedition and yet he made a contract with him on his second expedition, by which Abou should collect ivory and give Baker two-fifths of what he collected, Baker must have known how they collect ivory up here and this contract was the cause of all their rows, for when Baker came here, he found that he could do without Abou, whose proceedings he saw were hurtful to him, thence these rows: with me it was different. I just ordered Abou down and down he went—I sent up the steamer to Ibrannaya and came back here where I am engaged in bucking up this station and making two others in much more suitable spots where there is wood in abundance. I am now free, thanks to you, of all the geographical business and never need leave this which is my proper place to look after *my lake* i.e. the administration of the Province. You know Linant, Anson, De Witt, Campbell are dead. Kemp—a very good fellow and Gessi had fever and I was and am the whole [*sic*] one not ill. Russell is invalided but is at Khartoum, he asks to come back, I said to him, “I think you have had a very narrow escape of death and I will not take the responsibility of keeping you here unless you write my freedom of it,” this he would not do. You must know I was his and the others’ doctor for the most part and they were cross and wore me out. I was a regular servant for my own man was ill and I cannot talk Arabic. However, it is over and these fellows are a true help to me. I have been a good deal worn and I fear my temper is *very very bad* but the people are trying and it is no use unless one is *feared*. Watson and Chipp. go up to the Lake Albert shortly with an iron boat of Baker’s and it will not be long before they get into the Lake. The other iron boat I send up to Karuma to ply between that place and Urondogani on the Victoria Nile which Long has seen, he went down

with two canoes from Urondogani to Karuma and was stopped or rather Kaba Rega tried to stop him at or near Mrooli but Long found the passage and fired 450 cartridges at the poor blacks!!

Your letter 26th April ought to have come with Abou Saoud and yet it came 17th November. Watson and Chipp. did not suffer at all coming up, it was not a good season for me to take up those fellows and thence the casualties. I flatter myself Gondokoro is no longer thought far off. After Khartoum you have no difficulty. Please send all letters direct to Khartoum by the Egyptian Post which is quite sure and pretty regular. (I am now reading your letter 2nd July) Thank you for writing to Lord Stanley and to Sir F. C. I shall write and thank the latter. My quarrel with Governor General was necessary because if I had not shewn my teeth he would have completely balked my affairs, now we are all right. I did not care at all about the Bahr Gazal territory. I only used the statement of Governor General that he had established a Government there to show Khedive, he told corks which I also told Governor General that he did, it is all over now and I was relieved when Khedive made no mention of the row. They must have feared a catastrophe when they heard I approached so near Cairo as Berber. My kind regards to Cherif Pasha, very glad he is back in power again. Russell got into hot water with me, i.e. I have wigged him for his silly letters in papers. He wants to come back and I will only let him if he engages to disengage me of all responsibility if he dies which he positively did not like to do . . . Long was much improved by his journey to Mtesa where he bought experience at a heavy price, he is worth something now and is a nice fellow. I have asked K. to let me keep him. (I am reading your letter August 26th), the Post Office at Khartoum is first rate and Gessi is there to send my letters on, the Postmaster knows French. I send you some letters to read, when read will you kindly post them, sorry to cost you the postage. I never saw these two officers and knew nothing of them, they are capital well-instructed young officers. The K. sent me orders to send duplicate copies (one for G. Society) to him. Now will you kindly tell all scientific folk to address their letters, etc. to Watson, who will attend to them, for I shall never go to the Lakes if I can help it, I have work enough here and am too old to take these out of the way journies, besides which my presence ought to be here. Mtesa said Cameron was coming north or rather that a white man was,

but it was not clear what he said. Raouf Bey is at Cairo, I treated him like a Prince. *Entre nous* I have been playing a diplomatic game and through Abou S. I got rid of Raouf with whom I should have had great and serious trouble. When Raouf left Abou S. got drunk with his position and tried to hoodwink me, as I had weighed him at Cairo and considered I carried heavier calibre than he did. I did not hesitate to crush him when he gave me legitimate cause of complaint. I gave him plenty of rope, gave him one serious warning and then demolished him on the first occasion afterwards, and got free of two of my encumbrances. Abou Saoud's presence quieted the slave dealers till they could see and judge of me themselves and when they saw I was fair and just Abou was of no use, he had done his work. Now though these thoughts were present with me, I only acted on actual facts. Raouf wanted to go to Cairo but pressed it much more strongly after Abou's arrival. If Abou had not tricked me and kept back letters, I should have kept him, but as things turned out, you see my interior wishes were well supported by facts, which enabled me to act without injustice to anyone. Abou has gained much in coming up here, and it was only after a very serious warning in which I told him my mind, and which warning he paid no attention to, that I sent him off. My kind regards to Mrs. Stanton and the children (I wish you were *K.C.B.*) Goodbye, very, very many thanks for all your kindness to

Yours sincerely,
C. G. GORDON.

No seeds for you yet.

No. 6.

GONDOKORO.

15th December, 1874.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Those are indeed helps to me those two officers, they are first rate fellows, thank you for them. I did not like the phrase of your letter that the K¹ granted the request without "*much hesitation*." Surely he must have seen that I did not want either to increase his expenses or get useless hands. You have but little idea of what work I have up here with one limp, wretched interpreter, Hassan Effendi, who is always sick, an

¹ Khedive.

officer in command of troops utterly incompetent, thinking of his own comfort and safety only, in the greatest fear of the Blacks and thus throwing every bit of detail of soldiery on me. I never put a value on myself but I can say that I am worth more than to perish up here with such a set of incompetent apathetic brutes. I do not want you to mention this, for I have written to K. and he has done all I have asked him with great kindness but he has little idea of what I have to go through. You would not believe the fear this Arab officer is in and the tricks he is up to, to keep a man or a musket more near him. I have reported him to K. and hope to have done with him soon. Watson and Chipp. got a good observation of Venus but want a quantity to solve the eqn. in order to work it out which they can only do in England. I have suffered from liver but it is produced by fieriness and the amount of personal work one has to do. I can quite understand Baker, seeing that his material was rotten, turned his mission into a geographical research, and gave up all idea of a Government, however I have succeeded well enough as yet and have got things into some order and will cover my administration expenses this year and have something over, though it has been at some cost to me personally, for no one could have had a worse set of men with him, than I in my stupidity took. It is only my iron constitution which has pulled me through as yet. I send you a paper on Darfour War, mind and do not hint that I have done so, it is mainly gathered from Schweinfurth's book. I had only indistinct hints of what had gone on before I got his work. You see I was quite right to fight for the Bahr Gazal, that is the true centre of slavery and taking the K's wish to put it down as a bona fide one, it was my duty to represent it. I pat myself on the back for seeing this before I had Schweinfurth's book. Now I want you to act for me in this matter if K. is not satisfied with me. Do not let me perish up here, but let me know and I will leave. My life is worth 2½d. but I will not throw away the sum small as I put it for no use. As for money, I shall never make a farthing here out of my salary and I will never take any more than that salary . . . What with Bachsheeshes, etc. etc. I may after two years have £300 to £500, no more. Try and get at the roots of the matter, and see if I am *de trop* or not. Though I say it myself, never will he—the K.—find anyone who has stood more, been more insouciant of his comfort or more careful for his—the K's—interests than I have been. He took me of his own

accord, I never wanted the Governor Generalship and in mercy he ought to tell me if I am *de trop* or not before I die in this land for no purpose. If he is sincere I will go on willingly, if he regrets his bargain, let him tell me so or even hint it to you. The view that Watson and Chipp take of it is this that glad as they are to come and glad as they are to do their work, neither of them would have come if they had known the state of affairs up here, and their work is definite and clean-handed, mine is different. Am I a tool to delude the Blacks into submission prior to their ruin in perspective. Am I a tool to obtain some favour from our Government.

I hope you have good news of Mrs. Stanton and the children and if Greenfield is with you please give him my kind regards and Believe me, my dear Stanton,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

P.S.—Just heard Linant and servant—a Frenchman—are laid up.

APPENDIX to No. 6.

Account of the State of Affairs at Bahr Gazal and District to West of White Nile, compiled from Schweinfurth's "Heart of Africa."

Some time in 1869 Djaffer Pasha Governor General Soudan appointed Kurshook Ali¹ a merchant of ivory and slaves at Khartoum to be Sandjak of the districts South of Darfour and on borders of Niam Niam, Kurshook Ali possessed slave seribas there.

Kurshook Ali started with two companies of Government troops, one Arab company commanded by Ahmed Agha Lieutenant, and the other by a black by name Hellali, this last company were Soudan troops. Hellali had previously been Secretary to Hussein Sultan of Darfour, and he had done much to make the Darfoureans hostile to Egypt. He obtained the appointment of command from Khedive by representing that the Sultan of Darfour had given to him the copper mines of Darfour and the district Dar Fartiet south of Darfour.

Kurshook Ali died before he reached his post, and the Arab Ahmed Agha succeeded him. When the two companies arrived in the district

¹ Mistake for Kuchuk Ali.

Lat. $7^{\circ} 30'$ Long. $27^{\circ} 20'$ at A¹, the other Seriba owners of whom Seebehr² Rahamas was the chief did not like the intrusion of the Government.

The Sultan of Darfour Hussein was afraid for his copper mines and forbade the exportation of grain to the Southern Seribas, but the great hatred of both seriba owners and of Ahmed Agha was against Hellali because he had been the cause of the expedition. They suspected him of trying to seduce the Black troops to go over to Darfour, while Seebehr was very angry because Hellali's troops made requisitions on the natives who had hitherto been only under him.

Just before Schweinfurth arrived at the Seriba A, hatred of Hellali combined Seebehr and the Arab Lieut. Ahmed against Hellali and on the occasion of Hellali plundering the natives near Seebehr's camp, Seebehr sallied forth and joined with the Arab troops, fought Hellali's troops, took him and his men prisoners after a loss of twenty on both sides who were in prison when Schweinfurth arrived, vide for all this Schweinfurth's "Heart of Africa" Vol. II, pages 265, 282, 329, 356, 361, 364, where it is mixed up with a lot of botanical information.

I understand that afterwards Hellali was killed by Seebehr and that he Seebehr was made Governor of these districts some two years ago. As Governor he has pushed towards the mines, and in February this year the Sultan of Darfour sent his grand Vizier against him and was defeated. We can thus understand the present war. Seebehr some time in June was hard pressed and had been surrounded, thence orders were sent to Soudan to send troops. Seebehr had also called for help from all the other Seribas.

The slave merchants of Khartoum have hitherto kept the Sultan of Darfour well supplied with arms and powder and it is said he is allied with Sultan of Wady³ and another Sultan.

The Khedive does not hold (per heredité) [*sic*] these provinces, they, Sennaar, Nubia etc. etc. are granted during life of Viceroy, he only holds Egypt per heredité. The Sultan can name a Governor General here and at Soudan after the second Firman of 1842.

It will now be seen how the Viceroy could not give me what I saw was the nest of Slavery, i.e. the Bahr Gazal districts.

C. G. GORDON.

15.12.1874.

¹ Illustrated by a sketch map (not reproduced).

² Usually known as Zubeir Rahma.

³ Wadai.

No. 7.

GONDOKORO.

21st December, 1874.

MY DEAR STANTON,

I sent down to the K. in duplicate Watson's and Chipp's map of Nile from Khartoum to this with a lot of observations, I sent down in duplicate according to his orders so that he could send on to Geographical Society a copy, if you see K. ask if Geographical Society get their copy, for otherwise it may go astray. Excuse my giving you the trouble of this, the fact is that in Shereef Pasha's letter to me enclosing one from the Geographical Society to Khedive he says "send duplicates" and it is just as well they—the Egyptians—should send the copies and not me direct, *for I have to pay the postage!!!* Temper considerably better today, I am glad to say. You can understand how trying these Arabs are, do you know there are not more than 50 Arab soldiers and 6 Arab officers in the Province, all the rest are Blacks, the fact is that the Arabs are as much foreign to these lands as Europeans are. Linant's brother is now ill just as he was on the eve of starting to Fatiko to put Post on Victoria Nile; his French servant is shamming and will go down next boat. What a lot have gone down. I do not tell you of servants, all of whom leave their masters. "Imshi Kartoum" is quite a panacea for all my grievances. To my mind, the country is one which requires you to take great care of yourself and to live most moderately, temperament has a great deal to do with it. Now here I have been nearly a month alone without speaking to anyone for the whole day long except it be some few words of broken Arabic. I keep Watson, Chipp. and Kemp the Engr. at Rageef¹ as it is healthy and I am obliged to stay here to shift the stores (for I have changed the seat of Government to Mt. Lado², 12 miles further down the river, this place Gondokoro being I feel sure very unhealthy) and I do not feel dull. I puzzle my brains, as to what the K. will do eventually with these countries. He will never get an Arab Government to do anything except with 5,000 to 6,000 troops and then he will find it hard enough to make it pay. You have little idea of how frightened these Arabs are of the blacks (natives). It will end in the K. making Abou Saoud or some other old slave dealer Governor General, it is the only way he could make it pay and then it will only pay for a

¹ Rejaf.² Lado.

time, for he will rob the natives of their all and leave a desert like it is around Fashoda. No one but an European could keep the steamers up to the mark, even with me they delay months, all these delays are favoured by Governor General of Soudan. It needs an European there more than here, even in the interest of K., if some change does not take place, it will be a complete desert ere long. Regular communications to Suakin and some Norton wells in desert entre Suakin and Berber and regular communications between Berber and Kartoum would do much, or a tramway between Assouan and Berber and good steamers between Cairo and Assouan and Berber and Kartoum might do something, combined with a liberal Government. At present no one is safe to undertake anything in those parts. I shall get some wheelbarrows of iron like the Chinese ones, if I can do so, Schweinfurth's book mentions them. I never thought of them, they would save a mint of labour. Mr. Marno, Vienna Geographical Society, has come up, he goes to explore towards Schweinfurth's land. I sent down a pygmy girl to Khedive. I have had a most painful diarrhoea and what with worries and troubles am not over strong, every single thing hangs on me and however seedy I am here I have to work, for unless I go out to look after them, they will do absolutely nothing, it is deadening work and I really begin to regret bitterly that interview that I had with you at Nubar Pasha, it is not from fear of climate or of any difficulties for there are none, but it is the utter uselessness of any exertion up here, with these hounds. As far as any glory goes I do not value it a straw. Janry 6. Decidedly better today, and in better spirits. Linant has got all right and is going up country at once. Kemp the Engineer goes down . . . I hope you will not support any claim of his for any further payment by the Khedive, he has been paid up to 31st March and received £160 a year more than he was originally engaged at . . .

I send you a copy of sketch of Pygmy girl whom I have sent down to the K. Watson and Chipp. will leave shortly for the lakes, it is the old African story of want of porters, but I hope I have got over it now. Nothing but troubles, Saubat, a great Shillook Sheikh, escaped from oppression from Mudir of Saubat, comes with 3,000 men into my territory, Mudir sends to have him killed, he arranges with me to let me have Dhorra.¹ I send for Dhorra and he beats my envoy and gives him none.

¹ Dura=millet.

I do not know how all this will end. Will you thank K. for promoting Long who has turned out first rate now, he had a terrible journey of it to Mtesa's.

Goodbye my dear Stanton. Excuse grumbles from a very worn poor creature at war with all the world.

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 8.

RABATCHAMBÉ EN ROUTE FOR SAUBAT.

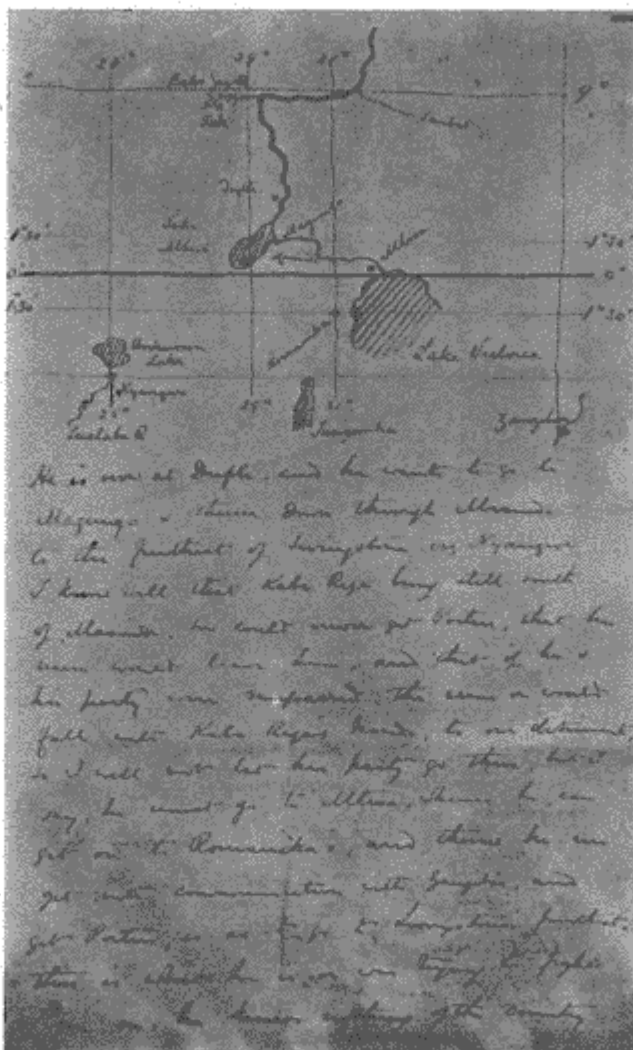
2nd Febry, 1875.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Chippendall has gone up to Ibrannaya but Watson's health would not stand it, and he has gone to Khartoum to recuperate. Chipp. is not over well, so you see that the men for the sources of the Nile are, at least I think so, yet to come. The Nile is not going to give in so easily. Baker wrote to me again about Abou, and my brother sent me his book. I could not help saying "I thought it very improper for a man to enter service of a Foreign Power, thus learn its faults and then expose them." He knows also very well that Abou S. came entirely at my suggestion and against advice of the Egypt authorities. Now for Abou. I can tell you privately my motives. (1). When I came to Cairo first time, I knew Baker had disgusted all the slave dealers, and that if something was not done they would be prejudiced and predisposed against me. Where was the remedy. I thought by Abou S. coming he would at any rate paralyze their intrigues and make them waver in any ideas they might have formed about me till they saw me. (2). When I came out the second time, I had learnt more. I knew of Raouf Bey, a man who would resent his supplanting by me, who had influence with troops etc. etc. and who looked for the Govr. Genlship, it was necessary to balance him, the Dongolawi or slave dealers were the only means of doing so. So I took Abou S. as well for reason No. 2 as for reason No. 1 and he did his work perfectly and entirely fulfilled the objects in view. Raouf left me a clear field by going to Cairo. Abou's appointment paralysed the action of slave dealers, and was of great use. Now do not think I took Abou S. to fulfil these selfish objects, I gave him £10 a month and a

first rate position and had he only taken care, he might have not only done great things for me, but might also have succeeded me, however when he tried to teach me and keep back letters and render me an O I had no great inducement to keep him, as he had done the (to me) important part of the work, and therefore I sent him off. This is the history. If Raouf Bey had stayed here and the Dongolawis had not been paralyzed the two would have been too much for me, even had my natives divided them.

Baker's anger is from *offended vanity*, he had said Abou S. was a scoundrel and *no one* had a right to employ him after *that*. Wat el Mek has brought down Baker's Deputy Lieutenant of County's uniform taken in retreat from Masindi by Kaba Rega's men. Kaba sold it for a gun which Wat-el-Mek values at £30. I have asked Baker what I am to do with it, it is a nearly new uniform. Kaba also sent me down the large musical box (Baker speaks so much of Vol. II. 190, 240, 312) to be repaired. I have repaired it and kept it for the present. It is a baneful climate, and I declare I am of the four Europeans up here, Chipp. Watson, Linant and Long, the only hale person. Thank God, I keep my health. It has been on the cards the invaliding of Watson and Chipp. and Linant more than once, a deadly, treacherous climate. You would on inhaling the air, say how fresh and healthy it is, and yet down will go a man with fever. My medical book says "a man is a fool or a physician after 40" and my brother—a doctor—in his says no man under 40 ought to come into these parts and I believe him. Somehow or another, middle-aged men are much more careful of their minds and bodies than young men. I cannot say much of what is going on. I am going to Saubat to settle those stations for 8 or 10 months, so as to leave me free to go to Fatiko, so you will not hear much from me for a long time. My great object is to establish safe roads and communication between my stations. Now you must send 100 men with a letter and you do not hear for 6 months. I will I hope make posts at days' journeys apart. Long brought me up to my intense horror another batch of Arab troops, who are much, infinitely much, worse than useless for they go down like a stone, and are out of say 300 270 sick. It was a mistake for Long had no orders, but these errors in judgement are fearful for me and though I do not say much (it is no use when the deed is done) I mourn over the idiocy. I have asked Watson to write to you a long letter, to tell you what goes on.



I cannot do so in detail, for I have a great correspondence with my stations though I cannot send the letters except to the river ones. *Est-ce que tout ce travail vaut la peine* is a question I often ask. However I am determined if I live, and if the K. does not recall me from any reason, to die here or to make some little improvement in the country.

Yours sincerely, my dear Stanton,
C. G. GORDON.

No. 9.

SAUBAT.
8th February, 1875.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Got your letter 20th December at this place, where I met Russel . . . I wish H.H. would leave the Medjedieh alone, I cannot express how I hate these things which humble me and of which I am not worthy. Poor Watson, he feels so much going back.

Yours sincerely,
C. G. GORDON.

Excuse the haste and torn paper.

No. 10.

LARDO.
30th June, 1875.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Having gone up to the rapids south of Mt. Rajeef on 1st April, I found that the water was rising and that it was likely boats could be passed through, further examination convinced me of this so I prepared to mount the Nile, forming stations along its banks and giving up that terrible land road. At the end of February I had made a strong station at the Bedden Rapids, and the water have [having] risen I passed up three nuggars¹ into the quiet waters beyond, at the end of May I pushed south 23 miles to Kerri, and made a station there, the river between Bedden and Kerri being first rate. Kerri is 8 miles north of Laboré and ought after Baker to be 33 miles from the Asua, and 40 miles from Makedé where I have at present a station and where the Nile is navigable to the

¹ Native boats.

Lake. It is a question now will the Nile be passable for my boats from Kerri to Makedé? that I cannot answer till I try it. I have great hopes for the country looks well further south from Kerri. I am in hopes of getting a steamer into the Lake from this. The current is very strong and we sadly want good ropes at Kerri, the anxiety from the breaking of ropes at critical moments was great, but fortunately we had no mishaps. If I lost a nuggar, it would cause dismay and fear to a great extent. On 12th June, after fixing site of Kerri station, I came down here for I expected the steamers to be up from Khartoum. Through some cause or another, they are not here, so I am obliged to wait and have a dull time of it, for I have little to do to occupy me. The natives all along the road are very peaceable and friendly, and we have had no hostilities. Two men now can go from this to Kerri without fear, before this road was open, 60 men were the minimum escort from Laboré to this and it took 5 days. I came down in boat in 9½ hours, only damage being from Hippopotami in the evening. Chipp. is at Kerri, he is sometimes seedy. I fear he finds it very dull and so it is, the forced inaction makes more men ill than the climate and this country is one of delays and obstructions. It will be quite of a piece with the previous history of the Nile if we get a steamer into the Lake from this, it is a river of surprises. Imagine after all the trials and the exertions of eminent men what a surprise it will be to find all the time, a steamer built in England could have gone up if the proper season had been chosen. I take not the least credit for finding the river navigable. Driven almost to despair of ever opening the land road even by stations in any way at all satisfactory, I turned to the river, hoping (1) to find it in steps and not one continuous rapid having spaces navigable between those steps which I might utilize. (2) I thought the river was best for the road, for the stations could not be attacked on all sides. Water was scarce and the people passing from one station to another could not miss their way, and so it was that I fell on the river when rising. Baker is not much compromised for he said wonderfully little about the river below Makedé, neither is Speke. If the levels had been properly studied, the deduction that the river was navigable would have been made, for with the same fall which exists between the Lake and Gondokoro other parts of the river are used for navigation. It would also be remarkable if the Nile which as far as is known is in steps should have changed its nature for this 100 miles and

been a continuous rapid. No considerable river in the world that I know of has such a feature. The "Iron Gates" of Danube is the nearest approach but they are not 100 miles in extent and they are also navigable. I am very sorry that Watson's health did not enable him to stay, but even buoyed up with this great comfort, 3 weeks' inaction like what I am now undergoing would have laid him up. I sent a note to Russel when I found this route to say he could come up from Fashoda, as now the stations are all formed but one, there was no reason for his hanging on now, but he had left Fashoda and I expect has gone home. He was placed at Fashoda because it was the best place for provisions after Khartoum . . . I am quite case-hardened as to what people may say, if the Khedive is content, he will keep me, if he is not so, he will recall me and I want nothing from any living soul or Government. If I live and the Khedive keeps me, I will do my best in these lands, and my reason for doing so is that he has been so kind to me, that if it costs my life, he shall have it willingly. Place yourself in my position and think how much more important to you would be the breaking or lack of a rope, the loss of your opera glasses, etc., etc. than a leader in "Times" abusing you or the opposite written by some poor creature for so much coin and received 6 months after its emission. I shall not let Stanley stay up here and I shall give him my views on the Press. To have a man not knowing your reasons for any particular action quietly logging you every day is more than human nature can stand, and the more so as he eats your biscuits and sugar. Kind regards my dear Stanton to yourself and Mrs. Stanton and hoping you are all well.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 11.

BEDDEN.

20th July, 1875.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Thank you very much for your kind letters, which dated 22nd March and 8th May came last night (Excuse my neglect, excuse the crossness of my notes as those of a sick man, worried to death on all sides and not a

reliable person near him) I have satisfied Russel but will not inflict the whole history on you. I think, however, you shall see my explanation to the Dr., would you read it and kindly forward it to Russel open as you receive it. 75 private letters came in and heaps of officials of all sorts. I have enough to do to keep ahead of this mass of correspondence. Now I will say why I think often of how the Kh. feels. 1. The Mudir of Fashoda does nothing but slave trade, Fashoda is a nest of it, aided by Ismail Pasha Yacoub, my Khartoum foe; he does all he can while professing good faith to thwart my people, and no reports to Kh. seem to have any effect. 2. Sebehr Pasha (egged on by Ismail Pasha in Darfour) writes to my districts and orders them to supply dhorra; the second in command of one of my districts deserts my Province while in Government pay and goes to Sebehr with 6,000 cows, perhaps Kh. has a difficult game to play with Sebehr and is not strong enough: however I cannot help feeling a sort of insecurity about Kh.'s favor, really to me it is indifferent. I shall be glad enough to be out of it. Kh. never acknowledges my report as to the navigability of Nile, all this may be fancy on my part and I will continue to do my best, but am prepared for the *worst* which to me would be the *best*. I have no doubt been hard on the officers who were useless or idle and have not hesitated to dismiss them, but I have had to educate my people, who are as uncivilized as the people they would conquer, which was a task I did not bargain for. Oh, what worries I have had, sentries asleep and taking off even their clothes, wretched creatures of officers, not fit for buglers, with us, quarrelling between the Mudirs, who would sooner let their fellow Mudir perish than help him. You have but little idea of what I have had to put up with. Hauling on ropes, going into water myself, taking ropes across rivers, etc., etc., etc. Do not wonder my dear Stanton I am cross at times.

Mumza King of Mumbuttoo has been killed (Schweinfurth's King) not M'tesa, King of Uganda. As I have to write to Russel and Eyre, I will say goodbye and with kindest regards to Mrs. Stanton and hoping that you all are well,

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

P.S. I will write again soon. I leave for south in two days and hope to get boats over the Makedé Falls . . .

P.S. Just as I was closing this, Chippendall came from Kerri in a boat, with a very young Egyptian officer Stone sent me up who could not speak English and who I fear has typhoid fever. Chipp. had been suffering from fever and dysentery but was better, however very weak and pulled down; when he first came up he had a sort of scrofulous growth on neck near carotid artery, this has greatly increased now in size, and has become as big as your fist. He is anxious about it as he may well be, and I have given him leave to go to Cairo to have it cut out, he will tell you all the news.

Gessi will send the translation of Arab letter written by me concerning Russell's pay, will you forward it to Dr. R.

No. 12.

LABORÉ.

16th August, 1875.

MY DEAR CHIPPENDALL,

You were most dolefully out as to the route you took inland, you went to the east and *not to the west* of the high hill you and others called Laboré at least 15 miles from it I imagine. I got up all right to Kerri and left there for the south about 1st August. As I had anticipated, I had a nice job close to Kerri with the Rapids we saw from the hill, but after we had passed them we had a clear 8 miles and then came across another set to the south of which we are now camped, they say the river is now clear to Makedé. The reason of my halt here is this: we had passed the Rapids here with all the four nuggars when, owing to the bad fixing of a guide rope, a nuggar broke loose and floating down was wrecked in the middle of the Rapids just passed by it. I had walked on, so was not present. What did they do, but sent another nuggar down and the felucca, the other nuggar got jammed on the rocks and the felucca was sunk, it was with great difficulty the assistant nuggar was saved, the first one is hard and fast and will remain so till water falls and I can repair her. The felucca is entirely lost. All this delayed me and the Abibr seeing our difficulties were rather hostile so perforce I am obliged to make a station here which is only 12 miles from Kerri, instead of 18 as it ought to be. I have now been here 8 days waiting for the "Khedive," which has passed Kerri and is at the first rapids to south of Kerri. I hope she will be up

soon. I have sent on a party to Makedé to order Wat el Mek down here. The Abibr are now quite cowed, I have them in a trap for the Niri mountains on the west prevent them getting away, while the river does ditto to the east, so they only have the band between mountains and river to move in. Mind and send Khedive copy of map up to Kerri as soon as you can do so. I only got as I told you Saunder's [?] plans of the steamer's hull, get me the plan of the little steamer's engines, tell Watson he promised to get these for me, I suppose he forgot it. Let me have all the information you can get from Baker or others about the two pair of steamer engines at Khartoum and which require hulls, plans etc. send me, now do, not forget to take some trouble about this matter. I am very sorry you suffered at Lardo and hope you have got down safe. I confess I am very anxious to know if you have arrived at Cairo. You must not come back here and should be thankful, you have your life, had you come up here, what with one thing or another, I doubt your ever having reached Makedé, for the climate is very trying and humid to a degree. You know what to do about your money, it is a simple matter to arrange. You have your contract and you have a paper from me saying how much you have received. I have ordered Manopoli to stay at Lardo. I do not want him up here. I shall send him off at the end of the year.

Hoping you will arrive safely in England, believe me,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 13.

LABORÉ,

16th August, 1875.

MY DEAR STANTON,

I have pushed on some 12 miles from Kerri, but owing to a mishap to one of my nuggars and the non-arrival of the steamer which is 8 miles north of my present camp I am compelled to halt (Read my letter to Chipp.)¹ I hope the river is as they say now clear to the Asua, there I dare say I shall find a Rapid but I am now pretty sure that bide your time and you will be able to pass up into the Lake, it may be that I may not be able to do this this season, for there is much to delay me, but next year, if not

¹ Number 12.

this, I hope [I] will do it. One good thing any way is, that I have a road now quite safe from Gondokoro to Makedé, and my greatest difficulty is over. I have here three large nuggars and four more are at Kerri, while the steamer I hope will be here in two days. You will have seen Chipp. if he gets down alive, he is a perfect wreck, much worse than Watson was, and I feel much relieved that he has gone, he must not come back here and I shall feel very anxious till I hear of his arrival in Cairo. Did you ever see such a staff as I have had, they have all gone now, and never will I let another man come up, the worrit they have been to me, though not their fault, has been terrible. Tell the Khedive he must be patient, slow and sure is what I want to do. I have brought the Abibr¹ or natives to their bearings [?] here without bloodshed, they are penned in by a high range of hills to the west while they have the river to the east, the space between the river and the hills is 8 miles, they fall among hostile tribes if they pass the river or the hills, so they cannot escape us as the stations are along the river. Had I followed the east bank the natives then could have gone to friendly tribes and we could not have subjected them. I do not see my way a bit out of this land. When I get to Makedé and go up stream, I shall, I think, come on an isle which splits the river, one branch leading down from Victoria Nile and the other from [the] Lake. Now if I go up the east branch to the Victoria Nile debouch (Magungo) I must leave the lake branch till later. I cannot pass from Magungo to [the] Lake. Baker did so only with difficulty in a canoe by a.b.² Now I cannot leave Kaba Rega quiet and go off to [the] Lake for a month or two, so the Lake must wait till I have done with Kaba Rega.

I have a station on Victoria Nile at Foweira near Karennia Falls, 52 miles from Magungo and when I put a military post at Magungo Kaba Rega must give in. I shall D.V. put a post midway between Magungo and Karennia and from Karennia the river, according to Long, is navigable to within 30 miles of Victoria Nyanza, with only two rapids on the remaining 30 miles, viz. at Isamba and Ripon. As for the Falls of Karennia, Isamba and Ripon, I do not, if I am spared, despair of getting over many bad places. The great thing we need is good ropes, tell H.H. this. I have been delayed 8 days here from a bad rope breaking. The men who know the lower so-called cataracts say these are not worse if they only had

¹ Unidentified tribal name.

² Refers to a sketch (not reproduced).

good ropes and knew the channels as they do those below, but you see we come now on a rapid, have natives coaxed to haul the boats up these rapids, who, 10 minutes before, had never set eyes on a white man, for these are all virgin tribes. Altogether it is most trying work and very anxious in every way. Only one thing comforts me, the road I now open is a permanent road and is safe for two men to travel on from Gondokoro to this place. The Khedive could put up a telegraph if he liked to-day as far as we have gone. I am opening the road from Saubat to Bohr by land, which will be a great thing. A man will, D.V., in a fortnight with a couple of men be able in 6 days to walk from Makedé to Gondokoro and sleep every night in safety in my stations, before this road was open, 100 soldiers must have been his escort, this is nice, is it not? It is strange that in Speke's map he has marked rapids on the river between Gondokoro and [the] Lake, very nearly where those rapids occur. Where did he get the information? Tell H.H. his little boat leads the flotilla, and ploughs the virgin river first of all European vessels; she is called the "Khedive," she is rather crank[y] but has been very useful to me. I hope Mrs. Stanton and your children are well,

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

My dear Stanton,

C. G. GORDON.

P.S. Kind regards to Nubar Pasha who, I hope, is well again.

Make Chipp. give you the map of river *from Rageef to Kerri*. I will send you the map of river from *Kerri to Makedé*.

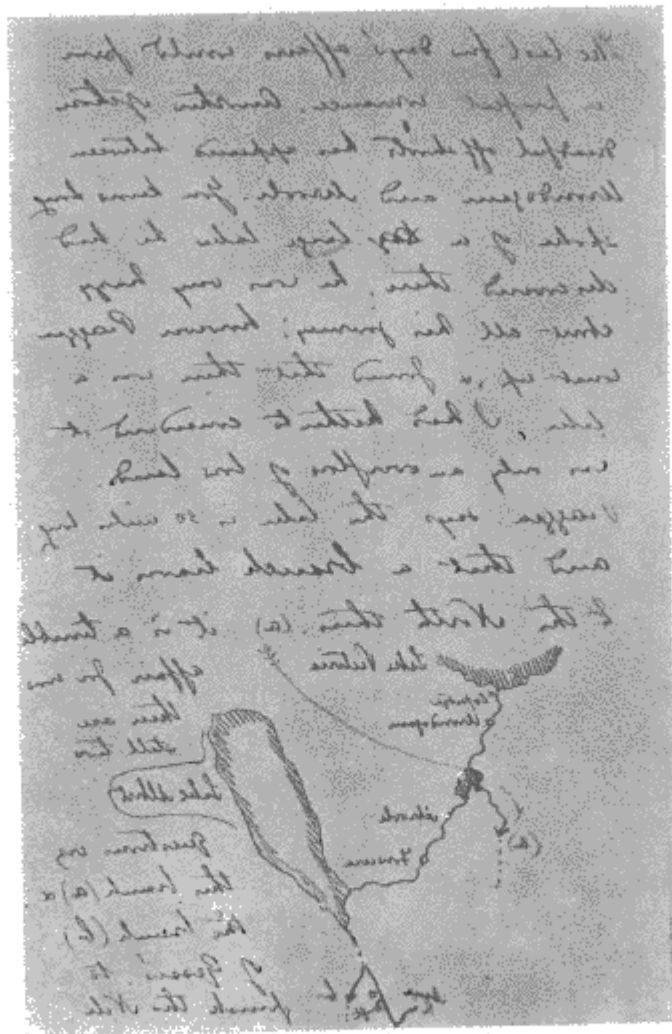
No. 14.

MOOGIE.

12th Sept., 1875.

MY DEAR STANTON,

You will have heard that I have managed a month ago to get up to this place with nuggars and a 108 ton steamer, and nothing as far as river is concerned prevents my further progress to the Lake; whether I can get the steamer there, this rainy season, now fast drawing to a close, I do not know, for the natives about here are very hostile and through an unfortunate affair in which Linant and 38 officers and men were killed,



I have as much as I can do to hold my own. The officers and soldiers are simply detestable, with few exceptions. I had begun punishing the three hostile tribes and sent two columns against one of these tribes, imagine my horror to hear that the officer left in charge of Kerri, the station in my rear, had let the men get drunk on native beer, and had admitted some hundreds of armed natives into the station; the natives had speculated on a repulse of my columns against the neighbours and then would have seized Kerri. I should have lost heaps of ammunition, a gun and the tribes around [would] have all arisen. However, as the columns succeeded, the natives of Kerri did not rise and thanks to a writer [?] who was on his way up, Kerri was saved: it made my flesh creep after all the orders I had given on the subject of the care to be taken at these stations. Oh, it is most dreary work and I quite despair at times with these brutes who will sleep on their posts in spite of any danger. The *very worst* troops or animals, unworthy of name of troops, I ever saw. I shall certainly strain the Military Law to have this officer shot if it is possible to do so: fancy being cut off and to have all the province rise. I hope to move on to Laboré in two days, and complete the chain of posts along the Nile.

When the grass is dry enough to burn I hope to move on Anfina and Magengo and thus to face Kaba Rega along the Victoria Nile, he will surrender I hope. Personally, I give up all idea of going on the Lake Albert, I have neither time or inclination, my whole fears are for my military posts.

Kind regards to Mrs. Stanton,

Believe me,

My dear Stanton,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 15.

MOOGIE.

16th September, 1875.

MY DEAR STANTON,

If you could feel the pulse of Nubar Pasha (again in power) as to my leaving when the communications are completed to Victoria Lake, I should be obliged, if it was, at all, thought shabby on my part to do so, I would

not do it, but would stay on : but if there is the slightest feeling that the powers that be would be glad of it, I need not say it would be reciprocated by me. Since Linant's death, I have quelled one tribe and hope to quell another in two days, then there remains the tribes on [the] other side (right bank) and then the road south will be as safe as all the others, i.e. a couple of armed men can travel on them. As I find it only raises me graver difficulties trying to remedy the indiscipline of the troops, I have made up my mind to leave them alone as far as I can possibly do so in safety. I can never make them soldiers, and I must work with them as I can.

With kind regards to Mrs. Stanton and hoping you both are well and the children also,

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 16.

PRIVATE.

EN ROUTE TO MAKEDÉ,
9 MILES SOUTH OF MOOGIE STATION.

21st September, 1875.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Sorry to bother you, and hope you will do just what you think best with this letter. My object in writing it, is to seek your opinion as to whether under the circumstances, you think I should act shabbily if I followed the course I mention. We are now close on completing the chain of posts which will render the route from Gondokoro to the Lake quite safe, and though the 108 ton steamer is only at Moogie at present, and the season will not permit me to hope to move her till next rains in March, yet I feel quite confident that we will be able to take her up to Makedé and thus above all obstacles to the Lake. I hope by March to have completely quelled the hostile tribes here and rendered each station secure, and supported by the natives. By the same time, I hope to have replaced Rionga and Anfina, the uncle and cousin of Kaba Rega in their rights which Kaba Rega has usurped, and I hope to have quelled Kaba Rega.

Now for the question, Baker claims to have annexed the country to the Equator, and to have deposed Kaba Rega, therefore when I have completed the chain of posts, and annexed their regions [?], I have only done what Baker has already done, if I aid Rionga and Anfina and quell Kaba Rega I only do what Baker claims to have done, therefore the only thing I can claim to have done for H.H. is to have opened out the river route, showed its practicability and placed stations along it to render communication sure; that is, if I stop here. Needless to say that I dispute that Baker annexed the country to [the] Equator, or that natives pay corn tax, or that he deposed Kaba Rega, but that does not matter, he, Baker, told [the] Khedive so, and therefore what I have done de plus is *the chain of posts, the opening of river route and the placing of steamers on [the] Lake (I hope)*. Now for the question. Can I go after this? I will enter on my reasons. 1st. Mtesa is a man exactly like Kaba Rega, crafty and treacherous, and *doomed to fall*, not a bit civilized or improved except in dress, fearing Egypt immensely and capable of anything to avoid annexation. Now why should I take the onus of the absolute necessity of ousting him which will ensue on my pushing on (after completing the Baker programme or rather his claimed work) to Lake Victoria? The matter is like this:¹

Start from Albert Lake Magungo. From Magungo to Murchison Falls it is navigable. From Murchison Falls to Anfina it is navigable. From Anfina to Foweira there are rapids and they may or not be navigable. From Foweira to Isamba by Urondogani it is navigable. From Isamba to Ripon Falls it is navigable. Ripon Falls are on Lake Victoria.

Now for the Egyptian Government to utilize the existing canoes between Ripon Falls and Murchison Falls or to send up workmen to build proper boats is no great difficulty and certainly would not imperatively require my presence, neither would the putting together of the small steamer (a mere launch which Baker brought out) on Victoria Lake be any great difficulty. Now what I come to is this, as the further progress towards Lake Victoria is an easy matter, and as I should take Mrooli which belongs to Rionga before I left, can I in honour bound leave after having placed my post at Mrooli and done what I have already pointed out? I thus avoid the Mtesa catastrophe which is sure, and I have done

¹ Illustrated by a sketch (not reproduced).

with as useless and effete a people as I ever came across, shirkers, lazy, void of any shame, utterly without discipline and the Arabs effeminate to a degree, day after day do I slave to pass up boats, to remedy their faults and idleness, until it has quite taken the spirit out of me (*not quite*) and what for, to place a despicable unworthy race in authority over much their superiors (no, not superiors, for they, the natives, are as idle and void of any thought but their bellies, but at any rate their equals). What will they do when Europeans leave, they are, thank God, too timid to oppress the natives who are very numerous, it can do no good and in all probability they will now and then through their negligence have a nice catastrophe. Think, my dear Stanton, why should I stay when I see it is hopeless, the civilizers need the civilization as much as the natives. "We do not want your beads, we do not want your cloth, we are on our land and we want you to go away" is the native's answer. My reasoning is this. Baker cost the Khedive a heap of money to accomplish a certain task, he did not do it and I have been given to accomplish that task and thus the Khedive has not lost. That task accomplished and the Khedive having what he paid for, cannot I leave?

How you will act with respect to this letter I do not know, nor can I suggest. Nubar Pasha might be able to unravel the difficulty. I fear myself a fiasco, i.e. that I shall get so wild that I might just come down and leave the whole concern.

You can easily acquit me of having railed against the troops or Government officers in any way but generally I say it is not their fault, the Arabs are an effete race and the Sudanese are fit only to be slaves and I would not have one for a gift. The Khedive has attempted for his people what they are not capable of undertaking. He has done everything for me, behaved most kindly and generously, and I cannot say that I ever could have had more support than I have from H.H., the fault is in the material his subjects, and yet scarcely their fault, for they are what they were made, and one cannot expect cows to be horses. Perhaps it is my fault who want to make cows do horses' work, so let it be, only I say I do not want to work with cows, it takes a great deal out of me, and it is not good for the cows to put them into positions in which their cowl-like qualities are tested too much. Now write me this, "I have *arranged the matter* and H.H. says 'complete the Baker programme and come down, I have made arrangements for your relief.'"

I should say that by August everything ought to have been completed as far as the Baker programme is concerned. I know H.H. will think me inconsistent, which I know I am. I cannot help it, and I am and will ever be inconsistent in spite of "but you ought not to be."

If I get the steamer up, I am not going on [the] Lake. It is now from Khartoum to the Lake 22 days or 28 days without danger from natives, or bother if baggage is not excessive. Let some geographical Society send up, or perhaps Stanley will finish it, I hope he will.

I want you to see that I act like a gentleman to H.H., that I do not mortify him, or appear to act shabbily, if the course appears very unpalatable to him which I propose, i.e. the completion of the Baker Programme, let him name a term at the expiration of which I can leave (it will at any rate be something to know when one's misery will be over) and I will try and swallow it. As far as money is concerned, the Province has covered more than twice its expenses this last year, so H.H. has not lost anything and there is a lot more ivory £60000 to come down. "We don't want to see your great men, we want to be left alone" rings in my ears. The "great man" would be glad to be your servant at Cairo (a bad one, Mrs. Stanton) for a month if he could get out of it. They did well at any rate, for two days afterwards they killed Linant and 37 of my best men, and took that number of breech loaders. DO NOT SAY I TOLD YOU! Goodnight and kind regards to Mrs. Stanton, and to "you are naughty Colonel Gordon" and his sister.

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON, tired out with wear and tear and finding fault with these poor devils who I suppose do their best.

No. 17.

LABORÉ.

23rd September, 1875.

MY DEAR STANTON,

I think I have saved you a disagreeable task, for I have written to the Secretary of the Khedive to say I wish arrangements made for my relief in August or September (if I live). Last night close to the place which I went into detail to you about passing up comes a large boat, too lazy to take the mitrailleuse out of her or to place two ropes on her.

They try and pull her through—boat and mitrailleuse both lost. Not that it makes much matter with mitrailleuse, for show the men as often as I would, how to work it, they never could acquire the knowledge; and so it is as well in the river as at a station. I have asked the Khedive to send up by February two or three men of some position to command the Reiss¹ and the sailors during the next rainy season, men who are accustomed to cataracts or rapids and I also said that if a naval officer came, and he had willingness and he knew his work it would be as well.

If you hear anything of this, try and save me from a futile creature, or one who will be ill.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 18.

LABORÉ.

24th September, 1875.

MY DEAR STANTON,

I have sent down the map from Rageef to this place, when it is completed, will you mention to anyone who undertakes the publication of it (which I expect Schweinfurth will do) that there will be a discrepancy between the astronomical positions of Dufli and Rageef and those of [the] map which they must compromise.

I wish particularly not to be shabby with H.H. about leaving my post, and trust you will consider yourself authorized to speak for me on the subject. I would like a definite period named or else some definite detail of work. Here is a dilemma. I can buy no dhorra here, and there is an hostile (not very hostile) sheikh near here. What am I to do for the troops? I have stretched my conscience and razzia-ed his dhorra. All this is very unpleasant sort of work for me, but what am I to do? I must feed my men. I hope H.H. will not be much disgusted and if he wills it, I will try and put the steamer and the stations up to Victoria Lake. It is three to four days' march from Mrooli which I hope in three months will be in Rionga's possession.

Goodbye, with kind regards to Mrs. Stanton,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

¹ Captain of boat, Ar. ra'is.

No. 19.

LABORÉ.

26th Sept., 1875.

MY DEAR STANTON,

I declare I believe I have escaped from my difficulty about the subsistence of the troops here. I remembered Chipp. had told me that on the first march he made going north from Asua, there was a sheikh of the Madi who begged him to get me to place troops with him whom he would feed, in order to protect him from the depredations of another tribe. I sent the interpreter to find out where he was, for I thought he would not be far off and I now hear he is only 8 miles south, so to him I shall go and establish my station there and not here, according to the natives we are about 15 miles north of Asua. I shall therefore cross the road over [the] Nile below Asua and make it thus and also move Makedé over the Nile to right bank.

The post has just come in, another officer though distinctly told to unload the boat he was in charge of, was too idle to do it, and caused her loss. What can you do with these fellows. 29th Sept. I think I can get out of my difficulties and will now have some quiet. I went out and razziaed the last hostile sheikh on this side (the left bank) and I hope now to have done with these razzias, excepting one to be made later on the Moogie on [the] right bank, Linant's opponents. My route is now clear from Lardo to Makedé and I have little doubt of being able to take up the steamers and nuggars in a few months. I have too much to do hutting the troops etc. to attend to them now, though the river is high enough. I hope that the Khedive will not let this Province fall into the hands of a sit-at-home Pasha; there is one active man Yusuf Bey of Fashoda, who would do well, far better than Raouf Pasha, for the Province. He is an energetic, active man, but a great slave dealer I fear. Raouf Pasha would let the Province fall into decay very soon, it needs a man constantly on the move to keep things straight. *I think* I have been hard on my people and have told [the] Khedive so. I expected too much from them, and they lacked very naturally the interest I had in pushing on things, but one is worn and tired and ill-fed and lodged and it is not wonderful that exasperation fills one's heart with anger. If Chipp. or Watson had talked with you, they would have expressed the feelings of depression which came over them, with me it is not so much depression

as it is a desire to find some object on which to wreak one's bad temper, a more despicable creature than man is not to be found when he is like this and so I feel it. Goodbye.

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 20.

LABORÉ.

4th October, 1875.

MY DEAR STANTON,

If you can help it, do not let [the] Khedive's answer be "suit yourself" or if it is give me kindly an inkling of what would suit him, sorry to give you this bother. Yesterday the steamer "Khedive" floated off [the] rocks at Moogie where, though I did not tell you, she had sat for 20 days like this¹. I had feared greatly she would break her back when [the] water fell. There are two rainy seasons here, one from April to middle August, then dry weather till end of September, then rainy season, till I do not know when, the epochs correspond with the Equinoxes and with the change of wind from North to South and again with change of wind from south to north. During the present rainy season the rain generally falls at night, or say at 3 a.m. in the morning. With exception of the Moogie all tribes are now subdued and they must wait till [the] grass is dry enough to burn before I can well get at them. After my departure for this place, they came down opposite the Moogie station with a white shirt of one of those killed and danced round it, if I had been there they would not have done it, but these soldiers or officers do not know the sights of rifles. Everything is quiet here, we have a capital station and [the] road is quite open to Lardo 5 days from here instead of six months' unsafe march with 60 or 80 soldiers escort, the river has been my salvation. Baker says that Dr. Percy took a boat to Makedé but all the natives and Dongolowis say no, if you know Schweinfurth ask him if it is true, I scarcely think it. To my mind, the rapids are much easier except Bedden than those on the lower Nile. I have not seen these latter but they appear from all accounts more difficult.

¹ Illustrated by a drawing (not reproduced).

I can now say that Baker had very much to contend with, and I quite whitewash him of any failure, for with ten [?] times the power and means I have had a sickener. He, Baker, went in too much for the Pasha, he had Abou Saoud on the brain when his own interpreter Manopoli was his secret foe and fomented and suggested all intrigues. I refused to take this man at first but after very strong recommendation of Raouf Pasha I took him in 1875 for a year and soon spotted him trying to work up intrigues with the officers and men, so I bundled him off; he was mixed up with selling things to the troops etc., and though a clever, sharp, healthy fellow, he was much too dangerous to keep. When I sent him off I let him know I knew his character. Lady Baker had, it appears, always suspected him, poor Baker did not. I had written to [the] "Times" two letters showing that H.H. did not send Abou Saoud with Baker and that Baker took him at his own wish. Afterwards in consequence of a letter from Baker where he owns this I telegraphed to stop letters to [the] "Times," but it appears they went, either Manopoli, Baker's interpreter, suppressed [the] telegram or else it was too late. I have made all the amends I could by authorizing Baker to write and say etc. etc. it is eating my words but it is better than being unjust and unkind. I can plainly see how Baker was thwarted by Manopoli's intrigues, he, M., put the Arabs up to all their tricks and yet Baker gave him a strong recommendation to me. Manopoli will scarcely dare show himself at Cairo. I declined to grant him a letter of protection on his way down which he asked for, he feared retaliation on [the] part of those he had trampled upon. Remember to act with this knowledge. I am in good health and want not to be shabby to [the] Khedive, though it compels a longer residence up here. He must not lose this road, now it is opened, by a bad appointment, and lose it he will, if he sends a stay-at-home Pasha, who neglects the wants of the men on the stations. Better send a Bey than a Pasha. Raouf Pasha would ruin the Province by staying at Lardo with a mass of undisciplined troops, better give it to Yusuf Bey of Fashoda, with strict orders about slaves, he is very active and very energetic and a good officer, though I am always at war with him. I will now conclude, my dear Stanton, with kind regards to Mrs. Stanton.

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 21.

FASHELIE.

3rd November, 1875.

MY DEAR STANTON,

I would be much obliged if you would kindly give Tomson a hint to send up my accounts, he has ceased to be my agent for a year, and write as I will I cannot get the least account from him of any of my affairs. Your mere mention that I had written to ask you to push him to send the accounts up will have a wonderful effect. I do not know what is the matter with him, the whole matter is not the work of two days.

In 10 days' time, the grass will be dry enough to burn and we will be able to move about; we are quite prisoners through it just now, no shooting and no moving about at all with any comfort, for you can see nothing at all.

With kind regards to Mrs. Stanton,

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 22.

FASHELIE.

6th November, 1875.

MY DEAR STANTON,

The Khedive has had 2 years' experience of me, and should be able to judge if I *suit* him or not as a rule. I am willing to remain, if I do suit him, but it would be on the understanding that I am not sent off at a moment's notice, for if I stay, I shall make up my mind to leave the service, and therefore must be in a position to do so when I leave Egypt. I would make no terms before he had experience of me and I of the work, and though personally I am heartily sick of the work, I must think . . . of my brothers, and do something for them, if I can. I have had days to think this over, and I think that on the whole, in spite of many demerits, the Khedive could not get another to do his work so cheaply as myself, while at [the] same time I am more or less acclimatized. I have told this to Nubar Pacha.

With respect to terms, I do not like to go into them. I only stipulate that if I die after the new arrangement is made, that £2,000 is paid to my

brothers for a widow of another brother. Let the last two years be bygones and the next 3 or 5 or 7 be fixed as [the] Khedive thinks fit. I do not ask a large salary, but a fair one considering the exposure and dulness of the place.

Ceylon Governor has ...	...	...	£7,000
Hongkong „ „ ...	...	...	5,000
Mauritius „ „ ...	...	...	6,000
Jamaica „ „ ...	...	...	7,000
Leeward Isles „ „ ...	...	...	3,000
Natal „ „ ...	...	...	2,500
Trinidad „ „ ...	...	...	4,000
Gold Coast „ „ ...	...	...	4,000
St. Helena „ „ ...	...	...	3,000

and on this scale so ought this Province to be calculated in the new arrangement. Of course all depends on the Khedive's being satisfied with my services or not.

The only stipulation I make is the one before alluded to, no other sum to be paid if I die but what is due at [the] period of death, and if I live long enough under [the] new arrangement to have £2,000 due to me, that £2,000 stipulated for need not be paid. I have drafted the heads of a contract, which I enclose, I feel ashamed to give you so much trouble about the matter. You will not (I am sure) press me on [the] Khedive if he is not disposed to retain me.

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

P.S. I ask for no staff whatever of foreigners, except Gessi. As Engineers are wanted, so I will engage them, sending them away on completion of their work.

APPENDIX to No. 22.

HEADS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN H.H. AND COLONEL GORDON.

1. Col. G.'s salary to be —£ per annum from 17th December, 1875.
2. Col. G.'s services to be at disposal of H.H. for — years.
3. Should Col. Gordon die *before* the sum of 2,000£ is due to him, dating from 17th December, 1875, the sum of 2,000£ to be paid to his brothers.

C. G. G.

6th November, 1875.

No. 23.

DUFLL.

26th February, 1876.

MY DEAR STANTON,

I have not written to you for some time but the fact was I have little time, or disposition to write. The following is the state of affairs. We occupied Mrooli 130 miles south of Victoria Lake on 15th January, no resistance; this place is very rich in cattle etc. and will be a great loss to Kaba Rega; it is on the frontier or nearly so of Mtesa's country. I then sent troops with Anfina, a powerful chief, to occupy Masindi which Kaba Rega had evacuated on my arrival at Foweira. Anfina is an old foe of Kaba Rega, and knows the people, the troops are for his support only. He, Anfina, will govern the country. I came down from Mrooli to this in 7½ days and now am just starting up Gessi with stores in the two life boats (which are completed) to Magungo, thence he will go round the lake. The steamer is half finished and will be entirely so in 6 weeks. This clears up Baker's steamers. I have directed posts to be pushed up from Mrooli to Lake Victoria, which I hope will be done in a month, and thus the Khedive will have a footing on each lake; that the officers here will ever go on the lake, is more than doubtful, indeed I am *sure* they will not. As far as my work is concerned I consider it is completed when the steamer is ditto, not that the steamer will ever be much use for it is too small, only it was a thing to be done and is now accomplished, i.e. to put on a steamer on [the] lake. To remain here and be a drover of these people can do neither [the] Khedive or me any good and [the] Khedive had far better let the commerce of the country under certain restrictions to Arab merchants. Of course to the officers, if they get ivory or not, is a matter of indifference, for they get their pay any way, there is not the least inducement for them to go into [the] lakes, do you think it worth while for me to stay up here to drive them to it? The road south is now safe, and open, and if after stations are placed on the lakes, the Khedive's people will not exploit those lakes, it is only vexation of spirit for me to be driving them to it. I have no interpreter and though I can get on, it is not satisfactory, besides which I surely should be supplied with an intendant to look after the supplies of the troops, etc. I have none and have to do it myself, surely I ought to have a man to look after the discipline etc. of troops, I have none.

I ought to have a man to look after finance, I have none ; all falls on me, and I feel I will not be a drudge any longer. I hope therefore to be in Cairo at the end of August and to give up the work. With respect to my opening the road to [the] sea from Lake Victoria, it is impossible with these troops and looking at what I have said about the administration, how is it possible I can plunge into the interior and give up my communications with the Khartoum authorities thwarting me as much as they dare to do, and what would they not do, if I was further off. The only way to open this route is *from* the sea to Victoria Lake, since Stanley's exploration, it appears no junction exists between Lakes Baringo and Victoria and this much adds to the land journey. The Khedive takes not the least notice of my reports about his troops etc., though now he must be able to see what a set they are, after his reverses in Abyssinia. I heard from Laborne [?] you were likely to leave. I hope it is true and that you will get Berne. My kind regards to Mrs. Stanton and hoping you are all well.

Believe me,

my dear Stanton,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 24.

LARDO.

20th March, 1876.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Thank you for your two very kind letters. Having given Ali Eff. strict orders to let no one come up just now, Y.¹ is at Kartoum but I have written to give orders he can come up here, he says he only wants to pass through the country to Tanganyika and wants nothing ; this shows how little he knows of the country, he can have no food, no shelter, no transport, no escort except from the Government, now at present for the next four months the small means of transport I have, must be devoted to the supply of the troops south, and further the operations that I am carrying on in Magungo and in the vicinity of Mtesa render it quite impossible for him to enter the countries south of the frontier : in addition to this I do not want people up there now, for many reasons

¹ "Y" has been substituted by the Editors for the name of the individual referred to in this and the following letters.

into which I will not enter. At the end of four or five months I could land Mr. Y. at south end of Lake Albert on his foolhardy errand, and thence the responsibility is on him. I do not want Mtesa egged on to oppose the Egyptian Government by Europeans, however well-intentioned these may be. I do not act loyally in not using all my knowledge to prevent such complications to Egypt. Mr. Y. will come up here, and he will see for himself that unless I give him considerable assistance, he cannot move from the station 10 miles.

Thank you for what you write about [the] Khedive, read my letter to Lord Tenterden. I do not yet see when I could get comfortably away, but will write again in a few days . . . I never got the "telegram about a gun" from you, what is it? I cannot help it for necessity drives, but perforce I am obliged to act towards the natives (untoward people as they are) in a way that forces my conscience, and though I do not care what people would say if they knew the whole circumstances which I think justify me, having once accepted the post here, I do not want statements to be made on ex parte evidence which perforce I must explain. This is one of my great objections to Y. and Co. I have now written to him to say he can come up if he wishes, and another letter in this strain which I fear I must inflict on you:

"Dear Sir,

"In order that you may not think I wish to place obstacles in your way, and that you may know my opinion, I write these lines to you, whether you accept my view or not is of course optional on your part. You are aware that explorers starting from Zanzibar can and do engage men as soldiers and men as porters at that port, and that these men engage to go wheresoever their master pleases.

"Now, allowing that I put you in the way of coming here, and of getting up to Dufli, and even of placing you on the south shore of Lake Albert, which I do not promise to do, where will you find your military escort or your porters and for how long would you exist after departure of the steamer without escort. Neither you or I know the tribes there. Supposing then you engage your soldier escort at Kartoum, you certainly would not find porters there. I will say you purchase camels (which however are sure to die) well, how are these 150 or 120 Dongolawi soldiers and these camels to be brought up? I feel quite convinced if you brought up Dongolawi escort they would leave you and never go out of this

"Province. How are you to feed these people and animals, even in this Province? I cannot undertake to do this.

"My objection to your penetrating Unyoro is that whether *you* choose to run the risk or not, your capture by Kaba Rega would complicate matters for the Egyptian Government. The reason for my objecting to your entering Uganda for the next four months I do not feel I am called on to state. I write these remarks in order that whatever course you may adopt, I may not be credited with the putting of obstacles in your way."

Yours etc.

C. E. G.

Y. does not know the language and knows nothing of the country. Imagine my leaving him on the south shore of Albert Nyanza, should I be considered responsible for the same, if he wills it? I will write again and let you know the sequel of all this.

Believe me, my dear Stanton, with kind regards to Mrs. Stanton,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 25.

KERRI.

17th May, 1876.

MY DEAR STANTON,

The last steamer brought me news of Y., but no letter from him. (You know I wrote to tell him he could come up, if he liked, and that I would do my best for him). Well, this is what I hear of him. He began his troubles in hoisting the British Flag over his house, this, the Governor General ordered him to pull down, however he continued to hoist it on fête days. He then engaged some 100 old slave dealers, dressed and armed them, and took them out for ball practice in the environs, and went through the town with this armed escort. The Governor objected and sent for these Dongolawi, they went and the Governor put them in prison. Y. reclaimed them, and there was a row, at last they were released on Y. paying the tax on them: then Y. got hold of Sebehr Pasha, the man I wrote to you about in November '74 and who is now at Cairo, and he gave Y. letters to his people in Bahr Gazal, and Y.

has decided to go up there. He pays for the Dongolawi £E.1 per month up to Bahr Gazal and then £E.2 per month. I only write you what is told me, but the general opinion there is, that Y. will never get on and that he will come to grief for he has an idea that his money will do all for him, and he has already made many foes. It is not my fault that he did not come here, for on receipt of your letter I told him he might come up and I would do my best for him. He has with him a gardener aged 40 whom [*sic*] it appears does not much like the whole affair. What a man to begin by these acts. You may imagine the hostility, with which he is viewed by the Arabs in authority, over whom he would lord it under pain of reporting them to Cairo. At present, he is short of funds. I have no news to tell. I am waiting the completion of the steamer at Dufi, and am sick and tired of the life up here. The utter dishonesty of the employés and their tricks keep me in a continual rage, which however is of no earthly use, for from highest to lowest, these Arabs are utterly corrupt. At present, there is a row about the treasure of [the] Darfour Sultan, Ismail Pascha Governor General says Sebehr Pasha took it. Sebehr Pasha says Ismail Pasha took it, any way it has completely disappeared. Darfour has turned out quite valueless, and is a constant expense, it has not even water at all times. I am in rather a quandary as to what to do. The stations are completed to Lake Victoria, and the steamer is nearly finished. I feel a certain compunction in opening the western branch of the Nile from Wadelayo to Makraka. I feel sure, I only open it for misery to the natives, and I feel also sure that, if I do not open it, unless H.H. replaces me by an European, it will be a long time before it is opened by the Arabs here. You may think that it is rather late for me to have any compunction in this matter and you are perfectly right, but I could justify to *some* degree (not altogether) what I have done. The question with me now, is, shall I go on? I have the moral conviction that as soon as I leave, there will be a fine trade up here in slaves. The Kartoum Europeans are all in with it, in spite of their words. I will tell you an instance confidentially. A German of some position was very strong on the necessity of my hanging the first Reis in whose boat I found slaves. I said the owner of the boat ought to be hung, not the Reis and added that the purchasers of slaves were the people to blame, for if they did not purchase the slaves, the Dongolawi would not bring them down. Now this German had

the branch (B) may go to the sea
if so, it is of no import. For
the sea is too rocky to be
navigable, it may go to the
Sambet, but Poncet says that the
Sambet is there



and that none of these rivers are
navigable. The Dybbel R. is the
largest or he could not go up it.
Usoudjane is established, but Cosentza is
not yet occupied. Kaba Raja must be
wary of the others. In the time
there, and others told them in the
presence of the Ymure, that he would not
help him, and that if Kaba Raja did not

bought a concubine, an Abyssinian girl, and the other day, tired of her German mate, she ran off. The German found her out and forced her to return to him!! Now the chances are if this girl had been with an Arab and she was tired of him, the Arab would have sold her but scarcely would¹ . . . with him in that . . . Khedive is powerless to prevent the traffic, or he cannot afford to suppress it. I believe the latter at times, things crop up which tell me plainly, the ideas of the officers here, compressed into one the idea is this, "only wait till you go, and we will make up for lost time."

1. June. I have already told you that Y. had made up his mind to go to Sebehr's country the Bahr Gazal, to my surprise, he arrived here yesterday from Kartoum with 38 Dongolawi. He seems a nice fellow and I will do what I can to help him. I have no letters at all from Khedive, and do not know what to do. I must I fear go down that *unknown branch* before I leave.

Kind regards to Mrs. Stanton.

2

I will send you a rough trace of how the lake comes into the Nile.

PRIVATE.

No. 26.

RAGEEF.

7th June, 1876.

MY DEAR STANTON,

I told you Y. had come up here on the 31st May and with him 30 Dongolawi. Well, I have now seen him for some seven days, and can form an opinion. I have been as civil as I could be to him, but I cannot say I think he will do anything in these countries, quite inexperienced and wilful, it will be a wonder if he escapes with his life, if he continues to be as inconsiderate as he is now. He wants to go to the sources of Congo and thence to W. Coast. His Dongolawi will *never* go with him. I will, as I have told him, put him at any point of my frontier he wishes, but I will do nothing further and *I will not aid him* to move to any other part. I will let him remain a certain time at my stations, after which

¹ A few words cut away from the original.

² Signature cut away from the original.

he must pay for his subsistence. I will not say "you must go on" or "you must go back" but I shall make him pay after the lapse of a reasonable time for all that he may receive. I have told him that I will not allow him to make razzias, or to oppress in any way, the natives friendly to Egypt. Already he has had troubles with his men, and this, when I was near to support him, when he is out of my jurisdiction the rows will be serious, for he has very little tact or judgment or discretion and no experience. He has only 30 men and they have bad arms, and he needs some 250 porters for his effects. Now Stanley had 350 men and porters, 100 snider rifles, and he Stanley lost 180 men dead in 3 months, 22 snider men being killed in one day and the rifles lost. I shall make him give me a written paper, if he leaves the Province, to say he frees me of all responsibility. You know Tewfik Pasha, I suppose by order of H.H., telegraphed twice he was to come up to me. 11. June. Since I wrote, I have heard from F—— (who remains with me) such stories of Y.'s behaviour at Kartoum which would make your remaining hair (and has made my remaining hair now grey with the work on the rapids) stand on end, and really is a shame to our nationality. The Governor General sent him word "never to come back to Kartoum, for it would not be safe for him." I am not sorry he has come up to me for I feel quite able and inclined to bring him to his bearings, if he kicks up any rows, had he gone to the Bahr Gazal, there is little doubt but that he would have been murdered, and he is a nice fellow, but young and violent to a degree in his temper. He has gone on to Dufli, and I am en route for the same place, I sent him to Dufli (to be away from me), with Gessi to see how he would act when out of my sight, and now I have told him that I will pass him through to Mtesa's with his 30 Dongolawi (but there is great doubts if they will go) or else he must send back his Dongolawi, in which case, he can stay in the Province. You see I do not see the fun of feeding 30 men, for an indefinite time. Now let me give you a bit of advice and give the same to the Khedive. "Give no more letters of introduction to people coming up here" however well you know them in civilized lands, for as turns out in Y.'s case, they are very different up here, and try and ride rough shod over all authorities, the scandals at Kartoum were terrible, he shot an Italian's dog, the Italian came out and after a few words, Y. struck him, and there was a fearful row, afterwards made up. After 10 hours

march, in the desert he wanted the Camel driver to go on the Driver said he could not, (and you know that water decides your halting place) Y. took out watch and revolver, and gave the man 10". The man sat down and did not move. "Shoot me if you like, I will not march further." After 10" Lucas put up watch and revolver! and that night driver and camel went off. I do not tell you this against the poor fellow who has spent £5,000 already, but merely in the hopes that you may be able to hint to travellers up here that they ought to consider our national name and not ride rough shod over these people. There is another row about a boy Y. took from Kartoum from an English subject (wife of a Maltese) about which you may hear. I know no particulars as yet and have received no notice from Kartoum, next steamer may bring me the papers, and I will see that the boy is sent back. There was a meeting of Governor General and the two Consuls and notables! of Kartoum on the subject, and H.I. & R.M. Consul (Autriche) drank so heavily that he lifted up his voice and wept over it. Altogether Mr. Y. has kept Kartoum alive for some months and I hear has spent £20 on telegraphs to you and Khiari Pasha. The woman was sub rosa offered 60 dollars to give up the boy, but refused it. As far as I can see there are few or none in Khartoum of the Europeans resident or en voyage who will hesitate to buy slaves if circumstances make them need them. The woman said when offered the 60 dollars "What will people say if I, the widow of an English subject, sold the boy" whom however she used to beat most unmercifully, he was not her son, but was a slave of her husband who left him free on his death and put him under care of his wife now widow. I have made a tariff of prices for food, porters, etc., and I hope I shall have no letters from H.H. saying these prices are not to be paid for this or that person.

June 16. I am going to add a codicil to my will, leaving you my Pearl (mother of) studs, for sending me up Y., a more unreasonable obstinate fellow I never met, however I have now given him a dressing down which ought to settle him for some time. It appears that it was my foe Ismail Pasha not wanting him to go to Bahr Gazal, who sent him up here. I want you to look at the map, I send,¹ and in the state of affairs, noting the degrees of Lat. and Longitude. Y., I really believe, thinks I want to stop him, at any rate he did, till I wrote him word

¹ Not reproduced.

that my only idea is to be rid of him and his party as soon as I can possibly do so.

He is now at Dufi, and he wants to go to Magungo and thence down through Masinda to the furthest of Livingstone, viz. Nyangwe. I know well that Kaba Rega being still south of Masindi, he could never get porters, that his men would leave him, and that if he and his party were massacred, the arms etc. would fall into Kaba Rega's hands, to our detriment, so I will not let his party go there, but I say, he must go to Mtesa, whence he can get on to Romanika's, and thence he can get into communication with Zanzibar, and get porters, so as to go to Livingstone's furthest. This is what he is, or was trying to fight me on: he knows nothing of the country or of the relative position of places, and has no maps. I have sent my orders to say *he will go to Mtesa's*, he may take offence, in which case he will go back to Bahr Gazal, Lat. 9°N. which will be a very retrograde step, I hope he will not do this, for he is sure to perish there and after all the fireworks (rows) he let off at Kartoum, it reflects, in an unsatisfactory way, on our nationality. I hear Cameron did *not* see the *exit* of the *River from Tanganika* also that a Capt. Smith R.N. left for Zanzibar 7th March in order to go up to Mtesa's and Romanika's to establish missions at those places.

19th June. Tonight the matter was settled, and Y. agrees to go to Mtesa's and thence to Romanika. I can assure you it has taken hours indeed days to bring about. *Pray* Mrs. Stanton send me no more Y. ! The last few days' affairs would form a perfect romance. Another of those dreadful offshoots has appeared between Urondogani and Mrooli. You know Long spoke of a large lake he had discovered there, he was very hazy about all his journey, however Piaggia went up and found that there was a lake, I had hitherto considered it was only an overflow of low lands. Piaggia says the lake is 50 miles long and that a branch leaves it to the North thus:¹

it is a terrible affair for now there are still two questions viz this branch (a) and the branch (b) of Gessi's to finish the Nile. The branch (a) may go to the Asua if so, it is of no import, for the Asua is too rocky to be navigable, it may go to the Saubat, but Ponçet says that the Saubat is thus² and that none of these rivers are navigable, the Djoubba R. is

¹ Sketch not reproduced.

² Illustrated by a sketch (not reproduced).

the largest and he could not go up it. Urondogani is established, but Cossitza is not yet occupied. Kaba Rega sent an embassy to Mtesa when the troops were there, and Mtesa told them in the presence of the officers, that he would not help him, and that if Kaba Rega did not give in he Mtesa would attack and make him a prisoner and give him to us. However Mtesa wants the Government to have Kaba Rega and part of his state, and I think it would be the best thing to do so, if H.H. agrees; for Kaba Rega was more sinned against by Baker, than is generally believed. None of Stanley's people are there. Mtesa has an Arab who writes queer English. Capt. Smith must soon be there, and Y. will make the place quite gay. Stanley was said to have passed W. from Romanika's, but when I do not know. The steamer is finished, at Duffi, and goes up to Magungo soon. Kind regards to Mrs. Stanton.

Believe me, my dear Stanton, Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 27.

LABORÉ.

1st July, 1876.

MY DEAR STANTON,

I have not yet got rid of your friend Y., I sent him on to Duffi, and gave orders to my officer, to send him (like a box) to Mrooli. He gets to Duffi, agrees to go on, and, then, after all the trouble of getting him porters, he refuses to go, till he has all his boxes, now you must know, that porters are only to be obtained, by driblets, so that it is impossible, to send a heap at a time, so I have fined him £12, making him pay a small sum (one dollar) for each porter, he may require. This will punish him, for his obstinate conduct. To tell you the truth, he is not very particular, and rather close-fisted, and also very unjust towards his men, to say that he thinks himself born with a sceptre, is only saying, he is *un vrai Anglais*, I hope I may be able to convince him, that these parts are not his heritage, but the conviction will only come, from practical measures, like this fine of £12. He writes, "I take it for granted that I may do this" "or that," viz leave my sick in your stations, and have you to send them on, for me, when well: this would be all right, if he arranged, what was to be done, if they do not get well, but this, he will not do, he says, "I cannot afford to send back my men," and therefore infers, that he will deposit them on me, now a ship Capt. cannot discharge a man, at a foreign port, under any

circumstances, unprovided for, and no Ayah can be brought to England, without a guarantee, that she will be cared for, so it is rather cool, on his part, however, he has found his match, and he shall not do this; he told me himself, that, for a year, he had not been allowed to sign his name, not being considered right, but he is sharp enough, I find, and quite understands what he is about. My advice to him is this, *that as no explorer has ever attempted Africa without a band of hired porters, he had better go on to Romanika's and send, or go to Zanzibar, for them.* With suitable goods for the natives, he has not £200 worth, though his baggage is $6\frac{1}{2}$ tons. I told him, he had enough [not ?] enough, so he sends me £E.350 for me to advance him that sum, (he had had to pay £820 for £E.700 at Kartoum) and wishes me to pay the money, to his agent, at Kartoum, but says nothing of the cost of sending them to Mtesa's! 80 loads are 2 ton and it would cost by the tariff £380, this, he thinks, in spite of all that is passed, I am to do gratuitously. So I sent back his cheque, and told him to negotiate his affairs, with his agent, who will charge him £60 for the exchange and who will have to meet £380 for the transport of the 80 loads, besides the purchases. You see, I will not help him to add 2 tons to the $6\frac{1}{2}$ tons for I am perfectly confident, that unless he has hired porters, he can never move. He says, by the contracts, drawn up by H.M. Vice-Consul, he can dismiss his Cairo servants, when and where he will, and he will not be responsible for their return, he apparently considers illness as misconduct, if H.M. Vice-Consul did draw up such a contract, it was an unjust one, and one, I cannot support. Supposing, too, that Y. wishes to run into a palpable danger and which his men see, is fatal, and if they refuse to follow him, is that bad conduct? I never would send 30 of my troops, where he would lead these wretchedly armed 35 Dongolawis. The fact is, that as soon as he is out of my province, and they no longer fear me, they will settle the matter, by deserting him some fine night, and small blame to them, if deserted at Mtesa's or Romanika's he is in no danger, and in my opinion, that they will perform that operation at one of these places, for they say, openly now, *that they will not go out of the Province, except they are 200 strong*, my friend knows this, and thinks, that his influence will compel them, my experience of these ex-slavers (whom I had sent out of the country, and whom he has brought up), is very different. He is a wilful fellow, and will "gang his gait." I cannot help it, though I have told him, if he is contumacious, I will compel his

return to Kartoum, by cutting his supplies, and as he has only £90, he would soon spend it. The cost of his 6½ tons to Mtesa's would be, (if he was charged for it), £1181, and yet in his own letter, he says "I want no assistance, only to pass through the Province." As I tell him, he has not yet encountered his troubles, for he has had food, and portorage found him. Enough of Y.

Kaba Rega is now nearly deserted by all his adherents. He had a lot of ivory, some £40,000 which falls to H.H. and will do for the coupons. I am going to take the "Khedive" screw steamer of 108 tons to pieces, and to put her, if I can on Lake Victoria, that is, if I stay here, and am not recalled. I hope Mrs. Stanton and "You are naughty" and the little girl are well.

Believe me,

my dear Stanton,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 28.

DUFFLI.

16th July, 1876.

MAGUNGO.

27th July, 1876.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Six weeks have done Y. good, for he now sees how impossible it is to penetrate here, and has decided on going back to Suez after visiting the Lake Albert, and thence going on to Zanzibar. I have been able to assist him a good deal, for I have taken most of his gear, from him, at a fair price, so he has not suffered pecuniarily from his adventure, and indeed has gained a deal of experience.

18th July. Who are the fathers and grandfathers of Y., he is *not* a gentleman, I feel sure, of more than one generation, if so much. Today I have seen him rather closer, and he is certainly mean, and exceedingly selfish, so much so, as to disgust me exceedingly today, as far as London is concerned, he may be irreproachable, but he is not under his true colors there, he appears to me to be a sort of man whom cabdrivers would always be in altercation with, for 6d. I will not go into details but the less these specimens of Britishers are seen, the better . . .

The river is one series of long papyrus isles, and owing to a fringe of the same, along the banks, there are few places, where you can land on "terra firma." Some of these long isles are 6 to 10 miles long, there is scarcely any current, not more than $\frac{1}{2}$ knot per hour, the country is very densely populated, on the Nile bank, the natives wear skins. I have mapped this river, and hope to do the Victoria Nile from Magungo to Foweira, then there will remain to be done from Mrooli to Cossitza (Ripon Falls) on Victoria Nyanza. I mentioned that Gessi found an offshoot from Nile, about 40 miles north of Albert Nyanza, but this offshoot, I did not see, on my way up.

26. July. Now, here is my friend Y., striking my soldiers, I dropped down sharply on him, I can assure you. My dear Stanton, why did you give him such a good letter of recommendation, he is a snob, I am sure; when he came up, he was making no end of a fuss because you did not bother yourself about his quarrels, etc. I told him, that you had quite enough to do, than to bother with him.

Magungo. 28th July. Got here to-day, owing to my stupidity, wandered about the lake till 9 p.m. last night, though I had the compass, I went round in a circle, the entrance of the Victoria Nile from Lake is very hard to find owing to the mass of papyrus islands there are, which completely mask it, indeed you cannot say, where the river begins and the lake ends, a horrid "end of the world" place this, swamps and gloomy silence, I saw a herd of Elephants today, they were chucking grass into their mouths, with their trunks, just as you would chuck water into your mouth out of a basin, with your hand. I shall move this station, out of this fearful swamp higher up the River. Baker's map is *wonderfully correct*, and I am quite surprized, he did it so accurately with so little means. The Rainy season seems completely over here. Kaba Rega is somewhere about 50 miles south of Masindi nearly deserted, he has however six of his principal men with him, all mentioned by Baker, and some 40 muskets, but no powder. Y., since the row about striking my sergt. is much better, and behaves reasonably, but I fear an outbreak, when he gets away from me.

GENERAL STANTON 2.

To-day, Aug. 1st, we were astonished at 300 natives of a tribe still faithful to Kaba Rega coming down and pillaging the natives here, I sent

out 30 men, and they drove them off, they evidently did not know we were here. For a day or two, I hope to leave this place for Foweira to map the river.

From Foweira, I hope to go to Mrooli and from Mrooli to Urongani and Cossitza, and then back again to this place, my object being to map the whole of the Nile, and to hoist the Egyptian flag on Victoria Nyanza. I calculate (all going well), to finish this, and be back here about 10 Sept. Then I have done with explorations for a long time, for I will not try the branches A or B¹ until D.V. I have a steamer on Victoria Lake and another on the Victoria Nile, between Foweira and Urongani. I wish the Khedive would give me Prout, an American, now in Darfur, he is a very energetic fellow, and would do a deal of work up here, and I might, then, get away in some time, and leave happily. The post has come in, from Masindi and from Mrooli. I want you to understand what I write well, in order to explain it to H.H. When I left Mrooli in January I gave 120 men to my officer Nuehr Agha with orders to go and establish a post at Urongani where the Nile ceases to be navigable, and then to place a post at Cossitza (Ripon Falls). I told him first to go to M'tesa and then to Urongani. It appears, that though he reported to me, that he had formed the station of Urongani, he had not done so, but that M'tesa had begged him to make his stockade at his (M'tesa's) capital, and he has done so. My object in choosing Urongani and Cossitza for stations was to avoid any interference with M'tesa, however, as he has, of his own accord, chosen to ask for the station, to be there, I shall let it stay, and have now 160 men there. I shall put 20 or 30 men at Urongani and the same number at Cossitza. You see that, by having my garrison at M'tesa's capital, I certainly secure all the ivory trade that I (Excuse the paper) that I can make him a prisoner, if troublesome, and that he, M'tesa, has voluntarily given up his independence: so far it is very well for the Egyptian Government. It is M'tesa's own fault, entirely. Owing to my not getting up my boxes, I am quite out of all paper, and am obliged to use up the dirtiest scraps, so you will excuse this. What an affair, this business of M'tesa's is, and quite unsought for by me, I did everything, I could not to meddle with him, it is done now, and there is no hope for it, for we could never retire. Fortunately I have 160 men there all old soldiers, and armed with breech loaders. What will the missionary Capt.

¹ Illustrated by sketch (not reproduced).

Smith say, when he arrives. I am getting quite anxious about Y., he is quite subdued, and not at all well, I am sure you will be kind to him, in spite of all I have said, it is only due to his youth and inexperience.

Goodbye, my kind regards to Mrs. Stanton,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 29.

FOWEIRA.

13th August, 1876.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Read the enclosed, and kindly forward. This is a nice mess we are in, but I do not apprehend I shall have any trouble, in getting the men out of Dubaga. Do not say much about this, for it will only be a scandal. If you can see any way, to get H.H. to send me up a man, whom I can coach up a bit and then get away I would be glad. I came along a terrible road, from Magungo to Foweira, and I have mapped the river, it was hard work, for, for some part of the way, there was no path. I have now the Nile, from Lardo to Mrooli, and hope to get it up to Urondogani, but fear I cannot get it up to Ripon Falls. Kaba Rega is completely crushed, but he is still at liberty, he often communicates with my officers at Masindi, he says if he is allowed to come back, he will govern the country much better, than Anfina, *mais c'est trop tard*. I shall D.V. go to Dubaga, and have written to Mtesa two letters, one as governor, telling him, I know his preparation for war, and warning him of his certain ruin, the other I wrote, was a friendly one, advising him.

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

I hope Mrs. Stanton is well.

No. 30.

KEROTO.

Near Albert Lake, 29th Sept., 1876.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Thanks for your very kind letter, which I received on my return here. I have had a nice dance up country.

In February, 1876, I sent an employé with a Force to occupy Masindi, the capture of which he duly reported, and dated his letters from. In

consequence of this, I started from Mrooli, to open the road to Masindi, thinking the troops were there, when I got to Kesoga, and debouched with my small force from the Forest, I found my troops were not there, but were at Keroto. Kaba Rega fled on our approach, and there was I at Masindi in the same state as Baker was, after he had burnt it. Thank God, we got through safe and did not lose a man or a single thing and marched on this place Keroto, from whence this employé had dared date his letters Masindi. I now D.V. push forward all the posts and occupy from Mrooli to Kesoga, Masindi and Chibero, right to lake, and have some 4,000 allies to hunt Kaba Rega down, which, seeing he has a large following, will not, I hope be difficult. We were in a very perilous position, for I had not come out, to make war. Y. has gone, as I have told you. I am now going to Chibero, and then down to Khartoum and perhaps to Cairo.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Stanton and yourself. Believe me, my dear Stanton, with many thanks for many kindnesses for 20 years,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 30A.

P.S. You know how penniless, I am always, well, in $2\frac{1}{2}$ years I have made

			£
Clear gain	...	...	3,000
Paid the Linants	£980		
and Marno	£100	...	1,080
Pitched away	...	...	920
			5,000 = $2\frac{1}{2}$ years' pay.

Now how long would I have staid in R.E. for this gain, and how long will it be before you collect this sum in H.M.S. I have my health now, as good as in England . . . I took a Mr. F. off Y.'s hands, and he is collecting seeds and plants, some of the former for you. An Arab General!!!! would cost £2,000 a year, so I do not (though it is a great gain), think the salary extravagant.

No. 31.

KARTOUM.

25th October, 1876.

MY DEAR STANTON,

I came down here (and hope to get four months leave) yesterday in 13½ days from Albert Lake.

I told you Y. left me well in August, he was well cared for and reached Kartoum safely, he then was imprudent with his diet and got dysentery, this was cured . . . F. his companion sent down ill, recovered here at Kartoum, got dysentery (imprudent diet, after privation) and died at Berber. This is the ending of that expedition. I hope Mrs. Stanton and your children, and yourself like Munich. You will be surprised at my coming back, and I am also, but I see, that I have health given me here, and that I ought to finish off my work to my satisfaction, if not, to others'. I hope to be in Cairo, in January or end December.

With kind regards to Mrs. Stanton and yourself.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 32.

SOUTHAMPTON.

31st December, 1876.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Thanks for your letter, and I am glad to hear you are all well. Vivian is very well, but he seems rather overweighted with the responsibilities of his position. As for the Egyptian Government, it has not changed so far as I could see for the better. No Pasha has any weight or power to decide anything, the Khedive apparently goes into more minutiae than ever and centres all in himself, this is very trying for anyone who has business, for he cannot attend to everything. I came down in no very good temper with H.H. or with any of them, and I went in to H.H. with an angry face and heart, determined not to go back (I had already the afternoon of the day before, told Cherif Pasha who is a O zero that I

had not been properly treated, etc., etc., etc.) well, the end of my interview with H.H. was that I agreed to go back, so much for making up my mind, I could not, I felt, refuse H.H. after what he said, (though if I had the matter over again, and could settle it by correspondence, *I do not think* I would be going back). I saw H.H. before I left Cairo, but I felt it quite waste of time, talking to him, for I do not think he cares one jot about me, or the Province and I am quite sure no one else does. Why under these circumstances, H.H. wishes for me so much to return, or why I on my part, should be idiot enough to return, is one of those mysteries which I cannot solve. I have tried to get the F.O. to cut the knot, by recalling me, but I do not know whether they will do so or not, if they do not, the end of January will see me at Suez, for I will waste no more time on Khedive or his Pashas at Cairo and so will go straight through to Suez and Suakin . . . I will write again soon. Nubar very violent against H.H.

Kind regards to Mrs. Stanton. Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 33.

LONDON.

29th January, 1877.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Only the great hurry I have had to leave in, prevents my calling in, at Munich, but, owing to the queer state of affairs which occurred about my refusal to return, which I did, and then a club conversation, which Horsford the My Secy.¹ had with Eyre, in which he quoted H.R.H.'s opinion "that I had no option," which afterwards I found H.R.H. had never said I have been obliged to hurry off to avoid the hot winds. Had Horsford not meddled, I should have stuck to my refusal, however I do not mind it now, though in some ways I consider myself a victim. I quite agree with you, in what you say, about Turkey, I have not the slightest wish to go there, and never had, I do not like them a bit and prefer the Russians to them. I shall go to Cairo, and see what I can do, about the future. I can assure [you], I have no pleasant recollection of the past 3 years, for no one can conceive the hopeless lot they all are. McKillop [?]

¹ Military Secretary.

is to go to Red Sea, to cruze [*sic*] about after slaves. Send the letters to Cairo care of General Stone, till I write to you from Khartoum, I will write to you from Cairo.

Kind regards to Mrs. Stanton,

Believe me, my dear Stanton,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 34.

CAIRO.

15th February, 1877.

MY DEAR STANTON,

I am to go up to Soudan as Governor General and start on Saturday. Both Cherif and dear old Smart were very kind about my affairs. I am going up alone, and I must fail or succeed according as He will have it. The K. has given me every power. Will it be for weal or woe, I do not care. I know what I want, and *that*, I must wait for. Vivian also did what he could, and much aided me. I will write to you, at length, when on my way up. I have had a severe cut today on my right hand, and cannot write fully.

My kindest regards to Mrs. Stanton,

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 35.

En route from KARTOUM for

BERBER, DONGOLA, etc.,

24th October, 1877.

GENERAL STANTON, C.B.,

H.M. Chargé d'Affaires,

Munich, Bavaria.

MY DEAR STANTON,

I hear you have had a son born to you, and congratulate you on the same. I am just back from Darfour, and am going down to Berbirah, when I have done with the Soudan Railway inspection. I am doing my best to get rid of F., you know he is an incubus on Egypt. I hear

by telegraph, that two Russian agents are egging on Johannis of Abyssinia to attack Egypt, which makes me like them more than ever. I have had a very hard time of it in Darfour, and have ridden 3,000 miles on camels this year, the revolt was nothing, had the officers been worth anything. I wonder how old Smart is getting on, at Cairo, he misses you very much. How is Mrs. Stanton? and why did they not make you K.C.B. . . . I am sorry we are so far off, for I feel as if I have my destiny here, and unless turned off, I shall stay here my life, I ought to be getting on, to be general and shall then retire from H.M.S. H.H. is *very* kind, in every way, to me so is Cherif. Kind regards to Mrs. Stanton and the children.

Believe me, my dear Stanton,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

P.S. That wretched little creature James wants to go to the war, why it is 90 years of age if it is a day and so hump backed.

No. 3b.

SUEZ.

31st March, 1878.

LT. GENERAL STANTON, C.B.,
H.M. Chargé d'Affaires,
Munich,
Bavaria.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Thanks for your letter 6 December received at Cairo, from which place I departed yesterday, very happy at having got out of it, and its intrigues and worries. I saw Smart many times, he is very well. The Finance question is well on towards settlement, but no one can say how things will end, for what with the entourage around H.H. and his vacillation, every day may bring a fresh combination. I like Vivian, though I do not agree with him, in giving his support to the Gentlemen of the Caisse, who I think, are a pretentious lot. Johannis is in a bad way, he appears to be hemmed at Godjam, and no longer can claim to be "King of Kings." We have now no fear of him. I am going to

Aden, and then cross over to Berberah, and thence go to Kartoum via Suakin, unless recalled, by war. I am now indifferent to a good deal and whatever God may direct, I am ready for. I hope Mrs. Stanton and your children are well, my kindest regards to them, you may be sure, I never forget you or them, excuse a *very* stupid letter and Believe me
my dear Stanton,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

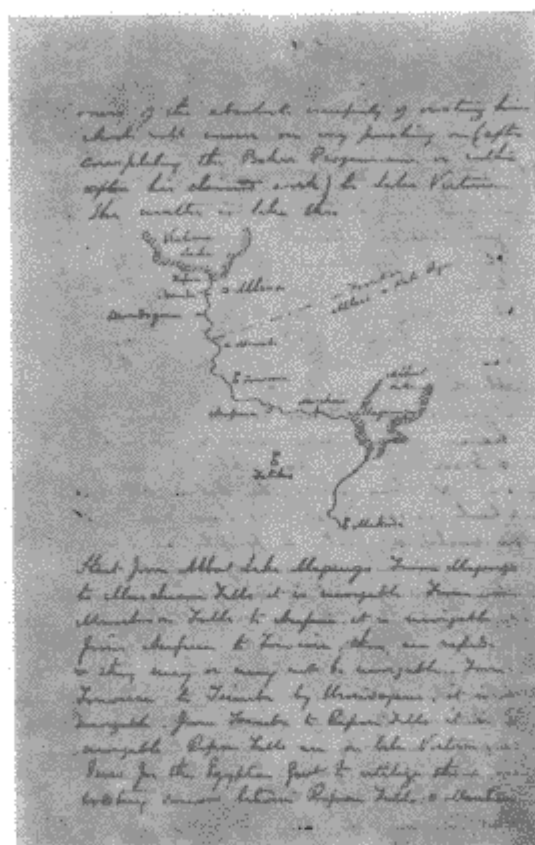
No. 37.

KARTOUM.

13th September, 1878.

MY DEAR STANTON,

It is ages since I heard from you, or since I wrote to you. You know how I was turned out of Cairo, for persuading H.H. to short and summary measures with his creditors. I then went down to Aden and crossed over and visited my wretched dominions Harar and Berberah, and then came up here, where I have been now regularly installed for four months having far from a pleasant time of it, what with the bankrupt state of finances and the slave trade. I do not think H.H. cares either for the Soudan or for me one jot, he never or at least very seldom writes or telegraphs, and leaves me much alone. Vivian harasses me and I fight him, whenever I can, by writing direct to Lord Tenterden, *entre nous*, I wish I could anger them, to the point of recalling me, it would be a graceful way of retreating from this very troublesome, dull, and hopeless post, which, except for the name of it, brings me nothing. You know how [indecipherable] they are. The Commission d'Enquête began to bully me and then dropped it. I do not know if you are still interested in Cairo, and care to know how they tug at one another, i.e. the Commission d'Enquête and H.H., if you do care, ask Smart to send you the Gazette des Tribunaux. Of course it is dead against H.H., but it is amusing. H.H. defends himself well, and never gives in till cornered. I think that the F.O. have been extremely shabby to you, in not giving you the K.C.B. not that you would care much for it. Have you heard from Smart lately? he is lively as ever. Vivian is very grand, but I do not let him treat me as No. 2. I agree you were No. 1, but not Vivian,



so we are not the best of friends . . . How are the children? they will become regular Germans. I hope Mrs. Stanton is well. You can scarcely imagine what a weary life I have here, it is one that makes me wish one had finished one's existence, a worriting sort of life, every hour telegrams and letters to attend to, and of no great interest. I managed to get the 5 Asiatic Elephants and 1 African Elephant which were at Cairo up to Gondokoro, and the lakes, they marched up all the way 3,300 miles, they were much frightened at the wild Elephants. I sent H.H. 4 splendid little Hippos, they were so tame, and nice. I see Nubar is back again, but I hear little from Cairo. All one does hear is that things are in a bad state. I see Nubar is at Cairo, he has received the Grand Cross of the Star of India.

With kind regards to Mrs. Stanton,

Believe me,

my dear Stanton,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 38.

KARTOUM.

8th November, 1878.

GENERAL STANTON, C.B.,

H.M. Chargé d'Affaires,

Munich, Bavaria.

MY DEAR STANTON,

There is not the least doubt of it, you have neglected me, in not writing, and had it not been for Smart, I should not have known you had been in England. I know your time is much taken up with the D. of I., etc., etc., but still there is no excuse. Poor Khedive, Vivian has bullied him terribly, and I expect, has far exceeded his instructions, but I suppose it would have come to the same thing anyway in the long run. I do not believe in Nubar one bit, he is for Nubar and no one else, and we shall have some great fights between him and Vivian. I am quite abandoned by Cairo, they i.e. Khedive or Nubar never write. H.H. telegraphed to me to come down, this, I politely declined to do, for it cost me £E.1600 of my own, the last time, and I was chucked over,

in a scandalous way, by H.H. so I won't go down to be at war with Vivian and Nubar, and to have the half support of H.H. with a lot of expenses while I am away, these people do just what they like, and the consequence is that it takes months to put things straight again. How is Mrs. Stanton and the family. I hope well. My kind regards to them. I have had hard work, with the Finances of Soudan, the expenses exceed revenue by £E.97,000 and we owe £E.327,000. I hope to make Revenue meet expenses and *in time* to pay off the debt which I am grateful to say is not owed *out* of the Soudan. Sebehr's son is still in revolt, but I have blockaded their roads, and they cannot last long, they are a regular set of Brigands, and must be stamped out. The Abyssinian affairs are pretty quiet, the refugee chief has vacated our territory.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

No. 39.

EL FASHER, DARFOUR.

18th May, 1879.

MY DEAR STANTON,

Thank you for your kind letter 20 March. I am glad to say that that gang Nubar, R. Wilson, etc., etc. have gone never (I hope) to return, and with them, I see Vivian is out. How they would have worried that poor Khedive! As far as my relations with the deceased Ministry have gone, they could not have been worse, the day Nubar fell, he received my refusal to obey him, and his council to come down to Cairo, if he had stayed a day longer, I should have been out, not that that would fret me, in the least, however I am glad he fell first . . . and I do not believe in his cleverness. He would be a fool, if after being so long behind the scenes in Egypt, he did not know the strings, you know how dilatory he was in business, and, to me, that is a fatal fault. He was always despised by the Egyptian world, and he only knew but cursorily anything beyond Loans and Foreign affairs. You menaced me, with a saying, "You will make Nubar your enemy"! in 1874. I have gone out of my way since to do so, for I never liked him,

I am not ungrateful in this, altho it was through him I ever came to Egypt, for I consider I am the sufferer by the same, in some measure . . . What does Smart say of the state of affairs. You know that when I was in Cairo, I stayed in the Kasr el Couba Palace and once when Smart was rude, he was nearly strangled by the Janissaries, he is as young as ever. Though the ringleaders have not yet been caught up to 26 April, I think the slave trade is definitely over, I shot nine of the runaway chiefs at Shaka, when down there. Gessi did first rate, he cut the enemy off from their wells. I consider that the slave trade is at an end. H.H. does not bother me, I seldom hear from him, and virtually I am independent, but this is scarcely comfortable, for one needs someone to refer to, in order not to have to solve difficult questions: the putting down of the slave trade has not pleased everyone. Give my kind regards to Mrs. Stanton, and the children and Believe me, my dear Stanton,

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

NOTES ON GEBEL HARAHA.

By H. A. MacMichael, C.M.G., D.S.O.

THE range known generally by this name measures in all about 17½ by 13 miles as the crow flies, and is by the natives themselves commonly divided into two parts, of which the Western is called Keitum and the Eastern El Haráza ; the most Easternly part of the latter again being differentiated under the name of Kobé. Again, each of the score of peaks comprised in the whole has its own particular denomination. The nomenclature of the hills is generally non-Arabic, and the proportion of foreign to Arabic names probably roughly represents the relative proportion of non-Arab and Arab blood in their inhabitants. Good examples of the former are Atki, Ang-al, Kaludi, Karshul, Turelli, Fandung, Kuriddi, Kurkeili, Tutu, Artozik, Arangog, Keisei and Tugungandu. These have a Nuba ring, while perhaps "Tendelti" and "Abd El Muluk" may respectively suggest Fur and non-Mohammedan Arab elements. What little can be ascertained of the more recent history of the mountains is as follows :—

HISTORY AND LEGENDS.

In the early parts of the XVIIIth century, a small colony of Rikábia from Mundera on the Nile migrated to El Haráza and expelled most of the previous inhabitants, and inter-married with the remainder. In the latter part of the same century the kinsmen of these immigrants on the river fought with the Shaigia and were badly defeated. Accordingly 70 or more of them joined their relations at El Haráza. Thus the present inhabitants, so far as any hard and fast line can be drawn, are a mixture of Rikábia and some other race.

As regards the former, they claim to be Husseinia Ashráf, and therefore claim relationship with the Nuráb and 'Awaida Kababish, the Shabwáb Danagla at Tawil and Bashiri and the Arab element in Gebel Abu Tubr.

These Rikábia are now called "Doalib" after Mohammed Dolib, one of their ancestors, and are a particularly acute and capable clan,

numbering among their present members the Omda of Bara, the head of the Tigania Tarika, the Nazir of Kaja and several other prominent men.

The origin of the race with whom they intermarried at El Haráza is very hard to decide. They call themselves Nuba or Shabergo, and sometimes deprecatorily admit relationship with the Nuba of S. Kordofan. The "Shabergo" element is much stronger at the other Northern hills than at El Haráza, which lies on the direct road from Dongola to Kordofan proper, and has therefore at all times probably been subject to infusions of alien blood. They are sub-divided into 5 tribes: Matara, Baggara, Dugaga, Udungia and Derham (but this system may be artificial and borrowed from "the Arabs" at some previous date).

They commonly say that their grandfathers found at El Haráza a still earlier and alien civilization, but whether this is an attempt to disprove the imputation of the now invidious Nuba descent, or a fact, I cannot say. As a matter of fact, whoever the early inhabitants were, they were far more advanced in civilization than the present people or their immediate forbears, and worked in stone and drew graceful pictures on the rocks.

As examples of the former art I obtained here and at Um Durrag numerous rings of stone (granite, flint and sandstone) and hollow conical ornaments (or implements)—nobody could tell me the use of them¹—which have been found on the sites of old settlements and hung up as curios or amulets in the huts. These stones (which seem to resemble those found on the Island of Meroe) are known as *hağar Abū Gona'an*; but this I suppose to be merely a way of saying that the makers were an old heathen people, Gona'an no doubt representing the Hamitic² descendants of Canaan (whom Moslem tradition holds to have been the unbelieving son or grandson of Noah, mentioned in the sixth chapter of the Koran, who was drowned in the deluge and became a by-word for heathenism.) The tale at Haráza is that the Abu Gona'an lived "in the days of the prophets" and were a rich and godless folk who amassed wealth galore, but a great famine came upon them and the price of corn was its weight in gold. Finally they perished of hunger and became

¹ Now in Gordon College Museum. Curiously enough I saw rings of stone almost exactly similar in 1927 at Sudbury Castle (Glos.). They had been found locally and were labelled, I think, "cotton-spinning whorls."

² El Qamus Dictionary and Abu'l 'feda call Canaan Semitic as descended from Shem, but this is less usual.

extinct. It seems possible that they may represent the same race as the nomad Hamitic Blemmyes, who, in A.D. 200, were settled in the oasis of Kharga and the eastern desert and who were assisted in their raids on Egypt by Nobatae from the direction of Kordofan and appear to be connected with the Anag (of whom mention later).

Two other names of races are known to the present people, but absolutely nothing else is known of them, and there do not even seem to be any legends: these are Henána and 'Anag.

As regards the former, it may be a corruption of "Hilála" and allude to the invasion of Kordofan by the semi-mythical Abu Zeid El Hiláli on his way to "Tunis El Khadra;" he is certainly credited in some parts of the country with having extirpated the Nuba from the plains. The word is only used in one connection, viz., to call the old iron implements and arrow heads which are occasionally found "*ḥadīd Umm Henána*" or "*ḥashshāsh Umm Henána*."¹ I was lucky to get hold of some of these old hoes, because a superstition now prevails that if they are allowed to lie on the land they will bring the strong North wind down upon it and the corn will be overwhelmed by the sand; in consequence they have diligently been collected and with due formalities stowed away by fiks in deep fissures in the rocks: it was here I unearthed a lot of them, covered by stones.²

As regards "Anag," the word is here used to denote any aboriginal people, and while opinion is sure that Henána were later than Abu Gona'án, the date of the 'Anag is quite unattainable. Probably they include Abu Gona'án. A historical tribe called 'Anag did exist in the Sudan, and is mentioned, in the 13th and 14th centuries A.D., and it is possible that El Haráza may have been their home, as Mr. Crowfoot has suggested to me. They are frequently spoken of in all Northern Kordofan, and anything for which the present inhabitants cannot account is put to their credit, e.g., the old wells cut through yards of stone at Kaja, Mazrub, etc. It is curious and may have some bearing on the question that occasionally, but each year less frequently, there are born at Haráza one or two yellow-haired, pink-skinned children from parents living in the hills.³ Such are said by the people themselves to

¹ Vide Note "A" at end.

² Vide Note "B" at end.

³ Cp. SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, Vol. VII, No. 2, p. 29 ff, and Vol. IX, p. 69 ff.

be a survival from a pink-skinned race of ancestors who came from the North and are spoken of as *hūr* (a name used for the Turks, not only here, but I believe also in Asia). These children are generally delicate. I saw a boy of about 7 years and another of about 18 months of this description; both had curly flaxen hair and grey-brown eyes. The father of one was of distinct Nuba type and the mother partly Arab. Whether this is merely a case of albinism, or whether it is a xanthochroous type similar to that still occasionally found among the Berbers in Morocco and the Atlas, I am not, of course, able to say. When one considers that El Haráza lay in a direct line between the old kingdoms of Meroe and Napata, and the states antecedent to them, on the one side, and the country round Gebel Kordofan, from which the Nuba ruled before the advent of the Fung, on the other; and that there is a chain of places where water can be found for the whole distance, and that remains of human habitation in the desert mountains north of Kordofan prove the water supply to have been better than it is now; and that the Nobatae of Meroe were almost certainly identical in race with the Nuba in Kordofan, it seems almost certain that there must have been intercourse along this route by El Haráza, and if intercourse, then probably emigrations and immigrations, conquests and settlements, by other races as well from the Southern raids of Herkhuf (*c.* 3230 B.C.) to the conquests of Heru-sa-Atef (*c.* 580 B.C.) and from the latter till the time of the Arabs.

IRONWORKS.

Ironworks, wherein the various iron implements were forged, are still to be seen; but these probably date from the 18th century only, and are attributed to the time of the Kungara. Those at Arangóg on the South of Haráza have been visited, I believe, but I do not think the Keisei ironworks have been seen before. They are some 400 feet above the plain and the old stone village in a high pass in Gebel Keisei. The backwalls (which are of fine burnt brick and two feet high) are arranged in tiers like the seats of a circus, each higher up the slope than the other and in the form of a shallow semi-circle. This backwall is in each case about 20 yards from point to point and consists of four or five smaller consecutive concave divisions, each of which was presumably used by a different person. The refuse was

thrown on to the top of the backwalls. The ground is strewn with cylinders of very hard burnt clay, one end of which obviously rested among the molten iron, and to the other the bellows were presumably applied. These cylinders lay horizontally side by side on a low brick rest, built with a series of hollows on its upper surface, into which the cylinders fit. Close by there is a cave containing some tons of what looks like chalk. There are similar ironworks at Kobé at the east end of Haráza. The village beneath them in no way differs from half a score of others which are dotted about the range. It is situated, as usual, in a deep narrow ravine in the hills and built of loose boulders; a *khôr* flows through it, and the entrance to the ravine was defended by a rampart (single, double or treble) of piled stones. Until the last few years the people still resided on these old sites and built huts of stone mortared with mud. They have now ventured out into the open and built straw huts.

ROCK PICTURES.

To revert now to the rock pictures. I only know of three places in Haráza where they are to be seen—*viz.* Gebels Shaláshi, Karshúl and Kurkeila, and even here they are few in number and small. Some of those at Shaláshi are in a red pigment and some in a white (resembling the oxidized conies' urine seen on the face of rocks). Those at Karshúl are in red and those at Kurkeila are chipped very roughly and indistinctly on the rock surface. The pictures at Karshúl are of very poor workmanship, and suggest the efforts of a four-year-old child. The fact that camels sometimes seem to be portrayed in them suggests their origin may be fairly modern, and it is possible their makers were trying to emulate the Shaláshi pictures. These last are on the roof of a rough cave formed by one great boulder having fallen so as to rest on two others, which form pillars to it, some 30 feet up the hillside. The drawing is beautifully proportioned considering the roughness of the surface of the rock and the position the artist must have been in (unless the rock fell at a later date), and though in parts obliterated, represents men on horseback—(the horses are, as in Egyptian paintings, deep-chested, arch-necked, fine-legged and wearing a plume)—with spears and shields. The men are of the usual broad-chested, narrow-waisted Egyptian type. There are also pictures of a giraffe and a hyæna,

both admirably done. The pictures at Karshúl are also on the roof of a cave, but those at Kurkeila are on the faces of some small boulders that have slipped down the hillside and got fixed.¹

WATER SUPPLY.

The water supply of the mountains is very varied.

First and best, there are two very fine *suwáni* wells of 100 feet, cut through the rock stratum by the Doalib to the North-West of the hill.

Secondly, there is one ordinary well of 20 feet or so, dug yearly near the foot of Gebel Gózi down to the stratum (which elsewhere prevents the opening of wells except after great trouble).

Thirdly, there are two springs, one called Sheginál, on the South of Keilum, and the other Shangúl, on the North side of Gebel Sighi. These two springs are in the nature of *gulut*—i.e., they are large holes of 6 feet to 10 feet deep, in among the rocks at the foot of the hills. The herds water at them daily, and they are said to refill themselves at any time of the year within one day.

Fourthly, there is a well Hashim El Leban, a wonderful great well in Gebel Kobé, which some former people cut through rock stratum for over 100 feet. It lies in a funnel surrounded by high rocky hills, and the usual approach to it is by jumping from rock to rock for half a mile. The water when I saw it was only 40 feet down, but later in the year the drift is cleared out of it down to 90 feet. Even so, the bottom is not reached, there being no need for this since some 15 feet down a side of the well seems to have fallen in and formed a great chamber with walls of rock and stones and full of water at present.

Fifthly, there is Belbeldei in Gebel Kobé, a shallow *tumud* of about 10 feet, in a *khór* fed by the rocks all round it, but this supply sometimes fails in summer if the flocks have watered much from it.

Sixthly, there are numerous waterholes or *gulut* up in the rocks all over the hills and dependent on the rain for their water, and not lasting over the summer months.

The system adopted for watering the flocks from one of the last-named *gulut*, viz., El Tuba, is most extraordinary. The water is some 150 feet up in the mountain in a hole on the top of a precipitous mass

¹ For reproductions of these rock-pictures cp. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXIX, 1909, p. 562 ff.

of rock, which rises at an angle of about 80 degrees. A man climbs up this sheer face of rock, draws the water and then pours it like a waterfall over the edge. So much of the water as is not wasted forms a small pool in the earth at the foot of the precipice and is there drunk by the goats. In the driest part of the year this method is discontinued as slightly wasteful.

NOTES.

NOTE A.—Since writing this account I have read Mr. C. M. Doughty's "Wanderings in Arabia," and am further confirmed in my conjectures as to the possibility of identifying Umm Henána with Hilála by the mentions made of the latter in that work: for instance, at Medain Salih are "chalked up certain uncouth outlines in shepherds' ruddle, ghrerra (such as they used to mark flocks in Syria), which are ascribed to the Beni Helal." (Vol. I., page 36.)

Near Teima, too, were rock inscriptions and a rude effigy of "a fabulous heroic personage" Abu Zeid—presumably the Abu Zeid El Hiláli of the Sudan. Again, some 20 miles South-West of Aneyza is "a place where they find men's bones mingled with cinders and the bones of small cattle, which the people ascribed to the Beni Helal." (Vol. II, page 211.)

There were also stone cairns about 80 miles East-North-East of Mecca at El Ri'a, attributed to either "the Kafirs that were in the land before the Moslemin" or the Beni Helal. Both these cairns and the "kitchen middens" exactly correspond in description to those found at El Haráza (and further South at Faragáb, where the Hilál are also credited with the extirpation of the aborigines).

NOTE B.—I notice that in El Mas'ûdi's "Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems" (332 A. H., trans. Sprenger, 1841) the Zinj (a name commonly used for all the black negro races) are said to be under the astronomical influence of Saturn and "to him lead and iron are sacred" or (probably a better translation) "he is the enemy of iron." May this have any connection with the above-mentioned traditions of El Haráza?

A PRELIMINARY ACCOUNT OF THE INGASSANA TRIBE IN FUNG PROVINCE.

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

NAME.

THE people living in the Tabi Hills have no word in their language which refers to all the inhabitants, but each section calls itself by a different name. Thus the people in the neighbourhood of Soda call themselves JokTau (the people of Tau), the people of Badali call themselves JokKuthulok (the people of Kuthulok), the people of Kukur call themselves JokGor (the people of Gor) etc.

Owing to the absence of a common name in the language of these people it is convenient to refer to them collectively by the name which the Arabs have given to them, that of *Ingassana*. This is the term used by the Government and is printed on the map of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The Arabic-speaking people of the neighbourhood say that the word means "people without any thanks" from the Arabic word *hasana*, meaning good works or charity, but this is presumably a case of "popular etymology."

The peoples of the neighbouring hills have different names for the Ingassana. At Hill Ulu they call them *Metabi*. At Hill Mughaja the name is *Mamidza*. The Jum-Jum call them *Muntabi*.

HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES.

The homeland of the Ingassana in the Tabi Hills lies between 33° 45' long. and 34° 15' long. and between 11° 45' lat. and 11° 15' lat. The Tabi Hills are situated between the White and Blue Niles and form part of the Fung Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

The country which stretches at this latitude between the White and Blue Niles is a wide arid plain covered with thick bush and tall grasses. Its typical tree, such as the *kitr*, the *sidr*, the *falh*, and other acacias, are varied by larger, more leafy trees, such as the *tebelidi*, the *hegliḡ*, the *'ardēb*, the *ḏom*, the *la'ūt*, which are only found in numbers when they fringe watercourses.

Dotted about this plain are many hills which rise suddenly from the flat country. They are separated from one another by level stretches of the plain. Gebel Gule, which is perhaps the largest of these hills, has a circumference of perhaps six to seven kilometres, but many others are quite small.

Where there is water these hills are inhabited, but water is very scarce during the greater part of the year. Some *ġibāl*, such as Gule and Tornasi, have springs on their slopes, but the inhabitants of the greater number have to rely upon large ponds at the base of the hills or upon rock water-holes or upon holes dug in the beds of dried-up water-courses.

In contrast to the other hills the Tabi Hills form a great massif which may be some hundred kilometres in circumference. The Tabi country consists of a number of small plains enclosed by hills. It is at the base or on the slopes of these hills that the Ingassana huts are built.

Soda, the site of the old Government Station and the place from where I did my work, is one of these partly enclosed plains lying on the south-west edge of the massif. From the slopes of the hills which enclose it one may look down upon the vast plain which stretches towards the south, broken here and there by small hills. The district of Soda has an everlasting stream of fresh spring water which flows through it. Cool winds blow from the north and early morning dust-storms are common.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER TRIBES.

The Ingassana raided the Arabs every year when the grasses of the plains had been burnt and the Arabs came to pasture their herds and flocks near the Khor Doleib. These Arabs come to-day, as in the past, from Mazmūm. The Ingassana raids were countered by Arab raids on the other hand. The object of these raiding parties was not to kill but to take prisoners who could be ransomed, and to drive off all livestock. The chief at Kukur acted as go-between in the negotiations for ransom and apparently acted as informer to both sides. A truce was made whilst the ransom was being paid over. Their raids on the Arabs have given the Ingassana a reputation of bold robbers. Certainly their home in the Tabi Hills is difficult of access, and they have never been conquered. The Fung Empire which had, and from Gule still has, a real influence and control over the other peoples of this area, was only

recognized on the exposed fringes of the Ingassana country. There were occasional quarrels with their neighbours in the south, the peoples who live on hills Sillok, Abuldugu and Mughaja, but these were always short-lived, a ceremony of peace closing the misunderstanding. The Jum-Jum people of the south used to come to the outskirts of the Ingassana country and kill isolated individuals, but they lived too far away for systematic hostilities to take place.

The Ingassana sell their goods to purchasers as far west as G. Gule, as far east as Roseires, and as far south as Ulu. This trade in basket work, pottery, and iron work in exchange for millet, cloth, ornaments, must have arisen in late times, as the country was too dangerous for people to wander to foreign hills, and the Ingassana admit that they killed any stranger on sight.

LANGUAGE.

A note on the Ingassana language has been published by Mrs. Seligman in "Note on two languages spoken in the Sennar Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan" (Sonderabdruck aus der "Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen," Band. ii. Heft. iv., 1911-12). This note gives a vocabulary and sentences and shows in part the grammatical structure of the language. The linguistic additions which I have been able to make will form the subject of a separate report.

The Ingassana language has several local dialects, thus the speech of those districts given on the map as Soda, Badali, Kukur, forms distinct dialects. But there is no difficulty in an Ingassana speaking one dialect being understood in parts where other dialects are spoken.

The Ingassana language is not intelligible to any other tribes and is unrelated to the other tongues of this area. Whether it is related to any other African languages I cannot say without books of reference.

Arabic is the language of interpretation of the Tabi Hills, but its value as such varies with the different districts. In the district of Badali, where the new Government Station is situated, it is almost useless, only two or three persons speaking it with fluency. At Soda there are several men who were either captured during the Mahdia or who have been servants to mamurs and who speak very good Arabic. Many of the younger people also have a knowledge of Arabic. However, it is only in the West of the Tabi Hills, at Kukur, Buk, and I believe Cabarnit, that the people can be regarded as bi-lingual.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

(1) *The restricted Family Group.*

This is the territorial unit of Ingassana social structure. A man, his wife and unmarried children live together in an enclosure of stakes, and it is these enclosures which are dotted all over the country, there being no villages. Very often two families will live together in the same enclosure, as when a man has two wives or when his son-in-law builds his hut within his father-in-law's enclosure. In this case each family will have its own huts, granary, grinding stone, etc., though they may share the use of the kitchen, the shelter of the grinding-hut, the benefit of the fire, and have a common goat house and piggery. Though the people are polygamous, it is unusual for a man to have more than one wife, and I came across only one instance of a man with more than two wives.

(2) *The Hamlet.*

It is very common for the sons-in-law to build an enclosure near that of their wives' father. One also finds, especially in the case of a chief, that a man's married sons will build enclosures round that of their parent. Thus the enclosures which are strung out along the slopes or bases of the hills fall into small groups, which are occupied by related persons, and which may be called hamlets.

(3) *The Canton.*

The country is divided up into a number of sub-divisions, which one may call canton, each usually occupying a hill or side of a hill. Each of these sections has its chief, who is the religious head of the community, and who also exercises political functions. He is called *aur*. Each section also has a *sên* or war leader and secular head of the community.

Each of these sections has its grazing grounds, its hunting areas, its cultivations, and all the members act together for purposes of war.

(4) *The Tribe.*

A number of these sections or cantons form a tribe, that is to say a territorial grouping with a common dialect, with a tribal name and with a common organization for purposes of war, and usually with well-marked cultural differences. This is a loose grouping and not always easy to define. The people of the district of Soda form a tribe and call themselves JokTau, the people of Badali (JokKuthulok), and the people of Kukur (JokGor), being other examples.

(5) *Nation.*

This grouping also has a territorial basis. Though the Ingassana people have a similar culture throughout the territory occupied by them, the Ingassana Nation is best defined by its common language. Apart from the Tabi Hills themselves, which are occupied exclusively by the Ingassana, Ingassana-speaking people live on many of the surrounding hills, namely: Agadi, Bagis, Kilgu, Buk, Sidak, Bulmut, Mugum, Kukuli.

(6) *The Kindred.*

The groups outlined so far have a territorial basis. The kindred, the relatives of a man on both sides of his family, do not live together, but they have many obligations and privileges towards each other, such as assistance in economic work. The kindred is the exogamous unit of Ingassana society; a man may not marry a near female relative of his mother, nor of his father, nor of his wife. The kindred also take part in certain common ceremonies.

(7) To-day the exclusiveness of the various cantons has largely broken down, and people no longer necessarily live in the canton of their birth. Nevertheless, they still remain members of *JokBuruk* (people of Buruk), *JokAselk* (people of Aselk), etc. Each of these peoples has a place of ceremony which is usually at the house of the chief, and a man will return there at times of ceremony to take part with his own people. In many ways this group is like a clan, at one time territorial and corresponding with the political canton group. Membership of *JokAselk*, *JokBuruk*, etc., is traced through the male line, but they are not exogamous groups; a man may marry a woman of the same group as himself. All these groups are compounded with the prefix *Jok*, which means people, and most of them have the plural ending *k*. The names all refer to places, and I know of only one exception which is a subdivision of one of these groups and which is called after a man.

(8) *Blood-brotherhood.*

If two men are great friends they may go through a ceremony which gives social recognition to their friendship. There is a ceremony in which a sheep is killed and eaten and afterwards the two men act as brothers, following the exogamy rules as such and acting under the same social obligations as natural brothers.

CHIEFS AND OTHER OFFICES.

(1) *aur*. This is the Ingassana word for chief, being a word given in exchange for the Arabic *mek* which is used in this area. Each territorial and political sub-division or canton has an *aur*. He is the politico-religious head of the community and takes a prominent part in religious ceremonies. The enclosure of the chief is distinguished by the inclusion of a hut named *punuk* or *we i tel* (the hut of the sun), which is the centre of the religious life of the people. In the Soda and Kukur districts, at least, the chiefs have an additional mark of office in the *dar*, a wooden bench or stool which rests in the *punuk* and is carried on the decease of a chief to the house of his successor. The chief also has certain legal, economic and other secular functions. The office passes from father to son.

(2) *sen i hung* (leader of war). *Sen* is the word given as an equivalent for the Arabic *sheikh*, and *sen i hung* is rendered *sīd el gōm* in Arabic. This man is the war leader and secular head of the canton. The *aur* did not go to war but remained at home. Also if there were disputes between members of the same community they would go first to the *sen i hung*, and only if the matter was important would they take it to the *aur*, so that both of them together with the elders could deliver judgment. The office is hereditary.

(3) *chalk*. These are players who function at marriage, the birth of twins and the illness of children. The head of these players possesses a wooden figure of a man or of a woman, or both, and also a wooden phallus with which he plays. The office is generally hereditary, but anyone who learns the dances may play.

(4) *kai*. This is the medicine man. His functions are the curing of disease, and consequently the discovery of the users of witchcraft.

(5) *sen i tok* (leader of the cattle). Each canton has a *sen i tok*, whose functions are to be the first to lead out his cattle to the grazing grounds of the plains when the rains have ceased, and also to instruct the herdsmen when and where to change pastures, where to make *zaribas*, etc.

(6) *sen i serm* (leader of the horn). Each canton has this leader in hunting. He decides when to go hunting, summons the people, performs the hunting magic and orders the disposition of the hunt.

(7) *sen i sak* (leader of the *merissa*). The functions of this man are exercised at large economic undertakings. When a man wants large-scale labour on his cultivations he provides *merissa* for the labourers, and they appoint one of their number for the occasion and this man divides up the *merissa* amongst them.

(8) *gateth* (man of the path). There is one of these officials between Soda and Sillok, and one between Soda and Mughaja. They know the path to these hills and act as foreign representatives of the people of these hills, and at the same time as ambassadors of the Ingassana. When people visit the Tabi Hills from these other hills they go to the house of the *gateth*. On the other hand, if there is any dispute between the inhabitants of these hills and the Ingassana the *gateth* takes a sheep to the hill in question and performs a peace ceremony.

NUMBERS OF INGASSANA POPULATION.

Without any effort at systematic calculation I had roughly estimated from what I had seen and heard that the Ingassana numbered some 10,000 to 12,000 souls.

Major Knox, District Commissioner at Roseires, later sent me the official estimate of the population based on tax returns. This made the Ingassana 7,946 in number. However, I think that some hills inhabited by the Ingassana have not been included in Major Knox's list, namely, Bagis, Kilgu, Jegu, Mugum, Kukuli, Balmut, Sidak, and possibly Gabanit. If all these hills were included I think that the population returns would approximate to my rough estimate of 10,000 to 12,000.

In the following list, sent to me by Major Knox, Buk has been included, for though the population is mixed it is Ingassana-speaking:—

		<i>Men.</i>	<i>Women.</i>	<i>Boys.</i>	<i>Girls.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Gebel Buk		765	500	341	288	1,894
„ Bak		667	350	195	217	1,429
„ Tagha		269	105	44	56	474
„ Soda		945	595	405	305	2,250
„ Togo		427	256	154	206	1,043
„ Kukur		335	255	143	123	856

Total = 7,946.

ECONOMIC LIFE.

Agriculture.

The Ingassana grow two harvests during the year, one which had been cut some weeks before I entered their country at the beginning of November, and a second which I was told would be gathered in about a month after I left Soda at the beginning of January. They probably reap these crops in September and in February, but I am not certain about the date of the early (September) harvest.

The first crop is sown in small terraced plots adjoining the houses on the slopes or bases of the hills. Small stone walls surround the plots. This crop is of *naḡād* millet. I was told that a little maize was also sown. The second harvest is grown in the plains, some two hours distance from the habitations, and consists of '*ēsh abyad*' and '*ēsh teqil*', the former ripening before the latter. Sesame is also sown with the millet.

They also grow beans and a small crop of earth nuts (*fūl sūdāni*). Gourds grow plentifully over the huts and fences of the enclosures. One sees sometimes a small crop of the red pepper plant growing near the huts.

The tobacco crop was over when I arrived, and small new leaves were springing up. I was told that it was sown when the *naḡād* was over and that it grows very quickly.

Cattle.

The Ingassana are pastoral and possess cows, bulls and bullocks. These live in the grazing grounds about three or four hours from the habitations. They are housed in zaribas of thorn bush. I should hesitate to give an estimate of the number of their cattle, but I think that a few years ago a family possessed perhaps four or five cows and seldom more than a dozen, whilst many possessed none. Last year cattle plague ravaged the districts of Soda, Kukur and Buk, and this year it has reappeared at Soda.

Besides cows they keep flocks of sheep and goats and a large number of pigs. Muhammadan influence has at present had little effect with respect to pigs.

Some men, but not many, possess fine white horses from Abyssinia. They do not ride these in the hills, but the young men who are guarding the cattle sometimes ride them, and in the past they used to bear the Ingassana in their raids on the Arabs of Khor Doleib. Donkeys are

more plentiful than horses, but the Ingassana seldom ride them as they prefer to go on foot. They are utilised to carry the harvest from the plains to the hill-side settlements.

Hunting.

The Ingassana do not hunt keenly. When the grasses are burnt a large number of men will remain some three days engaged in an organised hunt, and at other times an expedition may be arranged. But the Ingassana are primarily an agricultural and pastoral people and hunting occupies very little of their time. In the near past, I am told, elephant, lion, buffalo and giraffe were common in this area, but to-day they have disappeared. Leopard is common and does much damage to the flocks of sheep and goats. Hyæna also is common and donkeys are often killed by them.

Gazelle are plentiful, and I have seen several waterbuck. The people hunt with their dogs, but have no knowledge of the use of traps or snares.

There are a few small fish in the stream of running water at Soda, and these are picked out of the streams after they have been intoxicated by a preparation of the *hegliŋ* tree. No other method is employed.

CRAFTS.

(1) *Iron-working.*

If there is iron in the Tabi Hills the natives are ignorant of the art of smelting. Iron is imported from the White Nile and from the Blue Nile, and in the past very largely from Abyssinia. In the Soda district, where iron-working is to-day a flourishing industry, there were only two smiths, who had learnt their craft from hill Gule. There are not only a large number of smiths, but the profession is open to any youth who cares to serve two or three years of apprenticeship to the trade. There is a marked superiority of work of some smiths over that of others. Knives, spears, *kolbedas*, digging sticks, hoes and adzes, as well as iron ornaments, are made, and there is a small export trade to neighbouring hills.

(2) *Pottery.*

Pots are made by women. This is a skilled craft, practised by specialists, but anyone who wishes to learn the art may do so. There is

a large export trade in these pots, the women travelling as far south as hill Ulu to sell them. The women make several kinds of pot, those which in Arabic are called *kantūsh*, *tēbār*, *dōka*, all being made. There are two different types of clay which are used in the making of the pots. The method which is employed in building them up is that which is known as the coil technique. The clay is mixed with fine grass and water, and a piece of gourd, a pebble, and a piece of grass for incising patterns are the only instruments used in the manufacture.

(3) *Mats, baskets, hats.*

The weaving of the leaves of the immature dom palm into mats, baskets and hats is a very important industry of the people of Soda. The mats, often of large size, are sold to the Arabs as prayer mats, and are exported to the White and Blue Niles in large quantities. They are also consumed locally. They make several kinds of basket, some small, others large for storing grain or for carrying wood. Broad-brimmed hats are made from the same material, and the Ingassana wear them in the rains. The method of making hats, baskets and mats is the same. Dom leaves are cut into strips and woven by the hands into long coils which are then sewn together. Here, again, it is women specialists who do the work, but there is no professional class.

(4) *Tanning.*

The Ingassana use the bark of the *mudus* tree, as it is called in Arabic, for tanning. This tree grows in plenty in the Tabi hills. Much of the leather is sold to merchants and probably finds its way to Omdurman, where *mudus* leather is esteemed higher than any other. It is also used locally for water-skins. Tanning is men's work and is done by skilled persons, though it is open to anyone to acquire the skill.

The bark of the *mudus* tree is dried and crushed up and afterwards made into a paste with water. The skin is soaked in oil of sesame, beaten until soft, and then soaked in the *mudus* paste.

Though there are other products of Ingassana labour, the main ones have been described. I may mention, however, the manufacture of wooden bowls, called *gadaḥ* (pl. *gudāḥa*) in Arabic, and used for food, as these are sold in fair numbers to the Arabs as well as being used by the people themselves. They are made by men with the aid of an adze.

WEAPONS USED FOR WAR AND HUNTING.

(1) *Throwing-sticks.*

I believe that the use of iron has only lately become known to the Ingassana, and that the *trombāsh*, as it is called in the Arabic of this part of the Sudan, or *luin*, as it is called by the people of the Tabi Hills, has long been their principal weapon in war and in hunting.

It is a curved throwing-stick, of which they possess at least six different types, each form being distinguished by a native term. These sticks are used for throwing at an enemy or at an animal, and whilst flying for a long distance they do not, like the fowling stick of Australia, make any return flights. They are cut from the harder woods such as those of the *silok* and ebony trees, for they are also used as striking weapons when the object of aim is within reach of the arm.

This weapon can be found over the whole area between the White and Blue Niles, but I have not found any of these sticks with large rounded heads outside the Tabi Hills. These big-headed sticks are one of those marks which distinguish the material culture of the Ingassana from the cultures of neighbouring hills and of the plains in the South.

(2) *Koleth.*

This is a hacking and slashing weapon made from iron and is to-day the national weapon of the Ingassana. Perhaps I should say ornament rather than weapon, as there is no more war, and as it is of small use in hunting. It is called *kolbēda* in Arabic and *koleth* in Ingassana. It has a thin iron stem which runs into a broad curving blade. There are two distinct types of this weapon, both of which have a projection so that it can be carried balanced on the shoulder. Though generally used for striking, it may also be hurled at short range. Most, if not all, Ingassana men carry one of these weapons, and they are exported to other hills. In the past the art of making the *koleth* was learnt from the west, but now it is a distinctive Ingassana weapon and is rarely found amongst neighbouring peoples.

(3) *Spears.*

The Ingassana make four kinds of spear which differ from one another in the forms of their points. The simplest kind, called *bor*, has a head of a plain piece of iron with four sides which run into a point. The others have leaf-shaped heads, but size or the addition of barbs are marks of

difference. One is called *bertau*, another with two barbs on either side of the iron stem is called *gerngut*. Another, called *mus i porth*, is distinguished from the others by its large head.

In the past they made spears with a wooden point of burnt ebony fastened to the shaft by cord and gum. I have only seen one specimen of this type. The weapon is not made now but belongs to the days when iron-pointed spears were scarce.

Two kinds of iron-headed spears are also imported by the Ingassana, one from Abyssinia with a longer and thicker bamboo shaft than those found in the Tabi Hills, the other, the so-called Baggara spear, with a very large head.

(4) *Swords.*

Some men carry long swords in a leather sheath. These are not made by the Tabi smiths, but are bought from the Arabs. However, I doubt whether they have ever been of importance as weapons of war, their use being ornamental.

(5) *Shields.*

The weapon of defence is an oval-shaped shield. These shields are of excellent workmanship. All those I saw were made from the skin of the buffalo. This is imported from the banks of the Blue Nile.

The Ingassana do not possess the bow and arrow. This is one of the more striking material differences between the Burun to the south who use the bow and arrow and their Ingassana neighbours to the north who do not use them.

Traps and Snares.

The use of traps or snares appears to be unknown to the Ingassana. The same weapons are used for hunting as for war.

Fish Poison.

There are a few small fish in the stream of running water at Soda, and these are captured by being first intoxicated with a preparation from the *hegliġ* tree.

Dress and Ornaments.

Boys wear no clothes, remaining naked to an age often long after puberty. Girls wear a small apron of strips of leather, the *rahat*. Men wear a goat's skin tucked between the legs as their usual dress, but they

all possess *dammur* cloth, a round of which is wound round the waist and stretches half down the legs. Women wear three or four rounds of this cloth as a waist-band. Women and young men wear ornaments, but old men do not wear them. Both sexes wear iron arm-rings and the women wear bead armlets and iron ankle-rings as well. Brass wire is used in various forms for ornamental purposes. A common ornament of both sexes is a long necklace of brass wire bound closely round a *dom* leaf. Boys and youths wear an oval hoop which rests on their hips. It is made of leather with strips of iron bound round it. This type of ornamented waist-string is peculiar to the Ingassana. Both sexes wear sandals.

There are many patterns of hair dressing. The men usually allow their hair to fall in curls round their heads, and the women cultivate a great mass of thick curls at the back of their heads. Both sexes plaster their hair with fat.

Women wear ear-rings and some of them have nose-pins.

CUSTOMS.

(1) *Birth*. Previous to birth no exertion may be made either by the expectant mother nor by her husband, lest the child die in consequence, nor may either of them carry fire.

A woman returns to her father's home to give birth to a child. The cord is cut with a piece of *dom* palm leaf, and the afterbirth is not buried but placed in a gourd, which is hung from one of the branches of a *gammeiza* tree. Twins are considered as a great blessing, and there are special ceremonies connected with their birth.

(2) *Naming*. There is no ceremony, but the father gives a name to his child usually after one of his or his wife's relatives. The father does not, however, give a name to his first-born, nor may he ever call this child by his name. In this instance the name is given by the baby's maternal uncle.

(3) *Circumcision*. Both sexes are circumcised. The age of the children operated upon varies from quite small boys and girls to those who are reaching the age of puberty. They are operated upon by a specialist, usually some dozen or more, at the house of the father of one of the boys. The ceremony is not connected with entrance into any new group.

(4) *Age Grades*. There are no age sets, but there is a division in nomenclature between persons of different ages, e.g.—

A small male child is called *nainan* or *gennan*.

A boy up to the age of wearing clothes is called *kusa*.

A youth after adopting clothes is called *bungur*.

A man after marriage is called *gafan*.

A very old man is called *mail*.

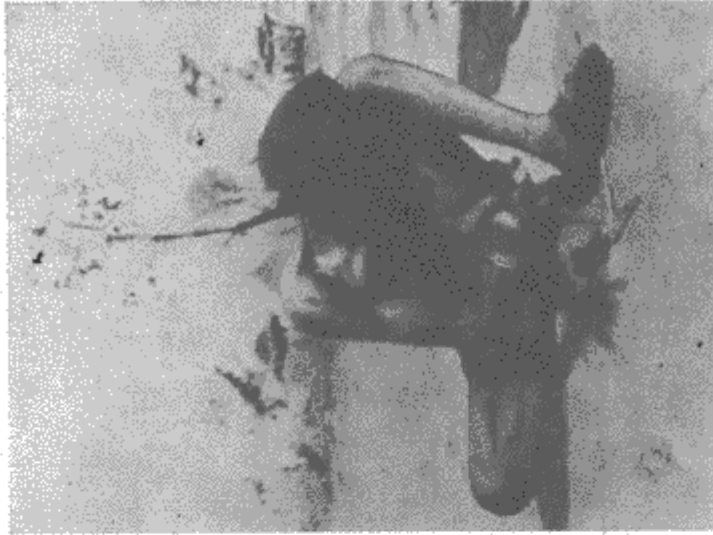
There is a ceremony when a boy puts on clothes for the first time. The clothes are forced on to the boy, who refuses at first to wear them.

(5) *Marriage*. When a man marries a girl he gives compensation to her relatives by working on their cultivations. Not only the man himself, but his father and brothers and other near relatives will have to work on the cultivations of the girl's father and uncles, and will have to render service when it is required of them by relatives of the future bride. Marriage thus involves a network of obligations and privileges in which a large number of persons on either side of the parties engaged to be married are closely involved. If the future bridegroom were to work alone without the assistance of his relatives, the father of the girl would consider it an insult, and he would probably call off the marriage.

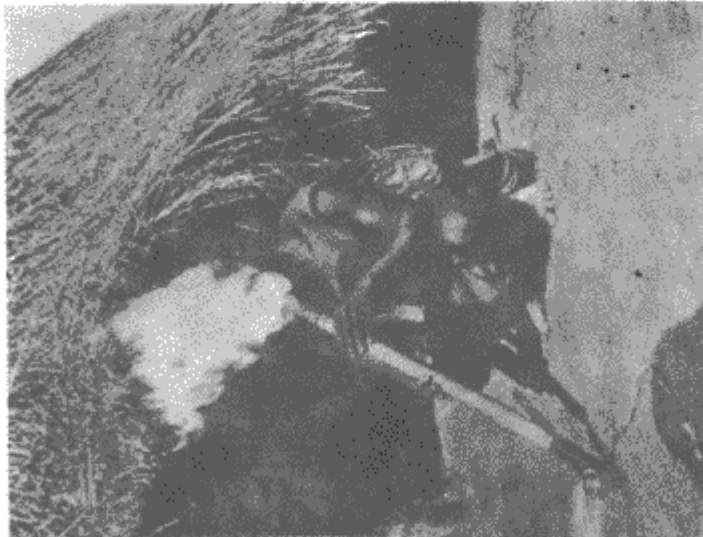
The man also will hand over in livestock a certain amount of wealth before the marriage takes place, but this wealth, generally called "bride-price," plays a subsidiary part in Ingassana society. It is regular, but quantitatively ill-determined. A rich man will be expected to provide a cow or two, as well as goats and pigs and sheep and cloth, but a poor man will pay a few goats and his parents-in-law will be quite satisfied if they have got a good husband for their daughter even if he is poor.

Marriages are seasonable, taking place when the new rains come and when the Ingassana enter into the ceremonial season of *bal*, so-called as the whistle is played at this period. As far as I have been able to follow the chronology of the marriage ceremonies it may be summarised in its central events, the carrying off of the girl by the bridegroom's relatives, the cutting off of the hair of bride and bridegroom, the walking of the bride over the bleeding bodies of pigs and the carrying of *hisra* by the girl to her suitor's house.

The man has meanwhile built a house for himself in the enclosure of his father-in-law, and here the marriage is consummated. The new husband enters into his wife's hut through a small opening in the enclosure



LIGHTING TINDER WITH FIRESTICKS.



The smoke is drawn with a great effort into the lungs and expelled in a cloud. One such puff suffices the ordinary smoker.

fence. At the end of a month he finds that his father-in-law has closed the hole and he enters the enclosure by a normal entrance, though a different entrance from that used by his parents-in-law. At the end of a year or on the birth of a child, the man and his wife's parents both use the same entrance. A stay of a year or two longer in the wife's home is the usual course to be followed, but a man will often build a hut just outside the enclosure of his wife's parents, or will take his wife to his own home.

(6) *Death and Burial.* A man who dies away from home is buried in the place of his death, and there is a ceremony to bring his spirit back to his own house. Therefore if a woman is ill, she will go away from her husband's house to that of her parents.

The dead are placed in a plain grave with a broken spear, a little tobacco sometimes being added. When completed, stones are placed round the grave, and the dead man's *angarib*, if he had one, is placed on top. Failing an *angarib*, digging sticks are placed on top.

There is a ceremony near the grave, and when the burial is finished, an ox, if the dead man possessed one, is killed and eaten by the relatives. Near relatives of both sexes shave off their hair as a sign of mourning.

(7) *Religion.* After a stay of only from six to seven weeks in the Ingassana country, I do not feel that I have delved very deep into their religious beliefs.

They worship *tel*, the sun, who made the world and men and all living things in it. *Tel* seems to be regarded as a beneficent but distant being. I think that in every-day talk the sun is regarded as a natural feature rather than as a deity.

Each chief has near or in his enclosures a *we i tel*, or hut of the sun, which is regarded with great reverence. No one enters this hut without first removing his sandals and the fillet from his hair.

The Ingassana appeal to *tel* when they want rain, they appeal to him when someone is ill, or when a woman is barren. When a man dies they say that *tel* has killed him. Thus it will be seen that they appeal to *tel* in the important emotional crises of life, such as in conception, in illness, at death, and when they are threatened with some natural calamity such as the absence of rain.

At Kukur they have a stone called *mit i tel*, stone of the sun, before which offerings are placed at certain ceremonies.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE AZANDE.

By Major P. M. Larken.

(Continued from Vol. IX, Part 1).

(PLATES VI—XIV).

CHAPTER VII.

MANNERS AND HABITS.

THE Zande are great chatterers, and can never state a fact succinctly. The narrator of any event will describe it at the greatest possible length, enlarging upon all details however remotely connected with it, whether relevant or not, and retailing the most unimportant conversations *in extenso*. His hearers will listen with avidity, and will show no signs of boredom at his repetitions or prolixity. He will talk in rather a loud voice, accompanying his words with unceasing pantomime, for he is quite unable to keep his hands still when speaking, and his gestures are often very expressive. In *oratio obliqua* he instinctively throws the proper inflexions into his voice, and he would be a wonderful actor, if the theory of acting¹ were known to him, which it is not; he is a very clever mimic.

This inability to control the flow of speech makes the hearing of cases by the Chief a lengthy business, which, however, is usually somewhat shortened by both parties to the suit talking at once. That they should do so seems to cause no inconvenience to the judge at all.

Both Avungara and Azande have most retentive memories even for trivial facts and conversations. A man who has travelled a road that is new to him will keep a picture of it in his mind's eye to the minutest detail; and hearers of cases seem to be able to remember them for years, and are seldom at fault when questioned about them later.

These two traits, retentiveness of memory and eagerness to hear the most uninteresting story in detail, seem to suggest that the Zande has

¹ The nearest approach to acting *qua* acting that the writer has come across was an impromptu entertainment given by a carrier to his companions during a halt on the march. He gave representations of animals, that were nothing less than marvellous, copying their characteristic movements with perfect fidelity and no exaggeration. He finished up with a comic sketch of a woman (which, though somewhat broad, was exceedingly funny) and miming caricatures of his friends.

a great desire, though an unconscious one, for intellectual entertainment, which, having no literature, he can only appease through their exercise.

The Azande are remarkably free from irritability, and nothing seems to exasperate them, not even the maddening habit that obtains of a third party thrusting himself in between two others who are earnestly conversing, and proceeding to address one of them about some totally different matter in which he is interested, nor the equally annoying one of re-opening a question already closed. The latter is perhaps traceable to the feeling that a former adverse decision was probably due to some hostile influence or spell working, with the passing of which a favourable reply may be hoped for.

Chaff and ridicule directed against an individual are popular with the bystanders but hated by him, and may even result in the wit having to pay small damages to his victim if the latter appeals to the Chief. *Sengae* (insult or abuse) is a serious matter and never overlooked. It usually takes the form of an indecent reference to the private parts of the person against whom it is directed, or those of his kin, and it is an offence in Zande law, punishable with a fine of spears. The introduction of a person's name in a song, unless clearly laudatory, is invariably made the subject of a claim for damages which would without doubt be awarded against the singer.

Sometimes a fight is brought about which is a very tame affair, unless clubs or knives are used, which is always a possibility. A Zande cannot fight properly with a closed fist, but can only buffet his adversary on the head with open hand, or wrestle with him, grabbing, if possible, his loin cloth and throwing him on the ground. He will then probably smack his face or spit in it. A common manoeuvre when at close quarters is to butt with the head at the opposing face, and by this means bloody noses are sometimes caused, and the only real black eye that has been noticed. While the fight goes on, short breathless remarks of an uncomplimentary or taunting nature are made by the combatants, who endeavour, by wearing a forced smile very often, to impress the audience with the easy victory they are gaining and the little effect of the other's blows.

This habit of smiling under adversity is very commonly seen if an inferior is snubbed in the presence of others by his superior. The hung head and shamed face are the exception. Perhaps he feels that by

smiling he can convey the idea to the onlookers that they should not take the rebuke to be meant seriously, or to be anything more than a good joke between himself and his reprover. Sometimes, indeed, especially if one is close enough to hear the actual words addressed him, he will turn away laughing as if he were being dismissed in the highest favour, though the laughter will sound as forced as the smile obviously is.

By using certain muscles in the throat, a pitch is obtained that enables the voice to carry a very long way without its being raised much above the normal level. To attract the attention of someone at a distance, his name will be called in this manner, ending with an O. If a man is shouting out a sentence, he will often end it in the same way with an O, probably repeating his words again after the O sound: the latter puts the hearing faculties of the person addressed on the alert, and enables him to catch the words on their repetition, should the first utterance have failed to reach his ears.

If it is desired to make one's presence known to someone who is very far off, the ordinary holloa of the English hunting field is used, a Zande being able to do this in a way that would do credit to any whip, though a woman has never been noticed doing it.

Ta ngba, "to strike the mouth," is the Zande expression for raising the alarm, which is a high quavering call produced either by the rapid movement of the open hand before the mouth, or of the root of the tongue only.

The gesture of greeting and farewell is a clasping of right hands; it is a token of respect to place the left hand on the right forearm when thus extending that member, and women often bow low when shaking hands with a superior. If two near relations, such as a mother and son, or two women friends, meet after a long separation, a good deal of hugging and holding is seen, and often tears of joy in the eyes of the women, but no kissing. The man on these occasions always assumes an air of boredom, though when greeting a friend of his own sex he would make no effort to conceal the pleasure he felt. It is not etiquette to shake hands with a mourning woman, but to pluck a small leaf or piece of grass and to present the right hand holding it to her; she will break off the projecting part with her own right forefinger and thumb.

Any weapon or stick that may be carried, or any load, should be grounded when greeting a superior, or when entering the latter's presence.

Motions of the hand to the head, or the removal of the head-dress, appear to be modern innovations.

The following phrases are used on meeting and parting :—" *Mo ye te ?* " " You come, don't you ? " to which the reply is, " *Mo ye tiamo te ?* " " You come yourself, don't you ? " used when two persons meet on the path, both on the move. If they stop to talk, their good-bye is " *Mo da nga,* " " May you arrive," or " *Mo ndu a ?* " " You proceed ? " A man moving greets another who is seated with the phrase, " *Mo kina ho ?* " " You are just here ? " or " *Mo du kina hare ?* " which means the same thing, and the seated one will answer, " *Mo ye te ?* " When one of a seated pair rises to go, he will say to the other, " *Mo du ho ?* " " You be here ? " and the latter will reply, " *I, mo ndu a ?* " or " *Mo da nga ?* " It is, however, sufficient for politeness to answer any greeting with the nasal sound of acquiescence, " *I.* " A cordial addition to these salutations may take the form, " *Mo ye gbe,* " " You come greatly," " *Mo ta ho ye gbe,* " " You have walked there a lot," or " *Ako ! Mo a ra ho yo te ?* " " My goodness ! You have slept (*i.e.*, spent) a long time there, haven't you ? "

If a salutation is not acknowledged, the giver's feelings are very hurt.

Long distances are estimated by the number of nights passed on the road, and shorter ones by the number of streams crossed. As an example of the existence of boredom, and therefore of imagination in the Zande, it may be remarked here that a journey always seems longer to him if the path runs for a great distance along a single river, or along a watershed where there are no streams to cross continually, and the modern straightly cut roads, along which he can see perhaps two or three miles, are an abomination to him. To shorten a journey, standing grass by the roadside is twisted into a knot, and to prevent the sun going down on a traveller he will place a stone or lump of dry earth in the fork of a tree, but for this to be successful it must be done some time before it begins to decline.

As has been stated before, the Zande is a good walker. His step is elastic and his carriage upright ; he raises himself higher on the ball of his foot than a European ; he runs with a long stride, flinging his feet behind him as high as the buttock. A Zande woman is the equal of a man as far as her walking powers are concerned, but she is a poor runner, though some young girls of thirteen or so will beat boys of their own age.

Should a man stumble or fall his companions sometimes raise a mound of branches, or in the Pambia country, which is rocky, a small cairn of stones, in derision, for a fall is always looked upon as a great joke by all, except the victim, and never fails to elicit shouts of laughter from all beholders. Nevertheless, it is lucky to stumble with the right foot, which is, in this connection, spoken of as "*wene ndue*," "good foot," while to do so with the left, "*gbigbita ndue*," "bad foot," is the reverse. On one occasion it was noted that a man who dropped his foot into a hole was congratulated by his friends, the accident presaging that he would have a female bedfellow that night, but this does not seem to be a general belief. If a man be wounded by a splinter of wood or a thorn, it is cut out and burnt; while it is still smouldering it is held to the wound, and in some manner so contributes to its healing. Even if this procedure cannot be followed at the moment, the splinter will be carefully preserved, so that it may be burnt and applied at the first opportunity.

The art of jumping is practically unknown, and it is looked on as quite a feat to clear a six-foot ditch or an obstacle a yard high.

If a tsetse (*nganga*) settle on a man, he will cautiously move the flat of his knife over his skin until the insect is reached, when he will pin its foot with the edge and so capture it. Should he be stung by a hornet, a twig snapped over the sting eases his pain.

The attitude assumed when sitting on a stool is the only one that it is possible to adopt in such a position. On a mat, a man will crouch with his buttocks resting on it, his outstretched arms being supported on his drawn-up knees, but a woman will extend her legs in front of her, and keep her leaves and her *gaka* in position with her hands as she lowers herself, and also when she rises. When addressing a superior the position of a man is much the same as the above, but he will lean a little more forward so that his hinder parts do not touch the ground, and he will maintain his balance with a lowered hand, while a woman will kneel on both knees, sitting on her heels, with her hands flat on her legs above the knees.

A Zande man usually sleeps on his left side, so as to have the right arm free to defend himself if danger threatens him, but a woman can lie on either. A log serves for a pillow, neck-rests, such as are seen in the north among the Dinka, being unknown. If the sleeper has no mat,

an armful of fresh leaves is spread, but only those leaves which do not irritate the skin are chosen. Both sexes sleep naked, the men in modesty disposing their genital organs between the thighs. It is looked on as a great hardship to sleep "in the dark," and a fire is always lit, a man lying on each side of it, which one or other will make up at intervals, though only a dull glow seems enough to keep them warm.

No case of somnambulism has ever been noticed, though talking in sleep is general, the dreams and nightmares that give rise to this being, *mutatis mutandis*, the same as those of anyone else.

The Zande, when plentifully supplied with food, is a fairly heavy eater, but when times are hard he can subsist on very little without suffering, provided that he is not past the prime of life. It is the children, the old, and the invalids, who rapidly fall away from hunger.

Crouching or seated on his stool, near his wooden bowl of *bakinde* (dough), and its accompanying pot of vegetable or meat stew, or butter of ground sesame, he will eat alone or with his male friends, the women feeding apart. With his right-hand fingers he will separate and mould as big a piece of *bakinde* as his mouth will contain, and, scooping up on the morsel as much of the butter or stew as it will hold, swallow it with little or no mastication, and in the same way he will deal with a dish of boiled roots. If his meal consists of food that cannot be bolted, such as roast meat, he must never chew it with closed lips, for if he did so it would be said that he had stolen it.

Boiled or roast peanuts are tossed rapidly into the mouth, one by one, and chewed. Roast bananas, manioc, sweet potatoes and maize are held in the fingers and bitten, though sometimes the maize seeds are crumbled off the cob with the thumb and poured into the mouth.

Roast meat is cut into rather large pieces with a knife and not torn from the bone by the teeth. Small mammals, birds and fish are eaten bones and all. Seasonings of salt and pepper are cooked with the food, and not applied to it by the eater.

After the meal the hands are washed and the mouth is rinsed out with water, and the teeth and gums rubbed round with the finger, the mouth being full of water which is then ejected.

On the average, probably, a man has two meals a day, one sometime before midday, and one at sundown. He also gets odd snacks between meals.

No drinking is done during a meal, but before or after, the drinking vessel being a calabash, or *yinga*, unless a man is travelling, when he will use his gourd waterbottle, *ndukuru*, which he applies to his lips with his head thrown back, and pours down an open throat. Drinking from a stream, if there are no leaves available to make a little cup or cone (*tokporo*), is accomplished either by splashing the water up to the lips with the hand, or by lowering the face to the surface.

The only other drink known to the Azande besides water is eleusine or banana beer, *buda*, and this does not seem to be drunk with a meal, but as a separate function. Though the beverage is intoxicating and loved by both sexes from their childhood to the grave, drunkenness is exceedingly rarely seen, only one case having been noticed. This is probably more due to the fact that beer parties are often night affairs (and so escape observation), than to any inherent zeal for temperance in the Zande character.

On waking in the morning, the face and hands are washed, and the mouth rinsed out, as described above, though the first action is the unpleasant one of clearing the throat and expectorating. When washing the body, the bather likes hot water in a pot, but if this is not available the stream is visited and a cold bath taken. Action in washing seems to call for no comment, except that to deal with the back the water is caught up in the joined hands and sluiced over the shoulder, a second person being always called upon to rub this part of the body; and that the head, unless shaved, is not touched. The sides and soles of the feet are cleaned with a rough maize cob. A large leaf, rather like a maple leaf in size and shape, but with a velvety texture, makes a most efficient face towel (it is known as *badia be*), though commonly the skin is left wet.

The bark-cloth worn will not bear washing; it soon becomes shredded if subjected to any friction; therefore, on a clean body may be seen the most dingy *rokos* and *gakas*. If, however, an individual possesses both cotton clothes and soap, the former will always be washed.

Waterpots are always washed before water is drawn into them, while pots and dishes seem usually to be left dirty until they are cleaned before the next meal. The pot in which *bakinde* is made is sometimes left with the scaling of dough adhering to its interior surface, from fear of breakage if it is continually scrubbed, but a competent housewife will, after cooking, pour in some water and remove the residue of the dough by boiling.

Fire is kindled by the use of fire-sticks, *pakasa*, in the unlikely event of there being none smouldering in the house or under the granary. Only certain kinds of woods are suitable for this purpose, and they must be dry or nearly so. One stick is trimmed to a point and the other is notched; sitting down, a man holds the latter steady under the side of his foot, with a little tinder, usually a strip of his *roko*, in close contact with the notch, into which the pointed end of the second stick is placed. Twirling this upright stick rapidly between the palms, starting at the top and working the hands towards the point so as to maintain a downward pressure continually while it is rotating, in less than a minute he will generate fire at the point of friction, and only a cautious breath or two are needed to cause the tinder to smoulder, when it is placed on a bunch of dry grass and blown upon until the torch is alight. People always seem very casual in their manner of carrying about these flaring wisps of grass, and in the way in which they light fires under low verandahs round the houses, but it is not often that a house is burnt down. A good many huts and granaries are destroyed by incendiarism, which is a form of revenge that particularly appeals to the Zande, being one which causes great inconvenience to the victim and presents to the perpetrator little danger of physical harm or eventual discovery, since the act is committed at night or when the owner of the property is away or asleep.

Tobacco pipes vary from the big kind three feet in length, which is generally carried by a small son and is too unwieldy to travel about with, to the more portable one a third of this size. The bowls are well made, of pottery, pleasingly shaped and sometimes, though rarely, modelled to represent a head, measuring from three inches to an inch in diameter across the top. The stem is of hollowed wood, the joint between it and the bowl being sometimes lapped with leather. The mouthpiece is the stone of the *akua* palm fruit (Ar. *dōm*) from which the kernel has been removed and replaced by a mass of fibre obtained by scraping the stalk of a plant. Sometimes tobacco is lacking—and considering how the Azande love smoking, it is curious how little tobacco they grow—and this packing of fibre is used instead, all soaked as it is in nicotine and saliva. It seems a curious coincidence that in three or four of the aboriginal tongues of the southern Bahr el Ghazal the word for tobacco should be *taba*; in Zande it is *gbakara* or *bagbuduma*. When the pipe is filled, a piece of glowing wood or a morsel of tinder is placed on the bowl, a few rapid puffs are made

in the manner of any pipe-smoker lighting his pipe with a match, and then one deep inhalation, the smoke being drawn into the lungs with all the power of which a man is capable until they can contain no more. It is then expelled in a great cloud, and this is sufficient. Very few men seem to get much enjoyment out of short whiffs. After the emission of the smoke it may often be noticed that a man will make a grimace like that of a person who has inadvertently taken a gulp of raw spirits, and indeed the irritation of the linings of the lungs and throat must be very considerable; a violent fit of coughing is a common result, and to a beginner dizziness is caused.

If the pipe is to be shared by more than one person, the first man will cup his hand round the mouthpiece, so that his lips shall not wet it for the second. If he has not the manners to do so, the latter will probably wipe the moisture away before putting it to his mouth.

A substitute for a pipe may be made by taking the hollow rib of some leaf, such as that of a papaia, and inserting into a small hole cut towards one end another leaf twisted into a cone, which acts as the bowl. Such a contrivance gives a very cool smoke.

The association of fire with smoke is no doubt the reason why, when they are cold, men always try to get tobacco to warm themselves. Hemp, *baingi*, is supposed to have been introduced from the south-east. It does not seem impossible that the name should have been derived from the Hindustani *bhang*, and that the use of the plant should have been first shown to Africans by Indian settlers on the east coast. In the old days it used to be grown round the houses quite openly, but now it has to be cultivated and smoked in secret. In 1912 the writer had considerable trouble in Tambura District where a regular organization of *baingi* smokers developed, at the head of which there was a woman who called herself the Sirdar. She appointed two lieutenants, who were known as her Mudirs, and they had their subordinates who in their turn controlled others, whose duty seemed to be to form clubs for the smoking of *baingi* throughout the District. This woman's influence spread very far, people bringing her presents from places two or three days' journey distant from her home. The movement showed signs of being directed against the authority of the Chiefs, and a certain amount of magic was connected with it. *Baingi*, when smoked to excess as it was then, has the effect of making the smoker intolerant of all control, in addition to acting as

a stimulant and aphrodisiac (the woman above referred to stated that under its influence one always laughed, and a man who could normally consume only a small dish of *bakinde* could under its influence eat four) and a person addicted to the vice could be identified by the yellow tinge in the colour of his face and in the whites of his eyes. But when it is used in small quantities, as in these days of Prohibition it perforce has to be, no ill effects, physical or mental, are apparent. Young and old of both sexes indulge in the habit, and it is unlikely that it will ever be eradicated. For obvious reasons the act of smoking has never been witnessed by the writer. A gourd, often ornamented with brass nails or by having rough figures and geometrical designs scratched on it, has a small hole cut in it less than half an inch in diameter; in this hole is inserted a plug of baked clay pierced, the little orifice being widened at the top to take a pinch of dried *baingi* leaves. Smoke is drawn through the small end of the gourd into the mouth.

Azande are very prone to join what may be called Secret Societies, the principal one being known as *Bili*. Its initiates are known as *Abaliko*, and on becoming members are given the decoction of a certain root to drink, which is known only to the *Abaliko*. The object of the society, as far as one can tell, seems to be to facilitate illicit intercourse with the opposite sex, women associates either binding themselves to cohabit only with male members or to accept their embraces when offered. Various obscene practices are said to go on at meetings of the society, though the only one the writer saw, his view being somewhat impeded by a grove of bananas behind which he was concealed, was irreproachable, the participants being seated in two rows on either side of a fire, with a master of ceremonies or chairman at one end, and singing a chant in a minor key. On arrest, they all denied that they were *Abaliko*, but said that they belonged to the *Mane* Society, which rendered them immune from spells. The *Mane* Society is understood to be unobjectionable, though in this case there was not much doubt that it was a *Bili* meeting that was being held.

Chiefs consider all such Societies, for there are others besides, or affiliated to, the above, as being a menace to their authority and to discipline, and as far as *Bili* is concerned they are probably correct, for free love in a social system such as theirs would result in chaos.

People are free to resign their membership whenever they like, but they are very loyal to their oath of secrecy and will not tell one what the meaning and objects of *Bili* are. Therefore it is only possible to give a general impression of what they are imagined, no doubt quite wrongly, to be.

Bili is said to have come in from the Congo, comparatively recently. The *Abaliko* have a secret language which they use among themselves.

The Azande are exceedingly bad at figures, and often find themselves in difficulties when a number is beyond twenty. In expressing any numeral the following gestures always accompany the voice—from one to ten, the closing of the required number of fingers; from ten to fifteen, the placing of the hands palm to palm (which denotes ten) and the closing of fingers; from fifteen to twenty, the placing of both open hands palms downwards on the front of one thigh (thereby signalling fifteen) and the closing of fingers or holding of toes. Twenty is shown by placing the palms of both hands on both thighs (forty by doing so twice), while all numbers over twenty call for a combination of the above actions. The Zande vocabulary contains single words for each numeral up to and including five, for ten, fifteen and twenty, but for any others clumsy compounds have to be used. A knotted string or bundles of short lengths of grass are often made, either to remind a man of a number or to carry conviction of the latter to the mind of his hearer.

It has occasionally been noticed that the Azande seem to have a mild dislike of being counted, either themselves or their property, but such objections have been made half jokingly (although the form taken was "Don't count us, or we shall die," "You are counting us for the Almighty," or "Yes, my young chickens should do well, if nobody counts them.").

Three colours are available locally, black, red and white, and it does not seem that the language contains names for any others, though an innate sense of colour makes a Zande appreciate or dislike other hues than these. While taste is generally lacking, some of the more advanced women nowadays are beginning to ask whether two colours go with each other or not. Indeed, they must be trying customers for a merchant, being quite as fussy as their fairer sisters and equally ready to have the whole stock taken down for their inspection and then dissatisfied to walk shamelessly away with their money in their hand. Appreciation of

line seems to be more developed in the Azande than appreciation of colour, and even where the latter is available, an artist seems to rely less on this than on the design for his effect. Geometrical patterns, series of lines, circles, lozenges, dots, rough human figures or decorative antelopes richly spotted are applied to most surfaces capable of bearing such embellishment. Here and there may be noticed the work of a man who has so far advanced beyond his fellow that he is satisfied to portray a profile with only one eye, but it is usually considered necessary to show both.

A picture is always looked at upside down; it seems to be the natural way for a Zande to do it, and if it is placed the right way up, in a very short time he will have reversed its position.

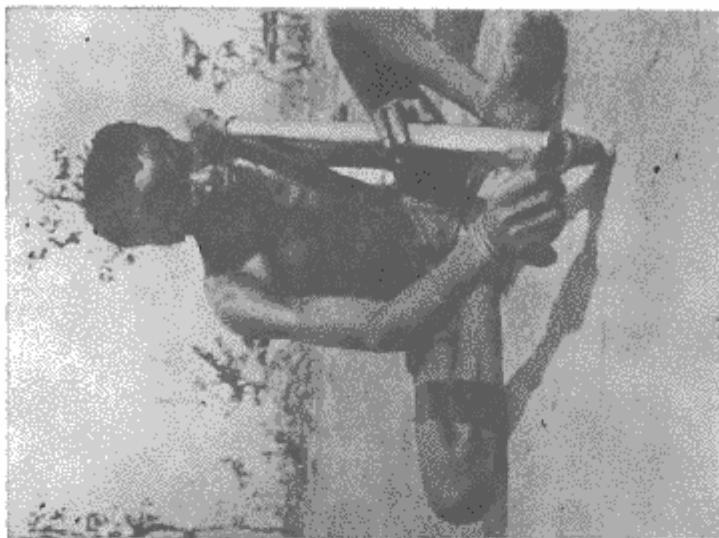
The natural Zande cannot take in the representation of a landscape, and it is only after a considerable amount of time has been spent in contact with white people that he begins to be able to do so.

With the exception of the heads carved above the pegs of lutes, spontaneous modelling of the human form or part of it, in any material, is very rare.

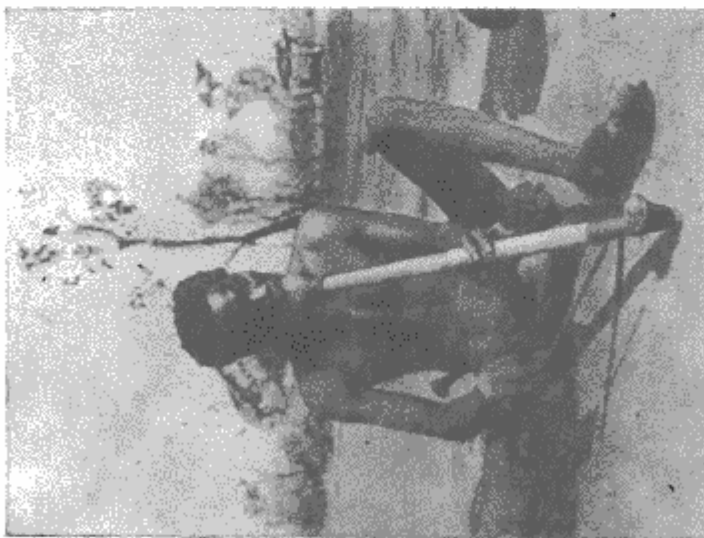
When an old-time Vungara, such as the late chief Mainge, was speaking to an inferior, he would cover the mouth with his hand; this custom is dying rapidly away, and only occasionally when a Vungara is made to laugh will he be noticed to raise his hand carelessly to his lips, withdrawing it immediately. Mainge, on the contrary, used to keep his hand before his mouth all the time he was sitting hearing cases.

An article handed by a superior to an inferior is received by the latter always in both hands, however small in size it may be. He will express his gratitude either by sweeping the ground before his benefactor with his hand, or just by picking up a piece of grass or a leaf; in an extreme case he may roll himself in the dust at his feet. A person wishing to draw the attention of another to the fact that he has something for him to take, gives vent to a nasal *he*, the equivalent of "here you are."

Signs of shyness or embarrassment are usually of two kinds. A woman who is surprised in her yard will often be observed to snatch up a broom and to begin vigorously to sweep an already spotless space. If she be called into a building, she will stand close to the wall and, with averted face, pick at the mud of it; or if she is in the middle of the room, or in the open, she will press her feet together, one big toe placed over



THE CLOWING TINDER BEING PLACED ON THE
TOBACCO.



The wide bowl of the pipe necessitates the burning
tinder being pushed about over the surface of the tobacco,
so that the whole of the latter is lighted.

the other, and pluck nervously at her clothing or leaves. Little children often cover their faces with both hands.

A threat may be accompanied by the levelling of a minatory forefinger at the person threatened.

A challenge is issued by the invitation by the aggressor for the other party to say *dokpo*—"mo ya nga 'dokpo'": "Just you say 'dokpo.'" The reply is "*dokpo*," and the fight begins.

Negation may be silently intimated by bending the arms at the elbow, and displaying the open hands, palms uppermost, with fingers directed upwards, moving up and down. This gesture, if the hands be raised somewhat, with the fingers bent so as to point towards the chest, and vibrating, the forearms diverging outwards from the parallel, is expressive of astonishment, as is also the backward stretching out of the hand, as one who beckons his companions to come and see.

The common attitude in grief is that where the hands are clasped behind the head, the elbows pressed backwards, accompanied by tears and cries of woe. This is more often seen in women than in men, who in all matters pertaining to the affections are less demonstrative than women.

A shrill ululation seems to have been a sign of joy. It is sometimes still heard in the mouths of the older women, usually as a welcome, and is also occasionally emitted by men. The latter, however, only *kombiga*, or ululate, in company, and would no more do so singly than an Englishman would, alone, utter three cheers, whereas a woman on her own account is quite capable of it. A party of youths engaged in hoeing their chiefs' crops will *kombiga* at intervals, to show that they are still at work and have not run away.

Two persons who are arguing in a friendly way over some matter, and disagree, sometimes say, "Well, let us *kati ido*." *Kati ido* consists in their linking their respective little fingers and then sharply pulling their hands apart. The one who eventually turns out to be wrong has to pay the other *mara ido*, some trifle of iron or other small gift. It is all more of a joke than anything else, and is not the serious sealing of a contract.

A form of asseveration used among the Azande is to invoke the leg, head or neck either of the speaker, his hearer, or his Chief, or of their fathers. To swear by the members of the hearer is a mere form of words,
8 *

an emphatic. To swear by the speaker's own, or by his father's, carries a little more emphasis. Sometimes a finger is placed in the dust and drawn round the throat, with the words, *go' re*, "my neck," and sometimes the expression, *g'ani mura*, "our grave," is used, thus implicating some deceased forefather. But none of these have the least binding effect on any Zande who wants to lie.

If a Zande wishes to ensure that a person departing, whom he dislikes, should not return again, he throws pieces of burnt wood after him.

Abstention of the use of names is met with under many different circumstances. A Zande, for instance, may not speak the name of his *samba*, nor of the latter's brothers (the *samba* is the boy's attendant in his circumcision camp). He must not address his mother-in-law by her name, but as "mother." Though people will mention their parents' names as a rule, some are reluctant to do so. It is always a breach of good manners to mention the discarded name of a person when speaking to him; but for a son to say what his father was called before he took his present name would be considered a very undutiful act.

Widows and widowers may not speak the name of the deceased spouse; and if a man have a love affair with one of his father's wives, he may not utter hers after her death.

If a Zande has come by his death in such a way that it may be connected, even remotely, with an animal, his relations will often object to the beast's name being spoken in their hearing. A man, for example, died from the results of the bite of a squirrel. The writer one day inadvertently referred to this animal by its ordinary name, *badari*, instead of its nickname *ngbaraganza*, in the presence of one of his female relations and her brother. They both seemed to be very hurt, and a small present of a hoe to her and a spear to her brother had to be made before they became cheerful once more. The sister said that if her mother had heard it, she would have cried all day, because the deceased was a very near relative. On another occasion a Zande boy used the word *seresere*, the name of a plant with edible leaves, in front of a girl whose relation had died after eating a meal composed of it. The boy himself was a member of her mother's family. She spent the day in tears, and he had to pay a conciliatory hoe to her, which was passed on to her mother. Again, a Zande mentioned the common generic name for

termites, *age*, to a man whose father had died while engaged in catching them during a flight, and he also had to pay compensation.

When lions are calling at night, it is safer not to mention them by name, or they may attack; they should be referred to as "the great red beast" or by some circumlocutory phrase.

The system of cementing friendship by the mutual drinking of blood is universal. Should two people wish to strengthen the bond between them in this way, each chooses a relation (a friend will do if none of his family are available) to act for him during the ceremony. One of the pair then makes a small incision in the other's arm or breast, and with a chip of wood of a *banga* tree, which has a strongly bitter flavour, collects his friend's blood on the point of the chip; salt is sprinkled on it, and he bites off the point and swallows it. His companion then does the same by him. If a man and a woman are exchanging blood, the man swallows the woman's first.

The relation of the first individual then takes two knives—in the old days, it is said, he would take two blades of *bingba* grass—and taps them over the head of the second person, reciting as he does so an invocation to the blood, to the effect that if the person over whose head he is holding the knives does anything against the other, or his clan, or connives at any evil against him, or deceives him, or works magic against him, "do thou, O Blood, so work in him as to cause him all illnesses and death." The relation of the other then carries out the same procedure while standing over the second person.

The two relations then wrap the *banga* chips in *bingba* grass and hand each chip to the person into whose blood it has been dipped, who will put it away in a safe place. When one of the two dies, his family must return the chip to the other with a small present. At the close of the ceremony each friend gives the other some little gift.

Should the friends tire of one another, there is no means of cancelling what has been done; they are knit together for ever by the blood. Should illness ensue to either from any falseness on his part, only the other can allay it by placing his foot on the sick man's stomach, where the blood lies.

The illness may be brought about by the aggrieved party plucking a blade of *bingba* from near the other's house, and, wrapping his *banga* chip in it, making an invocation to the blood.

It is not known locally what are the particular virtues of the *banga* tree and the *bingba* grass. The former is celebrated for its hardness (though other woods are harder) and the latter for the strength and rapidity of its growth. *Bingba* is used also for the lining of graves, and it is said that in the old days it was used as a girdle by persons during their periods of abstention during mourning or while waiting for some other charm to act, before the wearing of a cord of *kao* fibre became general. Moreover, if it is desired to attract a flock of nesting *a-goli* (weaver birds) from their nesting site to some other place, *bingba* again plays its part. A man goes to the birds' nesting tree, spears the trunk, having first twisted a blade of *bingba* from near the tree round the haft of his weapon, and then returns to where he wishes the birds to come, being careful not to look behind him on his way back. On arrival at the tree he has selected for the birds, he twists the blade of *bingba* that he has brought back on his spear haft round the trunk. He must then forget all about it, and in due time the weavers will make their nests in the new tree. They seem to be appreciated as sentinels, one woman who had a large colony of them building outside her house saying that she had caused them to follow her there from her old home by the means described above, and that now no one could come near her house at night without her being made aware of it by the commotion of the birds.

Continence is enjoined on a Zande under certain circumstances, while he is hunting, for example, or during the period of acting as a boys' *samba* (circumcision attendant). If it is not observed, in the first case he will kill no game, and in the second the wound will not heal, and if the boy dies his family may claim damages against the *samba* on the ground that the death is due to the latter having had connection with a woman before the boy had been discharged from the circumcision camp. Again, a *boro gira*—one who is undergoing certain restrictions and inhibitions while awaiting the action of medicine which he has "placed" in retaliation for the death of a deceased wife or relation by some unknown person's spell—must also refrain from cohabitation until the medicine has "spoken." Should he break this rule, the medicine will not work, and his wife's family may claim her children from him for his neglect which has resulted in the slayer of their daughter escaping retribution.

Should a man or a woman approach a clay pit on the day following coition, the clay is affected, and any pots made from it for the next day or two will crack in the burning.

Unchastity on the part of wives when their husbands are absent may result in accidents to the latter, especially during hunting.

No examples of inexplicably fast transmission of news across the country have come under observation, though messages may be signalled by drum. A drum language is found, with onomatopœic words which imitate very exactly the sounds—*taburabu*, for instance, meaning early, *tikarakara*, someone is on the way to you, and *angufuruki*, the assembly. It is not universally known, and the vocabulary would appear to be richer in the South than in the North, for on the frontier a headman even on one occasion was able to protect his chief's clay pit from a party belonging to a rival chief through hearing the signal given on the latter's drum for the women to collect early to dig clay. Common signals, however, such as that of the alarm, are recognised by all.

The system of warfare seems to have been somewhat as follows: The paramount chief, or *bakinda*, having come to the conclusion that it was necessary to fight, would send out spies, *a-bomai*, to settle in the enemies' country; these would act as guides for him when he attacked. He would then consult the oracle, *bengi*, asking it "Will there be ten corpses?" "Will there be fifteen?" If the reply was satisfactory, the people were summoned and the younger Chiefs allotted companies. The headmen also were despatched with the army, but the *bakinda* himself stayed at home. The attack, led by the headmen and presumably also by the commanders of companies, was not delivered until the closest contact was obtained, only a few yards separating the opposing forces, and then a *mêlée* with spears ensued. Popuakondo, a Zande General of the late Chief Gbudue, when asked whether they attacked under cover of darkness replied "Were we thieves or afraid, that we should do so at night?"

Hillmen, such as the Pambia and the Huma, used to retreat to the hilltops to meet the invasions of the Azande, building stone sangars, which were defended by their bowmen. These, it appears, were almost impregnable, as the enemy could not easily negotiate the steep inclines of the smooth rock, and no doubt in their breathless state offered easy marks to the very efficient archers. The Pambia took advantage also

of the caves in their hills, near what is now Tambura Post. Water was carried up in pots by the women, and food, and it was only when hunger and thirst drove them to it that they capitulated. On one occasion, it is said, Chief Tambura was so struck by the heroic resistance of a section of the Huma tribe, that when they descended from their hill, which his spearmen had invested, he ordered that their lives should be spared as a reward for their valour, and that they should be enlisted in his army, an example of chivalry that one hopes is true. The sangars and fragments of water vessels on this particular hill were visible a few years ago, and no doubt are so still. Such good fortune, however, did not attend all the aborigines in the defence of their country, for at Kedede, a mountain in Chief Bazingbi's country in Tambura, a whole garrison perished on the bare top of the rock from hunger, thirst and sun. They had retreated to the summit from Arab slavers, climbing up by lianas hanging down the sides, which were quite sheer. The Arabs camped round the base and laid siege. When they saw that this was not likely to be successful, they sent prisoners with knives up the lianas, with orders to cut them, which they perforce did, and doubtless were dashed to pieces. The only means of descent being denied to the defenders, death by privation and exposure eventually resulted, and to this day bones and spearheads, thrown down by the baboons, may be found in the thickets surrounding the base, for these animals are able to climb to the top. The writer, on one occasion, was seated at sunset on the lower slopes of Kedede. Two boys were a few hundred yards away. The baboons came out of the forest and began to make their ascent to their sleeping quarters a little way ahead of him, in a long line. At the end of it an animal followed, darker, and standing higher off the ground than its companions. A call to the boys to bring the glasses frightened the animals, who increased their pace and were gone before this strange follower could be examined. The boys, however, had a view of it, and were unanimous in saying that it was a chimpanzee. On later reflection, however, it seemed curious that an arboreal creature should have adopted the habits of baboons.

Two years or so after this incident, the writer was standing on a hill, many miles away, listening to some young men discussing various other hills, the tops of which were visible, and they appealed to him to decide which was Kedede. There was no difficulty in doing this, and

his answer was received with delight on the part of one of the disputants, who triumphantly said to the others, "There! I said that was Kede. Don't I know it, having lived alongside it when I was a boy?" So a little conversation arose about the hill, and the man volunteered the information that at nights voices were heard from the top, human voices, but not speaking any known language. The writer, incautiously asking a leading question, suggested that perhaps they were the voices of the ghosts of the dead on the hilltop. "Oh, no," said the man, "those people are long dead, and the dead cannot speak. We say it is the Almighty." It seems permissible to wonder whether there could be any connection between the voice speaking in human tones as from a human throat, but in an unintelligible language, and the queer companion of the baboons; and whether some unhappy mother's baby was rescued from death by a kindly female of the pack, and brought up with her own young.

The Azande are intensely musical, and it is curious that, with their intelligence, they have not evolved a wider range of instruments than they possess, namely, three kinds of drums, the *gugu*, the *gaza* and the *kerehere*, two types of lutes, the *kundi* and the *nakurungba*, and the xylophone, known as *kpaningba*.

The *gugu* is a hollow wooden drum hewn out of the trunk of a tree, which averages, perhaps, three feet in length, one and a half in height, including the few inches it is raised off the ground by its four short, thick, squared legs, and fifteen inches to two feet in breadth. Between its legs, the under side is flat, while the upper, conforming to the shape of the log from which it was made, is convex. A longitudinal slit is cut down the middle, and through this aperture is carried out the chipping which renders it hollow. Its ends are cut square, with two small projections for handles, which are sometimes shaped roughly to the outline of a buffalo's head. Some chiefs have *gugus* of this type, but measuring as much as six feet in length, three in width and four in height.

Short drumsticks tipped with rubber are used to beat it. A small form of *gugu* is the *kerehere*, a third the size of an ordinary *gugu*, with a sharper and more penetrating note, which, however, does not carry so far as that of the *gugu*. It is more often employed to send signal messages to friends and lovers (a private code having been arranged) than as an instrument of music.

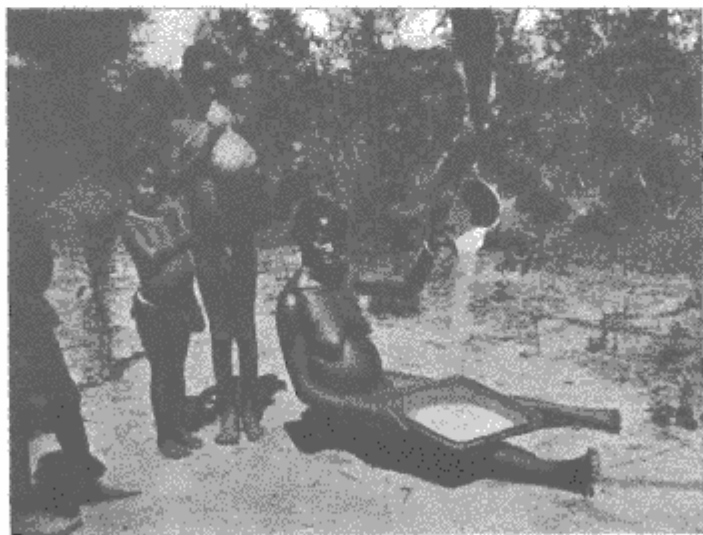
The *gaza* is a hollowed wooden cylinder, averaging fifteen inches in diameter across the top and less at the base, and about three feet high. The top is covered with stretched hide, connected by thongs of the same material to a similar covering over the bottom. The skin of the *kpangbaningba* antelope, a small duiker of the size and colour of a fox, is considered to be the best skin for this purpose, on account of its toughness, but any strong skin will do—even that of a crocodile, which is, however, a great rarity here.

The *kundi* is a hollow wooden bowl, about twelve inches long, four wide and three deep, either oval or fiddle-shaped in plan, over which a skin is stretched. From one end rises a curved neck about as long as the bowl, ornamented usually at the top with a carved human head, below which are pegs on which the strings are wound. Beautiful workmanship is often seen in these lutes, and their notes are soothing and pleasant. As a rule, men are better performers on them than women, and a girl who is a very clever *kundi* player was said to be so good that her playing might be mistaken for that of a man.

The old *nakurungba*, which is now no longer seen, it having become old-fashioned ten years ago, consisted of an oval bowl of wood, with a wooden sounding board, on which were fixed five to seven keys of iron or cane, resting, a short distance from their points of attachment, on a transverse bridge of wood. The centre keys were the longest and produced the deepest notes, and the outermost the shortest; a loose ring of metal was placed round each key, which added an attractive jangle to the sound. The instrument was about six inches long, four wide and two deep, thus being of a conveniently portable size, and at one time it was in everybody's hands whether they were walking along a path or sitting in their homes, so that its sound was as common as that of whistling boys in England. Its new form is a shallow box, twelve inches long, six wide and two deep, the top surface projecting over the lower by an inch or two so as to allow for the fixing of the keys, which are arranged in the same way as above described. It is hollowed out from the side, the aperture being neatly closed by a strip of the same wood secured in its place by resin. A small hole is made in the lower surface, and this is closed or opened by the application or withdrawal of a finger to regulate the volume of sound.



Zande Porters, after a ten-mile march, prefer a dance to repose, even though there are no women partners for them.



The woman has winnowed the grain in the *biaga* resting on her leg, and is now letting the wind remove any traces of dust. Her elder daughter is absent-mindedly blowing into a gourd water bottle.

The *kpaningba* consists of two bars of wood a foot or more long, parallel to each other, a few inches apart, with short slats placed across them, which, when struck with a stick, give forth a beautiful and liquid note.

Wind instruments are not used for musical purposes. It may be that the sound of horns, *mbaiya*, is not pleasing to the Zande ear, or that the employment of magic whistles for mystical purposes has made them look askance on anything akin to them. Bugles are made from antelope horns or bamboo, and are sounded to drive animals from the crops at night.

The powerful Vungara Chief Ndoromo, grandfather of Zungumbia of the Tambura District, had a magnificent trumpet made out of an elephant tusk, carved and lapped in skin. This was seen many years ago in his grandson's hands, who had got it on loan from his uncle Yakpati, of the Belgian Congo. No doubt these trumpets were used in Court ceremonial, for they seem only to have been in the possession of the paramount Chiefs.

The *kpazigi*, or rattle, is made out of a round fruit with a skin that dries as hard as a nut's shell; it is as big as a tangerine orange. The pulp is removed and a few small stones inserted through the hole, which is then plugged. The rattle is then jerked about or tossed from one hand to the other; it is also used to amuse the baby.

The longing to move the body, or parts of it, to rhythmical sounds is deeply implanted in all Zande. Even a party of women who are grinding their flour together will work the stones to the tune of special songs—or perhaps it would be more correct to say to special tunes invented to fit the quick motions of the stone—which are exceedingly attractive and unlike any other local music, with their ceaseless stream of words sung with the utmost rapidity to keep pace with the actions of the grinders.

Zande engaged in any task which gives rise to a regularly repeated noise, such as beating clay to make a floor, will very quickly start a refrain with which the noise fits in.

As a rule, songs have only a short existence; they are commonly topical, sometimes quite amusing, often very indecent, and occasionally so pointless that it seems that the words must have been strung together merely so as to have something to sing to the drum notes. Those

composed for a lute accompaniment seem to be nearer poetry than the others; they are often very charming, though somewhat plaintive.

A great number of people know the music-medicine, a root which must be obtained before one can make a song. On one occasion a young man and a boy, decked out elaborately in hat feathers and cat skins, were noticed. They were professional troubadours who made their living by travelling round the country offering their services to anyone who wanted to give a party. They had apparently been shown some particularly effective charm. Two or three master musicians exist in the Southern Bahr el Ghazal whose reputation rests on their art alone.

Songs are always sung while dancing; nobody sings without moving his body in time to the music.

The giver of a party will provide, if he can, a *gugu* and a *gaza* for his guests to dance and sing to. The *gugu* player will seat himself on his drum, in a sideways position, with one leg stretched along the top slit and a drum stick in each hand; the bending or straightening of the limb will enable him to increase or to muffle the volume of sound at his will. The *gaza* man will stand by him, in a posture more or less bent according to his own stature and the size of his *gaza*, which is clipped between his knees. He has only one drumstick, the empty hand being used to strike the skin of the drum; this gives a variety to the sounds and allows him to employ sharper or duller notes as required. At intervals he will be observed to give four sharp taps to the upper circumference of the instrument, which act, he would say, as a spur to it, and keep it from becoming lazy and ensure its giving forth its best and loudest tones.

In damp weather the skin is tautened by being held for a few minutes over the fire.

Prefatory bars will be struck, and answering shrill cries from round about will indicate that the dancers are assembling. Soon a circle of men, women and children, all dressed in their best clothes, the great thing to wear being a hat of some sort with a bunch of feathers attached to it, will be formed round the drummers, who will start the tune on their drums. Either one of the drummers, or a third party, will then sing the first verse of a song, uttering the words rather rapidly in a strained recitative, often with his head thrown slightly backwards and his hand cupped before his mouth. He will end the verse on an undulatory O . O . O . sound, at which all will join in the

chorus, the latter being more or less a repetition of the verse, and ending also with the O . O . O . . The soloist then sings another stave, and the dancers join in as before. Often the soloist is dispensed with, especially if the song is a well-known, popular one, several guests singing the verse and the rest the chorus, or even the whole party singing the song through.

Soon both drummers and dancers will be bathed in sweat, the former from their efforts with their drums, and the latter from their dancing, for while the singing has been going on no one will have been standing still. Each will have been shuffling his feet, bending and straightening his knees, turning the upper part of the body from side to side, swaying his head from right to left so that his plumes nod and wave ; with his elbows close to his sides, his forearms will be extended in front of the body, and moved backwards and forwards or from side to side, the palms of the open hands upwards or outwards and the fingers being feebly raised and depressed continually. There can hardly be a muscle of the body that is not in some sort of motion to the rhythm. Sometimes exceedingly clever step dancing is seen on these occasions.

At intervals the whole party will make a turn and the circle will revolve round the drums slowly, the body movements being always made, canes or fly switches held upright before the body ; or two such circles may be formed, one of men and one of women, which will progress in opposite directions. After a little they will stop and turn inwards to face the drums. Another figure is for a line of men to stand before a line of women, the two lines approaching and receding. When this is done, undoubtedly sexual passions are sometimes aroused, as the lines occasionally come into contact with each other, and retire only to advance again. It is said that in the old days this form of dance had such an effect on the performers that after a while they discarded all clothing and an orgy of lust ensued. In Zande law it is an offence to dance opposite to a married woman, and her husband would always be awarded damages against her partner if he took the case before a Chief.

A dance may last two or three days and nights without a break, the dancers taking short rests and joining again in the fun, especially if any beer has been brewed.

It is the general feeling that dances encourage illicit sexual intercourse, and this may often be true ; but it is certainly not because

they provide him with such opportunities that a Zande attends them. The rapt expression, almost of oblivion, that may be seen on their faces, even when there are no members of the opposite sex present, and on those of little children, is clear proof that it is the moving to music that is the main attraction. Sometimes a solitary individual may be seen singing softly to himself and going through all the dance motions, apparently hardly conscious of his surroundings.

Rarely will anyone sing or whistle without moving his muscles, even though he may do so only almost imperceptibly and unconsciously.

It is curious to notice how often people who are really tired, from a march or other exertion, will prefer a dance to repose, and how little the effort of dancing seems to have affected them when called upon to resume their labours, beyond the drowsiness consequent upon the loss of a night's sleep.

• No weapons or travelling equipment are ever seen on a dancer.

CHAPTER VIII.

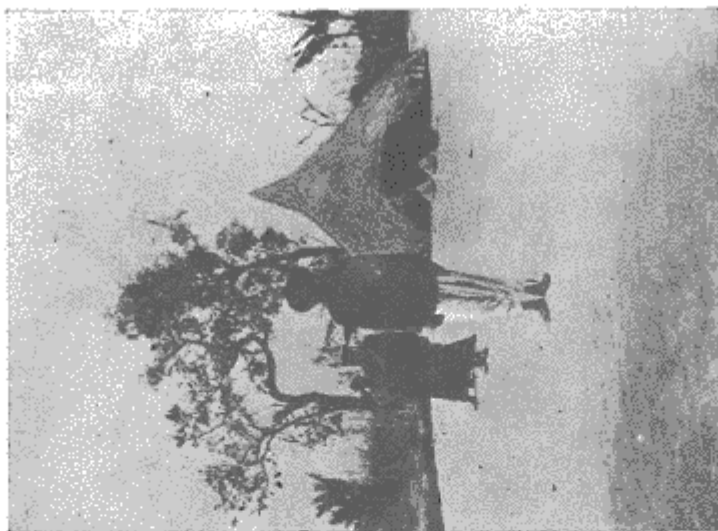
FOOD.

I. VEGETABLE.

THE forest provides a considerable variety of vegetable food for the Zande, though probably much of it is not very nutritious. In times of famine, happily rare, when this wild food is all that is available, it is noticeable how the young, the old and the sick fall off rapidly in condition, while even the strong adults look fine drawn.

The best food of all is the *gbara*, with its white elongated tubers; this plant grows like a broad-leaved vine, climbing up tree stems. Its taste is comparable to that of a potato, and it is a most palatable and excellent food. There is, however, another species which is rather bitter and said to have aphrodisiacal properties.

The *bayingumba* is a tuberous plant also, and, like the *gbara*, produces a climbing vine, though in this case it is a thorny one. Before being cooked, the root has to be soaked for two or three days to get rid of some bitter constituent which is said to be poisonous. It seems not to be so nourishing as the *gbara*, and people who subsist on it lose flesh more



A *dolldomo* TYPE OF HUT.



COVERING A POT WITH LEAVES WHICH ACT AS A LID

quickly than those who can obtain the *gbara*, and their emaciated little children always have very distended stomachs.

Fungi, *rule*, are of several kinds, and are very good, though they lack the flavour of a European mushroom. Many varieties grow either in or on old termite heaps, each kind affecting the heaps of a different species. For example, the smallest *rule* of all, the size of a shilling or very little bigger, grows only in heaps of the *kisi* termite, and is called *rule akisi*. Some, all larger than this, are found in heaps of many others of that family, while certain types prefer the trunks of particular trees, or even the ground. What is to all outward appearance the European mushroom is considered poisonous. The *rule ngede* is the largest of all, measuring a foot or more in diameter; it possesses the peculiarity of not emerging from the soil as a button but fully developed, though somewhat crumpled at first. Several species are said to be poisonous, all puff balls being avoided, as is also a curious plant which has the form of a hollow sphere four inches in diameter with sides composed of an open lattice work of which the spaces are about an inch wide.

The forest fruits are many, and usually contain more seed and skin than edible matter.

The *ndavu* is a vine growing up trees that line the streams. It has a white flower with a sweet scent and its fruit is like a large lemon-coloured orange with a thick rind which encloses a mass of black seeds and a certain amount of white pulp, acid, astringent and most refreshing. The *warawara* resembles it, but grows on *mongas* (ironstone flats) climbing up the larger bushes; the fruit is smaller and less acid than that of the *ndavu*.

The *bagara* looks like a miniature custard apple, about the size of a plum or large greengage. Its pulp is of a most delicate and delicious flavour, but there is not much of it, the bulk of the fruit being composed of seeds.

A berry, the size and colour of a black currant, sweet but insipid to taste, is produced by a thorny bush called *lindikiwe*, which has lime-like leaves and a small slightly mauve flower.

Banza, usually spoken of in the plural as *abanza*, the tamarind, is found here and there, especially along the banks of the Sue River, and *kua*, the dom palm, rarely, both of which are used as food.

Bambisa, resembling a damson, *roro*, a species of *bagara* growing in thickly forested streams, and *pusa*, a vine which produces a yellow fruit as big as a football and which also favours streams, are all eaten.

The *nonga* is an oval bulb, about three inches long and half as wide, found everywhere, protruding from the ground. It is bright red in colour when ripe, the buried part being lighter. The skin is thick but crisp, and when broken by a blow exposes a mass of small black seeds held together by white pulp, the latter having an acid flavour which renders it a capital thirst-quencher.

A herb with small leaves called *morumbida* when boiled makes a tasteless spinach, and a creeping ground plant with minute green or reddish fleshy leaves and a little yellow flower, *seresere*, may be eaten thus or raw; in the latter state it tastes rather like cress, and is, to a white man's stomach, somewhat indigestible. It is found in old cleared ground only, but it is a true wild plant.

The wild date, *sikisa*, fig, *uruma*, and banana, *vugu-Mbali bu-Mbali*, or *bu-ga-Mbali* are not used as food.

Oil is expressed from the nuts of the *zawa* and *kpakali* trees (shea butter trees) where these are found, but the latter should not, strictly speaking, be included in this list, as it does not occur, in the writer's observation, on the left bank of the Sue.

Salt is obtained from the ashes of many bushes, plants and grasses that grow on the high ground, while in the streams *morungbiti* (which seems identical with the floating grass that forms the *sudd* of the Bahr el Ghazal River), and *bubu*, a tall water plant with smooth oval leaves, are collected for the same purpose. It is curious that *morungbiti* and *bubu* do not always yield a satisfactory salt, but only where they grow in certain streams, or in certain parts of the same stream. A woman, when asked why she does not cut the *bubu* near her house, will often reply "It's not bitter." The method of procuring salt from all the above is to burn the material, and then to allow water to percolate through the ashes, which are placed in an inverted cone of withies lined with leaves, into a pot. After evaporation a residue is left in the form of a hard crust or slab at the bottom of the pot possessing a strong and rather bitter flavour, very like dry Eno's Fruit Salt.

It is remarkable how women will go out quite alone into the depths of the forest, often with a baby in their arms, to burn salt, entirely

disregarding the wild beasts. They are, of course, unarmed, except, perhaps, for an axe to cut the bushes with that they are going to burn; yet it is not uncommon to find an old grey-haired woman two or three miles from her home, perfectly unafraid.

It must be understood that the above is probably a very incomplete list of the foodstuffs provided by the forest, and only deals with such roots, fruits and seeds that have come under the writer's notice.

CULTIVATED FOOD.

The most valuable food that is cultivated by the Azande is, without doubt, cassava, known as *gbanda*, for it is in condition all the year round; the plants do not deteriorate for some years, it needs little or no attention, and it is exceedingly wholesome. Two kinds are found, *bazimaingi* and *babua*, the leaf of the former being all green, while that of *babua* has reddish ribs and is smaller and darker; the roots do not differ outwardly, but *bazimaingi* requires two days soaking in water to rid it of some poisonous constituent before it can be prepared for food, although birds, animals and fish eat it in its natural state. On the other hand, *bazimaingi* does not suffer any harm from having its roots broken off, whereas *babua* dies as soon as they are tampered with, and a new stalk has to be planted, which takes two years or more, according to the soil, to mature. A good field of cassava is an insurance against hunger, and no doubt the reason why only small patches are grown is that a man never knows when he may not have to leave his house through magic, the pronouncements of his oracles or the death of a member of his family, when the cassava would in a very few months be entirely destroyed by the animals, and his labour wasted. In addition to the roots, which are eaten boiled or else made into flour, the bruised leaves make a good spinach, called *gadia*, when boiled. Cassava is unfortunately looked on locally as being very plain fare, and if a man has any other form of food available he will probably prefer it.

Eleusine, *maru*, is the grain of the country, and is cultivated in three varieties, namely, *nginda*, the original type, small and red, *bambisa*, a little larger but also red, and *bailiwa*, large and white, said to have been introduced in the time of Chief Gbudue from Ezo's country to the west. Two crops of eleusine are obtained in the year, but even so, an average man does not grow enough for his annual needs.

Not very much sorghum, *vunde*, is grown, only a little being sown with the eleusine; the heads are small when the plant first reaches maturity with the eleusine, and it is not until the early part of the follow-rains that, in spite of having been burnt in the dry season, it produces, without having received any further attention, its main crop, when it is called *rali*.

Maize, *ngbaiya*, is cultivated everywhere when conditions admit of it, that is to say, in the more thickly forested parts of the country, and is greatly liked.

Pumpkins are found in several varieties, and are known as *boko*, and also *kofo*, which resemble small round cucumbers, one kind tasting exactly like the latter vegetable, and another sort being bitter.

Peanuts, *awande*, are universal, and most people grow one or more of the various lupins, either *abapu*, small light brown beans; *abukpa*, like sorghum grains but of a dull green colour; *akpakoworo*, large flat white beans, which produce the only climbing plant of the family; or *abandu*, which is as large as a marble, and develops in a husk underground like the peanuts with which it is sown, though the plots of these vegetables are usually small. Peanuts have to be guarded carefully from the attacks of ground squirrels, which do a lot of damage to them.

Sesame of two kinds, *sere*, with a flower like that of a small foxglove of the palest mauve, and *ndeka*, with clumsy heads composed of a mass of minute flowerets, and a thyme-like smell, are always grown. Pale-coloured gourds, *detira* and *kpagu*, are cultivated throughout the country for their seeds, from which is expressed oil, that greatest of all luxuries.

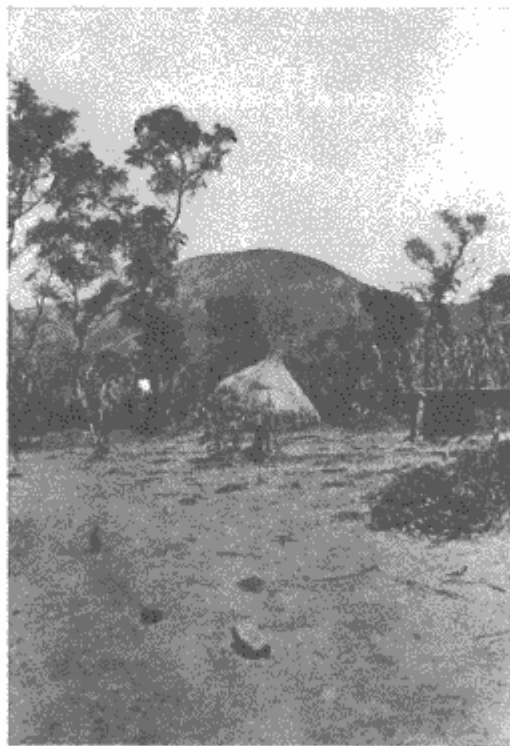
The sweet potato, *baingbe*, is grown round every house in both red and white forms, and is much valued; the leaves make a passable spinach, but this is not very popular, owing to the likelihood of their having been contaminated by filth. If it were not for the fact that at the end of the dry weather the tubers rot away, the sweet potato would be as valuable a plant as the manioc.

A climbing plant, *mere*, is grown, which produces large brown pendants, shaped like a large brazil nut, thin skinned, and tasting like a rather sodden potato.

A small plant bearing a fruit of a brilliant scarlet, the size of a cherry, may often be seen round the houses. It is called *nzua*, and is cultivated for its leaves, which are eaten as a spinach. Another plant,



A BADEY BUILT GRANARY.



A *bale* (DESERTED HOME).
Showing the thin clay walls and moulded door of hut,
though actually photographed north of the Zande Area.

the leaves of which serve the same purpose, is the *madabu*, with dark green or purplish leaves and stalk, and purple tassel-like flower.

Hibiscus, *mboio*, red pepper, *ralia*, and a small plant called *nomba*, the flower of which has crisp, fleshy petals, containing a juice of a pleasant sub-acid taste, may be seen commonly.

Bananas, generically *bu*, though each of the many different species has its own name, are grown by everybody, and are the only cultivated fruit of the Zande, who seem to prefer them baked while yet unripe—it is the exception to see a man eating the raw fruit.

ANIMAL FOOD.

The Zande eats comparatively little meat, the only animal that he keeps being the chicken, and it is only on very rare occasions that he will eat that. Probably more rats and mice are eaten than any other animal, as they are easily caught by men, women or children, the cane rat, *revo*, coming next on the list of numbers killed, owing to their commonness and to the fact that anyone with a dog can kill them without difficulty. They are particularly esteemed for the great quantity of fat they produce.

All small mammals, except cats and bats, are gladly added to the bill of fare when obtainable, and nothing is rejected among the larger fauna except the wild dog and giraffe.

The guinea-fowl and green pigeon are, perhaps, more eaten than other birds, because their habits render their capture more simple than that of other species, but all are welcomed as food except the nightjar, *gbo*, and owl, *gbuku*, fledglings being rather reserved for the very small children. Eggs are eaten by all.

Fish of all kinds, and waterbeetles (which a woman, met while fishing, said, "We look on as fish") are much liked by all, while the meat of the python and varanus lizard is also generally popular, and that of the land tortoise not despised. Chamæleons and the smaller snakes and lizards do not appear to be eaten at all.

Certain caterpillars, among them being a species of the processionary group, are looked on as a luxury; so are the various termites¹, the queen being especially prized, as she is a mouthful of fat, while locusts, happily

¹ Only termites caught during a proper "flight" may be eaten by adults. If an odd one, attracted perhaps by a light, were swallowed, the person would never settle down but be restless and a wanderer from place to place, like the insect he had eaten.

rare, are said to be very good. On one occasion an old woman was noticed shaking gentles out of the rotting thigh-bone of a hartebeeste, and these she was going to roast for herself and her elderly husband. They were not at all bad, she said, and in any case she was too old to go looking for anything better; but her taste seems to have been peculiar to herself, as the porters accompanying the writer were, or pretended to be, disgusted at the sight.

Certain forms of animal food are only eaten by old people, or by women. Only the latter, for instance, eat snails, and eat them in secret, for they appear to be less of a food than a lubricant to the genital organs, and therefore a means of facilitating the act of coition; if a man were to eat one, it is said, he would slip. On flat rocks may often be seen collections of broken snail shells, which mark where either a mongoose or a varanus lizard has had a meal, or where some woman has broken the shells preparatory to taking the flesh home for consumption. The breaking of the shells at a place remote from the house has been ascribed variously to modesty, to the fact that broken shells in the yard would be productive of cut feet, or to the unpleasant smell of the flesh.

Land crabs seem to be eaten only by women or by old men, and only the latter eat hawks or the *tuutu* (*Centropus Heuglini*), for if a young man ate a *tuutu* he would become as feeble and aimless as is the action of that bird in flight.

A large frog, *zai*, is only eaten by middle-aged or elderly people, and the same is the case with the bigger snakes, except the puff adder and python, which everyone may eat.

No one eats his totem animal, and after circumcision many animals seem to be forbidden to the youth by the man who has been his tutor during his time of seclusion, until he grants him permission to eat them.

No part of an animal is despised as food that can be masticated, eyes, nose and—except in thin-skinned beasts, whose pelt is useful as a bag or mat—skin, all being devoured with avidity, and flesh has to be in the very furthest stages of decomposition before being looked on as unfit for food.

Geophagy is by no means rare, nor is it confined to children or to people who are mentally abnormal. Earth from termite heaps, or from a river bed, has been noticed to be selected, and no reason has been given, except that the eater likes it.

Pure Azande deny that their forefathers were ever cannibals, and say that the custom was confined to the tribes they had conquered. Human flesh was certainly eaten of old by the large Barambo tribe, for they admit this themselves, though they say they never ate their own relations. They charge the Bangminda tribe of having had the same custom, saying that they used to dig holes in their houses and cover them with leaves, and invite a passer-by to sit down there; whom, having fallen into the hole, they would despatch by pouring boiling water upon him. This, however, seems such a complicated method of obtaining a victim that the story can hardly be true.

PREPARATION OF FOOD.

Bakinde is the only form in which all foods made from flour are eaten, and its preparation is sufficiently laborious. The ears of *maru* are first pounded in a mortar, *sangu*, with a pestle, *wili-sangu*, to separate the grains, and then winnowed in a plaited grass tray, *kiaga*, after which the grain is well parched in an old potsherd over the fire, and is then ready to be ground.

Grinding is carried out on a flat piece of grey rock, the larger the better, though where there are no granitic outcrops ironstone is used, but always *faute de mieux*, as, owing to its softness, the flour made on it is inclined to be gritty. The women fetch these stones to the house, dragging them on a sledge of small branches if they are too large to be carried, and it is also their duty to chip the grinding surface flat and smooth with a smaller rock.

A handful of grain is poured on to the stone and is ground with a small one, grasped by a kneeling woman with her two hands. It appears that one must get used to one's stone to get the best out of it, for a woman was heard to say, "*Sia!* (bother!), I can't grind properly with this stone—I don't know it," and when questioned, said that good work was impossible with a strange stone. The stone is rapidly pushed to and fro, the wrists flexing at each stroke, the motion only being interrupted to guide fresh grain into position with the back of the hand, and in time a little heap of flour is produced, which is again subjected to the same process, for the Zande is particular that the flour be fine. Experiment has shown that a woman working well can grind about thirty pounds of grain in eight hours.

The flour is then mixed with water over the fire into a stiff dough and stirred with a stick, which means very hard work, until it becomes a brown mass, which is *bakinde*; it is scooped out of the pot with a large wetted leaf and placed on a wooden dish and covered, patted into a smooth condition with a banana leaf to keep off the dust until the husband is ready for it, which must not be long, as it has to be eaten hot.

Bakinde is made also of maize flour, manioc flour, or a mixture.

Maize is often eaten roasted, especially by a person on a journey, or between meals, and sometimes in the form of porridge, which consists of grains broken up in the mortar, ground and boiled; this porridge hardens and is made into buns, which are again a favourite food for taking on a journey, as it may be eaten cold without further cooking, and lasts some time.

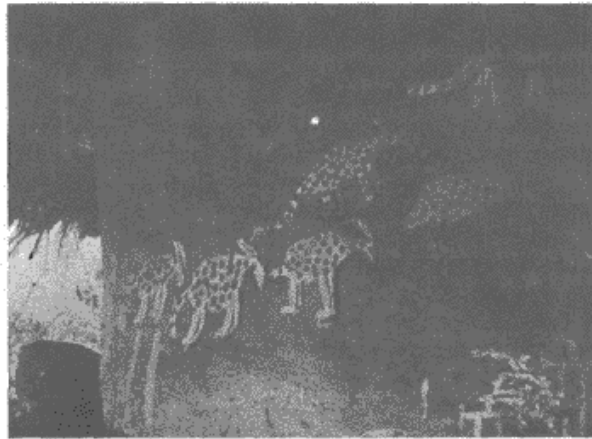
Cassava is first soaked to render the root soft and pulpy, and to extract its poisonous principle, and then skinned and shredded into small fragments which, the fibres having been extracted, are dried in the sun, and then pounded and made up into white balls the size of a cricket ball, in which form it is stored. When cassava *bakinde* is wanted, the balls are broken, ground, and cooked as above described, the resulting *bakinde* being of a dirty greyish colour, and rather despised as food. Cassava is also eaten cut up and boiled, and sometimes roasted. Wet cassava has a revolting smell, and care is taken not to soak it near the drinking water on this account.

All other roots are eaten boiled, though sweet potatoes are often roasted in their jackets, and boiling is the method employed in cooking all pumpkins, beans and spinachs.

To eat *bakinde* plain may be compared to making a meal off dry bread, and a dish of some sort is always made to go with it, which is either a spinach or something fatty, or meat, if available. If it be a spinach it may be enriched with oil, expressed by an ingenious affair of small pieces of wood from the bodies of termites, or obtained from the sesames, or from the seeds of the gourds, *detira* and *kpagu*, and seasoned with salt and pepper, the two latter always being added to the food by the cook and not produced at the meal; or it may be a bowl of paste made of ground sesame or peanuts roasted in a pot; or roasted termites; or boiled hibiscus and oil; or meat roasted or stewed with grease.



ROOFS FINISHED OFF IN THE "SPIRE" FASHION.



DECORATIONS ON A GRANARY.

Antelope. The photograph shows also a clay nesting-place for the chickens.

Boiled peanuts and beans seem to form a course by themselves.

Raw meat is cut into strips and dried over a fire in the sun, and when so treated remains fit for use for a long time, though it seems when in this state to be eaten more generally boiled than roasted, the latter method being adopted only for the fresh meat.

Fish are smoked in the same manner, the small fry, larvæ and waterbeetles being pounded into a paste as a side dish.

Cane rats are roasted whole in their skins, and so are mice and other small mammals and birds, while the only porcupine noticed was being boiled in its skin, after having been dismembered and plucked.

Crabs and tortoises are roasted in their shells, caterpillars are singed and dried in the sun and roasted, while termites also are eaten dried or roasted or pounded into a paste.

CHAPTER IX.

AGRICULTURE.

BEFORE all else the Zande is an agriculturist, and the cultivation of his crops ranks in his mind only second in importance to the acquisition of a wife, with which it is obviously closely connected. Even members of the Vungara tribe, who do not usually work with their hands, will till their fields, though the more important ones will only superintend their wives and labourers and not ply the hoe themselves.

The soil is exceedingly fertile, except in such low parts as are subject to inundation during the rains, and all virgin land in a Chief's territory is at the disposal of any of his subjects who wish to cultivate it. A Zande chooses by divination the land that he is going to use for his crops, and this practice results in much needless destruction of forest, since fields that have only yielded one crop, and may reasonably be expected to be good for another two, are deserted, on the advice of the oracles, for fresh ground, the trees on which must be killed before sowing. On land that has been sown for two or three seasons, a thick secondary growth of *bingba* grass, weeds and thorns immediately springs up, and it may be five or six years before it becomes fit to bear a crop again, or before the original type of herbage and bush reappears.

Land once cultivated remains the property of the individual or his heirs, whether under crops or lying fallow, as long as he or they wish; though in the old days he would forfeit his rights over it, and over any crops on it, to his Chief, should he leave the latter's country and settle in that of another; communal ownership of land is unknown.

Tools used are few and simple. The ordinary circular hoe, *gita*, six inches in diameter, with a tubular neck, is mounted on a V-shaped handle, *pene*, of which the angle is usually less than a right angle and the sides about eighteen and six inches long, respectively, though both angle and lengths vary with the individual. Hoeing has thus to be done in a stooping position. The axe, *mongua*, has a wedge-shaped blade, four to six inches long, with a cutting edge of two to three inches; this is driven into the bulbous thickening at the end of a two-foot long handle, which is pierced through to receive it. A bill-hook, *mvuka*, is often used for cutting a tangle of vines, though a spear-head is just as good, and this, with a flat iron ring, *digi*, for cutting eleusine, and a knife, is all that a Zande has or needs for his agricultural work.

As a general rule, all labour involving the use of an axe, or the clearing of heavy undergrowth, is done by the man, while in hoeing he is helped by his women and children. It would be hard to find a lazier cultivator than a Zande; a very few hours in the field is quite enough for him, and any excuse is gladly seized on for a rest; still, men like to consider themselves better workers than the women, and maintain that if the latter are left to themselves nothing is ever done. They may be right, but if they are, the reason need not be that the women are lazier than themselves, but might, with at least equal probability, be found in the onerous household duties of a wife, which await her on her return home and call her throughout the day—the water-carrying, wood-fetching, corn-grinding and cooking, from all of which a husband is exempt. If, on account of sickness or for some other cause, a man gets behindhand with his crops, he will never work double hours to catch up the time that has been lost, though, indeed, there is no reason why he should do so, for he is a sponger entirely without shame, and knows well that his relations will not let him starve.

No work is usually done in the fields for a day or two after the appearance of the new moon, as this is an unpropitious time; and none after a rainy day "because the soil sticks to the hoe and has to be wiped off after each stroke"—an ingenious and typically Zande explanation.

Though most people do their crops at the same time of year, there is often a difference of a month or more between them, for a Zande seems to consider that there is a particular month which is the right one for him, and that if he sows a little earlier or later he will not be successful, however good may be the harvests of his neighbour, whose personal month differs from his. From the point of view of the community this is an excellent thing, as it would require an exceptionally long drought, or rains continued very far beyond the normal harvest-time, to ruin the crops of the whole countryside.

The first operation in the preparation of the ground is the clearing away of the grass and bushes, and this takes a long time, for one cannot start at it early in the morning or he would be wetted by the dew falling from the tall grass on to his back, and so there is not time to do very much before the sun is too hot to go on, while a suggestion to return to work in the afternoon was looked on as a capital joke. When it is at last accomplished, the small trees that have been left standing are cut down at the height of the hip, and the larger ones ringed and killed by a fire lit round the base. The hoed grass when dry is burnt, and the branches and sticks not consumed are dragged to the edges of the field or made into heaps, and eventually feed the family fire. Some people, for certain crops, do not burn the grass, but sow the seed through it, and it does very well. An energetic man will sometimes make a fence of branches round his field to keep out waterbuck and buffalo, but this is uncommon and not very efficacious, as it is easily breached by a determined herd, or jumped if it is low.

Eleusine, mixed with a little sorghum, is sown broadcast and covered by a rough hoeing; in the bowl containing the seed the sower will sometimes place a small ball of dried earth, or a certain dried flower—with harsh pinkish petals like an everlasting flower, that grows wild without stalk or leaves and looks like a sea-anemone—as medicine to ensure a heavy harvest. Eleusine thrives in all local soils, and either in the open bush country or the thick forest, though it does best in the latter. Maize, on the contrary, only gives a good yield when sown in forest-land, or in the beds of streams before the rains make the ground sodden; it is planted in the scrape of a hoe at a yard's interval.

As soon as the grain is sown, it is important to "close" (*kisi*) the field by pegging down a stick across the mouth of each path leading out

of it, for if this is not done it will be impossible "*ka banda hume e be kura ni*" to keep its strength from someone else, that is to say, to prevent the growing properties of the crop from passing into that of a neighbour.

Once sown, the crops are left to take care of themselves until they require weeding, though children are on duty in the fields by day to scare away vermin and pests, which are particularly birds, squirrels and the various monkeys, while, in parts where there is much game, a man mounts guard at night, sleeping in a rough hut erected in the field for the purpose.

Weeding is often left to the women, and it is astonishing how adroitly they can cut out the grass between the shoots of grain without doing damage to the latter, in spite of the clumsiness of the hoe. The weeds are placed on the stumps left at the first clearing, which therefore serve a useful purpose.

Lianas are often seen stretched between stumps or poles in the field in order to encourage the crop to a luxuriant growth, or, as some say, to act as counter magic, for crops are as susceptible to spells as is their owner. A field of half-grown eleusine was pointed out as having been blasted in this manner—it was milky-white from disease, while neighbouring plots were normal. Such troubles may be averted by placing charms in the crop, protected from the rain by a little grass roof, for, like all charms, they would lose their efficiency if they got wet.

The Azande are curiously averse to destroying any food plant. They will sweep their yards until they are spotless, but if there be a stem of eleusine, maize or what not, even in the most inconvenient place, it will not be touched. One might expect, in explanation of this, to be told that, if it were destroyed, some crop-god would be offended, but the usual reply to a query is merely "It is food," without further elaboration. That the idea of such a god does exist, though perhaps not prominently, is suggested by the custom of offering, in times of drought, a communal gift of the foodstuffs being affected by the lack of rain, to Baati, a name which presumably is composed of the two words, *Ba*, father, and *ati*, a cultivated field. Baati inhabits the sources of certain streams which rise in deep ravines, shaded by great trees, or rocky outcrops which have a spring at the foot¹, and it is by revelation in a dream that

¹ Capt. J. E. T. Philipps, M.C., lately District Commissioner of Tambura, describes the ceremony of Baati in a recent issue of the *Anthropological Society's Journal*.



A GAME OF BANGA UNDER THE GRANARY.



10 *

DECORATIONS ON A GRANARY.
Antelope and figures

his dwelling-places are known, divination not being resorted to for the purpose of discovering them. In the case that came under the writer's notice, no altar was raised, but only a small space was swept at the rocky lip of a ravine, and in that space a heap consisting of leaves of pineapple, bananas, eleusine, sweet potatoes, ground-beans, *kpagu* and *ngbazi*, had been placed by the people.

A song is sung while the gifts are brought—

E, E, Baati, O.

E, E, Baati ti ali yo. (E, E, Baati has tumbled down from above.)

Ndu ko kati. (His leg is broken.)

(Chorus): *E, E, Baati O.*

What the people imagine Baati to be is difficult to say. Were he accepted as a spirit, or as a personification of the deity Mbali, he would undoubtedly be accorded the neuter gender, and the penultimate line of the song would be: *Ndu ru kati*. He must have either a multiple personality or the power of responding to calls made for him at his various haunting places; and yet the Azande interrogated replied, "*Ko wa boro*, he is like a person," again using the masculine *ko* and not the supernatural neuter, *u*.

There are few months in the year in which agricultural work of some kind or other is not being done.

Towards the end of March, maize used to be sown in the stream beds, as the moisture in the soil was enough for it to start growing at once. A few weeks later, when the first rains start, gourds and pumpkins are sown, and the ground has to be prepared for the main maize crop, the peanuts and early beans. As soon as this is done the fields for the first eleusine crop and the sesames must be set in order, and by this time possibly some maize may be forward enough for plucking, and the principal sorghum crop will be ripe. This sorghum has been sown the previous year, when it yielded a light crop. Its roots were left in the ground throughout the dry weather without attention, and from their second growth the heavier crop is picked, which is called *ruli*. Sorghum is cut with a knife and stored in the granary. Maize is stripped from the stalk, the heads tied together in pairs, and so slung across a loop of liana until the latter will hold no more, when it is hoisted up to the branch of a tree, where it remains safe from all vermin, and unaffected

by the weather. If the yield is not heavy, the heads may be slung round the top of the roof, like a necklace. It is well that the saving of these two crops does not take a long time, for it is by now getting on for the middle of the rains, and the time for the sowing of the second eleusine is near. The clearing of the fields for this is often interrupted to dig up the peanuts and the *abandu*, a kind of round bean that develops underground, and which is sown with them.

The first lupins, *abapu* and *abukpa*, will be ready about this time, but there does not seem to be any urgency to pick them, and they are left to dry and picked as required for food.

Sweet potatoes, of which the tubers had rotted off during the past dry weather, will have matured, and before mealtimes one may always see women and children in the gardens, tapping the ground with the point of a stick to locate, by the sound, the pink and white roots to be grubbed up.

Pumpkins are ripe now, and also the gourds known as *kpagu*, grown for their oil-producing seeds; the gourds are left out in the field to rot, either lying where they grew, looking like white cannon balls, or piled into a heap. *Mere*, too, is ready for eating, its smooth brown-skinned fruit, like a large Brazil-nut in shape, hanging from its vine that has clambered up some dead tree or branch set up for it.

For a few weeks in August and September there is nothing to do in the fields, but as the latter month draws to its close, the first eleusine crop will be ready for picking, though it will not be really ripe; the people are deaf to any suggestion that if they left the grain to redden in the ears they would get a heavier yield, or, at all events, a higher proportion of flour to husk in their *bakinde*, replying that if they left it long in the field the rains would knock out the grains, which would also be eaten by the birds; and as the cutting of eleusine with a *digi* is a slow process, no doubt they are right. The *digi* is a strip of iron, half an inch wide, bent in a circle, and worn as a ring on the first joint of the thumb. A stem of eleusine (which is exceedingly tough) is grasped as near the head as possible, between the thumb and first two fingers, and the action of snapping the latter is made, which presses the stem against the upper edge of the *digi* and thus cuts it, and the head is tossed into a basket. It is most tiring work, for a stooping position must be maintained the whole time, as eleusine is a plant seldom growing more than knee-high.

After cutting, the grain is dried in the ear and stored in the granary, where it might remain in good condition, if it were not eaten, for three years.

Towards the end of the rains, the sesames, *sere* and *ndeke*, are getting nearly ready to be cut and pulled up respectively; the heads are tied in bunches to a light framework of poles on which they dry, and after this the grains are beaten out and kept in gourds in the granary. *Ndeke* is a later crop than *sere*, being ripe about December with the second eleusine. The latter is often left standing unpicked for weeks after ripening, though the Zande knows well that a thunder-shower would damage it irretrievably; and there is nothing but his innate laziness and inability to think for the morrow to prevent him cutting it. Of this second crop a part is usually left standing for immediate use, even though the rest is harvested, to save the trouble of putting it into the granary only to take it out again.

The small, round cucumbers, *kofofo*, are sown in November, and ripen in the dry weather, but they are not of great importance in the dietary.

That invaluable plant, the cassava, has not been mentioned in the foregoing remarks, for it has no particular season, being in condition all the year round, and willing to grow at any time during the rains from a stick of the parent stem thrust into the ground. Though a drought may retard it, it cannot kill it, nor does excessive moisture harm its roots, which do not even suffer from the common practice of breaking off all the branches where their shade is affecting some crop sown beneath them. After four or five years, however, the root becomes so stringy that it is no longer fit for food.

A simple system of rotation of crops is followed, but in spite of this the ground soon becomes poor through lack of a fertilizer. Eleusine follows peanuts and beans, the sesames follow eleusine (they will not grow on virgin soil), while peanuts and beans must have new land every year.

A few plants are cultivated for salt, but most of it is obtained from wild grasses and bushes, which are burnt, and their ashes placed in an openwork inverted cone. Water is poured on the ashes and drips into a pot, a flat cake of salt being left in the bottom of the latter after evaporation.

CHAPTER X.

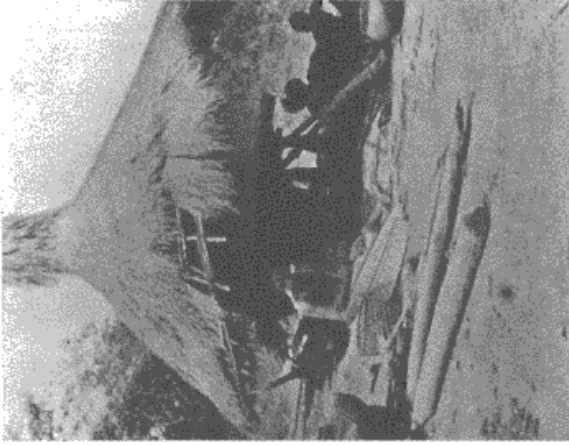
HOUSING.

WHEN a Zande has settled on the site for his new house, he will go there and erect temporary shelters for himself and his family, to be occupied while the permanent huts are being built.

He will first probably just make a rough affair of branches leaning together, with handfuls of grass thrown over them, as a traveller sleeping in the grass will construct in a quarter of an hour at the end of his day's march, and this will serve for the day or two that he will require to cut the poles necessary for the *basura*, which is a more permanent and more weather-proof dwelling. A *basura* is a cone-shaped wigwam of a size regulated by the requirements of the builder and by the material easily available: the poles are covered with grass held lightly in place by thin strips of bark string, or else with the grass from the old house which he and his family may have brought with them. The entrance to a *basura* is very small, and it is almost necessary to crawl to go through it; a little projecting eave at the lintel diverts the rain-water to the sides, so that it does not flood the interior. It is an uncomfortable and cramped dwelling, but has the advantage over all other types of hut, when it is strongly made, of being lion-proof—a beast may tear away the grass, but he cannot get between the poles.

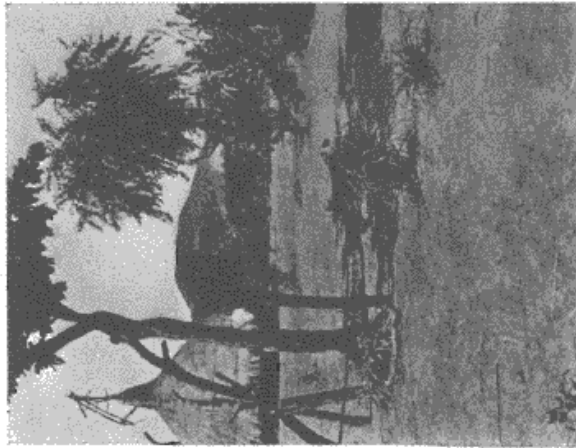
Having transported, *en famille*, all the pots, gourds, trays, baskets, mats and whatnot from the old home (which, after being left, is called the *bate*, as opposed to the occupied house, *kporo*), the next step is to run up a temporary grain store, *gburuhi*, a grass-covered framework of light poles in the form of an inverted cone, supported off the ground on a circle of withies resting on forks, under a miniature roof, to hold the contents of the old granary until a permanent one, *ghamu*, is ready.

The man has now cover for himself and his property, and need make no more journeys to and fro, between his old house and the new, but can devote himself to building the latter. Before he starts on it, however, he and his wives will probably find themselves so uncomfortable in the *basuras* that they will decide to provide for themselves a more commodious lodging without delay, and to build a hut of the type called *nanduruge*, which only differs from the ordinary house in having grass, and not mud, walls. While he is getting this ready for occupation, doubtless his



A GRANARY.

The forked branch is for convenience in climbing into it. The woman is using her trough mortar. By her side is a *hate*, now past its prime. Behind her is a water-pot with a high neck, while on the right is one of another type. A *loga* is lying beside the *hate*.



ROOF IN COURSE OF BEING FINISHED OFF IN "SPIRE" FASHION.

There is a *linka* (faltar) under the tree with some medicine growing at its foot. The *elusine* in front of the dog, though growing in the *varukhoro*, will not be removed, owing to the Zandees' dislike of destroying any growing food plant.

wives and daughters will not neglect the yard, *vuru-kporo*, for good housewives are always particular to keep this spotlessly clean; they will scrape the ground smooth with hoes, carrying the soil to the sides to make a bank on which they will later sow bananas (which do best if sweepings are heaped round their stems), odds and ends of vegetables, and a little maize, and beyond which the sweet potato and cassava patch will be. A *nanduruge* does not take long to build. A circle is marked out, perhaps ten or twelve feet across, on the circumference of which stakes and forks three or four feet high are erected, supporting a fascine of withies on which is made a conical roof of sticks—they are too light to be called poles—braced round with parallel horizontal withies at intervals of six inches, which are bound to each stick with a tie of bast. A verandah two or three feet wide is added, built either in the same way as the rest of the roof (though of a flatter pitch), and resting on a fascine and forks, or by means of branches which, cut at the angle, form a V, and are passed between the roof-sticks, the angles being held against the inner faces of the sticks, and the projecting arms of each touching those of its neighbours, with a bracing of withies.

The grass has now to be cut for the roof and sides, unless the family have brought it from the old home. This is work in which everyone helps. Bundles of *bingba* grass, the universal roofing material, are cut and brought in and made into long fringes. A few blades are caught with a hitch of bast round the stalks, then a few more as close to the first as possible, until a long strip is made, of which one side is bound and the other, on which are the tips of the grass, loose. A strip, when completed, is rolled up and placed out of the way until there are enough for the roof, when they will be unrolled round the roof-sticks. The first band of grass will have its tips pointing upwards, so that the edge of the roof may be stiffened by the stalks, but the subsequent ones are placed with the stalks uppermost, each band overlapping by half or two-thirds the one below it, and all will be fixed to the horizontal withies by frequent bast ties. A neat top of grass, stalks uppermost, is made, often very cleverly ornamented with plaits and pompoms, or bound round smoothly with a black and white design worked into the binding; and this cap is placed on the top of the roof to keep the rain out, or the roof may be finished off as a spire. Though the grass of such a roof is so thin that daylight can be seen through it everywhere, it keeps out

the heaviest showers while allowing free egress to the smoke. No other method of roofing is known, or would be suitable for the material used. The walls of a *nanduruge* have grass applied to them in the ordinary way, cut off with a knife an inch or two from the ground to keep it from the white ants.

The door may be a light one, composed of small slats of wood or branches bound together with bast, to be slipped into position and held there by two posts driven into the floor of the hut at each side of the entrance, or logs may be piled one on the other between the walls and the posts, forming a strong barricade.

Such a grass hut is strong and comfortable, and lasts for a considerable time, and will be of use as a kitchen even after the proper house has been built, though, when it has decayed, probably a *yepe* or hut with open sides, or a *dondomo*, which is merely a roof made of longer poles than usual, set on a fascine supported by such short forks that the poles nearly touch the ground, will be made for this purpose.

Having moved into the *nanduruges*, the permanent granary must be built before the permanent house, for the family food is not very well protected from the weather in the *gburuki*.

The granary, *gbamu* or *pandi*, is a circular bin of mud raised four or five feet off the ground on four strong legs. Care is usually taken to choose straight timber for these legs, the bark and excrescences being neatly trimmed off, and the upper ends often bevelled and cupped for the reception of a transverse beam between each pair. On these beams rest three others, from beam to beam, and these three are often of much lighter wood than those on which they rest, though it is they that will have to carry the bin. If it is suggested to the builder that his construction is faulty, and that the strength of a chain is that of its weakest link, he will reply, "Oh, no, look at the thick wood underneath them." On the three beams is made a circular platform of lighter logs placed parallel with each other, the two outer ones being cut from curved wood. This is the floor of the bin, and is mudded over. It may be anything from one yard to three in diameter. To obtain the mud for all building purposes, a termite hill near the stream is chosen, and part of it broken up and puddled, handfuls of chopped grass being kneaded into it with the feet; it is then carried in large lumps to the scene of work. For some reason or other a Zande will never use clay from termite heaps on the

higher land, but only from those by the streams, though the former provide an equally good clay.

Having spread the mud over the log floor of the *gbamu* the builder will begin on its sides, forming a thin wall, two inches thick, working rather like a potter making a bowl. He can only do a small piece at a time, or it would fall. While the first piece is drying, he continually smooths the surface with a broken gourd to prevent cracks, and when it is stiff enough to go on with the work he will add another bit, until the desired height of three or four feet has been reached all round. This thin wall is very tough and elastic, and answers his purpose admirably, for he does not want a house to last very many years. While the walls of the bin are drying, a light roof is made on the ground in the same manner as the roof that he has built on the *nanduruge*, but very much more flattened—so little slope, indeed, has the roof of a *gbamu*, that it is incredible that it can keep out the rain at all, but yet it does so most effectually. When the walls are dry, this roof is lifted on to the bin, but not fastened to it in any way, entrance being achieved after a somewhat undignified scramble over the side, the roof having been raised by a pole, called the *songoro-gbamu*.

Beneath the granary a smooth floor of clay is provided, raised a few inches above ground level, as a place to sit in out of the sun, for unless the weather is inclement a Zande does not care to sit indoors during the daytime. A clay "board" for playing *Banga* is often made on the floor.

To protect the contents from mice, clay projections are often moulded round the upper part of the legs of the granary.

There is another type of granary called *soro*, bigger than the one described, with a fixed roof, but it is usually only found with the chiefs and more important headmen.

The *gbamu* being finished, the house is started, and built in the same way as the walls of the former, though a little higher. Round the top will be pierced a series of small holes, through which ties are passed to secure the roof, and there may be a small window or two. The doorway usually has a thicker moulding surrounding it, and a doorstep may be made outside. The floor in a well-built hut is of beaten clay, or earth and gravel, and is sometimes so carefully smoothed by a process of continual light rubbing with a piece of gourd as to give the appearance of cement

work, with no sign of a crack; this, however, calls for more labour than the ordinary Zande can supply. The beaten clay floor is excellent for barefooted occupation; if the clay is not too wet, and the beating kept up regularly until it is dry, very few cracks appear, and those that do are soon filled in with dust, while the earth and gravel mixture is even better.

A superior kind of hut is the *kata*, which is raised six inches or a foot off the ground on a very carefully smoothed foundation of beaten earth. It is sometimes made mouse-proof with a projecting band round it. The sill of the door is heightened.

A man must provide a house for each of his wives, and he will want one for himself as well. His sons, as they reach boyhood, must also have one to sleep in, but he will probably make them build this themselves.

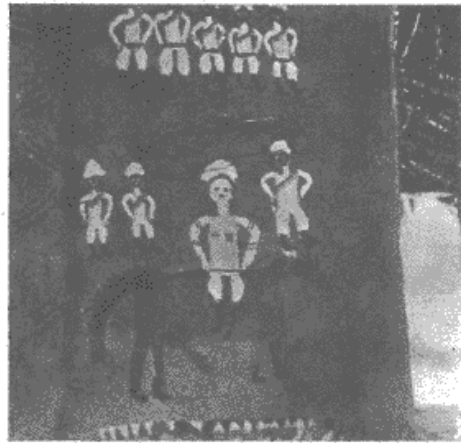
The only other building work necessary is the chicken-cote, *nduruakondo*, which is a small affair of clay with a grass roof, constructed on the top of a pole, or entirely of clay, on the ground, near the house, like a kennel.

For embellishment, the moulding round the door may be patterned with the fingers, but the principal ornamentation is given to the house by crude drawings in black (charcoal), white (*pembe* clay) and red (burnt earth or powdered ironstone), on the outside walls. Some of the geometrical designs are very effective, but the Zande is bad at figures, whether of men or animals, and it is the exception to be able to recognize the species of the latter that is depicted, without some explanation from the artist, which he is always delighted to be asked for and which he always has—for he does not draw haphazard, without imagination.

Inanimate objects of household use, knives and weapons and, nowadays, tables, glasses, bicycles and Ford cars are drawn, but never a house or a tree.

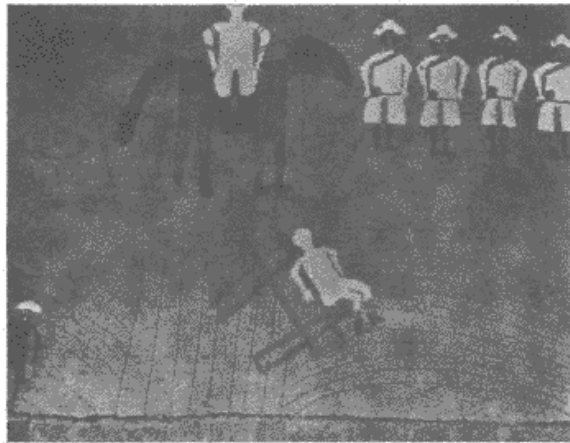
It is only of late years that profiles have been noticed with less than two eyes; but this advance does not appear in other subjects, and, therefore, the portrayal of a deck chair, with all its legs and cross-pieces, or a motor, with four wheels, lamps and the luggage inside, is a complicated business; since nothing must be left to the imagination, but all be shown, whether visible or not.

The only fixtures in a house are the door, already described; and the bedstead, *pambara*, which consists of smooth logs raised a few inches off



DECORATIONS ON A WALL.

The animal's eyes are both shown, though its head is in profile.



DECORATIONS ON A WALL.

The artist feels bound to show every part of the deck chair.

the floor, with a cross-piece at either end for a pillow, and footrest. The logs are sometimes covered with clay, and the whole is always very short, not exceeding five feet in length.

To start with, houses are built near the edge of the *vurukporo*, the middle being kept clear except for an altar, or, if the man is a keen hunter, a branch to hang skulls of game on, with hunting medicine plants growing round its foot. If a new building is made later, the *vurukporo* is extended—so that there is always a clear space about each hut—and becomes irregular in shape.

The houses of a Vungara chief differ from the above description only in being on the whole rather larger and more neatly finished; each wife has her own, and the scattered group of buildings is called the *ngbadumo*. The late Chief Gbudue's *ngbadumo* covered some square miles of country, and it was death to a man if he set foot in it; even his sons would not have dared to do so. To the present day the custom holds, and no unauthorized person would dream of approaching the *ngbadumo* of a Vungara, to whom his people have access only in the *ngbanga*, a large cleared space with probably some well-made, open-sided huts in it, far enough away from the *ngbadumo* to be out of sight of it, or screened from it by a grass fence. All building work for a Chief is done by his subjects, who neither get nor expect any pay for their labours.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.

A Zande interior is usually a dark and untidy place, the housewife's passion for neatness being limited to the *vurukporo*. Everything above the level of the wall is covered with a deep brown or black varnish from the smoke. The hearth is marked by three stones, *kere mbia*, to support the cooking-pots when on the fire, and these pots, with baskets, gourds and mats, litter the floor, while more gourds, baskets and articles of clothing, interspersed with cobwebs, depend from the blackened roof poles, behind which are pushed small possessions of value such as a cupping horn, a pipe, a leaf packet of seeds or a spearhead.

Waterpots are of the conventional type, and many people of both sexes know how to make them. Claypits are generally distributed over the country, but are usually on the banks of a stream. It has been mentioned already in these notes, that if a person intends to visit them to get clay, or for any reason at all, continence must have been observed

the preceding night. If this is not done, the clay is affected for two or three days, and whoever takes any will find that the pots made of it will crack. On one occasion the writer wished to find out the depth of water in such a pit, and told a man to plumb it with his spear. The bystanders would not have this, but insisted that a branch be used, for, they said, if a spear entered the water the clay would never make good pots—they would always crack in the burning.

People are astonishingly careless in the way they will hollow out a pocket of clay without removing first the overhanging mass of surface earth—and this is the case as well when they are getting clay for building: occasionally they are crushed to death by a collapse of the tunnel.

The clay is taken home and well pounded in a mortar. It is then worked up into the required shape with the fingers, no tools being used beyond a piece of gourd, or a rounded pebble from a stream, to smooth it; and a short stick bound round with cord, or some other simple device, to give it a pattern. Pots are always absolutely symmetrical, circular, though not spherical, and wide-mouthed. One kind has a low collar, an inch in height and outward curving, surrounding the orifice, moulded a little thicker than the sides; another has a rounded neck, perhaps three inches high, added to its shoulder, giving the effect of the upper part of a small pot protruding from a larger one. They vary in size from six to eighteen inches in height, the smallest being used for cooking meat and the larger for water or in making *bakinde*; while a beer brewing pot will be between two and three feet in height and a little less in breadth. Vase-shaped pots, usually small, with round bodies and long necks, are made for washing the face and hands, sometimes having the neck ornamented with a representation of a head. Each type of pot has its particular name in Zande. The sides of a pot may be treated all over with the patterning implement, or given a design—and often a very attractive and artistic one—of lines, depressed medallions and dots, and smooth geometrical spaces alternating with herring-boning, or occasionally left quite plain, but no encrustations have been noticed of any kind; the neck is always smoothed. Open bowls are not made, the potter invariably finishing off his handiwork by a closing-in of his globe of clay before he finishes it off.

When dry, pots are turned upside down and baked in the open, only certain kinds of wood being suitable for the fire. While still

red-hot they are splashed with water in which bark of the *ndili* tree has been soaked, in order to blacken them. A black polish is sometimes given to the smooth surfaces, by means of graphite grains, which are mixed with water and a little powdered ironstone, painted on the clay and gently but continually rubbed into it with a polishing-pebble before the pot is fired.

Zande pots are not very strong, and have to be taken great care of, especially when full or when containing *bakinde* that is being stirred. They are not porous, or only slightly so.

Lids are unknown, but broad leaves answer the purpose just as well.

Gourds are of all shapes and sizes, from three inches to two feet in height. After cutting, they are soaked in the stream until the interior has rotted, when it is picked out through a small hole with a stick. New gourds are of an alabaster colour, but age and use soon turn them yellow. Divided in half they form bowls for water or seed; left in their natural shape they are used as water-bottles, and are one of the most important parts of a traveller's outfit, for a Zande can go but a short distance in comfort without drinking. The hole through which the gourd has been cleaned is often stoppered with a piece of gourd shell, fitting perfectly, having a string through its centre by which it may be extracted. A Zande woman going to fetch her water will take her pot and a calabash to the stream. She will not lower the pot into the water, but fill it with her bowl. Any floating impurities on the surface will first be brushed aside by a motion or two of the bowl, and she will make these motions quite mechanically, whether the water be clear or not. On the other hand, no compunction seems to be felt in sinking the whole of a water-bottle, however dirty its outside may be, which is lowered until the water trickles in through the orifice, noticeable pains being taken that the latter is not entirely submerged.

The smallest gourds are used as receptacles for anointing oil, a string round the constriction attaching the gourd to the belt. These unguent bottles develop in time a very rich brown and a high polish, looking like the bowl of a well-coloured meerschaum pipe.

Shallow wooden bowls, *kurungbu*, usually oval, though sometimes circular, from six inches to two feet in length and half an inch thick, are universal. They may be smoothed on both sides, or the outside may be so trimmed that it presents a series of flat, narrow surfaces, running

longitudinally, parallel with the grain of the wood. A small protuberance at either end is left as a handle, and the outside is wholly or partly blackened with a hot iron. These are used as platters. Much more elaborate, and, therefore, in less general use, is a dish with a deep circular bowl, attractively curved, on a massive carved and sometimes pierced stem and a round base, in form resembling a goblet or fruit-stand, cut out of solid wood, about eighteen inches high and half as wide. Solid wood, again, is employed in the manufacture of the stools, *mbata*, which are made after the fashion of this dish; the seat is slightly hollowed so that there is a flat raised rim at the circumference, and is usually pierced so that it may be hung up by a cord out of the way of white ants. Such stools are about a foot in height, or rather more, the diameter being the same, though bigger ones are not uncommon.

The buttresses at the base of a *vura* (kapok) tree are usually selected for the making of bowls, for they are easily cut and worked, and, though flat, are thick enough for a bowl. Sections of logs, of course, must be used for the standing dishes, stools and mortars.

The latter are of two types, and are called *sangu*. The upright form consists of a cylindrical receptacle, supported on a narrower neck rising from a broader base, and averages three feet in height and eight inches in breadth, the cylinder accounting for half the height. The other kind is merely a straight log hollowed out longitudinally to make a trough. When using the latter, a woman sits on the ground with the trough between her legs, and scars are common where the flesh of the inside of the thighs has been pinched between the edge and the pestle in a moment of inattention. The pestle is a straight piece of wood cut from the tree called *wili sangu*, which is remarkably light, made smaller in the middle for a grip.

Some Azande had proposed to settle near a certain spring, the only convenient water supply, which suddenly dried up just before they had finished their building. On being consoled with for their wasted labour they replied, "Oh, no, it will flow again as soon as it hears the sound of the pestles and mortars," and they were perfectly right.

Another type of stool and bed that is very common is made in the following manner. Two pieces of straight and usually soft wood, three inches in diameter, are cut to form the sides, and on these at either end are placed two cross-pieces. At the point of intersection they are

pierced, in an outward sloping direction, by means of a hot iron, and secured in position by being transfixed by the peg-like tops of the four legs. Sticks are inserted between the sides at regular intervals. Smooth polished ribs of *kpanga* fronds—*kpanga* is a palm-like tree that grows in streams—are placed with great neatness side by side, resting on each cross-piece, or the cross-piece is grooved for the reception of the ends of the *kpanga*, and are fixed with string to the transverse sticks between the sides, so that a smooth, corrugated surface is obtained, curving upwards at each end where it rests on the cross-pieces. Upper cross-pieces are added, clipping the *kpanga* to the lower ones, and transfixed by the peg at the top of the legs. The wooden framework and legs are always blackened, and the general effect is very pleasing, owing principally to the graceful flowing curve of the *kpanga*. Stools may be two feet in length, a little less in width, and six inches high; while the beds are usually about five feet long, half as broad, and a foot in height. Such furniture is very light, and much stronger than would be expected, the weakest point being the pegs at the top of the legs.

Weaving is done by the men, and many articles of woven grass are made, the workmanship of which is always exceedingly neat. Split stems of certain grasses are scraped free from pith, forming thin strips as wide as a pencil, with a hard, polished surface, and edges that are absolutely parallel. Of this material is made a sleeping mat, *ira*, two and a half feet broad by twice as long, strips being passed laterally, alternately over and under others lying longitudinally; the fracture of the strips being so regular, it is a simple matter to ensure an exact fit of each against the other, so that there are no unsightly interstices, and a perfect finish is obtained.

Woven in this way, also, are flat bags, like the basses or flails in which fish are sent by rail in England, except that the Zande bag has a doubled woven band from end to end, so that it may be looped over the shoulder; they are about eighteen inches square. Of similar manufacture are the trays, *kiaga*, two feet square, with edges an inch or two in height stiffened with wood, that are used for winnowing grain.

Coarser material is employed for the deep, circular baskets, *boma*, and sieves, *kangira*, both of which are indispensable in housework.

The universal *baga*, or openwork basket, made out of *gbaka* grass in half an hour, when there is anything to be carried in quantities, such as

the picked heads of *maru* at harvest time, is merely a temporary affair, to be thrown away when the need for it has passed. A wide, shallow form, three feet across, is made for carrying soaked cassava roots from the stream to the house.

The *kate*, so called from the *kate* grass from which it is made, is a hood for placing over the bolt-holes of a species of day-fighting termite to prevent their escape; though after it has accomplished this duty it descends to the level of a common scoop, and eventually finishes its career as a dustpan, to carry ashes and sweepings out of the yard. Strips of *kate*, narrower than the grass strips used in making the mats, are placed side by side and kept in position by means of fibres twisted across at intervals. The strips are continuous, that is to say, the left-hand strip curls round at one end of the *kate* and forms also the right-hand edge, and so on. Thus, one end of the *kate* lies flat on the ground like a mat, while the other, which is the hood, is erect, as the bows of a boat.

Though the grass for the mats, and *kate* as well, only is found near the Congo frontier, some distance away, yet the tough grass with the blue-grey stem that grows on the banks of the bigger rivers, and is spoken of always in the plural by the Azande as *a-gbagi*, is not used by the people south of the Sue, in spite of the fact that they fully appreciate the excellence of the baskets made out of it by their neighbours, the Amberidi and Ambegamba, to the north.

Oval boxes, the sides of bent bark and the tops and bottoms of smooth wood, sewn with bark at the points of juncture, like Norwegian birch bark boxes, are sometimes made, but should hardly, perhaps, be included in a list of household utensils, which might, however, be completed (as far as the writer's knowledge extends) by a mention of the resin torch, *baro*, cased in leaves, like a very large cigar, which is the only artificial lighting to be found among the Azande.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON SOME SHORE BIRDS OF THE RED SEA PROVINCE

By J. F. Madden.

MOST residents in the Sudan are familiar with the great variety of bird life to be found along the banks of the Nile and its tributaries. This paper, and another, which will deal more exclusively with migration, are intended to show that, even in the arid districts between the Nile and the Red Sea, there exists a numerous and interesting bird population.

The greatest variety of bird life in the Red Sea Province is to be found on or near the coast. Winter visitors, seasonal passage-migrants and resident breeding birds all occur there in considerable numbers; and in addition there seem always to be a few non-breeding (probably immature) birds, which stay throughout the summer. These are mostly Waders, and, perhaps, some Herons. This first paper deals only with some typical shore birds, comprising the sub-order LIMICOLÆ, the LARIDÆ (Gulls and Terns), the ARDEIDÆ (Hérons, Egrets and Bitterns), and various species from other families, e.g., the Pelicans and Flamingoes.

My notes are very incomplete, and suffer from lack of access to works of reference and to collections of specimens. As they were written at odd moments (often on trek), this is almost inevitable; and they are at best only remarks on my own personal observations during the last three years. Where I was not certain of the accuracy of my identifications, I have often added brief descriptions, in the hope that others, more familiar with the species in question, may thereby be able to correct me.

Throughout I have followed the nomenclature given in the "Catalogue of Sudan Birds" (Part I, May, 1926). When referring to this list I have used the abbreviation C. S. B., followed by the serial

number of the species, as given there. Other works frequently referred to by the names of their authors only, are :

1. "Handlist of the Birds of Egypt," By M. J. Nicoll. Cairo, 1919 (Nicoll.)
2. "Savage Sudan," By Abel Chapman. Gurney & Jackson, 1921. (Abel Chapman.)
3. "The Birds of Europe and North Africa." By Col. R. G. Wardlaw Ramsay. Gurney & Jackson, 1923. (W. Ramsay.)

All other references are given in full.

NOTES ON INDIVIDUAL SPECIES.

Family SULIDÆ.

The Booby (*Sula leucogaster*). I have only seen one bird (in February, 1925) during three years in the Port Sudan-Suakin district. Abel Chapman (p. 389) mentions it at Port Sudan and Nicoll (p. 62) records it from Jubal Island. C. S. B. (5) classifies the species as "fairly common," but my experience does not confirm this. It is a brown-and-white Gannet-like bird, with a conspicuous pale green bill.

Family PELECANIDÆ.

I have records of Pelicans from Suakin in February, May (five or six) and September, from Port Sudan in September, and from Mohammed Ghol in late October. I believe they belonged to the species "*P. rufescens*," being smaller and greyer than "*onocrotalus*." The May birds showed no signs of pairing or breeding.

Family PROCELLARUDÆ.

I saw a bird at Port Sudan in October, 1925, which I am convinced was a Leach's Fork-tailed Petrel (*Oceanodroma l. leucorrhoa*). I was able to approach to within a few yards of the bird, which was exceedingly tame, though apparently not injured or exhausted. The description which I noted at the time was : General colour of plumage (upper and under sides), dark greyish-brown ; wings with black tips (i.e., primaries) ; size, rather bigger than a Blackbird (length from beak to tip of tail, nine or ten inches estimated) ; lower back, white tail forked ; flight, hovering and Swallow-like.

This species is not mentioned by Nicoll, nor in C. S. B.

Family ARDEIDÆ.

Grey Heron (*Ardea c. cinerea*).—A Winter visitor; but individuals (non-breeding?) seen on May 27th, 1925, and June 12th, 1925, at Port Sudan. Other records for Port Sudan are in October, November and December, and for Suakin in September—(all single birds).

Goliath Heron (*Ardea goliath*).—This is a splendid-looking bird in full plumage, with dark-grey mantle and rust-red thighs, abdomen and under wing coverts. It stands quite half as high again as the Grey Heron, and has an enormous wing-spread.

It appears to be resident: I have records from Port Sudan in March, May, June, July, October, November and December; and I have also seen it in October at Mohammed Ghol and Dongonab.

Little Egret (*Egretta g. garzetta*).—Not common: my only records are one for Port Sudan in December, and two for Suakin in March.

Reef Heron (*Demigretta schistacea*).—A curious bird, with two distinct plumage phases and intermediate stages (Abel Chapman, p. 390), (Nicoll, p. 65). I can offer no suggestion as to the conditions which govern these changes, nor do my records help, except that they seem to show that they are not seasonal, but individual. For the white phase I have records in January (three), February (two), March (one), April (two), October (one) and December (one); and for the blue phase, January (three), February (one), April (one), May (one), July (one), September (two), October (three), and November (one). Records for the intermediate stage (usually greyish-white, with a darker tail) are January (three) and September (one).

In the field the curious, clumsy rushes of this bird, often with flapping wings, as it chases small fish in the shallows, are quite unmistakable; and, in the blue phase, the white chin shows up conspicuously. It breeds on the Red Sea Islands (Abel Chapman, p. 397), and as far afield as Australia.

Squacco Heron (*Ardeola r. ralloides*).—I have three Autumn records of this bird, all near Port Sudan, and it seems to occur only on passage. When on the wing this Heron appears almost white, but the light-brown colour of the mantle shows up clearly as soon as it lands. (Cf. Abel Chapman, p. 429.)

Green-backed Heron (*Butorides striatus brevipes*).—Probably resident in small numbers at Port Sudan and Suakin: I have not seen it elsewhere

on the coast. It is a small dark bird, which sits with its head sunk well into the shoulders, and is hard to distinguish from the dark rocks on which it usually perches. I have found no signs of it breeding. (See also Abel Chapman, p. 397.)

Night Heron (*Nycticorax n. nycticorax*).—On passage only. One adult male and three immature birds were seen at Port Sudan in October, 1927.

Little Bittern (*Ixobrychus m. minutus*).—Another passage migrant, recorded in Autumn twice from Port Sudan and once from Suakin. The Suakin bird, when I first saw it, was standing by the edge of the sea, on an open mud-flat; nevertheless, as soon as I approached, it threw up its head and stiffened in a typical Bittern manner, though there were no reeds (in fact, no vegetation at all) within half a mile of it. I touched it with a stick, whereupon it struck out viciously with its beak, but later it allowed me to pick it up and carry it some distance; and even when put down again it showed no desire to fly. This particular bird was an adult female. (Mr. H. F. Witherby describes a similar experience with the Little Bittern on p. 83 of "Bird Hunting on the White Nile.")

Family P. LEGADIDÆ.

Spoonbill (*Platalea l. leucorodia*).—A passage migrant and a Winter visitor. I have a record for May (one bird) at Port Sudan, and one from Suakin in April; also two for September (Autumn passage); and the remaining seven all for Winter months. The African Spoonbill (*P. alba*) does not seem to occur.

Family PHÆNICOPTERIDÆ.

"*Phænicopterus ruber antiquorum*" is a regular Autumn and Winter visitor to Suakin, and is occasional near Port Sudan. Smaller and greyer birds also occur with them, but whether these include specimens of "*Phænicopteras minor*," or are only the young of the larger species, I cannot say.

Family ANATIDÆ.

Gadwall (*Anas strepera*).—A duck, probably of this species, was shot about fifteen miles inland of Port Sudan on February 28th, 1926. The plumage was plain brown, with no wing speculum.

Teal (*Anas crecca*).—A duck of this species was seen by me at close range in a garden in Port Sudan on October 16th, 1927. The general

colour was greyish-brown, with darker brown markings on back and fore-neck. The speculum was green with a metallic lustre, and was bordered with white.

Quite a number of Duck were seen swimming on a big rain-water pool in the sandhills of Obak, on September 30th, 1927, but I was not able to determine their species.

Family PANDIONIDÆ.

Osprey (*Pandion h. holiaetus*).—Abel Chapman (p. 389) comments on the commonness of this bird at Port Sudan, and its numbers have not decreased. The aerial of the wireless station is a favourite perch for Ospreys, and their high-pitched, whining cry can be heard almost all day in that neighbourhood. They seem to occur generally all along the coast, and I have seen them at Mohammed Ghol and Dongonab in the Autumn. They doubtless breed in suitable localities. (See Abel Chapman, p. 393.)

Sub-order LIMICOLÆ.

Family CHARADRIIDÆ.

Ringed Plover (*Charadrius hiaticula*, sub-sp.?).—I am not familiar enough with the different races of "*hiaticula*" to say whether the birds occurring in the Red Sea Province are of the typical form or of the eastern race "*tundra*." W. Ramsay (p. 262) notes that the latter race are somewhat smaller and darker than "*C. h. hiaticula*," and that most of the East African wintering birds belong to it. I have November and January records from Port Sudan, and observed them in small numbers at Suakin in November, 1925, and March, 1926. For the Summer months there is one record only, viz., May 1st, 1925, at Port Sudan.

Little Ringed Plover (*Charadrius dubius curonicus*).—A regular Winter visitor in small numbers. Recorded in February (twice) and March from Suakin, in October from Dongonab, and two or three birds at the rainwater pools at Obak, September, 1927. C. S. U. gives "rivers" only for this species (170).

Kentish Plover (*Charadrius alexandrinus*, sub-sp.?).—Again I am not prepared to settle the question of races. C. S. B. (171) gives the typical form as "Winter visitor" only; presumably, therefore, the resident breeding birds belong to the Eastern race ("*seebornii*"). It is a common bird all the year round, and breeds in May and June. It

begins to pair off by the end of March, according to my observations, and I have found young (only a few days old) at Port Sudan as late as July 12th. I observed one or two birds, obviously on passage, at the Obak pools in September, 1927.

Great Sand-Plover (*Charadrius leschenaulti*).—A common bird all the way up the coast from Suakin to Halaib, and, apparently, resident, as it occurs in May and June at Port Sudan. Its plumage is a light sandy brown, tending to rufous on the crown, and in size it is intermediate between the Ringed and Grey Plover.

As regards the smaller Sand-Plovers, such as *C. pecuarius* and *C. asiaticus*, I am not sufficiently familiar with them (especially in Winter plumage) to say what their status is. Possibly, in addition to those mentioned in C. S. B., "*C. mongolus atrifrons*" also occurs. It is spoken of by Nicoll (p. 90) and by W. Ramsay (pp. 263-4) as much resembling a small "*leschenaulti*," and I have seen birds which seem to answer to this description.

Grey Plover (*Squatarola s. squatarola*).—All my records are from Suakin, where the bird is a regular Winter visitor in small numbers. My list reads: 31-1-25 (three), 3-2-25 (several), 23-3-25 (two), 20-5-25 (one), (the only Summer record); 2-2-26 (two), and 28-3-26 (several).

Sociable Plover (*Chettusia gregaria*).—Uncommon. I saw parties of three and six on consecutive days in February, 1925, and have no other record.

White-Tailed Plover (*Vanellochettusia leucura*).—Appeared regularly for some days in small parties during September, 1927, at Port Sudan; six or seven also were seen at Suakin towards the end of the month. No record for the previous two years. When on the ground (with the white tail not showing, obviously) it appears as a light brown bird, about Lapwing size, with rather long yellow legs and a short, black beak. The black-and-white wing and completely white tail distinguish it easily enough in flight. (Cf. Abel Chapman, p. 431.)

Spur-Winged Plover (*Hoplopterus spinosus*).—Only recorded once at Port Sudan, two having been seen on October 25th, 1926. In September, 1927, after very good rains, it was reported as very numerous near flood-water throughout the Tibilol area (in the south of the Red Sea Province). I noted it very common on the Atbara River, April, 1927.

Turnstone (*Arenaria interpres interpres*).—Quite common as a Winter visitor; most of the Autumn birds seen are in immature plumage. I have seen them at Suakin up to early April, but not later than that.

Oyster Catcher (*Haematopus o. ostralegus*).—A rather uncommon Winter visitor, and, perhaps, passage migrant. Recorded from Suakin on 5-4-25 (one), 20-5-25 (one), and 4-3-26 (two); and from Halaib on February 21st and 22nd, 1927 (fairly numerous). Nicoll (p. 93) notes it as "not uncommon on the coasts of the Red Sea, on migration."

Family RECURVIROSTRIDÆ.

Though the C. S. B. gives "coast" as a locality for both the Avocet and the Black Winged Stilt (and a specimen of the latter was obtained at Suakin), I have never in the last three years seen either bird in the Red Sea Province.

Family SCOLOPACIDÆ.

Dunlin (*Erolia a. alpina*).—A regular Winter visitor and probably a passage migrant (Spring), as I have several records for March, April and May. Two were seen at Port Sudan in July, 1926, neither of them in Summer plumage.

Little Stint (*Erolia minula*).—A regular and fairly common Winter visitor: numbers usually augmented during the passage seasons (especially Spring). I have records for January, February, March (numerous), September and October.

Ruff (*Philomachus pugnax*).—A common passage migrant (both Spring and Autumn), apparently wintering further south. Numerous at Port Sudan throughout September and October: in the Spring, recorded in April and May (latest date, May 27th, 1925: non-breeding birds?). This was one of the species seen at Obak in September, 1927.

Terek Sandpiper (*Terekia cinerea*).—Quite common on both passages, and a few apparently stay for the Winter (recorded in January, 1925). It is certainly not "rare," as described by C. S. B. (203). The bird in the field can most easily be distinguished by its rather long, upcurved bill and by its restless energetic way of feeding. The plumage is an undistinguished greenish-brown, but the legs are often quite a bright orange-red.

Common Sandpiper (*Actitis hypoleucos*).—Common: usually on passage; a few Winter visitors. A very widely-distributed bird, both inland and on the coast: I have records from Port Sudan (mostly Autumn and Winter, but twice in May), Suakin, Sinkat, Musmar, Obak, Mohammed Ghol and Dongonab.

Green Sandpiper (*Tringa ochropus*).—A passage migrant, which seems to prefer inland waters to the coast. Recorded three times (February, March and November) from the running water in K. Arbaat, and once from Musmar (August) at a pool left by the flooding of Wadi Arab.

Redshank (*Tringa t. totanus*).—Quite common as a Winter visitor and passage migrant all along the coast. Earliest Autumn record, September 7th, 1926; latest Spring record, May 1st, 1925 (both at Port Sudan).

Dusky Redshank (*Tringa (?) fuscus*).—I saw one at Suakin on April 2nd, 1925, obviously on passage. Its long, rather dark-red bill and legs were clearly marked, and it lacked the conspicuous white wing-bar of "*totanus*" when in flight. This bird is not mentioned in C. S. B., though Abel Chapman (p. 297) records having seen one specimen on the Nile near Malek on March 9th, 1919. There seems little doubt that it should be included as a rather rare Winter visitor to the Sudan.

Marsh Sandpiper (*Tringa stagnatilis*).—Two of these birds were seen by me at Port Sudan on May 8th, 1925, and I have no other record. The birds struck me by their resemblance to small Greenshank; this is remarked on also by Nicoll (p. 99) and is alluded to by Abel Chapman (p. 140).

Greenshank (*Tringa nebularia*).—A common Winter visitor, though the numbers seen are never large. Earliest Autumn arrival, August 30th, 1925; latest Spring record, May 1st, 1925. Not seen elsewhere to date, except at Port Sudan and Suakin.

Black-tailed Godwit (*Limosa l. limosa*).—One record only, viz., Port Sudan, October 11th, 1925. Distinctly a rare bird on the coast; nor have I ever seen its companion species, the Bar-tailed Godwit (*Limosa l. laffonica*).

Curlew (*Numenius arquata* sub-sp.?).—Found on the coast at all seasons, apparently not breeding. Numbers increase during the migration seasons, especially in Autumn; but I cannot say to what

geographical races the various birds belong. The Slender-billed Curlew (*Numenius tenuirostris*) is described by W. Ramsay (p. 286) as occurring in Winter south to Khartoum; I have no records of it in the Red Sea Province, nor is it mentioned in C. S. B.

Whimbrel (*Numenius ph. phaeopus*).—Two records only: Mohammed, Ghol 28/10/27, and Dongonab the following day. Apart from its smaller size, this bird can easily be distinguished from the Curlew by its note, a rapidly repeated, harsh whistle. It is said to be a very much less nervous bird also, but, on the occasions when I saw it, it would never allow of a close approach, and flew off, like a Curlew, when I was still some 100 yards away.

Family GLAREOLIDÆ.

European Pratincole (*Glareola p. pratincola*).—All the Pratincoles I have seen in the Red Sea Province have obviously been passage migrants only. On September 11th, 1927, and subsequent days, small parties were common at Port Sudan, both in the gardens and on the shore, and I saw one at Obak on September 30th. I have never met with resident Pratincoles on the Red Sea coast.

Family DROMODIDÆ.

Crab Plover (*Dromas ardeola*).—Not common: probably on passage only. Recorded twice from Suakin, on May 20th, 1925 (three or four), and on September 25th, 1927. A striking black and white bird, with a rather short, thick, black bill.

Family BURHINIDÆ.

Stone Curlew (*Burhinus oedicnemus* sub-sp.).—Recorded twice only, in the Autumn passage, viz.: October 1st, 1927, at Musmar; and October 31st, 1927, at Khor Kur, about 70 miles north of Port Sudan and some 20 miles from the coast.

Senegal Stone Curlew (*Burhinus senegalensis*).—Not common. Recorded on passage at Port Sudan, September 7th, 1926; and three were seen in K. Hadayu (about 20 miles north of Gebeit Gold Mine) on February 5th, 1927. These were not seen again, and, perhaps, were also early passage migrants. On the ground they are quiet and inconspicuous birds, but wary, and difficult to approach. "*Oedicnemus*,"

on the other hand, seems readier to lie in cover, and often does not rise till the observer is quite close.

Nicoll (p. 86) notes the Senegal Stone Curlew as "an abundant resident, especially in Lower Egypt, in the vicinity of towns"; as regards "*ædicnemus*" he says he has not met with the typical form in Egypt, but he describes the sub-species "*saharæ*" as "a resident in the desert on both banks of the Nile."

I do not know if the race of the Sudan Winter visitors has yet been determined. C. S. B. (223a) shows them as typical, except for one wanderer of the Eastern race (*B. æd. astutus*) said to have been "recorded from the Red Sea Province."

Sub-order LARI.

Family LARIDÆ.

Mediterranean Herring Gull (*Larus argentatus cachinnans*).—One immature bird was seen at Port Sudan on October 16th, 1927. The legs were a pinkish flesh-colour, and the general plumage grey-brown, mottled with white. No other record.

Lesser Black-backed Gull (*Larus f. fuscus*).—Not common. Recorded once from Port Sudan (February) and once from Suakin (September). The former was in full adult plumage, the latter immature, but old enough to be identified with safety.

Black-headed Gull (*Larus r. ridibundus*).—A few in Autumn and Winter. Recorded from Port Sudan in February (several, immature) and August (two, immature), and from Suakin in September (several, immature). One adult bird was seen near the water in Khor Arbaat (20 miles inland of Port Sudan) on February 28th, 1926.

Little Gull (*Larus minutus*).—This species is not mentioned in C. S. B., but Nicoll (p. 109) records it as a Winter visitor to the northern Egyptian coasts, and I have observed it twice in the Red Sea Province. On the first occasion (September 7th, 1926) I saw a flock of about 20 in Port Sudan Harbour, all young birds, which, when disturbed, flew off in a southerly direction. On the second, I watched a bird for some time at close quarters at Suakin (September 24th, 1927), probably an adult in Winter plumage. The description which I noted at the time was: Wings and back, smoky grey; head with dark grey cap; blackish on ear coverts and round eye; short, dark-coloured bill; legs, dull orange-

red. In general appearance it was like a miniature Black-headed Gull, with a rather desultory, hovering flight.¹

White-eyed Gull (*Larus leucophthalmus*) and Hemprich's Gull (*Larus hemprichii*).—These two species are both common and resident, but fluctuate considerably in numbers. Their relative abundance also varies, e.g., in the Autumn, "*hemprichii*" seems very much the commoner all along the coast, while at other times, "*leucophthalmus*" predominates. In appearance the species are similar, especially when immature. The darker head and neck of "*leucophthalmus*" (notes in the key to the species of the Laridæ given in C. S. B., p. 72) only applies to adult birds in full plumage. At all stages, however, "*leucophthalmus*" appears the slimmer, neater bird, and the bill is much thinner and darker (nearly black in young, dark red with black tip in adults). The bill of "*hemprichii*" is olive green, with a red tip. A further distinction is that in "*leucophthalmus*" there is a white patch above and below the eye; whereas in the other species only the eyelid (above the eye) shows white.

The Terns.—For purposes of identification these may be divided into two main genera, viz., the Grey Terns (genus *Sterna*) and the Black Terns (genus *Chlidonias*). Apart from these there are only two easily-distinguishable species, the Caspian Tern (*Hydroprogne caspia*) and the Gull-billed Tern (*Gelochelidon n. nilotica*).

The Caspian Tern is a common Winter visitor to the Red Sea Coast. I have records for every month from September (earliest date, 9th) to April (latest date, 2nd). Some are probably resident also. Of the Black Terns *C. leucoptera* is the only species recorded, and that on a single occasion, April 22nd, 1927, at Port Sudan. It did not stay, and was obviously on passage.

The Grey Terns may again be separated into the larger and the smaller, comprising, in the first class, *S. sandvicensis*, "*S. bengalensis par.*," and "*S. bergii velox*"; and in the second, *S. hirundo*, *S. repressa*, and *S. albifrons saundersi*. The remaining species, *S. anæsthetus fuligula*, can be distinguished by its darker colour.

Of the larger Grey Terns, the Swift Tern (*S. bergii velox*) is, in my experience, considerably the commonest. Its rather pale yellow bill and white forehead serve (at least in mature plumage) to distinguish it from

¹ Since writing the above I have come across a similar description of the immature Little Gull, given by T. A. Coward, *British Birds*, Vol. XXI, p. 161.

"*bengalensis par*," which has an orange-red bill, with, at most, a white line separating it from the black of the crown. In the latter species, also, the black of the nape seems to extend further down than in "*bergii velox*."¹

My records for "*bergii*" are for the Autumn and Winter, when it is common all along the coast. Immature birds are often seen in numbers in the Autumn. "*Bengalensis*" is not common, but there are usually a few, both at Port Sudan and Suakin, in the Autumn and Winter.

S. repressa is the commonest of the smaller Terns, though I would not call it "abundant," as is given in C. S. B. (237). It is about the same size as the Common Tern (*S. hirundo*), but lacks the coral-red bill and legs and white tail of the latter species. Of *S. hirundo*, I have no definite record at all (C. S. B. correctly gives it as "not common"); but the Little Tern (*S. a. saundersi*) occurs regularly in small numbers at Port Sudan and Suakin. *S. anæsthetus fuligula* is definitely rare. I have no certain record, but a rather small dark Tern seen in September, 1927, was probably of this species.

¹ Subsequently I have found a confirmation of this by S. A. Leach in *An Australian Bird Book* (5th edition, Melbourne, 1923). Cf. his description of "*bergii*" on p. 35 ("back of neck, white") and of "*bengalensis*" on p. 204 ("nape, black"). In both species the legs and feet are black. Cf. also Nicoll, pp. 105 and 106.

POETRY OF THE HAḌENDIWA.¹

By E. M. Roper.

TU Beḍāwis,² the language of the Haḍendiwa, is spoken over a wide area of the Red Sea hills from Assuan in the north to the borders of Eritrea and Kassala in the south.

The language has, or rather had, five main dialects. That spoken by the Ababda is now hardly to be found. Formerly the Ababda were confined to the northern parts and constituted a distinct tribe or group of tribes. Now they are scattered over the whole country and are either bilingual speaking Beḍāwiēt and Sudan-Arabic or else they speak Arabic only. In the south the Halenga is less common than it was, the tribe of that name having suffered great diminution in numbers and importance during and since the days of the Mahdi. The Ammār'ār, who may be considered as occupying the Red Sea coast, have a dialect that differs somewhat in pronunciation but little in vocabulary from the Haḍendiwa. This latter is now the principal dialect of the language and is spoken by all that group of tribes bearing the same name who occupy the crest of the Red Sea hills from O Derūs nearly to Kassala. Another important dialect is that spoken by the Bišāria (Bisharin), whose territory is the western slopes of the hills and the deserts bordering the right bank of the Nile.

All these people are nomads, breeders of camels, goats, and sheep, whose milk and the butter made from it together with a little durra (millet) constitute their means of subsistence. Their language, Tu Beḍāwis, is an important member of a group of languages of north-east Africa variously called Hamitic, sub-Semitic, or Kušitic. Points of contact between Beḍāwiēt and Semitic languages are numerous; yet many salient features are quite dissimilar. For instance, in Semitic languages the article is usually either lacking or indeclinable. In Beḍāwiēt the definite article is inflected for masculine and feminine, for singular and plural, for nominative and constructive, this latter case possibly being divisible into accusative and oblique. The vocabulary is fairly evenly divided into Semitic and non-Semitic; in recent years

¹ For explanation of diacritical marks, see note at end of this article.

² Indefinite form Beḍāwiēt.

closer contact with merchants and government officials has led the Bedāwiét speaking peoples to adopt many jargon Arabic words.

Tu Bedāwis is not a written language and there is no trace of its ever having been written before the advent of those Europeans who in the last century commenced to record something of it in Latin characters.

As for the poetry, more than one form of composition is recognized by the Lábīb (poet or reciter). In this article it is proposed only to make some mention of the Hábeit (te hábe), a four line verse of varying metre.

Metre is perhaps not the right word to apply to the measure of these verses. They depend for their effect on a sort of beat or stress in each line, more appreciable when the verse is spoken than when it is written. A similar style of poetry exists in other African languages and in Swahili it has attained considerable elegance. In Swahili the rhythm is obtained by two beats in each line; in the first three lines of each verse the beat is equally spaced and the three lines must rhyme, while a complete poem may contain fifty or more verses.

In Bedāwiét, rhyme is often lacking but it is permissible to introduce it with good effect. Of the verses given below, Nos. 3, 10, and 34 rhyme after the fashion of the Swahili verse.

Usually one verse only is produced on a particular subject. The style is terse, though high-flown poetical words and expressions occur frequently. It is not easy to understand the verses without considerable detailed information about the speaker and the occasion on which he produced the Hábeit.

Love is the chief source of inspiration of these verses, and an interesting point in this connection is that a lawful wife may not be mentioned by name, but a device of a husband who speaks of his wife is to name a slave in her place. The metaphors used to describe their women are such as might be expected from a hill people and their descriptions offer a little more ruggedness and vigour than is to be found in similar compositions by more sluggish dwellers in the plain and the Nile Valley.

Verses of historical interest are to be found but usually they do not contain in themselves any certain guide to speaker and circumstances ;

for these one must rely on one's informant. Nor, unfortunately, do any of the verses seem to date back more than fifty or sixty, perhaps at the most one hundred years.

Topography is the motive of many verses and the place names frequently differ considerably from what is found on the Survey maps. A Haḍendiwa may praise a spot either because it is his favourite dwelling place or because a lady in whom he is interested lives near by.

A challenge to an enemy, a satire or curse on a hostile tribe, the terrors and pleasures of the waterless desert, criticism or praise of the government, encouragement to a flagging camel, contempt for the railway as a means of travel and transport, the exploits of a bold brigand or a hungry locust, all these and other subjects find expression in the Habsit.

The following examples are all in the dialect of the Haḍendiwa and most of them have been recited (not composed) to the writer by Abdul Rahman Ef. Khurshid of Suakin, by Uhāj Othā (Haji Taha) of the Iméra (Amirab) Sinkat, and by Mahmoud Uádar of the Hámḍa (Hamḍab) Hamot. The examples selected are those most likely to interest the English reader either by the translation or by the explanation of the verse.

1. The Gar'e (Garib) have a feud with the Imera (Amirab). A man of the Gar'e ridicules the land of the Imera (i.e. the district round Sinkat). He says that it contains tall *tawai* (acacia *spirocarpa*) trees, it has some advantage with its good waters, but for the rest it is all graves.

yi'imérāi dāmār
itāuwāi iragāga
tefāidātū éyama
āraū imimašāiya

2. A man of the Bisharin expresses his contempt for the Šibódina, a people who divide a camel into quarter shares; for instance, Otahā has a leg (quarter) of the camel of Bāl'id. The Fādla, a sub-tribe of the Ammār'ar, are a proud people who would scorn such a thing and so did Alkarheu (Ali Kaharu, a wealthy chief of the Ši'aiya, Artega, who died in Mahdist times; he is reputed to have been in the habit of giving a good camel to anyone who came with a halter).

Tefófi te Bál'idft
 Iragád O Təhái ikatiét
 i Fádla išawéti
 bíkaiyi Alkharrewft

3. Karar, a brigand, boasts of his prowess. It is useless for owners of caravans to increase the number of camelmen and diminish the quantity of goods—from afar you will hear that Karar is a stout fellow.

I jammáli gūdístena
 te téfe tešišállikna
 sági mahfni yi ádim táftena
 Kárār ādāmfbi (or mē'ādāmfbi)

4. Two men of the Haḍenḍiwa went to rob the Shukria but failed to gain much. Said one to the other:—

I Šúkweri bálīb nfba
 társ éneb ḡaḡábne
 bābaré bintigai Bidirai
 tūn'áukw ōwiyai rabōbā

Let us go to the Shukria yonder or let us play tricks with these here. O Bidri don't let us go back empty-handed, to our womenfolk naked in winter-time.

5. A warrior expresses his contempt for opponents. He has warred with people who did not flee, their clothes and turbans catching in the thorn bushes, when their families were taken, people who did not want to live in such circumstances. These he has soon forgotten—what then of such cowards?

Te šānkéte bās'ábik
 yi híndi te táḡeyété
 u r'ád át'aféyā bāḡahin dā
 dáwit téteb abāḡén

6, 7, and 8. Mahmoud comes in haste to tell his friend that their enemy Ber'or is in the neighbourhood (Takdara near Tokar). In the first two verses the friend expresses his defiance of Ber'or—his lance shall find the armour of Ber'or—if Ber'or is waiting by Takdara no cattle shall be driven off before the vultures begin to dance.

In the third verse Ber'or having slain his man, scoffs as he drives off the captured animals.

Taktə'lb engádīb káake
eénda irhínyihōb ragágonāit
tú fena túnit gwiš'lb gkti
táre sllbeb Məhamúde

I Takdarái gilhāni
lēht Bér'or nesēnek
uhāg uambāl, gwibet adáli,
bə'áni fárihob galelén

I Takdarái gilhāni
lēht Bér'or téderna?
kamit Ádālkálāi məhākwallf
'ásir hómīb tatukwsán

9. An anxious father and husband prays that both mother and child may be saved. But if it be God's will to take (one of them) then he prays that the child may predecease Madina, i.e. that the child die and Madina be saved.

Allāi sallāmā kissé
ēmirād yi híneneb
ibakkf bāmbagfl tīdek
ōjina súrsa Madínāb

10. A woman of the Haḍenḍiwa prays for her man who has gone to Berber, through the burning desert and through the land of the Bisharin with whom the Haḍenḍiwa have a feud.

Te sábbi te nōnāi
ō māg i bišārāi
sallāmāt hássā Állāi
t'agāḅ immiyāyānāié

11. I have good cultivable land sown and watered. I have men who load my camels with trade goods. You who are without possessions, children, or cattle, is it possible that even you are envied?

'Adīya i bādamīm sōl'ā
 yi hāre sīfirīb salōlsā
 dīnyāt nūn 'āre rēwi
 māsi lilitamāwa ?

12. Much rain has fallen but yet there is no milk in the skins and still the khors do not run. A man of the Ammar'ar goes up to the outskirts of the 'Alia country to see what can be the reason.

Yi 'Alīāiēt gīlma
 erhēda ninīsēt
 óbire nān hoi nāyāt kwambīs
 yāme bākwanése

13. A locust boasts that he has devoured all that is worth having in Sinkat district and is off to Tokar to continue the good work.

Te dīrā' te Sinkātet
 tégwidakāt fir anūsān
 ōkā' bākammālei gīgān
 Tū Kar hādirā meyādīḥ

14. The week-end train having just arrived at Sinkat station the writer suggested to Mahmoud Uadar that he should compose a Habeit commencing—

ēenda ibābūri ēān
 (the people have come by the train)

whereupon he instantly produced the following:—

ēenda O Sōk mari ēān
 u hāre i bābūr ikwāsniḥ
 i tawāli t ījarā fāisa
 o bhāc hātkāb imōrim

The folk have come from Suakin; they've made their camel the train. He who pays his fare on the railway, 'twill see him as far as the Nile.

15. A man who formerly used to graze his camel in Khor 'Adit between Sinkat and Kamoi Sanha (Kamobsana) now avoids that district owing to the smoke of the trains and their terrific noise.

I bābūr éḍa
te káḍaū te ragāga
o siyām 'Adīt hatieḅ
u éla sílleḅ aḍišané

16. The train does not go to the (high) hills, it keeps close to the path of the rails. It will cure your fretful desire for travel when it takes (only) an hour between each station.

I bābūr é ribā bābai
i gādīb amnhállnīḅ
uhei'ī mēhélhōk, uhei'īt'rigida
sa'átka mēháltāt inīwék

17. A jackal by a trick robbed a Moslem of his Koran, his abrik (jar of water for ritual ablution), and his rosary. She indulges in the following blasphemous song:—

Te síbhā kámoi nēš'ág
u ábrik hāl hāwāné
ū dīn itlawīwetūn
hāmiš hīndi kamōné

We hung the rosary on a *kamoi* tree. The abrik we defiled. The Book appeared to us and we tap on it with a green withy. (Note.—This Habeit is well known to every Haḍendiwa, even to the children. Apart from the fact that the jackal is a notorious unbeliever it appears to have some inner significance.)

18. The speaker, a townsman, is contemptuous about the country cousin, a man brought up in a small minor khor, a man to get angry about a lost or spoiled waterskin. In the town, O Karšun, cattle is given away gratis and silver is squandered.

Ū rau ibálāš gígīb
tə'ášte te šarafámtīt
Karšūnei sárīb wannīn han?
otak orói hāmāināt.

19. An old chief decides not to go down to Gwineb as he did in days of yore, with shield slung over his back, quick to take revenge for the least word that he could not support, in O Gwineb all white with

the lightning. (U Gwineb—the plain by the sea shore and the lower slopes of the hills where there is good winter pasturage.)

Tə 'illa éboi gáde nánye dor
yi 'ádim bínyāgenéb
yáma hōganhok, gwíbe sinkāi,
O Gwinéb wi ēraffnīb

20. Why, O Mahmoud, do you sing of going down to Gwineb where the lightning is, jogging thither on our camels—since we are here in Heisoye, a place where the grass is good?

O Gwinéb i talāūwe mähfnīb
bēti bākwirāb yi haréyé
idíbbā u Heisōysi
nan nfnei Māhamōde?

21. A man of the Gar'e (Garib) married a woman of the Jaalin, Atbara way. He had a son of her and when he desired to return to his own country near Erba (Sinkat) the boy asked to be taken. As they pass Sinkat town the small boy asks about the locality and his father replies:—

Tū tū nā 'Adīt teséta
ūn u Hāšateribāi
kísarāt bīdadaǵni mähfn
éta i Gar'fbei

This khor here is 'Adit where the flood runs. This mountain here is Hašateriba. You have come to a place, O my Garib, where the people don't make kisa (that sort of bread known as kisa is rare amongst the hillmen).

22. A stout fellow who fears not to set off across the desert of Tekaramsabbi (between Tebilol and the Atbara) without provision of water. Like a vulture he swoops down on the plain from the direction of Misir'ar.

éyām bādēyīg yákia
obilīq wi āthakīneb
Mísir'ār Tekāramsābbi
ibā'ānet khāi saktīni

23 and 24. The siege of Suakin by the forces of Osman Digna.
Composed by Haḍaikelus (lion cub).

Birnenēnek bīrēt isgīn
érba nēnek fagrib
úmnenēnek tīyōt nīrkwī
obilīḍ ōnāi netōmāg
Šātī attālāiēnūn
i Kārīm hannānāmīa
ān'ā i barbārai ēān
dōfībka *rīb'fti

When we wished to fly the skies were high, if we went to the hills there were the Dervishes. If we tried to swim we feared the sharks; surely this place is hateful to us. They (the Dervishes) have hindered our supply of meat but the Lord has been gracious. The Barbary (fat-tailed) sheep have come (by steamer) and each portion produces a quarter of fat.

25. Osman Digna compelled his nomads to keep on the move for the good of their souls and he himself never stayed more than a day or two in any one spot. If he found even an old woman squatting in one place instead of roving as a true nomad should he had her moved on forcibly. In the following Habsit such a woman complains to her uncle Osman that the hill she loves cannot be tied in her baggage and be put on a camel; it must remain behind and fondly she gazes back on it. The story goes that on hearing her words Osman Digna allowed her to return and stay by her hill.

(A)bāriyēbka dūri Atmán
bārāmi liddatft
urba teberāne bārām
sə'āte manhfb ašāmbīb

26. The Haḍenḍiwa are not particularly in awe of the Egyptian troops, but they admire the English soldiers who fight furiously and who also have a way with the girls.

Angūdab (temāsri) ōfēna
bāiyāihamādei
winnāt Ingīlīz ēta
'ārit omāhīb hawāiyāt

27. Sheikh Musa, former Nazir of the Haḍenḍiwa, had a game leg. At a conference of sheikhs at Suakin the Muhafiz (? Murtaḍ Pasha) called him "Ya 'Araj". Said Sheikh Musa :—

I bāša i dīwāniyó
 ó sim ón bíbadílék
 u Hartūmít fbāb
 móri ti šimbiḍāḍi

If the Pasha in his office does not change this name, then prepare O my flying camel for the journey to Khartoum (whither I shall repair to report him to his superiors).

28. Many (?) years before the time of the Mahdi there was a rebellion of the Haḍenḍiwa against the Egyptian government and a battle took place at Ambori (?) in the hills above Adarot. The old paramount chief of the Haḍenḍiwa looked on from a neighbouring hill and saw his people victorious. A man from the Etbai was privileged to stand by him holding the halter of his camel. On his return to the North this man describes enthusiastically how the people of the Pashas were opposed by lances and the Haḍenḍiwa by fire, a thing they had all been longing to see for a long time.

Té fena te bašáftida
 tó n'ě yi Haḍenḍiwidaha
 gwíd hōbf áki nīdēna
 nengádāt farrājamna

29. Haderaf is a camel that grunts to himself (not complainingly as do many camels) on a journey. His master has received various offers for him, two young camels of a year old, a young female camel just arrived at maturity, a hundred dollars and more. But he does not mean to sell the camel that is so much coveted and so much bid for.

Mále šúwe'ār, šibót ősi,
 ő ši ígwil riála
 bí'íšarāb imdilfb bādiéb
 u háderaf 'ətd'ūb sasómiān

30. A man riding a pied camel tells it not to regard the bare patch that marks the spot where formerly stood the hut of his lover.

T ankwána tífhob
 henén han kahasámna
 u gwaráre mǐleb šámbíba
 yí'ášeí i Sallamfneb

Were the mistress there, we also should not pass by. My pied one, in vain you gaze on the place where formerly stood the house of Sallamin.

31. The widow of a fine brave man having remarried a man the exact opposite in physique and mentality the poet speaks derisively of the jackal that licks the place where an animal has been slaughtered and of the wolf that makes his home in the den of a (dead) lion.

O mǎn i bə'áši lanwfu
 khāi mingāiamínyék
 Hǎlika! u hádai dála
 udíb sǎnāgíni

32. Unreciprocated love is futile. It resembles, O my uncle, raindrops from those thunder clouds that do not cause the khors to run.

I kháne te dáināi nūn
 érha dǎhók bíbárinék
 tán'e dūrāi u'árit mǐnda
 yáme bǎkwanése

33. A man who finds that he has nothing in common with his lover debates whether he shall leave her. Is there only one woman in the world that I shouldn't leave her? Shall I not find another if I search? Will my son wail if I abandon? (no children have come from their relations). We have no property in common to divide (if we separate).

Gǎtuit bǎmhagíi ánde han?
 wēt bǎnāu hárūtít?
 'óre wáwe ba'íš ánde han?
 réwi bílkāk ádiqtít

34. A young man on his way to see his lover makes light of travelling through country that a bird hardly could cross. He sets off at twilight crowing like a cock, and with the speed of an ostrich he swoops down from the hills.

u andirhóit kwalittán
 náíye dör ebádeyán
 tó uhī kwiréb áki hógán
 ū kəlaī bifáqīdēt

35. During the war (1917-18) cotton reached a very high price at Tokar. People made money and spent it too. A certain man had a mistress and one evening she dropped in the dark her nose ring. Her lover took matches from his pocket but they gave insufficient light. So he made a spill of a ten pound note and using it as a torch he found the ring. He describes in the Habeit the pleasure it gave him to see her front teeth that flashed out like the lightning in the north.

iyāme baītīt mīnda
 fīrhā gandō ekátiet
 tákwile šābhén ériwāg ōmēhfb
 tálaū ē Šām yiisfnīb

DIACRITICAL MARKS.

- š = sh in English she.
- ʔ = praecacuminal *t* and *d* (pronounced with the tip of the tongue curled upwards and backwards to its utmost).
- ə = the obscure vowel, e.g. thə man; much used in Beḍawiet between two adjacent consonants, e.g. sedəna, for sedna.
- ε = French *ê* with diphthongish tendency to *ei*.
- ˉ = vowel long.
- ˘ = vowel very short.
- ˈ = tonic accent or stress.
- ˆ = diphthong.
- ˁ = hamza; glottal stop.
- ◌◌ = occlusive final consonant not followed by the normal explosion of breath; the effect is to render voiced consonants indistinguishable from their unvoiced partners, especially *-b* sounds like *-p*, *-d* like *-t*, and *-g* like *-k*.

Double consonants are pronounced distinctly separate as in Arabic.

THE RAIK DINKA OF BAHR EL GHAZAL PROVINCE.

By Major G. W. Titherington.

PLATES XV—XXV.

CHAPTER I.

THE RACE.

1. "DINKA" is the anglicized form of the Arabic Denkowi—Jangowi—Jangi. Moing Jang is their own name for their tribe, and anywhere but in Africa they would be a nation, both from their numbers and the extent of the country they inhabit.

The Dinka show us pre-historic man at home in the twentieth century as uncontaminated by outside influence as any race that can be found in the world to-day. They are an increasing people, flourishing, virile, pastoral, and in the early Iron Age. They number about a million persons.

2. EXTENT.

From the Bahr el Arab, in the south of Darfur, 400 miles south-eastwards to the Nile about Bor, a strip about 100 miles wide is all Dinka country. From Bor northwards on the east of the Nile as far as Renk (70 years ago, it is said, as far as Sennar), but with a large intervening wedge of Nuer about the Sobat and Bahr el Zeraf rivers, belongs to them. They stretch north of the Bahr el Arab into Kordofan and occur again north of the Bahr el Ghazal river.

3. HISTORY.

Throughout this vast area the same language and customary social system prevail, but with the local variations which are expected where little national consciousness and no written language exist and there is small reason for distant inter-communication. Modifications introduced by contact with neighbours are slight (although they exist), while the national character is conservatively resistant to such.

That they ever had one supreme head like their cousins, the Shilluk, is unlikely, and they have no tradition of it; but there can be no doubt that their social system and personal outlook, as we so lately found it,

was in a state of deterioration directly resulting from the continual harrying they received from the Northern slavers, and the demoralizing effects of half a century of subjection to crime at the hands of every stranger, before the coming of the present Government. That they did not succumb altogether, like so many Southern tribes, speaks highly for their stout-heartedness; nor did they take to the vile but common practice of selling their fellow tribesmen into slavery. They lost hundreds of thousands of cattle: men, women and children in thousands were slaughtered, carried off into slavery, or died of famine; but the survivors kept alive in the deepest swamps, bravely attacked the raiders when they could, and nursed that loathing and contempt for the stranger and all his ways that even now they are only just losing.

They are more or less closely connected with the other Nilotics of the Sudan, the Shilluk and Nuer, and with the Karamojo, Masai and others of East Africa. Occasionally something is noticed suggestive of connection with Polynesia and the resemblance of rustic scenes and types in the Sakkara tombs is striking. They point to the South-east as the direction of their traditional home, whence they migrated to their present country; but dates and names are quite lost in a mythical past, when crocodiles used to have human children, ostrich eggs hatched into beautiful girls, foxes spoke, magic spears came down from heaven, eagles brought all-compelling charms from the sky, and half-divine children were found inside gourds, and so on.

They believe that they have always led the same sort of life as they lead now, and that cattle always played the central part in it. That cattle have long existed in this area is indicated by the depth at which one finds the pink ash of dung-fires in shafts sunk into the old town-mounds on the edge of the big swamps. It is not likely that much archaeological evidence will come to light, for there is no stone in their country, and the rainfall is heavy. Granite and quartz hand-stones, potsherds, baked clay beads and children's toy animals are found, but whether they are twenty or two hundred years old there is little to show. We can guess that the Dinka have not entered the Iron Age very long, but spear-heads of horn, hoes of bull's shoulder-blades, and implements of bone and wood seem to have preceded those of metal (one can still see them in use in the more out of the way Nuer areas) rather than stone tools which might have survived, though what could have been used



DOLÉIB PALMS (BORASSUS).



DANCING.

for an axe-head except stone is not obvious—possibly it was fire. They still do not smelt iron themselves, but obtain it from their neighbours, and many of their iron-workers are foreigners.

4. DIVISIONS.

In Bahr el Ghazal Province, beginning from the West, the main divisions are the Malwal, the Raik, the Gokk, the Agar, the Chiech and the Aliab and Bor on the Nile.

Of these the Raik, whom this account now concerns, number some 200,000, and inhabit the country bounded on the south by the edge of the ironstone, on the west nearly by the River Pongo produced north, on the east nearly by the River Gell between Tonj and Rumbek, and on the north by the permanent swamps round Lake Ambadi and the lower parts of the Rivers Jur, Loll and Bahr el Arab, where the inhabitants degenerate from typical Dinka into the despised and cattleless Abur, Manganerr, Bo, etc., who support an amphibious existence on fish, hippo meat and water-lilies.

CHAPTER II.

THE COUNTRY.

1. The flat clay plains which the Raik inhabit give the impression of not having long emerged from permanent swamp, to which indeed they almost revert in the late Summer and Autumn. Unattractive enough at first, however, their wide spaces, diversified with big trees, bush and grass, compare favourably with the monotony of the thick bush which clothes the ironstone foothills forming the southern boundary of the Raik country. These hills rise gradually to the Nile-Congo divide from a north-west and south-east line, where they emerge from the plains. Some hundred miles to the northward lies the edge of the permanent swamps, a waterlogged and vegetation-choked wilderness, dotted with little islands, which have always given the Dinka a place of refuge in trouble and good grazing for their numerous stock in the rainless winter.

The country is featureless, save for the low sandy ridges—probably the remains of ancient silted-up watercourses—on which the Dinka build their homes. Fortunately for the map-maker, every place that can be inhabited or hold a cattle-camp has a recognized proper name. The watercourses have a new name every few miles: these are taken

from some old incident or natural peculiarity and repetitions are frequent. There is no need, therefore, for the maddening practice, so common in Africa, of showing only men's names on the maps, while how often and how far the eponymous hero has moved since the map was made only local information can tell. Variety is provided by the scattered but plentiful big trees—wild figs of several kinds, doleib palm, "sausage" tree, the thorny "*hardz*," Sudani date, that the elephant eat, and an infrequent mahogany. These provide shade, and rise above the lowlier bush, itself sometimes thick in belts and patches, sometimes scattered or giving place to unrelieved stretches of high, thick grass, flooded in the summer or burnt off more or less bare in winter.

Occasionally a thick belt of doleib palms intervenes, and very attractive these are with their gracefully bulged boles, murmuring leaves and huge bunches of orange-hued fruits as large—each one—as a child's head. Various trees and bushes, bearing blossom and always rather disappointing fruits, are common, and form an important secondary food supply. Anything more delightful than the snowy display of the rubber-vine in December, to scent and sight, is hard to imagine. After the first rains the green young grass, starred with many flowers, is a welcome relief to the winter harshness of burnt or half-burnt yellow grass thickets, though that is mitigated by the green of the trees, never all bare at one time, and the new grass that shoots immediately after fire.

2. CLIMATE.

About 35 inches of rainfall from April to October: its distribution is uneven from year to year, while the rest of the year is practically rainless. The winter is invigorating, with clear skies and a strong north-east wind from 9 a.m. to sundown, though it sometimes carries too much dust and ashes of grass-fires for comfort; the nights are cool. About the middle of March a hot, damp south wind or still weather begins, which is very unpleasant until the fierce thunderstorms of the Rains bring relief. These occur usually in the afternoon, arrive from the north-east, are local in effect, and often accompanied by hurricanes. Between them, cool, cloudy weather mostly prevails, and vegetable and insect life begin to flourish, the rivers rise, and the country is gradually covered with water till the Rains finish in October. The Autumn is a trying time of year, as the water stagnates as it dries off, and mosquitoes

become a plague: though they are a nuisance everywhere throughout the wet months, and in the dry, also, near water. By December the country will be largely dried, except for scattered pools; and in January the long, dry grass is burnt off in extensive prairie fires, the wind scatters the black ash, and the young, green grass at once shoots to the height of a few inches, but dies away again in a month or so. After a fire the smaller bush appears to be dead for ever, but, except for the destruction of dead wood and leaves, there is no permanent effect; nor are seeds of grass or trees killed: next Rains all will grow up again probably the better for having the ground cleared—a task in which the termites assist.

The country is slowly being denuded of timber trees, for their sparse and slow-growing seedlings cannot compete with the Dinka goat.

Owing to the lack of natural drainage in the Rains, the water is unable to escape, and evaporation wastage is at once replaced; the rivers, too, spill over. As a result, it is not possible to walk half a mile without getting wet to the knees, or to the neck, if so unfortunate as to step into one of the numerous "pot-holes" concealed by the muddy water; or, if the dew is still on the grass, without being soaked from head to foot. To go ten miles probably involves wading or swimming half a dozen stagnant and weed-choked channels, covered with purple, scented water-lilies wherever there is open water. Six months later it may be impossible to travel over this very ground, for it is completely waterless, the wells dry, and every inhabitant has gone with the stock to the winter grazing along the big swamps.

When the grass is at its longest, man lives like a rabbit in a cornfield—no great hardship to the Dinka, apparently, for he accentuates it by growing millet, 12 feet or more high, up to the walls of his houses. The mud, though soft and full of deep swallow-holes, is not of the deep gluey kind that wet cotton-soil makes; so that the long legs which are so characteristic of the Dinka are probably not due to the same cause as the lankiness of the women and pigs of Sussex in Evelyn's time, viz., to continually pulling their feet out of the mud.

The rivers, where they leave the ironstone and enter the clay plains, are confined to one rocky channel; but before long they split, meander and spill over, so that their lower courses are all lost in swamp. The winding, swift-running Narrows of the River Jur alone, of all the rivers discharging into the Bahr el Ghazal, are open to arduous navigation

in the summer and autumn; and the names of Commander Fell, R.N., and of Marchand's party should not be forgotten for their heroic labour, nearly 30 years ago, in opening this channel. Once past this depressing stretch of 100 miles or so, the stern-wheeled Nile steamers ascend by a deep river 200 yards, wide, right up into the ironstone country. The enormous swamp, with a dozen good-sized, swift rivers pouring into it for six months in the year, is connected to the Nile by the miserable Bahr el Ghazal. It provides an astonishing example of evaporation wastage. By the end of the winter the rivers dwindle to a succession of sandy pools.

Such is the country the Raik inhabit and love: it will never be fit for European colonization. Nothing but *force majeure* will induce the Raik to leave it for long, and they are not happy till they can get back to their home in it. When times were bad, the rains a failure and the cattle all lost, they preferred to enter a cattle-house fifty at a time, bar the door, and lie down to die, rather than seek a living abroad. The young men never enlist in the Army or Police, while old men, who were enslaved as children and taken North, prefer to revert to type in their ancient homes. Sometimes the only sign that a naked and ash-smear'd old man will give of years of service in a Battalion and a row of medals is to stand to attention and salute an Englishman.

CHAPTER III.

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM.

I. It has been noted that the social system was found in a state of decay: anarchy, chaos and violence had almost abolished order and security. There were traces of a system of rule by a number of independent chiefs with different offices and overlapping or identical territories; one might have the duty of settling all matters concerning marriage, another of allotting the water and ordering the fishing season to start, another to lead in war, and so on. Which, if any, of these was supreme apparently depended on personal prestige and success in his particular sphere, and supremacy was brief and uncertain. Decisions were made after discussion with a Council, unless magic guided them.



CHIEF'S COURT.



WOMEN'S DANCE.

Its own clumsiness must have assisted such a system to collapse under the shock of the slavers' attacks, and its successor was pure communism: no one owned any property save what was in reach of his club and spear, no one acknowledged any authority or gave obedience to anyone, save so far as he could be scared into it by fear of magic or violence. Such a break-up of society was beginning to breed its own remedy, and here and there men had arisen who commanded a shadowy authority over the wolf-pack, either in virtue of some powerful magic, success as rain-makers, or merely as the breeders of large numbers of truculent sons.

This was the situation which faced the Government when it took up the task of reviving the latent Dinka institutions, and it was clear that the earlier "system" of a multiplicity of overlapping chiefships was dead past hope, even if it had been worth reconstructing.

2. THE CHIEFS.

The first step was the selection of a limited number of men with an ancestral claim to respect, capable of and willing gradually to assume the office of paramount Chief with full authority and responsibility. Among a people with such extremely independent ideas, to persuade the Chief to assert his slender authority was (and in places remains) a difficulty. Its tender growth was liable to shrivel as the result of a mocking song which caught the fancy of the cattle-camps, or of a warlike speech in the Council by some pot-valiant ancient, or of the blighting influence of a senile and reactionary parent. Next came the difficulty of inculcating a settled allegiance to one chief, and only one, and of disappointing the ambition of every petty headman to be an independent Chief.

There are now 38 Chiefs of the Raik, they are independent of one another in theory, though in practice certain men of outstanding character have established influence over their neighbours, who call them in in difficult cases and to hear appeals. The Government has introduced an annual meeting of all the Chiefs. The first of these was instructive, and so little was the motive understood that many Chiefs hid near the meeting place to see if it were true that they were invited to a Barmecides' feast, and, this anxiety overcome, the glowering silences of hereditary enemies who had never met save in battle, were significant of the past. These meetings are now eagerly attended, and a great deal

of business is got through, sometimes with a Chief and sometimes with a Government official in the chair.

By ancient custom, each Chief is assisted by an informal Council, which he consults in all matters: it is composed of his Sub-Chiefs (each of whom is responsible for his own area, and whose appointment is largely in the Chief's hands) and Elders, and anyone—man or woman—who wishes to hear or to speak. The proceedings are democratic and the Chief's position is that of *primus inter pares*.

By custom, Chiefs collected no revenue from their people, and were not entitled to any payment for their services—as opposed to magicians, who were: apparently the position was its own reward, and appealed to the streak of vanity and wish to stand high in the public esteem.

The present taxation—temporarily paid in grain in the absence of cash—is worth to the Government 3s. a year for each married man, and, if he has other wives, he pays half this for each additional one. Its value to the payer is less definite, and, as it is paid soon after the harvest, it represents two or three pots of beer. There is also a small contribution to the fund, out of which the Chiefs' monthly salaries are paid. The Chiefs are learning to become responsible for the administration of this fund.

3. THE CLANS.

The Raik are divided into 26 clans, with territorial boundaries defined. Some of them bear the same name, although widely separated and quite independent, which points to common but forgotten ancestry. They are not, however, much interested in the connection of such clans, but are much more so in the ties of the family groups (*gol*) which both sub-divide and cross-divide the clan. The often widely-separated branches of a *gol* have the same name and totem, have sometimes their own burial and other customs, and acknowledge special duties of hospitality and mutual assistance. The names usually begin with *FA*-, which seems a contraction of *FAN* = home. The ramifications of these *gol* extend far outside the Raik who, themselves, include branches of several hundred.

Filial piety and loyalty to the head of the family are leading characteristics; however, in every sphere no absolute rules tie down Dinka conduct to hidebound lines—their nature is essentially free and independent, and they consider there is no reason against their transferring

from one clan or family to another following a fight or grievance. New *gols* are fissiparous, and started usually as the result of fratricidal blood feuds.

4. THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

That in use by the Raik was the traditional system worked out by the Dinka themselves, with no known foreign introductions. It is founded on the equality of all before the law, and the possession of cattle by all. There were no criminal offences and no idea of punishment to be awarded by Chief or Councils. All trials were simply discussions to decide Civil cases for damages. Common Law and Case Law guided decisions. Therefore imprisonment appeared to them a cruel and unnatural proceeding, though the idea of hanging a murderer was quite understood. There was a complete scale of payments of cattle, sheep or goats, covering every offence, to be made by the offender and his family to the injured family. The exact number to be paid naturally varied as cattle were plentiful or otherwise, and opened the door to the national pastime—interminable argument about the ownership of cattle. There is quite a strong sense of collective responsibility, and if the offender cannot pay, it falls on his family to help him. If a man is killed in a fight and the striker cannot be identified, all on the other side are equally liable to contribute to the blood price which has been agreed upon by the Raik as thirty cows for an unmarried man and fifteen when the deceased leaves children.

The obvious weakness of the system was the absence of effective compulsion upon a strong offender to accept or carry out the decision, and it was in this direction that serious decay had set in, so that violence or threat of it, or evasion, was often defying justice. That the system ever worked at all speaks well for the high moral sense which is so striking in the Raik. Deliberate murder—as distinct from killing in fair fight or drunken brawling—is extremely rare; pure theft—as opposed to the lifting of cattle by force or stealth after a dispute about their rightful ownership—is unknown: a man's word is his bond, and on the rare occasions when a man is asked to swear, his oath is accepted as a matter of course. Liars do exist, but are so chaffed about their failing that they practise it with discretion.

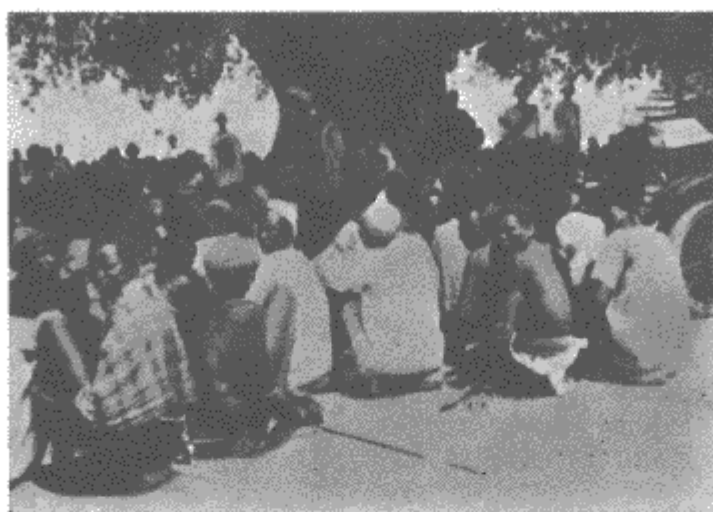
Sometimes it is a sense of the dramatic rather than a disregard for the truth that leads to *suggestio falsi*, as when a man (it always seems

to be an old man) gloomily says he has been robbed of all his cattle and puts down a bundle of some hundreds of straws. Visions arise of war parties spreading fire and rapine, but a few questions elicit that the old man's grandfather gave a sickly heifer to A. in exchange for a bull which was killed and eaten. Contrary to expectation, the heifer did well and calved (her descendants are represented by the straws, each a beast whose whereabouts and name is known), but when A. was asked to return her he refused, and was within his rights, as his bull was dead. However, the old man does not really imagine that it is either possible or just to collect all these beasts, he merely wants the sheep which A.'s descendants occasionally give him, and which he has been demanding too frequently of late.

Naturally, lack of tact in putting questions will draw a lie in reply, as, for instance, publicly to ask a man how many cows he owns, or where is his brother who is *en retraite* after killing a man; but it is not the custom for a guilty person to deny a charge of killing, wounding, adultery, etc., etc.; and if he denies owing cattle, it is a question of law or equity that requires deciding, rather than of fact, even though the case goes back a hundred years. A plea of self-defence or provocation does not extenuate, and pure accident only partly.

Any large shady tree makes a suitable law court for the Chief and Council. A small clear space is left in front of the Chief, who has adopted a rough deck-chair as his state seat; public and litigants sit round. There are no definite members of Council, in whose absence proceedings are held up, though the hearing may be postponed for the attendance of important members of the contending families or persons interested in the case. In the prevailing ingenuousness, evidence of witnesses is not important, and there is no custom of hearing them or the parties apart. Anyone may comment either upon the statements of parties, opinions of elders, or the Chief's decision. This is given, with the reasons for it. An interesting institution is the *Gam Lung*, who repeats in a loud voice the words of whoever is "in possession of the house," and so minimizes interruption and confusion.

The word of a woman is accepted equally with that of a man, and they have identical rights to a hearing—their rights to property are, however, not equal. The memories of the public were a sufficient record of proceedings, however ancient, and it is very rare for any



CHIEF'S MEETING.



WOMEN'S DANCE.

question to arise: their power of memorizing the details of hundreds of cattle pedigrees is remarkable, even for illiterates, and they count up to a thousand with some assistance from straw counters.

A number of small boys are now learning to write and read their own language in the Latin alphabet, with the simplest spelling, at the Italian Catholic Mission School established at Kajok in 1924, and they will keep records of Chiefs' Courts and other records and correspondence for Chiefs. A system of Chiefs' Police has been established to assist the Chiefs in having Court decisions carried out with reasonable promptitude. The Raik had the rudiments of an appeal system, and often the same Chief who had decided a case would good-naturedly hear it all over again, in case he could have made a mistake.

An oath is sworn by licking a spear or, less commonly, any piece of iron. Certain ancestral spears give an oath greater solemnity. To stoop down and place a pinch of dust on the tongue almost amounts to an oath, and ashes are also used to swear upon. Such ashes are produced by a Chief or other leading man from the cooking fire in his house, but failing them, any ashes will do well enough. On the rare occasion when the opposite party suspects a false oath, he will wait to say so until he sees severe sickness, death, or other misfortune fall on the perjurer's house within the next year, and may then ask for a fresh oath. If it is given, the matter is settled, and if not, the first oath may be decided false. There is no test by ordeal, although the practice is familiar from their Jur neighbours.

5. RELIGION.

The Raik have their share of the religiosity which seems to stamp all Africans. Their intellect is nearly as liable to the same temporary eclipse at the preaching of a half-daft magician as is that of their Northern neighbours when a vision-intoxicated prophet starts a "crusade." Like most other people, they are considerably stronger on practice than on doctrine. While they know well enough what they must do to avoid misfortune, their idea of the Divine is vague.

There is a supreme Providence sometimes called Nyalich (literally =In the above) or Deing (Rain) or Wa Dit (Great Father or grandfather)—this is sometimes said to the new moon in greeting. He is invoked in prayer and when sacrifice is offered. While he exercises a general

benevolence over mankind, he does not reward the good nor punish the wicked, and does little to control the Spirits—mostly evil—(Jok) which are the dominating influence in the Raik supernatural. There is no idea of an after-life, but when the head of a family dies his spirit haunts the scenes of his life, and must be remembered with respect.

Nothing can be further from reality than the idea of the happy savage living in a golden age of carefree innocence. While it is true that most of the anxieties that beset a Westerner's life trouble the Dinka not at all, yet his own worries are far more numerous than any we wot of. Ignorance of cause and effect, and a credulity which never ceases to astonish the observer, cloud his life with the constant dread that he has neglected some precaution against the malevolence of man, spirit or Nature, and he hardly distinguishes the last two.

Propitiation takes the form of sacrifices, with ceremonies varying in detail, of bulls, sheep or goats, and even, it is related, in extreme crises where these had failed, of cows or humans. Every event of importance is marked by these sacrifices—birth, marriage, death, the repair of an ancestor's tomb, the completion of a new house, a lack of rain, crossing a herd over a crocodile-infested river, making war or peace, a long journey, and especially sickness among stock or humans. Indeed the surest way of finding out how sick a person is considered to be is to ask what has been killed for him. The meat of the sacrifice is eaten by those attending the ceremony, and some of it or the skin cut into tapes may be raised on poles towards the sky. Such tapes bar the road behind a herd of cattle against disease, which it is hoped thus to throw off. In one form of sacrifice a goat is thrust under the water-weeds in a pool, and left: this is a necessary preliminary to beginning the fishing in every pool, although some pools are taboo and not fished at all.

Next in the scale come charms and spells, and no succession of failures ever convinces the Raik that the next new one he hears of will not be the all-compelling talisman that the human race has so long been waiting for.

Consequently the professional magician is an important person: every one of them so far encountered has been a charlatan, with the exception of two classes; and while a few seem genuinely self-deceived as to their powers, most practice with tongue in cheek. A few have genuine skill in bone-setting and trepanning, and the iron-workers are

clever in their limited art, though some object that the latter are not magicians at all. The profession is not necessarily hereditary, but it is noticed that most of the non-hereditary magicians are either Dinka who have had their wits sharpened by enslavement in the North, or else are foreigners. It is evidently an easy life appealing to the unscrupulous, and while the object of most of them is to gain riches regardless of consequences, some do use their power on the side of peace and order and to assist rather than to thwart the Chiefs who are, however, nowadays, able to hold their own.

It has been rather unkindly written of their near neighbours that "it is to the witch doctors that the Nuer turns in times of difficulty or doubt, if his wife proves barren, if he desires a successful issue to a hunting expedition, or to obtain the gratification of some wish that he feels too lazy or too weak to obtain by his own unaided efforts." The same can be said of the Raik. However, our civilization cannot afford to cast many stones when the present beliefs and practices of a large proportion of its members are considered together with the fact that the Dinka have arrived at about the stage when our forebears were in the horrid grip of Druidism.

Certain trees or clumps of trees are held sacred by all (in distinction to totem trees, which are sacred only to those whose totem they are). They are generally connected with the burial of an ancestor, but whether their sanctity preceded or followed this is obscure: the idea, like most others, varies in strength with locality. The Loing Jang nearly always have a small wild yellow "plum" growing over important graves, and do not take any wood from them. The tree-clumps are always 20-30 "Sudani date" trees growing close together: no one sits under them and the women do not take their fruit or fallen wood for firing; cattle and goats are kept away from them. This practice carried out for long would account for the growth of the clump from a single tree. The most striking single sacred tree is a colossal mahogany in the Twij country north of the River Loll. It has a platform raised against its trunk covered with the bones and horns of sacrifices made near it. This is a unique feature, as is also a small house near by, for its spirit with an old woman living alongside as its servant.

The ancestral tombs resemble the front half of a bull, life size, made of mud with real horns inserted. Some are surrounded by a fence, and

all have pegs near them for cattle to be tied to, to delight the ancestor when the tomb is repaired each year after the Rains and sacrifice made. This is not done so much in affectionate remembrance of the departed as in fear of the unpleasant things he might do to his impious descendants, especially if they neglect or flout any of the ancient customs of which these spirits are the guardians. Who is entitled to a bull tomb seems to be a matter of chance : they are not common.

One or two families have the custom of burying alive their elders at their own request and with due ceremony when senile decay is far advanced.

Every one has his totem and pays it respect in obvious ways. Totems may be anything in nature, lions, giraffes, crocodiles, snakes, trees, grasses, and so on. A man's children will usually have his totem, but they respect those of their mothers and wives, and can adopt these as their own or sometimes an entirely new one. This respect is not particular—that is a lion-totem family respects all lions and will not help to kill them or wear their claws or step on a lion skin, and so on ; should the totem be edible, its meat is, of course, taboo. If pressed for the origin of this custom the Raik allows his fancy to range as freely as any ethnologist : it is quite lost.

The snake totem is the most interesting, for it seems to enjoy a universal respect. No one hurts or kills a snake—except a python—and often one sees a file of men walking on a narrow path and stepping high over the venomous little snake which has a habit of not getting out of the way, but lies wriggling furiously in the dust : they take no further notice of it. Again, in a crowded Council, the progress of some snake that has come out of the tree can be followed by the downward glances of the men it passes : they show no anxiety. Often houses are found abandoned to swarms of snakes, but with the owner and his family of small children living in their other houses a few yards away. At the beginning of the Rains the family hoes will be placed inside this house to bring a good harvest. The pet snake which follows its mistress about and is given milk to drink appears to be a traveller's exaggeration. Needless to say the ordinary European ideas upon snakes are not admired. Deaths from snake-bite occur, of course, but they are not common considering how numerous are snakes of all kinds, and the disregard for their danger shown by the bare-footed Raik : they apparently do not know that there are non-venomous species.

6. PROPERTY.

At first the ideas of the Raik about property appear primitive and hardly out of the communal stage, especially regarding cattle and food. Closer examination shows that their peculiar economy is the cause of this. For instance, a cow belongs to the head of a household and is allotted to a wife and her babies to drink milk from; a brother hopes to receive it in return for a cow he lent towards the eldest son's marriage payment; a second son hopes to be given it towards the marriage-price of the girl he hopes soon to marry; the cow actually came to its present owner as part of the marriage-price of his daughter: she is, however, unfortunately barren, and it looks as if the marriage will be broken and he will have to return the cow and its calf; meanwhile a third son has rashly broken the head of another young warrior in a fight at a dance, and if he dies the cow may have to be paid to his relations as blood-price. So a number of people are interested in the cow and will somehow have to be got to agree to its final fate. In this case, as a matter of law, the son-in-law prevails, though, as a matter of urgency, the father of the wounded boy would receive it on the understanding that it would be ransomed for return to its rightful owner by another cow shortly.

In a country where the rainfall is capricious, neighbours feel bound to help out those who have been less fortunate with their crops. They show great generosity in feeding chance travellers—*pace* their reputation for inhospitality among their Arab neighbours, hardly to be wondered at, however, after all the mean outrages they once suffered from murderous Arab kidnappers. Also as a legacy of the old days when it was hardly worth sowing, so great was the insecurity of reaping, possession of grain came to be regarded as a very chancey matter. In any case, owing to improvident brewing of beer, the grain never lasts till next harvest, so that generosity only means a little longer without it and living on other foods. It is remembered also that it is incumbent on the receiver to return the gift when later he in turn is prosperous.

It is this expectation of the customary generosity from those who have anything to give that has led some travellers to describe the Dinka as shameless beggars. The munificent stranger is sometimes disconcerted by the apparent indifference with which his gift is at once handed to a third party or apparently forcibly removed from the recipient. A Chief once asked that an old rifle he had might be exchanged for a shot-gun,

for it was better to shoot something small like a guinea-fowl and take it home and eat it himself than something large like a tiang, of which his share, after everyone was satisfied, was something very small.

All this helps to disguise the fact of their property customs being logical and well developed. The head of a household disposes of all its unmarried members, including his brothers' widows and families, and of the herd of cattle which is the centre of the family life. It is he who allots the cattle to their various uses and approves or vetoes marriages. Before he dies he will indicate a brother or son to succeed him, not necessarily his eldest son; this is absolutely unquestioned by the other sons. Widows do not marry again, but pass to the heir or heirs as wives. Should a widow be the sole heir from lack of all male relatives—an unlikely contingency—she hastens to provide her property with a male protector. If she is young enough, she takes a new mate, for whom she may wait concealed beside a forest path; if not, she will "marry" a girl with part of her cattle and provide her with a consort. The children are then the deceased's, though he may have died some years before their birth.

Land, grazing (which may be 100 miles from the home) and fishing belong to groups of families: outsiders who wish to use any of these, on permission being granted, do not have to pay any rent or consideration. The leading men are careful of their reputation for open-handedness towards their own people and strangers. There is a small ceremony made by parties of women, who celebrate in rather pleasant song and dance the (anticipated) generosity of someone who has the wherewithal to gratify them. This is no light imposition, as there may be anything up to fifty of them, and another fifty may be encouraged to come tomorrow.

7. TRADE.

Trade—what there is of it in a community where the family is self-sufficing and there are practically no craftsmen—is by barter, though the Government compels foreign traders to buy and sell for cash, which is only slowly coming into use by the Raik. Men and women make themselves everything the family needs, and the only objects brought in from outside are metal, glass beads, some salt, and cotton clothing by the few who wear it. Soap, tea and sugar are beginning to be sought by Chiefs and Elders.

CHAPTER III.

CATTLE.

1 Their cattle are the focus of Raik life : he lives for their service, and is at times willing to die for them. Cases are common of lions cutting a beast out of a herd in the night and being attacked by the owners, who have no firearms. A fight to a finish follows, the lion is speared to death and several men fatally mauled.

The cattle are of the humped breed, of all colours; a good bull stands 13 or 14 hands to the top of the back, excluding the hump, though the size of full-grown animals varies greatly. Some never grow above half the weight of the best; the cause of the stunting may be sickness, from which the animal has recovered, or the calf being allowed too little of the milk. This is good, but its quantity small. If all goes well, a cow will give eight to ten calves in her life, but the losses from bovine pleuropneumonia, rinderpest and other sicknesses are enormous every year. Intestinal parasites (amphistomes) seem to be responsible for anæmia, leading directly or indirectly to the death of the beast. As with human, so with cattle sickness, the Raik are completely without medical knowledge. They consider it hopeless to isolate sick beasts, except that they do not take them down to the winter grazing. Their only resort is to the magicians and charms, and that they have so many cattle seems to show that these have acquired a considerable resistance and immunity. The invariable death of imported Arab cattle seems to support this.

The Raik build better houses for their cattle than they do for themselves, and take more trouble over the smoke-fires to keep the mosquitoes away from the cattle than from themselves. They will sing to a favourite bull if he is restless at night, will groom him and play with him and pretend to be driven off by his horns when he leads out the herd in the morning, sacrifice small bulls to his honour and health, carve an elaborate tethering peg for him, deck him with long tassels fixed to the ends of his horns and with a collar of bells round his neck. They change their own name to his, sometimes take him into the grave with them; and will sit for hours simply admiring him.

As a result the cattle are really domesticated and about the gentlest thing found in the Dinka country. Even the cows do not mind a strange-smelling European walking among them and their calves, and the

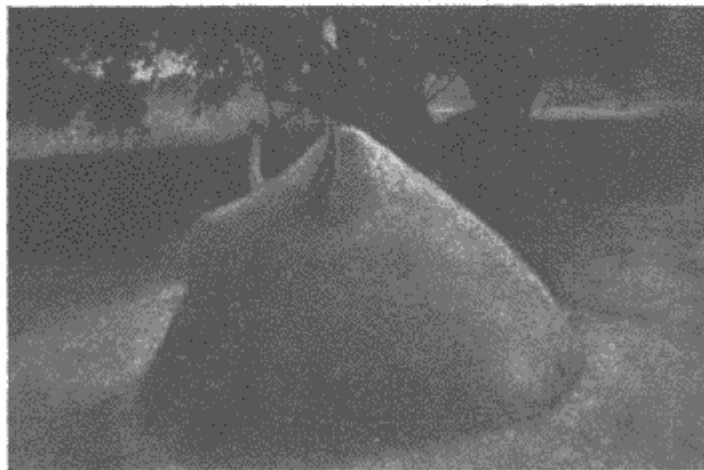
bullocks trained for the Government carts take to the work in a few days. Their owners do not work them, ploughing and irrigation being unknown. The first attempt to teach them pack transport work on the Arab model failed.

The numbers of cattle vary with the locality: the north-west is the richest and the south-east the poorest; this is as would be expected from the incidence of the Slavers' raids in the old days, and corresponds with the population figures. In the north-west there are probably ten cattle to every human, but in the south-east not more than one or two. It is impossible to gauge individual riches: the owner is reticent, and past experience has resulted in his not putting all his eggs in one basket, his own cattle will be scattered far and wide, while friends, relations and neighbours will keep a few beasts in his herd. They are willing to sell bulls for the local price which is now about £2.500 for a big beast, but the trade is at present limited, owing to there being practically no outside market, and the few needs which the owner has to satisfy by their sale. A cow is, of course, unbuyable. There is a large trade in hides for export.

In the Rains, the cattle, divided up into small parties, spend most of the time near the owner's house, and in bad weather are taken into the big cattle-houses at night. Sometimes the winter practice of combining them in larger herds is also resorted to, and they are moved about as the grazing, magic or sheer restlessness dictates, but not far from the villages. Soon after the old grass is burned off, the whole population, save a few old crones left to keep monkeys out of the houses, move off with all they possess to the edge of the permanent swamps, to graze the cattle on a creeping water-weed which is very fattening. The camps consist of a circle of little huts, generally with an outside fence of branches or thorns, and a forest of pegs, perhaps a thousand or more, with dung-fires smouldering, and here and there a tall, grotesquely-forked pole, ring-straked in black and white, which is always found near cattle, to protect them from evil, and to hang neck-ropes, drums, milk-gourds, shields, etc., upon, and to stand the spears against. If it is still morning and the cattle not yet away to graze—10 a.m. is the time for this unless the camp is moving—the men will be covered with grey-blue or pinkish ash from the fires near which they slept, giving them the weirdest appearance. They will be polishing their weapons, working on ropes or pegs or about



RAIK DOG.



CHIEF'S BULL TOMB.

their toilets; the small boys are cleaning up the floor and spreading the dung to dry for the next night's fires and the girls milking the cows into big bottle-shaped gourds. The milking is done from the side and the cow's legs are not tied. The girls churn the milk to curdle it, for it is never drunk fresh. The women are busy with food and babies. This is the happiest time of the year, for the cattle-camps are close together and there is company, dancing, singing, love-making, fighting, and food enough to keep everyone contented. Other domesticated animals are their sheep, goats, dogs, cats and chickens; occasionally a young ostrich is seen in the cattle-camps.

2. FLY.

North of the ironstone, tsetse fly (*glossina morsitans*) only occurs in two fairly large areas on either side of the River Jur, about where it comes nearest the River Loll. There no cattle can exist. The fly has been stationary for a long time; should it spread much the consequences would be very serious, first in quarrels over the restricted grazing and secondly in the loss of cattle, the mortality and complete change in mode of life which would follow. Big "stoat" flies are apt to be a nuisance locally (they especially accompany hippo or elephant), but the "house" fly is not numerous except in the far North

CHAPTER IV.

THE INDIVIDUAL.

1. PHYSIQUE.

In appearance the Raik are black,¹ tall, slim and long-headed, the facial angle is good and the features, though negroid, have a pleasant expression, and some see in them a Hamitic strain. The hair, when short, shows the negro "peppercorn" growth, and the lips are often everted. Individuality is, of course, as strongly marked in body as in mind.

Their blood is very pure, and the admixture of foreign races from captured women is small. There are a few old Arab grandmothers who were girls when Abu Miriam's zariba was rushed by a herd of cattle

¹ To the Raik the look of a European ("Turk," as they call him) is disgusting and frightens children. His skin is the colour of a man afflicted with leucoderma or leprosy, he has a fierce-looking vulture's beak of a nose, and light-coloured cat's eyes. He covers his shameful body with clothes, and rumour says it is scarcely less hairy than a Nyamnyam's or baboon's.

driven in front of the warriors, a few Jebelawi women were captured from Arabi Dafallah when he camped where Kajok Mission now stands, and a few Jur women have been married or raided. A pure Raik, with the important reservation that in his years of growth he went through no long period of hunger or illness, should stand about six feet four inches, and men up to seven feet are seen; however, the smaller men bring the average of height below six feet. They have the habit of standing at ease on one leg only, with the other foot rested on the knee, balance is assisted with a spear or stick. Baldness is rare, and a grey head is only seen in old age.

They can run and walk untiringly, but need plenty of water: this in contrast to their indifference to food, which they will go without, if need be, for three or four days without concern. They show a stoical indifference to hardship and pain. A man with a malignant tropical ulcer which has eaten down to the shin-bone will not admit that it hurts him beyond preventing him sleeping well at night. They climb well, and are very agile in dance or fight, but their build unsuits them for carrying any but light head loads. Long legs cause the head to rise and fall in walking, and with a load on the head an unendurable pain in the neck muscles results. Avoidance of this is the reason of the professional Zande carrier's shuffling gait and the contortions of the Dinka's back when he—or rather she—does walk with a load on her head.

In their prime they are straight-backed, broad-shouldered, small-waisted, well-muscled, and have a lithe and athletic look about them. In a day's ride in their country one will see many perfect specimens of humanity: their splendid naked bodies are well set off by their tasteful ornaments, and only a few Chiefs and Elders wear clothing. A European cannot find room in their canoes to sit down, though their women are quite comfortable in them, and a European hand is too wide to hold the grip of their guard sticks.

Their graceful slimness can become a hideous emaciation in old age, sickness or starvation; nor must the Dinka physique be judged by the appearance of natives of areas nearer the Nile, which have been ravaged for generations by yaws, nor of cattleless Agar vagabonds who used to enlist in the old Army, conscripts of hunger, nor of ex-slaves deprived since childhood of the generous milk diet of their country. All these are apt to be spindle-shanked caricatures of the real thing.

2. CHARACTER.

Dirty, lazy, useless savages are some of the epithets that have been applied to them, and it has even been implied—as a distinguished land-owner in Kenya said of their cousins, the Masai—better dead. It only requires acquaintance with them to dispel these illusions.

The accusation of dirt arises from three customs, but in fact the Raik are cleanly in their habits and care of their bodies. A young man's morning toilet takes longer than a European's. First, they are often seen covered from head to foot in ash, which, at a casual glance, looks like the accumulation of weeks, but is actually the result of the man sleeping the night before where mosquitoes were bad, and lying as near as he could to the smouldering dung fire. Secondly, when their bare skin is exposed for long to the sun or winter wind it becomes dry and harsh if neglected. After bathing, therefore, a dressing of oil or fat is rubbed on and left, this naturally holds any dust that touches it, and to unaccustomed nostrils smells rancid. Some like to "beautify" themselves by designs in ash on top of the grease or in water upon the ash covering, which gives them a weird and unclean look. Thirdly, the uses to which they put cow-urine are understandable when one sees the usual alternative—a foul pool churned to thick mud by stock, game and birds: indeed they would be better off if they never used these pools, for they are the source of the guinea-worm scourge.

As to work, this is by tradition minutely divided between the man and the woman, and each has a definite share in house-building and repairing, in cultivating and providing the household food, tools and utensils. To balance the woman's greater share about the house, the man is responsible for the stock and their requirements of pegs and ropes, a new enclosure every few days when they are driven to fresh grazing, their daily watering and grazing; he has to be ever fully armed and ready to protect them; add to this he has to make all the innumerable arrangements about the never-ceasing permutations in the ownership of cattle upon which the Raik life is built up, and this, as the people live scattered, involves continual walking to interview his friends or foes. A Raik's yearly mileage must be remarkable.

His distrust of strangers has already been noticed, and if hailed by a traveller whom he does not know for some assistance on the road, his refusal may be the result of his being engaged on some of the tasks

outlined above or merely an unwillingness to be chaffed by his fellows for doing women's work. The strength of this motive was noted when the clans were first got to open new roads, and some young men hoed in women's leather skirts borrowed for the occasion.

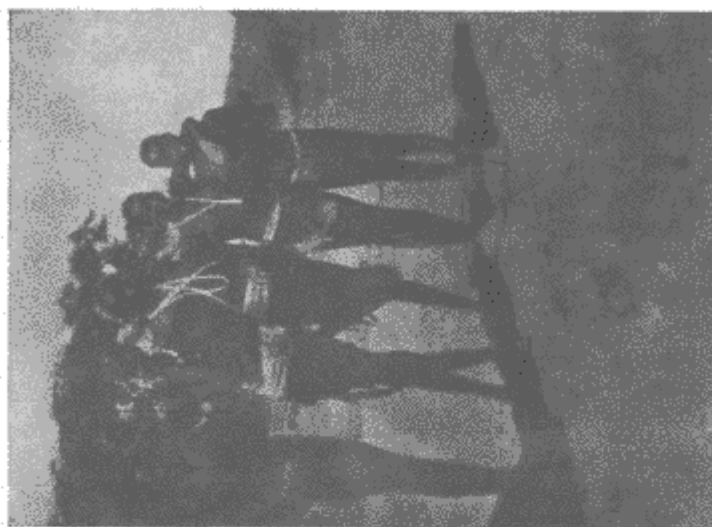
The chief reproach against him for laziness appears to be that he is still in the pastoral stage of culture, with all that that implies of conservatism, and has not yet passed to the agricultural. Bountiful Nature provides all his simple needs, and he is only just becoming aware of new imported wants that are worth working for. He is untroubled by the Western horror of an undiverted mind. At present he is slow-witted, slow to accept new ideas as worthy of his notice, without mental flexibility and with ability to organize undeveloped, a natural result of the atrophy of long ages of bucolic stagnation. He is still hampered probably by a lingering doubt as to the permanence of the present régime.

If the progress he has made in the last few years, and of which there was little promise, is any criterion, his future prospects are bright, and it is significant that the young men of his Eastern and Western neighbours are now willing to work for wages; while the Raik themselves have opened and reclear yearly 600 miles of rough motor road, and keep up 50 substantial rest-houses without either compulsion or friction, a sign that they are getting ready to lead more useful lives and do their share in making Africa yield what it ought for the comfort and advancement of humanity.

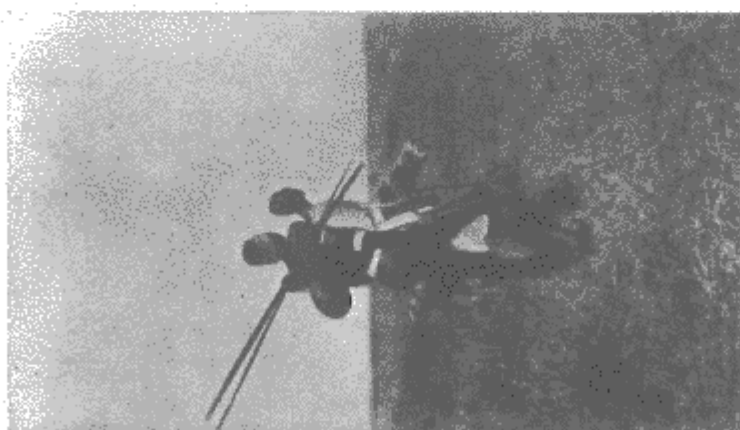
It is strange that long exposure to chronic malaria has not resulted in a greater lethargy, and it is sometimes forgotten that a shady tree being pleasanter to rest under than an unventilated hut, the Dinka are more patent to the eye when taking their ease than the people of a colder climate.

3. MORALS.

The Raik's sense of right and wrong is an astonishingly high one, and in his better moments he pays more than lip-service to the principle of live and let live. They have a keen sense of humour and of the ridiculous, and respect public opinion. One deterrent from a shameful act is their fear of its being put into a song and bandied about among the cattle-camps. Their great blemish is an irresistibly fiery temper and ungovernable pugnacity.



RAIK GIRLS.



A MAN OF SIX FEET AND TEN INCHES.

Hardly a man but bears the marks of severe club and spear wounds, and fighting is still the most important part of a boy's education. Having regained control of himself, he readily admits that his resort to the *argumentum ad baculum* has done more harm than good, and that he regrets it: he admits willingness to pay compensation for the injuries he inflicted. If he was the first to take up club or spear, he urges that insulting words, hand-blows, or the sight of his brother thrown on the ground provoked him beyond control. Serious fights, resulting in several deaths, have been known to flare up immediately from such trivial beginnings as a slapping match between two girls who both wanted to draw water from a well; or a small boy accidentally drowned in a water-hole where some others were swimming; and a Chief—a weak one, it is true—to whom it was suggested that a beating would have a good effect on an orphan kleptomaniac of about ten years old, said he dare not award it, for blood would avenge it.

Mean revenge and treachery do not enter into their scheme of things. It is almost unknown for killings to occur except in fair fight, which either side could have avoided had they had the strength of mind to do so; but, as things are, such a course would be taken for mere cowardice. The Raik life is still inclined to be violent, but the meaner crimes which elsewhere smirch the records of police courts are notably absent.

Some men who have been in the North show great moral deterioration, and chiefly concern themselves with making dishonest profit out of their less sophisticated brethren. This, however, is probably not so much innate depravity as the stage of transition through which all (including newly-made Christians) have to pass who throw off their old tribal prohibitions until they learn—sooner, later, or never, according to character, teachers, and the example set them—a new morality.

These traits, with the Raik's inherent conservatism, independence of mind, and age-long freedom from anything remotely approaching tyrant rule, make the Chiefs' task of exercising increasing control anything but a sinecure, and they have little hope of success unless they combine tact and pliancy with the necessary persistence. With the tails of so many coats always being trailed, the occasions for a breakdown of law and order are unceasing. Most of the small fights bear in them the seeds of something bigger, and the hereditary inter-clan feuds, which have been in abeyance for the last half-dozen years, are not yet dead. That the race

has thrown up men so quickly and in such numbers able with increasing success to cope with these difficulties is greatly to its credit, and augurs most brightly for its future.

4. MORALITY.

The Raik sexual morality is far above ordinary African standards, and compares well with that of any race of whatever colour. Great freedom is accorded to the younger men and girls, and they are not expected to abuse it: should they do so, an elder brother will beat the girl, and the man must pay compensation in cattle. Wives are left solitary by their husbands for long periods, and if there are several wives, they will live each in her own homestead, specially built for her by her husband (not in her father's village), perhaps many miles apart. They have a belief that concealed adultery results, even after many years, in all the woman's children dying. Venereal disease is almost unknown, despite its prevalence in Government posts and among some neighbouring tribes.

5. GREETING.

The Raik greeting is the right hand held out palm towards the person saluted—it seems almost a gesture of aversion—and the word *chebak* = did you get up strong? Intimates touch their right palms together. A specially respectful salutation is to spit on the person greeted; this has a magic connection and is one of the ways of curing sickness, and is also used in the peace ceremony. It is now well known that Europeans do not like it, though this aversion is often forgotten in conversation. Occasionally an old man met on the road will throw down whatever he was carrying, and sit with both hands held out: the idea is, of course, "you have nothing to fear from me." It is, therefore, always more polite to sit than to stand, an inversion that has been known to deceive strangers. Very rarely a man suffering under insupportable wrong will go down on his knees and lick the dust in front of someone whose aid he thereby invokes. "Good-bye" at first seems impolite—a motion of dismissal and the word "Go": this is merely the universal "go in peace," with the end omitted instead of, as elsewhere, the beginning; it is occasionally spoken unabbreviated.

6. LANGUAGE.

Their language is easier to use in theory than in practice, for varying tone has much to do with meaning. Words are largely monosyllabic

and used in the same shape as noun, adjective and verb; but owing to the practice of elision at both ends, slurring words into one another, changing the central vowel, and inserting meaningless consonants between words, all with a view to ease of pronunciation, in conversation words rarely appear in their primary form, and have more than one secondary form. Also, as the number of monosyllabic sounds is limited, it is hard to distinguish which of several words with similar or identical sounds is being used—whether a man is talking of something he has seen, of his wife or of a tiang antelope—Bach, son of Eeb, in conjunction, becomes Bong Yep; and so on. They possibly find some difficulty themselves, if the number of repetitions with which a conversation sometimes starts is any criterion: it is suggestive of the prolonged scrutiny of Arabic script which those whose native language it is seem to find necessary before they can distinguish even the subject.

They have the pastoralists' vast collection of words which, by themselves, describe the exact combination of colours on a bull or cow, which for us to translate would need a paragraph and diagram. One is reminded of the words used by the Southdown shepherds, and there are many other instances of the old craft languages that have now nearly been obliterated by universal journalese.

The only known publications are Mitterutzner's grammar and vocabulary, written some 60 years ago for the Nile Dinka, which badly needs translating into English; and Capt. Wilson's pamphlet. Fathers Olivetti and Nebel, at Kajok, have printed some Dinka booklets of devotion, but are hard-pressed for leisure. The Dinka need a Westermann to do for them what he did for the Shilluk.

7. WOMAN.

The position held by the Raik woman is a high one, and she is considered man's equal: exceptions to this are foreign women captured in war, or women married for an inferior marriage price; but these, as their children increase, usually win to equality. Solitary women can and do travel the length of the land without fear of molestation; they are given food and a place to sleep like any other traveller. Inferior physical strength and so inability to defend them seems to be the reason that debars a woman from directly owning the chief form of wealth—cattle. However, should she have trouble with one of her own sex, she

can give a good account of herself: they are great fighters among themselves.

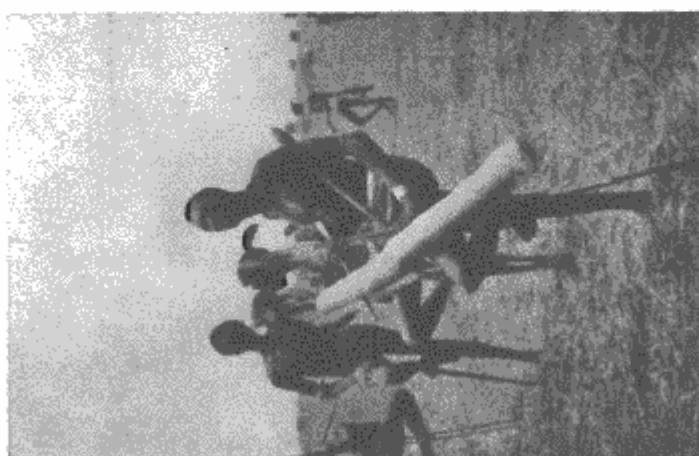
Physically the woman is a smaller edition of the man, but she reaches old age sooner, and her youthful, beautiful shape is soon lost. Her life is naturally one of unceasing toil, but her cheerfulness is very noticeable. She is happier than most African women in their debased social position, and the custom of love-marriages has much to do with it. She has the man's independence and respect for her own and others' rights. She is quicker-witted and more cunning, and has all the man's love of a joke. The harassed official at a medical inspection in a Yaws area cannot fail to be disarmed at the mirth which greets his detection of some woman's borrowing another's children to replace her own whom she ought to have brought. A leading man's eldest wife, if a woman of character, shares his prestige in the sight of his people and of the Government. The Raik have no women Chiefs at present, but they have had them, and some neighbouring Dinka have them now. There have been many instances of the older women exercising considerable influence on the side of law and order, and stopping fighting: in fact they are sometimes included in the casualty list, having purposely got between the combatants. Not so the girls, however; and the reopening of a blood feud is sometimes due to the gibe of a girl at a dance who, wishing to rid herself of an unwelcome partner, reminded him that the blood of a near relative remained unavenged.

There is something very pleasing about the frank dignity of one of these tall Raik women striding forward to shake hands and make the new-comer welcome on behalf of her absent husband. Should the distinguished visitor already be sitting down, she will approach the last few feet on her knees, and will not sit until invited.

There is no child-marriage, nor mutilation, and the men and girls choose their own mates. In practice the girl does not accept a man who will bring disgrace on her by not being able to pay a proper marriage-price in cattle to her family. The idea of a Raik girl marrying anyone but a Dinka or Nuer would not be entertained for a moment, though the daughters of old soldiers and such-like have been known to break this rule. The wedding takes place when the girl is about 20, and there is a curious custom of fattening the bride-to-be with copious milk till she looks a ridiculous object, bulging with fat all over. She usually goes naked until she marries.



MAGICIANS—ONE AN ALBINO.



TYPICAL DINKA ATTITUDE.

CHAPTER VI.

THEIR LIFE.

I. HOUSES.

Although the word village has been used, the Raik are not village dwellers even in the most crowded areas. A hundred yards or so separates neighbours, and often much more, and the configuration of the ground generally tends to the homes being strung out in a long line. There are five types of dwelling in use. The home consists of two or three round mud houses, about twelve feet in diameter, with a conical roof thatched in steps and supported only by the walls. Sometimes the entrance is a circle cut out of the side, or a tiny porch is added. The houses will be arranged in a circle round a practically waterproof floor of blueish "cement" made from ant-hills, which is also used to finish the houses. The circle will be completed by the big barn or cow-house, on the same pattern as the dwelling, but some 60 feet across and with a ring of poles inside to support the huge roof. Although somewhat airless and redolent of kine, they are quite comfortable to shelter in, and there are no vermin. The door is narrow at the bottom and wide at the top, to admit the cow's horns, and there is a separate small door for sheep and goats. A wide-horned beast learns to turn its head sideways and introduce one horn first. All these last three or four years, till the work of termites makes rebuilding necessary, and new grass, or, at least, patching, is wanted oftener.

Another type has two storeys. A platform is first built on poles about four feet high and floored with mud and "cement," and on this an ordinary round hut is made—sometimes two huts, in the Agar country, further east. As far as floods go, there is no need for this construction in the country now inhabited, where the homesteads are all on dry, well-drained mounds or ridges, but it may be a survival from a time when they inhabited wetter country. In the cattle-camps there are two more types: in the winter grazing, "beehives" are neatly made of sticks and grass, and given a coat of mud. They are about six feet high, and the inside is as hot as an oven. They collapse after a storm or two, when they are no longer needed. In the summer cattle-camps one sees what may have been an earlier lodging, before thatched houses came into use—an immensely strong convex roof of wood and grass, with about a foot

of earth on top, is supported on thick posts some four feet high. Each will be about ten feet square, and there may be eight to ten in each camp. The calves, sheep, dogs and young men huddle together over a fire in these, barring out the rain as well as they can round the open sides with the stiff hides which form the national bed.

In some places a fence of cornstalks surrounds the home as a wind-break, in others a stockade of logs or a thorn fence keeps out beasts of prey. Some clans make a neat open-air cooking-place with a mud wind-shield, etc., and some plant a forked pole in the homestead which has magic properties and serves as a useful hanging place for all sorts of things.

Bringing the grass and thatching is the women's task, and all wood-work the men's. The mud they mix and plaster on together. A party of neighbours assists with the cow-house and are given their food and a brew of beer; an old woman or two will sing to inspirit the working party and bring luck to the house. The point of the roof is not finished till it has stood a week or two crowned with an old basket for luck. There are no nails or dowels used in the wood-work, and the thatch and all joints are tied with miles of rope plaited from a certain grass by the women, with fronds of young *doleib* palm leaf or bark torn from the shoots of bushes or young creepers. The whole is a very neat and solid construction with nothing to fear save from fire or termites, and occasionally lightning. There is no decoration, no figures are painted on the walls, and the roof tips are severely plain. Some ventilation is provided by small round holes in the walls, and some people make a house drain by fixing a *tiang* horn with the tip cut off to act as a waste-pipe through the wall.

2. UTENSILS.

Practically everything the Raik use is home-made. The food is cooked in rough round pots without pedestal, handles or lip, but roughened on the outside to give the fingers a grip. These are laboriously made (without a wheel) and fired by the women, and may be up to a couple of feet across and in height. Like much else that they make, this pottery is not much to look at, but it serves its purpose and requires a great deal of skill and patience to produce. Pumpkin gourds of two kinds are the great stand-by for water, milk, etc. They are sown among

the corn and are dried and then either cut in half to serve as dishes or a mouth cut in the bottle-shaped kind and the pith and seeds cleverly removed. They are, of course, fragile and generally carried each in a large-meshed net slung to a stick. Sometimes a dish is decorated with a pattern of lines and triangles made with a hot iron. When a crack appears it can be neatly sewn up. A small gourd of the bottle-shape is cut in half for a spoon, and fresh-water mussel shells are also used. Small round gourds cut in half are tied one each side to the head to cover the ears while they heal after being pierced. Bottle-stoppers are made of a piece of another gourd cut exactly to fit and provided with a cord to prevent loss. A sheep's vertebra jammed on to a stick makes a convenient stirrer for cooking food.

Basket-work takes up much of the women's time, and a long tough reed grass is mostly used. There are round ones for carrying grain, etc., long ones for portable cradles, bottomless baskets for fishing, platters for covering food and grain-bins three or four feet high and egg shaped; these are daubed over the outside with cow-dung and cannot be moved when full. There are also beer-strainers, long round bags of beautiful work like a Panama hat. They make mats of long reeds strung together, and fish trap material in the same way with wider spacing.

The woman has an old spear head with a wooden handle for her knife, but does not carry it on her. Her walking-stick is a broken spear-haft and her bed an oval of hide with all the hair brayed off and the edges trimmed: it is nearly as stiff as a board. She has nothing in the shape of blankets, table or chairs, but will have a "pillow" on which she is sometimes seen seated, though the usual thing to sit upon is one of the feet. The pillow is a bridge-shaped stick cut out of a bush and has three or four legs to it. Rough iron needles are not often seen, as they prefer to pierce the material with an awl of iron or bone and insert the end of the thread.

Wooden platforms are built in the houses, and the household belongings are stood on these or slung from sticks pushed into the roof. The corn is ground by pestle and mortar—a log on end buried in the ground and hollowed to a depth of 18–24 inches, and with a second log to fit and some 7 feet long. The thudding of these and the whistling of the woman at this work is a most characteristic sound of the villages. Every muscle is needed from ankles to fingers.

The only cultivating instruments are circular iron hoes with a socket mounted either on a 5-foot straight handle or a much shorter V-shaped one for use kneeling. A pointed stick is used for sowing, but has no foot-rest.

3. ARMS.

The men, except Chiefs, do not go about without from one to five spears carried sloped on the shoulder, and even on the longest journey carry nothing but their arms. The spears are beautifully made, kept razor-sharp, and spotlessly polished and oiled. They are five and a half to six feet in length, the haft as thick as a man's finger and slightly tapered; the iron heads are of various shapes, and the butt is balanced by a neatly-forged shoe or a spiral of iron, which is used to sharpen the blade of another spear. They are meant for throwing, and the "business" spears are kept strictly plain; "dress" spears may have an over-large blade and the haft be decorated with neatly applied spirals of brass or iron; a magic spear may be entirely covered with these. The dancing spear often carried by an engaged young man going to see his sweetheart has a coating of black ostrich feathers for a foot or two of its length. The effective range is 50 yards or so, but the thrower prefers to get closer. The penetration is astonishing, but the soft iron of the head bends on meeting a bone. The heads are now forged with a socket, a stronger pattern than the older spike that was let into the haft and then had a jacket of raw hide put on wet. A leaf-shaped blade, sometimes with a mid-rib raised on both sides, which can be detached from its haft and used as a knife, is the favourite kind, and after that one like a long spike, either of a plain pencil shape, or four-sided with small jags cut along it. These are specially useful for fishing. A good shape for larger game has a small leaf blade and a number of large jags on its neck. There is no thong or stick used for increasing the range and the bow and arrows are not in use. A curiously shaped stick, like a Turkish bow but longer and lighter without a string, is seen at dances. If it ever was a bow, or even a guard stick, the Raik has forgotten that use of it, though he calls it a bow (*dang*) (*dang-a-maich* = fire-bow, i.e., fire-arm, gun or rifle).

The only other weapon of offence is the club of three main shapes. A tapering handle about two feet long shod with a long iron spike has a large globular head carved on it. It can be used for hitting, stabbing,

throwing or parrying, and sometimes the head is hollowed and fitted with a stopper to make a receptacle for tobacco. Another fearsome weapon, its head composed of five or six sharp spikes, is not inappropriately called a Nuer. It is cut from the stock and roots of a hardwood bush. A milder club is almost a walking-stick, but too short and heavy to qualify; it has no head or spike, and is merely a stout, tapering stick, sometimes of ebony. A skull is less effectively cracked with it than the other two, and the compensation is, therefore, less. Walking-sticks of ebony or other wood, some with elaborate tops, are carried by the older men. There are no lathes to cut and polish these, and they are done merely with axe and spear blade—the result is a very creditable piece of workmanship. There are no special craftsmen for these or for spears, except for the ironwork.

The defensive weapons are peculiar, the commonest being made of a very light swamp-wood—almost pith—covered with leather. It is some two feet long—occasionally four feet—and about eight inches thick. It is hollowed, and part of the wood left as a grip; it is rounded on three sides and flat on one, and four little wooden feet may be let in on the flat side. This serves as a pillow, seat, shield and receptacle for the small things which a clothed people carry in their pockets. A new one covered with brightly coloured bull skin is quite decorative, and the skin of crocodile and water-lizard are also used. Practically every man carries one of these.

The guard-stick, about four feet long and two inches thick, broadens into a heavy boss nearly in the middle. On the inner side of this a hollow is made for the left hand with a part of the wood left for the grip. The outside of the boss may be lightened and decorated with deep semi-spiral carving. This and the shield are not carried until hostilities have started. The latter is oval-shaped, of raw hide, with a central stick threaded throughout its length to stiffen it and provide the grip. It is not spearproof at close quarters, but its use will be described.

The axe is the immediate descendant of the stone celt. A hardwood haft, two feet long, has a bulge at the head: this is pierced, and into it fits a blade of soft iron, in shape an elongated triangle with the base sharpened. There are no lashings to keep the head fixed, and patience rather than force makes the best progress with it. The men use no knives except a spear-blade and a broken one for a razor or tooth remover.

Most men and women use a clay pipe with a reed mouthpiece, finished, if possible, with the nickel envelope of a bullet from the stop-butt of the Government rifle range : larger pipes with ingenious filters are also seen.

4. BOATS.

There are plenty of boats, all keel-less dugouts, and either hollowed out of the trunk of a hardwood tree, with a shaped bow and stern, or made from a *doleib* palm, and blunt ended, usually twenty feet long and two wide, and neither symmetrical nor straight. The latter are easiest to make, as the soft fibre is quickly hollowed out, but the blocks of it left at each end soon rot out and are insecurely replaced by mud. Often a boat is seen made of two or three sections sewn together and caulked with mud. They are heavy, crank and wet craft, and the European—if he can find one wide enough to hold him—who can navigate it for a hundred yards in calm water, using only enough strength with the paddle to keep on a straight course and without upsetting, need not be ashamed. The experts are the swamp-dwelling *Abur*. As an exhibition of watermanship the sight often seen from a steamer going down the *Jur* River Narrows is unsurpassable. Three men will stand up in one of these miserable dugouts, in a swift current in a narrow winding waterway, and with their spears will quickly fill the canoe to sinking point with the fish injured by the steamer's wheel but still lively. The third of them wields a pole with a T-shaped head at each end, and unconcernedly picks up with his foot a club to kill a fish or a paddle to bale out water. These *Abur* seem to prefer their watery existence, and refuse an allotment of land : they often live on an artificial island made of bundles of grass and raised in the same way when too low in the water : on these they build their little huts. A strange object once seen in the middle of a lake turned out to be an *Abur* woman swimming across and pushing in front of her two babies seated on a bundle of grass. She was going to call on a neighbour and smilingly declined a lift in the boat. The *Abur* are indistinguishable from the *Raik*, except that physique and character are inferior.

5. SMITHS.

The neat ornaments of iron, brass or solder, and the weapons turned out by the smiths speak highly for their skill. Their anvil is an iron wedge, about two inches across, driven into a log : the hammer is a similar wedge,

held in the hand, and has no wooden handle. A strip of iron without joints, bent to shape, does for tongs, and that, with the charcoal fire, bellows and a boy to work them, is all. The bellows are two spouted earthenware pots with goatskin tied over their mouths. These are placed on either side of the fire, and a toggle attached to the centre of the skin is worked up and down and produces the draught through the spouts.

6. Food.

The Raik diet is normally varied and plentiful, and when starvation occurs in normal times quite a number of strings to his bow must have failed him. He likes to eat once a day, in the evening. Men, women and children eat apart, and the stranger removes his food a short way. They say that if he ate at the house his funny manners might make the children laugh at him.

The stand-by is a meal porridge mixed with fat, with some meat or fish either boiled or singed on the embers. <Raw meat and fish are not eaten.> Sauces with the porridge are either pounded dried fish, tripe, imported salt, or an inferior article home-made from certain vegetable ash. There should be plenty of thick, curdled milk which, if drunk fresh, would, he says, give him dysentery: ground-nuts are cultivated, and a great variety of wild products are used as food, including several green leaves as vegetables, while the kernels of Sudani date or doleib palm-fruit provide flour, as do water-lily seeds and roots: the hard, stringy doleib fruit is much liked by children, who collect also the winged termites at the beginning of the Rains, and fry the oil out of them.

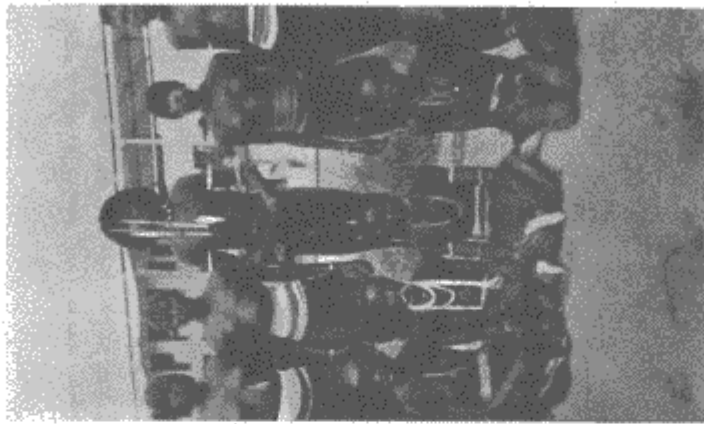
< Birds as a form of food are despised, while chickens are considered quite unclean, owing to the scavenging habits for which they are kept, though an additional reason is now the market that has been found for them in the Government stations. Eggs are not eaten. Sheep and goats are killed with a club blow on the head, for food; but cattle, unless sickly and about to die, are never killed specially for food, except by a rich man for his guests. There is, however, plenty of meat from sick animals and sacrifices, so that no great interest is taken in the game which abounds. A bull is killed by a spear thrust in the chest. Meat found dead and decomposed is eaten, but it is not much liked. Crocodiles, pythons, water-lizards and tortoises are considered as fish. >

The Raik country does not abound in clear water, and except along the rivers the choice for drinking water generally lies between a rain pool probably infected with guinea-worm or swamp water with its taste of rotting vegetation. Their wells are crater-shaped pits of not more than ten or twelve feet in depth. The beer, which is fermented from crushed millet, is not used as a drink with food but as a food in itself, and a producer of intoxication. It is brewed by the women in large quantities after the harvest when grain is plentiful, and friends are invited. The later proceedings at these Harvest Festivals are often disorderly and occasion a deal of bloodshed. Improvident beer brewing is one of the causes of chronic grain shortage before the next harvest. Distilling is still unknown. The late cannibal habits of some of their Southern neighbours were, if possible, more revolting to the Raik than to ourselves.

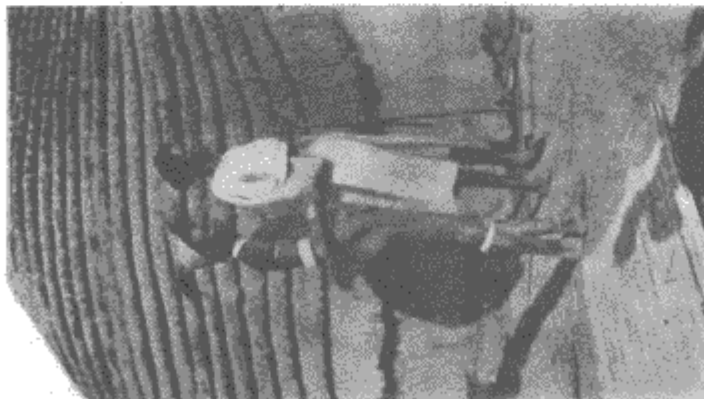
7. ART, ORNAMENT AND DRESS.

Decorative art is severely subordinated to the practical, and is only given free expression in the direction of personal adornment. Tradition governs this, and while range is allowed to individual fancy, the change in fashions occurs so slowly as to be imperceptible. Local variation, however, is noticeable; for instance, the amount of beads worn in his corset and "choker" collar by a Malwal warrior would suffice twenty of his Ngork neighbours of Kordofan, who, although true Dinka, approximate in many things more closely to the Nuer. The wearing of cotton clothing—either a long nightgown-like garment in colours or white, or European shorts, jackets, felt hats, and helmets—is spreading among the elders, but has little effect on national habits, as these things are reserved for visits to or by the Government. The necessary connection between clothing and soap is appreciated better than by many Southern tribes. A few wives wear on these occasions the conventional blue cotton wrappers of the Northern women.

A Raik young man wears a coiffure reminiscent of a legal wig, but stained reddish and coming to a point over his forehead. It may be three or four inches thick, and the innumerable tight little curls of which it is composed are titivated every day or two by a companion with a long iron pin. It cannot be cut, and when it gets too hot and heavy he has it shaved off completely and starts again, and at this time plasters his head with white ash to make the hair grow. If there were a fringe of pendant



WARRIOR AND YOUNG WOMEN.



A CHIEF AND HIS BROTHER. CATTLE HOUSE BEHIND THEM.

curls the effect would be very like the wigs found in Egyptian tombs. He covers this with a red cotton handkerchief knotted or a piece of cotton cloth to keep it clean and in shape. The dye prevents it becoming verminous.

Teeth are cleaned with a forefinger dipped in ash. Each ear is pierced for about a dozen small rings of solder in a fringe—brass used to be used for this. Round his neck he will wear several strings of beads whose colours are contrasted in excellent taste. These may be formed into a regular collar, which may be wide enough with its stiffeners to prevent him turning his head with comfort. The beads may be either home-made of millions of pierced fragments of snail shell threaded through the centre and patiently ground circular, the result looking like a smooth grey cord, or they may be the small Austrian coloured glass kind, white, yellow, rarely green or red, and light or dark blue, the latter being most popular. Most houses have a degenerate cotton bush close by, and from this thread is made on the usual type of spindle. This can again be made into cord with the aid of a catapult-like wooden fork. The necklace will finish with a pendant of ivory, crescent or shield-shaped, or a fragment of coloured or white pottery (not native). A single string of larger beads is sometimes seen, or simply a thong carrying a wooden charm.

Round his waist he will wear up to twenty strings of beads of either the above kinds or of cowrie shells or small white buttons. These are often made into corsets with stiffeners and a lace to enable the whole to be taken off. Some wear a kind of loose belt made of calf skin with the hair left on; it has a small triangular tail hanging at the back. Sometimes a larger piece of serval or leopard skin may be worn and looks well, or a horse's tail be strapped on between the shoulders—especially for dancing.

On his upper arms he will wear two big ivory bracelets which, with their wax lining to keep them in position, stand out two inches or so. These are occasionally seen of wood or hippo hide. An ivory pair is worth a medium-sized bull. Another popular decoration at this point is a tight binding of red cord. Both these form a regular groove in the flesh which does not seem to be inconvenient. Two more ivory armlets may be worn just above the elbows, or a light bangle or two of brass. From elbow to wrist the left and sometimes both arms are seen encased

in a set of diminishing thin brass rings (occasionally replaced by rings of hippo hide) of exceeding tightness and making a tumourous swelling at the wrist. This is common among the Malwal who dance to the sound of the performers' spear-butts clashed on their wristlets. This decoration might be taken for a form of armour, but they say it is not so; at least one man has been seen who lost his left hand following gangrene brought on by it. If he does not wear this casing he will have some bracelets of thin brass or iron, often ending in two spikes like a bull's horns, two or three inches long, and this, too, is a common form for finger rings to take, although ivory rings are also common. Another form of iron bracelet has small jags cut on it all round, and a toothed bangle of cast brass is also seen: both these are found handy by the women for argument with their neighbours.

Garters of white beads, cowries or calf skin are seen, and occasionally the elaborate fore-arm casings are also worn above the ankles in brass or iron, and anklets made of white palm leaves, but as a rule they do not care to wear anything likely to be a nuisance in moving, and this even applies to sandals, which are only worn if the sole has been cut or injured. On the other hand, the women like three or four heavy clumsy iron rings on each ankle.

Cicatrization is done for ornament on the upper arms most usually, sometimes running down the chest and stomach. The pattern is usually groups or lines of vertical marks about an inch long and two or three inches apart. The cuts on the head will be noted later.

There remains the hat which is not generally worn: it may be a plain cone about two feet high and plaited of stiff grass without a brim, and sometimes has a leather cover which may be coloured, or this shape may be coated with black ostrich feathers, when it reminds one a little of a guardsman's bearskin, and is only worn on full dress occasions. Another shape has a brim and conical crown ending with a feather—it may have a pattern in colour. Another head-dress is a close-fitting cap or band of little white buttons ("stars" the Raik call them) and sometimes a stripped feather is thrust into the hair or the peculiar long wing plume of a nightjar—occasionally a flower is worn thus.

All these ornaments are kept spotless by daily scouring, and leather coverings fit over them at night or in wet weather. Instead of making their wearers garish and ridiculous objects like a Zulu rickshaw boy

in full rig, the outfit described, set off by a black skin and fine body, is far from offending against good taste. Depilation is obligatory for all, and only neglected in severe sickness, lunacy and, partially, in mourning.

As the man gets older he will, after marriage, keep his head shaved, gradually give up his youthful vanities and hand them on to his sons when they are old enough to wear them, though a grave and reverend senior will blossom forth again in honour of a new bride.

The girls at the same age set off their fine figures with a rather subdued copy of the young man's outfit; their ears are similarly pierced and they have a hole in the centre of the upper lip, in which they wear either a light metal ring or a straw five or six inches long with blue or blue and white beads threaded on it. Before marriage they will be growing the bride's coiffure of ringlets down to her neck, covered in grease and red ash. She may wear the half of a married woman's skirt—a pointed calf-skin hanging down behind—and occasionally a short, black leather fringe or just an apron is worn; but these are usually reserved for dances, as are the tassels or little bells dangling on cords from the elbows.

After marriage, she may wear a mop at the back of her head and the front part be shaved, but she will soon adopt the clean shaved head of the older men and children. For her wedding she will don the married woman's skirt of soft calf-skin in two pieces falling to a point below her knees in front and behind, its rather drab colour set off by tails with the original hair left on, and an edging of blue beads, cowries, or little brass shells. She will, like the man, give up most of the finery she wore as a girl, except a necklace and some bangles and rings. Her formidable anklets have been noted. It takes two strong men and some rope to remove these after the smith has hammered them on. Another pattern has one side beaten out and then turned over so as to form a hollow. In this is an iron ball, which makes a sound between a rattle and a bell as she walks. Mourning is shown by rope collars and girdles.

5. DIVERSIONS.

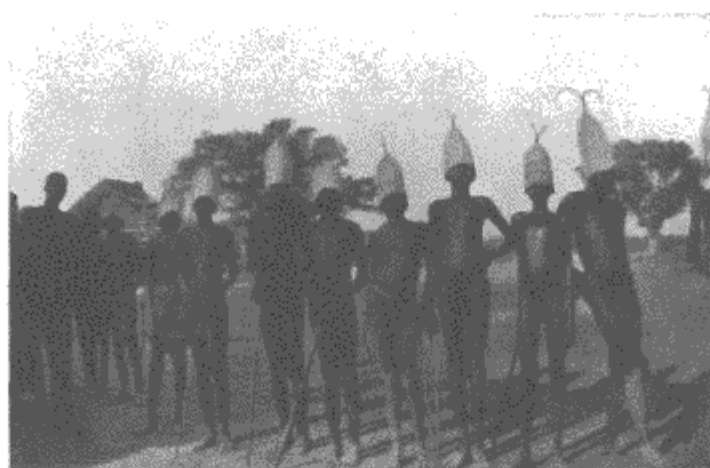
Dancing is the chief of these. It is generally combined with singing and accompanied by drums—their only form of music; though sometimes a horn with a moaning note is borrowed from their much more musical and artistic neighbours, the Jur. The social dances

are held at night, by moonlight. Clouds of dust and the overheating of the performers make a short visit enough for a European. The men and girls dance in concentric rings, or two and two, but without touching. Some of the dancing is warlike, some slightly erotic, and there is much stamping with the heels. The curious leaping dance of the Agar is also seen. The dances often end in a fight, but not in the disreputable orgies of their Southern neighbours. The drumming, singing, hand-clapping, shouting and grunting die away and work up to crescendo in cycles. The double-jointed look of the arms held behind the head is curious. Babies start to dance by themselves or with a companion or two as soon as they can stand, but it is too energetic for the middle-aged: the proper age to start is about seventeen—when a boy is accepted as a man. A party of young men having been away for some time with the cattle in the Rains drive them back to the villages in order—so they say—to dance off the fat that too much milk has given them.

By daylight the men have a pure mock-fight dance in which the girls do not appear. Ceremonial dances accompanying sacrifice are also held by day, and the women have their honorific dances, which, in places, have degenerated into begging dances. A ring is formed of young and old together. A verse impromptu or taken from some song is sung by one and the others take it up, clapping their hands in unison and swaying. Soon one or a pair step into the ring and dance one or other of the various steps—some reminiscent of a reel—and when these are out of breath another will sing, and so on for hours in the shade of a big tree. The voices are often pleasant, and some of the dancing graceful.

The songs are either honorific or descriptive. There is no accompaniment, and verses begin and end on a high note. One that catches the popular fancy will pass from end to end of the country in very short time, and there are regular poets. These will sometimes, with no embarrassment, burst into song at a range of three feet of the honoured visitor. Some prayers are sung at the Rain-makings, and there are also cradle-songs accompanied by a bottle-gourd with seeds in it for a rattle.

In addition, fighting and argument over cattle amount to diversions for the men; the women are too busy to need any, and the children have a number of games. The children of several neighbours band together to play and visit one another's homes. Boys and girls build little mud houses and live in them in make-believe, and the boys, of course, have



BOYS AFTER INITIATION WEARING HATS TO PROTECT THE NEWLY CUT TRIBAL MARKS
ROUND THEIR HEADS.



their herds of cattle—snail-shells, lily bulbs or even quite clever mud models represent the beasts. Pure diversion as apart from training is a hockey game which the boys play with bent sticks and a lump of wood for a ball. It is indigenous. One faithful imitation of their elders' ways is illuminating. A party of boys hide in trees with wooden "harpoons," and presently the unsuspecting herd of elephants wanders underneath. These are smaller boys dragging the huge seed-pods of the sausage tree: if their course is not satisfactory they receive *sotto voce* instructions from above. Presently the stricken elephant dies and the hunters cut up the meat and apparently the game is done. But suddenly uproar arises; the hunters roll in couples in the dust: this is the fight for the tusks.

The Northern game of the Halma type with two or four rows of holes in the ground and seeds for "dogs" is well known.

6. CULTIVATION.

The Raik country is a poor one for the crops that are grown. Practically all that lies above summer flood level is the sandy knolls and ridges and the ant-hills. In the old days, as these became barren (and they are never very fertile) the people could move on in the familiar African way to others lying fallow; but now, with many parts of their country inhabited nearly to capacity, this is not so easy. They are learning to use cattle-dung as manure, with good results, and are very slowly being taught ridge and furrow cultivation, which may enable some of the more fertile flooded ground to be cultivated. Grain cannot be grown where it cannot be closely watched by the children, on raised platforms, who, with voice and mud-sling, try to keep off the bold and voracious weaver-finches who hang their swarming nests in reeds and bushes over water. These beautiful little thieves in scarlet and black and gold and black cause much loss, and will quickly strip a neglected patch. Rice—suggested so long ago as Schweinfurth's day—might grow well when the Raik have grown more receptive of innovation.

Their chief crop is millet, which, sown in the middle of April, by early September is fifteen feet high and ripe for cutting with a head of two lbs., if all goes well and it gets neither too much nor too little rain. Some near the ironstone grow a longer maturing and heavier bearing crop, while the Government is also experimenting with imported

seed to give a better crop still, if possible. A little pencillaria or bul-rush millet is also grown and maize, but the latter as a vegetable only; also ground-nuts of two kinds and sesame for its oil. They also grow a very degenerate tobacco and chillies (called "potato" exactly as we pronounce the word). The Government is educating them by interesting them in such additional food crops as sweet potatoes and onions, which they are known to like, but do not yet grow for themselves, while gardening is part of the curriculum at Kajok School. They have lately been got to grow some cotton from Government seed and which the Government buys back at a guaranteed price from the growers.

In spite of the Chief's efforts to get the cattle-camps back from the winter grazing as soon as the first Rains have softened the ground enough for hoeing, if there is the slightest conflict in the interests of cattle or cultivation there is at present no hesitation in giving the former preference at the expense of the latter. The husbandry is not elaborate—either the grass is hoed and left lying and the seed broadcast among it and the weeds cleaned later once or twice, or else the ground is properly cleaned and a pointed wooden stick used as a dibber to make the holes for the two or three grains to be put into. In this case one subsequent hoeing ought to be enough. The two sexes do nearly equal work in the cultivation, for although it is by rights the women's work the men help them effectively.

7. WAR.

Their lack of discipline places the Raik in admitted inferiority to their chief foe—the Nuer. They are not capable of the strategy of the five parallel columns with which the Nuer invaded the Loing Jang country in 1922, nor of the tactics which enabled one of these columns after its defeat by the Government police to send away a number in disorderly flight while the majority ambushed from two sides the too enthusiastically pursuing Raik. There is a moral ascendancy also, and indeed the stoutest heart might well be appalled by the bestial ferocity of the Nuer blood-lust of which an instance occurred as lately as 1925, when an outlying Loing Jang cattle camp was surprised, and in addition to the warriors, women, children, cattle and goats were indiscriminately butchered before the victors began to think of loot.

The last Raik attack on the Nuer country occurred some fifteen years ago, when a large war party surprised a Nuer village and, Dinka-like, sat down to a happy day of wrangling over the spoils. } It was their last, for meanwhile the Nuer surrounded them, and in the ensuing panic slaughtered them to the last man. The same ascendancy is held by the Raik over their neighbours, the Jur, and a dozen Dinka youths could stampede a whole village—guns and all—and take what they could need of girls, iron or grain. They used also to exact tribute from the Golo.

It is this situation that gives the key to the relations of Nuer and Dinka. In normal times there is considerable traffic between them, but in the contempt in which the Nuer held him they were not likely to give the Dinka his rights freely, and the Dinka, having no remedy in force, fell back on fraud and deceit. The women, too, would not be slow to make things unpleasant for the new Dinka wife, and she would, if she could, run away back to her own people. To an even greater degree, until the Government put a stop to it, the Jur were serfs of the Dinka, and had adopted Dinka as a second language and many customs with it. Had the Nuer ever wished to occupy the whole Raik country systematically, it seems unlikely that the Raik could have stopped them.

Had the Government not arrived when it did, some twenty-five years ago, a clash between the Raik and Zande would have occurred; in fact, the Raik had driven off some small raiding parties, and as a result are probably too optimistic about their ability to stop the Vungara Sultans' disciplined armies of those days.

In view of this and their Arab neighbour's slave and cattle-raiding propensities, it is not too much to say that the Raik survival is artificial and not due to their own prowess in war, which they are inclined to over-estimate, even *vis-à-vis* the Government. However, although they have never indulged in large-scale fighting against Government forces, the non-success of some of their neighbours who have done so has had its effect, and once mutual confidence was established the question of force has never arisen.

They have no firearms and apparently have never wished to acquire any. Their tactics when the grass is long are based on ambush in thick cover, when at a few yards range they can make their formidable rush preceded by a cloud of thrown spears. In this sort of fighting a handful of spears is as good as a rifle, and victory a matter of seconds.

There is a definite war signal by drum—though there is no other drum telegraphy—which is taken up and passed on, and every village has its gathering place when this is sounded. The celerity with which the boys and girls get the cattle away into cover shows that they have not lacked practice.

In the open a Raik battle resolves itself into a series of single combats which cover a lot of ground and cause little damage. However, when worked up, as by the sight of a brother's blood, or his women molested, the Raik can become a fighting maniac, recking nothing of the odds against him, the wounds he receives, or the consequences of his acts. Even eminent war-leaders seem to have been uncertain of raising large numbers to this state together, and then it was short lived. It is this seeing red that brings confusion into the fight, and then casualties occur.

A warrior runs—almost prances—forward, crouching with his guard-stick or spare spears before him in his left hand and one balanced ready to throw in his right. Immediately in his tracks, and a few yards behind, follows his brother or friend to protect his rear and flanks, and a third may come in rear again. This party moves as one man either forward or back, and, of course, retreat with faces to the foe, for so long as a Raik can see a missile coming he can, from lifelong habit and training, twist out of its way, or turn it from his body with whatever he holds in his left hand. If he has a shield, he does not use it to cover his body, but merely to knock aside missiles. It is, however, looked on as rather an old man's or coward's equipment. A part of the manoeuvres is to gather up the enemy's missiles, and this exchange can go on innocuously for some time until the numbers become uneven, when someone will fail to dodge one of two spears arriving at once. The fight will then thicken up round this man, one side trying to kill him and the other to get him away, and a number of other casualties will then occur, until one side, having had enough, gives way, and the matter is ended for the moment.

If it were a domestic affair, the older men would be able to make peace on the basis of the blood price, in spite of the opposition of the women of the fallen. It might be some years before the parties would eat or drink in one another's country, and unless a full peace-ceremony were held, with its bull sacrificed between parties, and so on, the affair would always be liable to flare up again. If, however, two different



SPEARING FISH.



RAIK WOMEN, CHILDREN AND CATTLE, RAIDED BY THE NUER AND RETURNED TO THEIR HOMES BY THE GOVERNMENT.

clans were concerned, or, worse, different divisions, it might smoulder on for years. Only recently the Government got peace made between the Loing Jang and Agar. The feud had been so long and bitter that no attempt was made to balance the tale of killed and injured, nor of cattle raided, and no blood price was demanded by anyone. This was entirely spontaneous and not a Government suggestion. As a result, when Agar girls now marry into the Loing Jang, their fathers sometimes receive their own cattle in the bride-price—a strange conquest of reason over traditional prejudice.

8. HUNTING AND FISHING.

Game, big and small, is plentiful in the Raik country, and, except by a few professional hunters, it is little molested. Men travelling are ever ready with spear or throwing-club for anything they may come upon suddenly, and a meal is often got in this way when an oribi, duiker or civet cat gives a chance. Occasionally a party of young men with dogs will run down a waterbuck after rain, when the surface is soft; but the most killing methods are the various snares set for the beasts. A pit is dug at their landing-place for hippo, but they are not attacked in the water; a party of Manganerr, whose speciality this is, will be allowed to kill hippo in a Raik pool on a shares basis. Elephant are got by waiting up trees for them to come underneath, when they are speared behind the head with a heavy iron harpoon and a log to weight it. At times, young men will attack elephant on the ground with spears, out of bravado, but they are not killed thus.

Giraffe are driven in thick bush along a prepared fence to gaps where heavy nooses of raw hide are spread, and a party of spearmen lie hid. If a lion has killed a human, or becomes a nuisance to stock, it is deliberately hunted down and killed with spears, although some of the ring of men are sure to be mauled. What enables them to rise to this height of courage is the absolute dependence they are able to place on the support of their brothers by blood or initiation. Rhino, if they come near inhabited places, are shepherded away by a war party, on account of their dangerous habits, but are considered too invulnerable for attack.

The log dead-fall is not a Raik trap, but has been borrowed from further south. It is set in a narrow path in the Rains, and may slay

anything from a guinea-fowl to a leopard. The wheel without a centre is laid in the paths used by roan, tiang or kob, and the encumbered beast hunted down by dogs, and speared. In similar places is set the ingenious combination of bow and noose which, when its trigger is trodden down, flings the noose up the leg of the unfortunate beast, and by the loud clap it makes, startles the beast into the leap that pulls the noose tight; a trailing log prevents its going far. The small boys are great sportsmen, and learn to throw their sticks straight at all kinds of small game. They catch guinea-fowl in the familiar noose and bent stick snare with grain for bait.

Fishing is a part of everyone's life, and provides a most important part of the food supply. There are some fifty different fish, of which the Nile perch is the biggest—up to 200 lbs. There are also some curiosities, as the electric fish, capable of a quite startling shock; another which blows itself out with air like a spiny yellow football; and another with long poisonous spines which cause painful swellings; and another that hibernates in the ground for three or four months without water. Like the ducks and geese and much else that lives here, these uncouth and ugly forms of life give the impression of belonging to some far earlier age than our own.

The hook is not known, but basket traps, spears and small nets, together with the innumerable fish-eating birds, must between them, before the end of the dry weather, about exhaust the country of fish; but an immense supply is renewed yearly from the reservoir of the swamps, as soon as the rivers rise. At this time the fish are got by building a little fence of reeds at right angles to the bank, while the fisherman crouches over this, and as soon as he sees the tops of the reeds shake at the touch of a silurid working upstream under the bank, he stabs into the muddy water, and generally brings out the fish on his spear-point. They are killed less certainly by stabbing blindly into the weedy shallows.

When the rivers are nearly full, small canals are dug through the high river banks to let the fish on to the surrounding country, and as the water begins to recede, the main harvest starts. Low banks are built everywhere about the flooded country, and gaps are blocked with long, cone-shaped baskets, with a mat placed ready for any jumping species to land upon. In the same way all the channels and the main rivers are

trapped as the water drops. Finally only the river pools are left, crowded with fish. Where these are deep, a line of boats is formed. In the bow of each stands a man with a reed up to 15 feet in length, tipped with an iron barb. This is pierced to take one end of a line, of which the other is held coiled in the left hand, while the right thrusts the reed down. On hitting a fish, which occurs surprisingly often, so crowded is the muddy water, the barb becomes detached from the reed and the fish is played on the line. When a crocodile is struck thus the fun becomes fast and furious, and everyone takes a hand until finally it is tired enough to be hauled on to a sandbank and cut up—one cannot say killed, for, though it is in three pieces, jaws, legs and tail move vigorously. The rivers swarm with these brutes, which take a heavy toll of stock and humans.

When the pools get shallower, the whole population goes to its private fishing and works in parties. The men in pairs in the deeper water work dip-nets with two poles about six feet long. When a fish is caught, it is held up in the net, clubbed to death, and strung on a line at the captor's waist, to float behind him. Women wade in a line in shallower water, and dab down specially made bottomless baskets, feeling round inside for anything entrapped. Children stand round the edges of the deeper water, hopefully stabbing with the long barbed reeds. The mass of fish is divided, and each family splits and sun-dries its share. The fishing camp is no place for a sensitive nose when this is in progress. The dried fish may be bundled and hung in the house till wanted, or may be pounded and kept in a cone-shaped lump of three to four pounds, to be used as a sauce in small quantities.

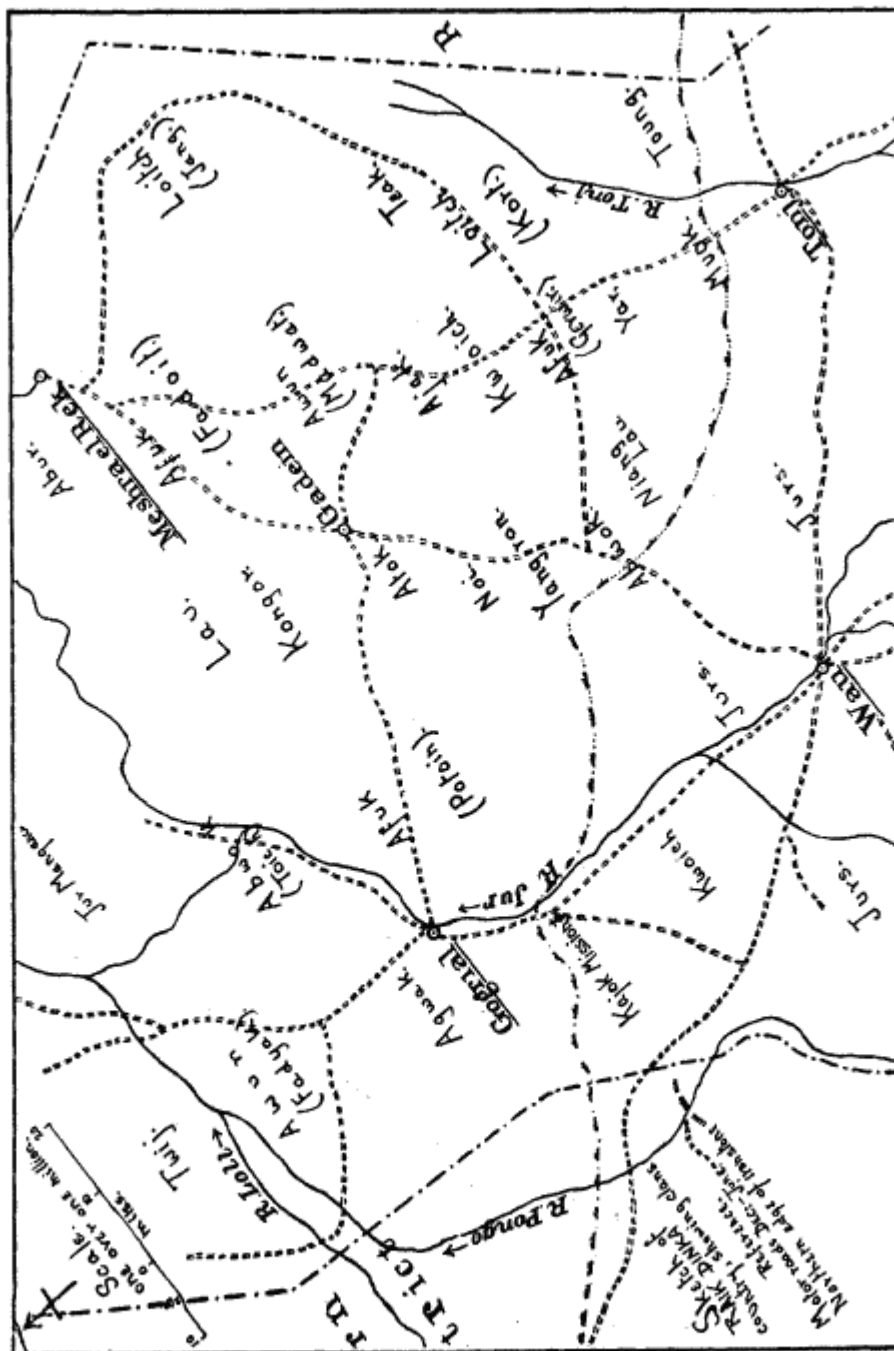
9. BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD.

Birth is naturally surrounded by a cloud of superstitious usage governing every act of all concerned. The baby is pink, but soon becomes black by exposure to sun and air. Beads are at once tied round its neck and wrists to ward off evil. The mother is little inconvenienced, but stays at home for the baby's sake. It lives in its reed cradle, in which it is carried on the mother's head. The father names it—sometimes after his father if it is the eldest, and the eldest surviving son may assume this name, so that Bol Shol is succeeded by Shol Bol, and so on. Or he may name it after any incident, recent or at the time of birth, or may

give it the name of a bull or cow if it is a girl, or the name may be simply chosen from the vast number of proper names that exist. An illegitimate child takes for its second name that of its mother's father, and it belongs to him.

Twins are lucky, and the sickly and deformed are not put away. The infant mortality is very high. The relations between children and parents are most affectionate, and naughtiness receives no more than verbal correction. The national independence begins at an amusingly early age. Any early sign of courage gives great delight to both mother and father, and the child is petted and even kissed for it. There is the greatest affection through life between brother and sister. The child is not weaned for two years, and if healthy is very chubby from plentiful milk. As soon as they can walk, boys and girls herd the goats and look after the puppies and make them little houses. A small boy regards the cow he drinks from as his own, and takes a great pride in it. While still an infant he may be circumcised, or it may be done later, but it is not a Raik custom, and seems to be entirely a matter of caprice. When she is four or five, the girl's ears and upper lip will be pierced, and small pieces of grass put in to keep the holes from closing. She does small tasks about the house and takes care of the baby. At the age of eight or nine the boys begin their education at the hands of older boys. They are taught to swim in a shallow pool, to throw a grass "spear" straight, and to parry one with a little grass shield, in mock fights of five or six a side. A bigger boy takes a long cord with a grass-stuffed goat skin tied to the end. He swings this in widening circles just off the ground, and the pupils try to hit it by throwing blunt spears or throwing sticks as it whirls past.

Their duty with the cattle begins with cleaning the floor, collecting and hanging up the neck-ropes and putting them on their right pegs in the evening, ready for the beasts to be tied to as they come in for the night. When the camp moves they carry a sleeping-mat, kid, puppy, or some other small load; the smouldering brand to provide fire at the next halt is too precious to be entrusted to a small boy. At about ten the girls begin to work with the cows, milking, churning and cleaning the milk gourds, tying up the calves, and fetching water or grinding corn in the wooden mortar at home or a clay-lined hole in the ground in the cattle camp.



MAP II OF THE RAIK DINKA COUNTRY.

At about ten the lower incisor teeth are removed in both sexes, and at fourteen or so the boys in groups are "initiated." The ceremony is not elaborate, though the boys are segregated for a short time, and boys of the same class are bound to one another thereafter as brothers, and they begin hunting and so on together with the couple of old spear heads on rough hafts given them after initiation. The outward sign is the four concentric rings rising from above the nose and cut round the head. The same is done for the girls in groups. One woman is known who, enslaved in childhood, acquired in Omdurman the three cheek-scars of her owners; on her way home she stopped in the Shilluk country and received their row of short cuts above the eyes, and on settling down again in her own country she completed the picture with the four Raik bands. A tall conical hat is worn to keep flies off the raw wounds.

The reason for these customs is lost, and the suggestion that as one row of front teeth is enough for a cow it ought to suffice a man was probably not serious. One result often is that in old age a man has several ugly tusks protruding at strange angles, from having long lacked anything to grind upon. A child that chatters too much in the presence of its elders is instantly shamed to silence if its mouth is forced open and the fact that it still has its lower teeth is observed.

Naturally a boy who has once tasted the joys of the cattle camps will not take kindly to school for long, so that it has been necessary to accept at Kajok Mission School only boys of from eight to ten. A beginning was made with old soldiers' sons, but Chiefs and others soon overcame their early suspicion, and sent boys to learn the magic of pen and paper. The best of them in less than two years are beginning their work as Chiefs' clerks, but it will probably be found, as with most Africans, that the earlier years are the most intelligent, though the atrophy of wits which elsewhere follows the abandonment to vice and excess in early manhood will probably not occur, if only from lack of opportunity.

At sixteen or seventeen his elder brothers will accept him as one of themselves, and he will be given a man's spear or two and some beads and bracelets. He will be allowed to grow his hair in a "wig," and be promoted from boy's work to man's, and admitted to the dance. His turn for marriage will come in strict order of seniority, and usually at twenty-four or five.

10. MARRIAGE.

Long before this he and the girl of his choice will have been considered engaged. Exogamy is the rule, and the man and his wife will therefore probably have different totems. This is not, however, absolute, and can be got over by a ceremony and sacrifice. There is a time of anxiety till the families agree on the bride-price, and cases occur of girls prevented from marrying the man they love committing suicide by hanging. Twenty cows is an average price, but up to one hundred are asked and given if the man's family be rich. To give so many is more an act of ostentation than necessity; the woman's position is thereby enhanced. The bride-price is generally completed before the wedding, and about a year later, if all goes well, the husband will receive back about one-tenth, up to one-quarter in some parts) of what he gave—not his own cattle returned, but others. After marriage, when his father will have given him the foundations of a herd, he will adopt a "bull-name," from his favourite bull or an imaginary one, and will be known by this to his intimates, but there is no custom of concealing the old name nor of abandoning it.

Either side has the right to divorce, either for barrenness (which must be proved by the wife living with her husband's brother) or impotence, or if she is a shrew or he a bully. In this case the woman goes back to her father and the man gets back the cattle he gave less a virgin-price, and something for each child, if any. Misconduct is not condoned, and the woman's father is responsible for taking her back and returning her marriage-price. The co-respondent, therefore, has the wrath of two families to face, and not long ago was killed if he failed to escape. His family now pay compensation in cattle. The moral standard is a high one, as has been said, though there are a certain number of women, often foreigners—Agar or Jur—who lead a wandering amoral life owing to barrenness, having no male relatives, or other misfortune. As their marriage price is a few goats or so, they do not rank as wives. It was these women, who used to be sold to the Homr Arabs, sometimes with a child or two.

As usual in the tropics, the woman's span of life is shorter than the man's, and partly from this, polygamy results. The men, however, do not, like most Southern tribes where living is so easy, collect new wives as fast as they can afford to buy them, with the insouciance of a buck-

rabbit. In addition to the cattle to marry the Raik wife, there will be also the cattle for her and her children to drink from, and her houses and barn to build and repair, and her crops to be helped with. The majority of Raik have but the one wife, and very few more than two—the elder to look after the home and the younger to go to the winter grazing. A few rich men indulge in matrimony on the heroic scale, but most of those who can afford it prefer to give a large marriage-price rather than a number of small ones.

II. SICKNESS AND DEATH.

The Raiks' indigenous knowledge of medicine is not even rudimentary: it is non-existent. Magic and sacrifices are alone resorted to, and at least their strong constitution is not hampered by noxious substances. On an open sore or wound he will clap some cow-dung or powdered wood to form a scab, and later make a series of slits round the original wound "to let the pus out," and instead of the original one he now has a dozen septic openings. That his body recovers from these, and that he can go about for months with deep tropical ulcers on his shins and ankles seems to indicate that his body is less affected by sepsis than a European's. Lion-maulings do not prove fatal to him so frequently as to the European. He can recover from a broken skull which, when the bone-setter has removed the fragments, leaves the brain exposed to view until the skin covers the opening again, and when a guinea-worm beginning to emerge at knee or ankle is broken off and a septic swelling results, he cannot use the limb, but is by no means incapacitated. As a result of apathy and ignorance there still is much avoidable mortality, suffering and defective physique. Every year, however, sufferers come in increasing numbers for treatment to the Government hospital or to touring officials; and every Chief now has a man trained in hospital to treat sores and wounds with a simple outfit and frequently-renewed supply of dressings and antiseptics, and with the duty of taking an interest in local health and supplying information about it. This system has already practically conquered the malignant ulcers, whose infection is, seemingly, water-borne.

The Raik makes a bad patient—indeed, the word is a misnomer, for what he asks for is a miracle rather than treatment, and sooner than volunteer for a long stay in hospital, where Dinka look after him and

feed him with Dinka food in a special Dinka ward, at no cost to himself, he often prefers to stay with his cattle, and take his chance of permanent disablement or a miserable death. This attitude is the result of the practice of their own magicians, who, of course, claim to be able to produce miracles, and sometimes by coincidence do so. It is hard to understand why the Government medicine cannot do at least as well, and apparently it can if the disease be yaws, for the immediate clearing of the sores after one injection of N.A.B. is marvellous enough. The eastern or northern edges of the Raik country have become infected with this in both places by invasion from a larger area of infection just outside, and, as with most civilized Governments in the tropics, a vigorous campaign is now in hand against it.

Epidemics of smallpox and cerebro-spinal meningitis have passed by the Raik country for many years; infant paralysis and measles seem to recur about every seven or ten years and increase the infant mortality. Pneumonia is common, and often fatal, but does not amount to an epidemic; while guinea-worm is almost universal, and, with some, scabies, tuberculosis, and a form of ringworm, is endemic. A leper is a rarity.

These maladies, together with the perils of battle, of accident, and of wild nature, make it surprising that so many survive to a ripe old age. From the point of view of progress and good order it is a pity that they do, for senility and reaction seem to go together, and wield a real influence through the inherent respect for parents which the Raik show. Perhaps the Raik *laudator temperis acti* is not unique in recalling only his triumphs and ignoring the losses and miseries that the old rule of club and spear entailed. At any rate, the outbreaks of violence that now occur are traceable as often to the folly of some witless dotard as of some half-fledged warrior eager to shine before the girls.

Death is followed by immediate burial. All ornaments are removed and the body is disposed as for sleep, curled up on its side with a hide below and above, it is said, always facing westwards. The place of burial is at the side of the house inhabited in life, except for the head of the house, who may, if he dies near his father's burial-place, be placed beside him or under his own cow-house. Except for the bull-tombs already noted, graves are not marked. Mourning lasts for several months for a husband, wife, or parent; ornaments are replaced by rope, and an unkempt appearance is assumed. There is no funeral ceremony,

but a goat or two is killed and given to the poor, who come and take the meat away. The women bewail the deceased, and the sorrow of all seems genuine and lasting. The state of mourning naturally carries a number of prohibitions.

After the death of the head of the family, the warriors make mock raids upon their neighbours, "to find the man who killed him," and knock on the head for food any goats, etc., they can find, and beat any humans who have not fled. Occasionally, bloodshed results. Sometimes an old man will accomplish a posthumous sneer at law and order by ordering upon his death-bed a raid upon some enemy. His descendants, naturally, faithfully obey his last words; but, in at least one recent case of this sort, the raiders brought the lifted cattle straight to a Government post, with apologies and a request for their return to the owners.

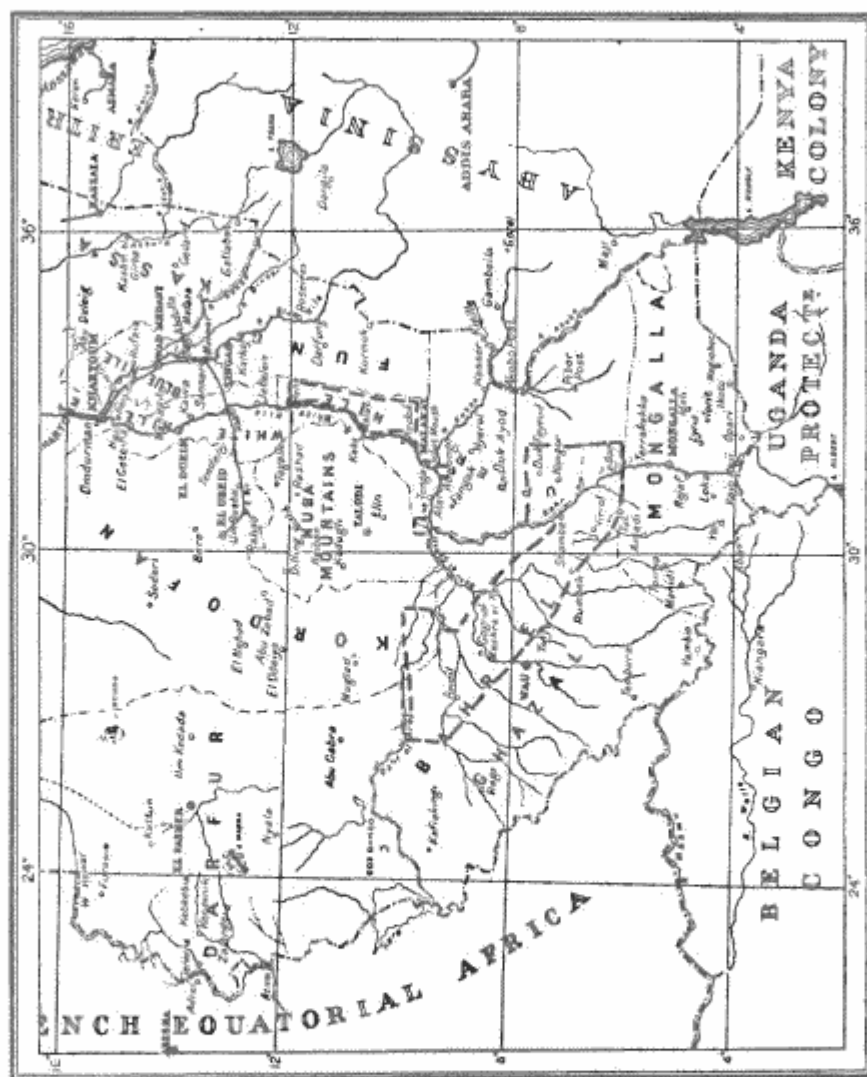
CONCLUSION.

To excuse the many shortcomings of this account, it is submitted that some selection was necessary to keep so large a subject of manageable length, and to exclude matter more fitted for office files. The object in writing was more to appeal to the lay reader for interest in and an unprejudiced view of a much misunderstood people than to provide experts and ethnologists with material, a deal of which would necessarily be second-hand. With such a people, the Government servant's chief weapon is the confidence he can inspire, and where hidden meanings are looked for in his lightest word, which will be discussed far and wide, he has, if he values his reputation for sanity and good manners, to be discreet in the questions he asks.

The vernacular has been avoided, since the interlarding of strange words is apt to prove irritating to those not interested in the language, while to those who want information, nothing short of a grammar and dictionary is useful.

Without ignoring the common confusion between geese and swans, in contact, at any rate, with this one of the child races, the truth appears to be truer than ever that to understand all will be to forgive all, and it will even be realized that there is not a great deal that calls for forgiveness.

16. 9. 27.



MAP I.—TO SHOW EXTENT OF DINKA COUNTRY.

NOTES

Sudan Arabic

THE following list of words is in continuation of that published in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. IX, No. 1.

H.-B. stands for Hava's translation of Belot's Arabic-French Dictionary.

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|------|---|
| 26. | كُبو
kubu | n. | Thicket.
Baggara.
Found in Dar Homr in place-names, e.g.
Kubu 'l Monâgu. |
| 27. | ضحل
ḍaḥal
(pl. ḍuḥûl) | n. | Shallow pool left in stream-bed after the rains.
Baggara.
See maps of Dar Homr, passim.
H.-B. has ضحل = Shallow (water). |
| 28. | شجاج
shahâḥ | adj. | Giving poor shade (tree).
} Baggara. |
| 29. | ظلمة
ḍalma | n. | Heavy shade.
H.-B. has شجاج = Niggardly. |
| 30. | شعة
nag'a | n. | Bare open space.
Western Sudan.
H.-B. has تنع = Swampy ground. |
| 31. | فو
faww | n. | Open space. |
| 32. | جلدة
ḡalada | n. | Hard treeless soil.
Baggara.
H.-B. has جلدة = Smooth and hard ground. |
| 33. | مجلد
muḡlad | n. | Ground which does not become waterlogged in
rains.
Western Sudan, Hamar and Baggara.
Cf. the proper name in Dar Homr. |

34. فرش
farsh n. Fringe of vegetation on the banks of a river.
White Nile.
35. تردة
turda n. Lake. }
36. بوطه
bûṭa n. Lake. } Baggara.
- Of the two, the *bûṭa* dries up the more quickly. The *turda* tends to last until the following rains—e.g. Lake Keilak is a *turda*; and there is another example at Abu Zabad.
37. بالبر
bi'l barr adv. Across country (lit. "on the bank"), i.e. neither
phr. by river transport nor by rail.
Example: *Ruḥṭa bi's sikkat el ḥadîd ? La'—masheil bi'l barr.*
38. ركوبة
rakûba n. Riding animal.
For example, *mâ 'andî rakûba* is a common excuse for delay.
H.-B. has "Camel for riding".
39. طرد
ṭarad (u) v.t. To gallop a horse.
طراد
ṭarrâd n. Jockey (especially in giraffe-hunting).
Baggara.
H.-B. has طرد = To pursue, to track a beast.
40. حنّ
ḥann (-i) v.i. To whinny (she-camels and foals).
Kordofan.
This is the classical meaning.
41. مري
meri adj. In milk after bearing a dead foal (she-camel).
N.W. Sudan.
42. ام قطية
umm guṭṭiya n. Kudu.
River Setit.
43. ام مرحين
umm marḥein n. Partridge (Red-legged or Clapperton's Francolin).
Kassala.

44. کلس n. Animal of fine build.
kalas Kordofan.
45. کردم adj. Unmarked (of a horse without distinguishing
kurdum marks).
Baggara.
46. باشندی n. Half-bred (of a camel whose sire, only, was
bāshendi thoroughbred).
Western Sudan.
47. تاش n. Teazed bark.
tāsh Spread by Baggara of Kordofan and Darfur
(but not those of White Nile) on a bull's back
under the *saḥīna* (see vocab. under "saddle")
or the *tāfūra* (see below, No. 48).
48. تافورة n. Woman's riding-saddle for bull.
tāfūra Made of leather and stuffing only, without any
(pl. tawāfir) wooden frame. Shaped into two pommels on upper
side and two forks on the lower, to rest on the
withers and short ribs of the bull.
Baggara.
49. قَرَعَ v.t. To head off, to turn back.
gara' (-a) N.W. Sudan.
e.g. commonly, *Igra'u min giddām!*
Head him off!
H.-B. has قَرَعَ = To strike on the head with a
stick.
This action, in fact, commonly accompanies
the heading off.
50. قَرَعَ v.t. To serve (a she-camel, stallion).
garra' N.W. Sudan.
51. فرصة n. Butter.
furṣa Western Sudan.

52. قارس adj. Sour camels' milk, cooled in a small water-
gâris n. skin (si'n).
N.W. Sudan.
H.-B. has قارس = Cold, glacial.
and قرس = To be congealed.
53. شرع v.t. To steal (animals).
shara' Dar Hamar, Kordofan.
54. خماسي adj. Five spans tall.
khumâsi n. } General distribution.
55. سداسي adj. Six spans tall.
sidâsi n. Used of children. }
56. ورك v.i. To ride a horse with one leg cocked up round the
warrak pommel of the saddle.
H.-B. has ورك = To lean one thigh only on the saddle.
57. هت v.t. To shake (a tree to bring down leaves or fruit).
hatt (-i) Cf. No. 25.
N.W. Sudan.
H.-B. has هت = To strip a tree of its leaves.
58. شكت v.i. To go lurking, on foot, to steal from another
shenkat tribe.
شكوت n. An expedition, on foot, for lurking theft from
shenkût another tribe.
شكيتي n. One who goes lurking, on foot, to steal from another
shenkîti tribe.
(pl. shenâkît) Baggara.
The White Nile Baggara use shenkit for shenkût.
59. خـسـ v.i. To inquire secretly.
khaskhas
60. سك v.t. To kick.
sakk (u)

61. حَاوَطَ v.t. To oppose.
hāwat W. Sudan.
H.-B. has حَاوَطَ = To try to circumvent anyone.
62. بَشَطَنَ v.t. To distress.
beshṭan v.i. To be in distress.
بَشْطَنَة n. Distress.
beshṭana
(pl. beshāṭin)
63. بَرْجَلَ v.t. To unsettle, render unstable or apprehensive.
bargal Baggara.
Example : *Yôm simi'u bi giat Muḥammad el Fagīr min Dārḥūr, El Mesīriya bigu mubargālīn bi'l ḥeil.* When they heard of Mohammed El Fagīr's coming from Darfur the Messiria were thoroughly upset.
64. سَلَّطَ عَلَى v.t. To influence, instigate.
sallaṭ 'ala
Example : *Kalāmhum bāṭil. Fulān sallaṭ 'aleihum sākit.* What they say is false, only so and so influenced (or instigated) them (to say it).
Also used of the influence of charms, spells, etc.
65. تَفَرَّ v.t. To follow.
tafar Dar Hamar, Kordofan.
The word is exactly equivalent to تَبَعَ whether in the literal sense of "to go after" or the metaphorical sense of "to give allegiance to".
66. سَافُورَة n. Convoys of camels of the northern Arabs which annually come south to buy grain in Western Kordofan.
sāfūra
67. كَرْكَبَ n. Clogs (for use in rainy season).
karkab Changed to *karkar* by Baggara.
68. اَمَّ تَيَرَوِ n. Raised hut.
amm teiyaro Ta'aisha. Darfur.

69. جَرَايَة n. Hoe.
gerrāya
(pl. gerrayāt) Western Sudan.
Of the same shape as the *hashāsha* and *melōda*
(see vocab.) but intermediate in size between these
two.
70. وَشَرَة n. Groove, worn by bucket-rope in the logs which
washara form the mouth of a well.
Western Sudan.
H.-B. has وَشَر = To saw.
71. دَارَك v.t. To conceal from view.
darak Western Sudan.
Example: *Gebel Abu Za'ima wein? Min hina
ma yinshāf—Gebel Abu Fās bidāriku.*
H.-B. has دَارَك = To ward off a thing.
72. سَالِف n. Precedent, ancient custom.
sālif Central Sudan.
(pl. sawālif) Example: *Yahkim bis sālif, or bi s sawālif.*
H.-B. has سَالِف = Preceding, past time.
73. عَمَش v.i. To be withered (grain) by lack of water, or
'amash disease.
عَمَشَان وَعَامَش adj. Withered by lack of water, or disease (grain).
'amshān and Example: *Bedrik in 'amash ye'ashshik.* Your
'amish early grain, though withered, shall feed you.
(Proverb.)
Central Sudan.
H.-B. has عَمَش = To be blear-eyed.
74. نَاجِم adj. Well-ripened.
nāgim The opposite of 'āmish.
75. دَقِيل n. Rust (in wheat).
dangeil Berber Province.
76. بَاع n. A fathom—the distance between the finger-tips
bā' when the arms are extended to the maximum.
This is also the classical meaning.

77. انداية n. Beer-shop.
indāya
(pl. indayât)
78. مطرطش adj. Of ill-balanced mind. Behaving foolishly under
muṭarṭash excitement.
Darfur.
79. كوم n. A many. A lot.
kôm
(pl. kômât) Baggara.
Example: 'Andu kheil kômât. He's lots of
horses.
80. ضحوة n. Morning's march (on a journey).
ḍaḥwa Morning's work.
See vocab. under "morning".
81. مثلثة n. A third march, by night, over and above the usual
matlûta two per diem.
Western Sudan.
82. بومي n. Bastard.
bûmi
- بوم v.i. To bear a bastard (woman).
bawwam v.t. To cause to bear a bastard (man).
Baggara.
Example: Ez zôl dâ akhlâgu ta'isa. Yabawwam
el'awîn kilîr.
83. مجنس n. Bastard.
maġinnis adj. White Nile.
84. ذرع خاله nom. Bastard—"the support of his uncle."
ḍira'khâlu phr. White Nile.
85. عانت خالها idiom. She bore a bastard—"she helped her uncle."
'ânat khâlha Cf. No. 84.
White Nile.
86. بهيمة حبة nom. A stolen animal—"an animal from some
behîmat phr. (unknown) region."
ġiha White Nile.

87. مالا prep. Than. An alternative to *min* in comparisons.
 má lá phr. Example: *Dî aḥsan má lá dá.*
 or ملا
 milla The former is, probably, the Western form.
 (for min la)
88. ام بھین adv. Early. Soon.
 um biḥin phr. Example: *Gumna um biḥin.* We started early.
89. سحارة n. Wooden chest for keeping clothes.
 saḥḥāra Central Sudan.
 H.-B. has "cupboard, chest" as a colloquial meaning of the word, in Syria.
90. درابة n. Clod of earth.
 durrāba Central Sudan.
91. تكيه n. Nickname.
 tekniya Baggara.
 Cf. the common classical *kunya*.
- For detailed explanation of the following words see Mr. Maclaren's note on "The Nomad Tent of Northern Kordofan", in this number.
92. كم n. Forked pole supporting curved roof-pole of
 kimm nomad tent.
 (pl. akmām)
93. توية n. The curved roof-pole supported by the *kimm*.
 tawiya
94. باهر n. The system of poles supporting the middle of
 bâhir the tent.
 H.-B. has *مَهْرَة* = Centre and *أَهْرَة* = Artery, back.
95. نغيزة n. Woven strip to take the pole which raises the front
 naḥīza of the tent.
96. طريقة n. Pole under the *naḥīza*, which raises the front of
 tariga the tent.
 (pl. tarāig)

97. رَفّ n. Poles or ropes which raise the front corners of the tent.
 raff
 (pl. arfâf) H.-B. has رَفّ (vb.) = To enlarge the skirt of (a tent or garment).
98. كَدَان n. Striped carpet(s) thrown over the forepart of a tent to act as a sunblind.
 kudân
 (a plur. form) H.-B. has كَدْن = Curtain of a tent.
99. حَقَب n. The poles which support the back and side walls of the tent.
 ḥagab
100. خِشَة n. Carpet supported by the ḥagab to form the walls of the tent.
 kheisha
 H.-B. has خِش = Coarse cloth made of the worst of flax.

NOTE.—Words in the above list are described as “Baggara”, “Centra! Sudan” and so on, because they have been reported as heard in those regions. In many cases the Editors are not prepared to assert that such words are not also used elsewhere, and it will be very valuable if readers will send details of place and tribe when they hear these words used outside the regions provisionally assigned to them.

The Wa'ab.

By Sh. Mohammed Abdullah Gobal of the Beni 'Amer.

YOU ask me about the wa'ab. Well you may, for though every small boy has heard of it, very few men of those now living here have seen it. In these modern days there are no wa'ab hereabouts; and even so late as thirty or forty years ago it was very rare. It has gone with the elephant and the buffalo and the teitel. This is its description. It walks on two legs, and is shaped very much like a man, though it is somewhat shorter. Its body and limbs are covered with a soft, hairy coat, like a kid's; but its face is bare, save for the eyebrows. Its features are like a man's, except that its nose is short, with the nostrils near the eyes. It speaks like a man, either in Khasa or Hadendoa¹, according to the land in which it lives; and they say that in Abyssinia it speaks Abyssinian. It has legs like a man's, but it cannot bend them at the knees, so that it never lies down, but sleeps leaning against a rock. It has five toes, the big toe very much longer than the others. It has narrow, humped shoulders, and hands like ours; but its arms are very short. They say that there is in Abyssinia a kind of wa'ab which is like ours, except that it has long arms; and the proof of this is that sometimes the Abyssinians skin them, and line the hides with silk, and put them on. An Abyssinian will do this in order to be unlike his fellows, just as he will wear leopard and lion skins. Such apparel, donned occasionally, is considered the mark of a vigorous man.

When the wa'ab was plentiful, men often killed and ate it; and the way they caught it was as follows: They used to set up in the ground a stake, either loosely planted or cut around the base, so as to be easily pushed over or broken. Then they would call to the wa'ab, saying, "O wa'ab, the trap is a trap for you."² The wa'ab hears and approaches, saying, "If God wills, the trap is for your mother and for your father

¹ Sh. Gobal is trilingual—Arabic, Khasa (Tigre) and Bedawi. He gave this lecture in Arabic, except when quoting the conventional conversations between the wa'ab and its captors. These he gave in Bedawi, explaining that most of his information came from Hadendoa sources; but he also gave the equivalent in Khasa. Both are quoted in the footnotes.

² Bedawi: *Takti'iab, s tal talsh*. (*Takti'iab* is the Bedawi for *wa'ab*, and means "resembling a man.")
Khasa: *Wa'ab, tal, talhdu*.

and for you yourselves."¹ Then it runs away, for it can run swifter than a bird flies; but always it returns. And because, being a liar itself, it thinks all men are liars, and also because it is much troubled by lice, it foolishly approaches the stake and scratches its head upon it, saying, "Let us make the experiment."² Then the stake falls, and the wa'ab falls with it; and, having short arms and no joints in its legs, it cannot get up again. Then the men run up and seize the wa'ab, who cries out, "I am taken, I am taken!"³ If the wa'ab's brother or uncle's son is within hearing, it calls in answer, "You brought it on yourself"⁴ (though the speaker, when its turn comes, is no wiser). Then the men slaughter the wa'ab, and cook and eat it.

Sh. Mohammed Dirar Ali Yangi, of the Aflanda, will tell you how that in his grandfather's time some of the Aflanda caught two wa'ab, who were brothers. They tied up one alive, and slaughtered and cooked and ate the other; but its flesh was very bitter. Now this was unusual; so they asked the other wa'ab, saying, "Why is your brother's flesh so bitter?" It replied, "Yesterday we ate sodom-apple; therefore is our flesh bitter." They asked it, "Will your flesh be bitter, too?" It said, "Mine will be bitter." Then they killed and cooked and ate it, and sure enough its flesh was bitter.

I myself have never seen a live wa'ab, but I have seen a dead one. It was while the Khalifah was still in Omdurman; though here the Mahdia had been over for four years. I was travelling with Mohammed Osheik, of the Lebad, from Afrik to Upper Khor Baraka; and we were passing through El Sherif Ahmed Omar's village in Karai. Ahmed Omar himself had been killed by the Dervishes just before, and his people, having lost all their flocks, were living by hunting. As we passed the village I saw what I took to be a corpse, lying on the ground, and two men standing over it. I did not know them, but Mohammed Osheik knew them for Windirer Osheik Or and Isa Kalag, both Lebad. I called to them, "What is it?" They replied, "*Takti'iab*."⁵ "What do you mean?" said I. "Wa'ab," said they. Now, of course, we had often heard of

¹ Bedawi: *Inshallah aetishna tal thata, babahna tal thata, talshna shata.*

Khasa: *Inshallah tal umhufba, tal abuhfba, talkelfba.* (For: *umha, lijba, etc.*)

² Bedawi: *Jerabat ene.*

Khasa: *Nejerribu, nejerribu.* (Ar.)

³ Bedawi: *Yabikniheib, Yabikniheib.*

Khasa: *Dabteini, dabteini.*

⁴ Bedawi: *Abilik t-khrua.*

⁵ See Note 2.

wa'ab, but we had never seen one. So we stopped and looked at it. It was just as I have described—like a man, but its body covered with hair; long legs without joints, and human hands on short arms. This one's hair was black, and its face grey; but I am told that they are of all colours, like sheep and goats. I did not examine it closely, but they told me that it was male; and that the females had four breasts, of which the two uppermost only gave milk, while the two lower ones were dummies. They said, too, that wa'ab meat was very good, but we did not care to try it, and passed on.

Hamad Ibrahim, of the Gemilab—he is dead now—told me the following story:—

"I once caught a wa'ab in the usual way, and was going to kill and cook it. Came a Sherif, riding by on his camel; and the wa'ab cried out to him, '*Hasābhōk, hasābhōk*,'—as one would say in Arabic, '*Maḥsūbak*.' The Sherif stopped and said, 'Do not kill the man.' I said, 'It is not a man, it is a wa'ab'; but the wa'ab cried out again, 'I am not a wa'ab, I am a man; do not kill me.' At that I stood back from it, and the Sherif took his man, and went away. I heard later that the wa'ab said to the Sherif, 'Really I am a wa'ab, and not a man; but I said I was a man so as to escape death.' The Sherif said: "Villain, you have deceived and shamed me," and would have killed it; but it ran away."

I am doubtful, however, of the truth of this story, because it is unlikely that a wa'ab—a congenital liar—would have spoken truly to the Sherif. Unfortunately, Hamad Ibrahim, the Gemilabi, is dead, and we cannot now cross-examine him.

Once when Thomson was Inspector here, he and I were trekking in the hills; and we found the track of a wa'ab. He thought that it was the track of an ostrich, but I explained to him that it could not be, because there was one big and four small toes in front, and none behind. He did not believe me. I can see that you agree with Thomson, but you are wrong. These tales make good stories, but there is more truth in them than you think. You have promised me £25 for a live wa'ab, and £10 for a dead one; and if God spares me I will earn the reward. I can find men who know the present haunts of the wa'ab, and I hope to be able to produce one before next March. I shall then be able to repeat to you the saying, "The wa'ab's way is your way"¹; for you will not believe what you are told.

¹ *Kūm o wa'ab kūmāk intā*—the phrase is mixed Bed., Khasa and Arabic.

Notes on Nuba Customs and Language.

DURING the last few years a considerable amount of work has been done among the Nubas of the central region of the Nuba Mountains Province in reducing their language to writing, and in getting to understand their customs and modes of thought. A vocabulary of about 2,000 words has been prepared, and the grammar of their language has been written. The latter has been done in considerable detail, and is much too long to be printed in an article in NOTES AND RECORDS. There are, however, a number of unusual features in the language, and some of these may be of interest to readers of this journal.

1. As regards the Grammar. In nearly all nouns there are distinct forms for Singular and Plural Number, the Plural being formed regularly from the Singular by the changing of the initial consonant. Eg. *Kari* (abdomen) becomes *nyari*; *Kwegwu* (Arab) becomes *Legwu*; *loin* (egg) becomes *nwoin*. (Here, and following, *n*=ng.)

Nearly all nouns have separate forms for Nominative and Accusative Cases, the Accusative being formed from the Nominative by the addition of a syllable, by changing the final vowel, by the modification of the final syllable, or by the addition of a vowel. Eg. Nom. *Kwa* (a woman) becomes Acc. *kwaio*; *niari* (boy) becomes *niare*; *Kwegwu* (Arab) becomes *Kwega*; *tul* (giraffe) becomes *tule*. Proper names and nouns introduced from other languages form the Accusative by adding "uñ" or "ñ". Eg. *Kuku* becomes *Kukuñ*; *Mamur* becomes *Mamuruñ*.

In Pronouns, Nominative, Accusative, Genitive and Dative cases have separate forms. Eg. Nom. *Nyi* (I), Acc. *Iñ* (me), Gen. *Gwin* (my or mine), Dat. *Digin* (to me). Singular, Dual and Plural forms of the First Personal Pronoun are much more definite in meaning than in English. In Nuba there are separate forms to indicate whether the person spoken to is included in the "we" or not. For instance, "*Cañal juga*" means "our sheep" (= mine and yours), but "*cañal juri*" means "our sheep" (mine and someone else's). Our English "we" may have to be translated by "*daña*" (meaning: Thou and I); "*alaña*" (You and I); or "*anaña*" (He or They and I). According to Werner in "The Language Families of Africa," a similar construction is found in Hottentot.

The Nuba Verb, though regular, is conjugated very minutely, there being several tenses that are not found in English. Each Nuba verb has

two stems, differing usually only in ending, but sometimes entirely different in form. In the Grammar, these are shown as Primary and Secondary stems. Eg. To fall (Primary Stem), *ido*; (Secondary Stem), *ide*; To eat (Primary), *iti*; (Secondary), *eñ*; To see (Primary), *añadi*; (Secondary), *ana*.

The method of agreement of nouns with their adjectives and verbs is by alliteration or partial alliteration. For instance, in the sentence "the big black donkey is dead," as "*nerigan*" (donkey) begins with "ñ" the Nuba is, "*nerigan ñina ñuminan ñamai*," but "the man who is black is dead" would be "*Kwoma gwina gwuminan gwumai*"; "*gw*" being the partial alliteration which is always used with a noun beginning with "*kw*."

One of the greatest difficulties in learning the language is to combine correctly the verb with the pronoun. Eg. In the following sentence, in the Future Customary Tense, "I shall strike it (habitually)" is, in Nuba, *ñatinñyipi*. Here the initial "*ñati*" (the frequentative prefix) alliterates with the noun for which "it" stands, in this case *nerigan* (donkey), the "*ni*" is the future prefix also alliterating, the "*ñyi*" is the pronoun I; and "*pi*" is the verb stem. But, "I struck you" would be *Nyigwipidana*; here "*Nyi*" is the personal pronoun, "*gwi*" is the verb prefix, "*pidi*" is the verb stem (its final "i" changing by assimilation to the "a" of "ña," which is the pronoun object). However, the rules are quite definite; and, when once these intricacies are mastered, there are no irregularities.

The Numerals are as follows :—

1. <i>Gwetipo</i> .	11. <i>Di a gwetipo</i> .	80. <i>Dure kworina</i> .
2. <i>Ram</i> .	12. <i>Di a ram</i> .	90. <i>Dure kworina a die</i>
3. <i>Tiril</i> .	13. <i>Di a tiril</i> .	100. <i>Dure tudina</i> .
4. <i>Kworina</i> .	20. <i>Dure</i>	
5. <i>Tudina</i> .	21. <i>Dure a gwetipo</i>	
6. <i>Nyiril</i> .	30. <i>Dure (a) die</i> .	
7. <i>Kworina tiril</i> .	40. <i>Dure ram</i> .	
8. <i>Duban</i> .	50. <i>Dure ram a die</i> .	
9. <i>Tudina kworina</i>	60. <i>Dure tiril</i> .	
10. <i>Die</i> .	70. <i>Dure a tiril a die</i> .	

As will be seen from the above, the numbers are grouped in tens, as in most languages, but after twenty they are arranged in twenties and

tens. 30 is Twenty and ten ; 60 is Three twenties ; and so on. There are no numbers over 100 in common use, and though they may be formed on the same basis as the lower numbers, they soon become unwieldy and clumsy. For example, nine elevens are ninety-nine, is in Nuba, *Tudina kworina nwoman dia gwetipo dure kworina a die a tudina kworina*. Over 100, therefore, we use English in our school work.

2. Nuba Customs.

NOMENCLATURE.

There are some curious customs in vogue among the Nubas of this region with regard to the names of children and the forms of address to be used to relatives. The names of children are determined by the order in which they come in the family. There are six boys' names and six girls' names, and these are always given to the children. The boys' names are : Kana, Gwuti, Kwalo, Nwumi, Kwoica and Kwuda. The girls' names are : Kwoma, Kweni, Gwuce, Geci, Kwoinyo and Gwuto. Other names are often given in addition by friends, or for the purpose of distinguishing one Gwuti from another ; but the names given above are commonly used in the family.

Two boys of the same name never call each other by that name, but always refer to each other as "Ita." Similarly with girls, or with a boy and a girl having corresponding names. Eg. a boy called Kwalo (No. 3 in the family) and a girl called Gwuce (also No. 3) would always call one another "Ita." In the same way a boy can never be persuaded to call his special friend by name, but always refers to him as "Orika." Also the relationship term, not the personal name, is used in referring to Uncle, Nephew, Grandfather, etc.

TWINS.

Twins are not at all welcome among these Nubas, though when they are born they are both cared for. It is considered a great insult to suggest that a pregnant woman may bear twins.

SIGNS OF A CROSS.

In cases of sickness, a cross sign is made on the body of the sick person ; and when a woman takes her infant to a place they have never visited before, she makes a cross sign on her own forehead and on the forehead of her infant ; and if she visits a house with her infant, she

asks, before she leaves, for a little water or milk or oil, which she sprinkles over her shoulders. This is to ensure that she will have a good supply of milk for the infant.

GOOD LUCK SIGNS.

When a traveller is on a journey and the sun is about to set, he puts a stone in the fork of a tree by the roadside, and says to the sun: "Wait a little, I want to finish my journey."

If a tree falls across the path, the people, as they pass, place a stone on the trunk of the fallen tree. But they do not seem to have any special reason for so doing.

When first seeing the new moon, a Nuba takes a pebble, spits on it, waves it once round his head with his left hand, and throws it at the moon, saying, "I want to have good fortune this month: take away evil from me."

When a man shoots game he puts part of it, the skin of a hare, the wing of a bird, the skull or leg of a gazelle, etc., on three stakes of wood in the ground near his house.

INITIATION CEREMONIES.

On entering young manhood there are no striking ceremonies, though some tribes to the South have special physical tests to endure. In the region under discussion the young men dress themselves in the ornaments proper to a well-dressed young man: beads, buttons, elaborately-dressed hair; and carry any weapons they may possess or can borrow. They strut round to show themselves, and dance in the usual dancing place of the village with the girls, many of whom will have lent some of their beads to the men; though the affianced wives of the young men do not lend theirs. After wearing their ornaments for a few days or weeks, they put them away for special occasions; they are now considered as young men.

BUILDING A NEW HOUSE.

If a new house is to be built, a man calls together the people of his village. The women bring their gourds and carry water, the men make the mud and build the house, and all are well supplied with merissa by the man for whom the house is being built. When the house is finished, the owner sacrifices an animal, sheep, goat or pig; puts blood on the door

and on the inside of the walls to ensure good luck and absence of sickness. During the building there must be no bad talk or disputing, as it might bring bad luck to the household.

SOME BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Whenever a person dies the grave is dug, if at all possible, by friends, and not by the relatives. Now it is the custom to wrap the body in cloth, but formerly it was buried naked. Oil is put on the head and some of the ornaments are buried with the body, some are given to relatives. The grave is bottle-shaped, with a small opening. Two or three people, not relatives, go into the grave and receive the body. They place it on its side, either right or left, with the knees drawn up and the head resting on the arm in the attitude of sleep. The small opening at the top of the grave is then closed with a rock, sealed with mud, and then earth is piled up over the grave. The dead person's relatives shave their hair and discard all ornaments for some months. After the mourning period is over, they sacrifice a goat, and put its blood on the door of the dead person's house and on the bodies of the relatives.

It is believed by the Nubas that the body remains in the grave but that the spirit emerges. Therefore, the day after the burial they go to the grave and search for a crack in the earth through which the spirit has come. If no crack is found they conclude that the dead person must have been a bad man, and that his spirit must remain in the grave. They have no theories as to the destination of the spirit after it has left the grave.

THE BEGINNING OF THINGS.

The Nubas of this region seem to have no knowledge of their origin, and their history seems to go no further back than their grandfathers. The only account of the beginnings of things that we have so far come across is as follows :—

Formerly the people had no knowledge of fire or cooking. They had no vessels of any kind. They mixed flour in holes in the rocks, and ate it raw.

A Person or Spirit eventually came from above, and brought fire, gourds and burmas; but the people did not know that fire was hot, and burned their fingers.

Formerly, also, when a child was to be born, the mother was cut open and the child delivered in that way: the mother always dying. The Spirit said this was all wrong, and showed them how a child should be delivered; and taught them how to cook food by cooking some himself and giving it to a woman in childbirth.

3. *Nuba Stories.*

Some of the Nuba stories are very similar to the long, apparently pointless and almost interminable folk stories of many other primitive people. But a few of them seem to be more correctly balanced, and reach more or less of a climax—and an end. Some of them remind me of the Uncle Remus stories of Brer Rabbit and his adventures. The following may be of interest. I may say that they are taken directly from the Nubas, and not through Arabic.

THE PORCUPINE AND THE HARE.

A porcupine and a hare lived together in one house, and used to go together to their cultivated plot to gather beans and come home and cook them. The hare used to sit outside, but the porcupine stayed inside to cook. When they were all cooked, he would call the hare and say: "Come in, the beans are cooked; let us eat." The hare would then stand still and speak to the porcupine, and say: "I will poke you with my horns," and the porcupine would get up and run away. The hare was deceiving the porcupine with his ears, and saying, "They are horns"; but they were not horns.

One day the porcupine was going along the road, and he met a gazelle and spoke to him, and said: "The hare chases me with his horns and always prevents me from eating beans." And the gazelle spoke to the porcupine, and said: "You are afraid of a mere hare: he is deceiving you with his ears, and saying to you, 'They are horns'; but they are not horns. Look at my horns and my ears, and feel them. Horns and ears are different." The porcupine felt the ears of the gazelle and felt his horns, and said: "Yes, indeed, horns are hard and ears are soft."

The gazelle spoke to the porcupine, and said: "When you and the hare have gone to bed, get up softly and feel his ears." And the

porcupine went off home. When he and the hare had gone to bed at night, he got up softly and felt the hare's ears, and knew that the words of the gazelle were true.

In the morning they went together to the field, gathered beans, and came home and cooked them. The hare stayed outside, and the porcupine cooked the beans. When they were all cooked he called the hare and said: "Come in, the beans are all cooked; let us eat." The hare came in and stood and spoke to the porcupine, and said: "I will poke you with my horns," but the porcupine sat unperturbed. The hare spoke to him again, and said: "I will poke you with my horns." And the porcupine said: "Poke me!" The hare went to poke him, and poked with his ears, and the porcupine got up and hit him with his foot; and the hare went to go out, and the porcupine struck him again with his foot; and the hare ran off to the forest, while the porcupine ate the beans alone.

THE GIRL AND THE LEOPARD.

One day there was a festival, and a leopard came and sat on the road. When the people came along he asked them, saying: "Am I good-looking?" The people said: "Yes, you are good-looking." When others came he said to them: "Am I good-looking?" And the people said: "Yes, you are good-looking."

By and by some girls came, and he said to them: "Am I good-looking?" And the girls said: "Yes, you are good-looking." But one girl said, "You: good-looking? You are not good-looking: you have big teeth." The leopard was angry, and chased the girl, and she ran away and raced the leopard and got home.

The leopard returned and sat by the well, and the girl took her gourd and went to the well, and the leopard said: "Why did you abuse me just now? Everyone says I am good-looking; then how is it you say I have big teeth?" The girl spoke to him and said: "It was not I. There is a sister of mine at home just like me." The leopard replied saying, "I know you very well"; but the girl said, "You do not know me, there is a sister at home just like me." But the leopard took her, tied her with his tail, and led her along the road.

As they went they met a brother of the girl, and the girl said: "The leopard has got me!" And the brother replied: "I used to speak to you,

and you refused to obey me; and your father spoke to you, and you refused to obey him." So he left her and went on.

As they went on they met another brother, and the girl said: "My brother, the leopard has got me." And the brother spoke and said: "Go on, I do not want to speak to you. We used to tell you things, and you refused to listen." So he left her and went on.

As they went on the way they met her husband, and the girl spoke to him and said: "Go and marry another wife, the leopard has got me." And her husband replied, "All your people used to speak to you, and you refused to listen. Go away, I don't want you. I shall marry another wife."

They went on and met the man who had first married her, and the girl spoke to him and said: "Once I deserted you and went to another man, but now he has left me for the leopard to take." The man spoke to the leopard and said: "Wait for me, I am going home to get a goat, and will give it to you and take the woman."

When he went home he took a sword and sharpened it, and then sharpened it still more, and ran along the road and saw the girl and the leopard in the distance. He called to them and said: "Wait for me." They waited, and he came close, and the leopard said: "Where is the goat?" And the man said: "There is no goat; give me my wife." And the leopard said: "I won't give you the woman." So the man took the girl by the hand, and the leopard went to bite him, and the man struck the leopard with his big knife, and the leopard died. But its tail stuck to the girl. The man took her home to his house, and by frequent applications of oil they finally got the tail off.

After a while the man took some goats and wanted to give them to the girl's people, but the girl said: "No! They saw the leopard taking me away, and did not stop it. Why do you want to give them goats?" So the man said: "All right."

The girl's husband then heard that she was there, and he came and wanted to take her back again. But the girl refused, saying, "You met me on the road and let the leopard take me, and now you want to take me back again. I refuse."

Some years afterwards the girl's little son, called Kana, went to the house of his uncle, his mother's brother, who gave him meat to eat; but

his mother came and found him and beat him, and said: "You must not go there again, those people and we are enemies."

THE WOMAN AND HER DAUGHTER, KWOMA.

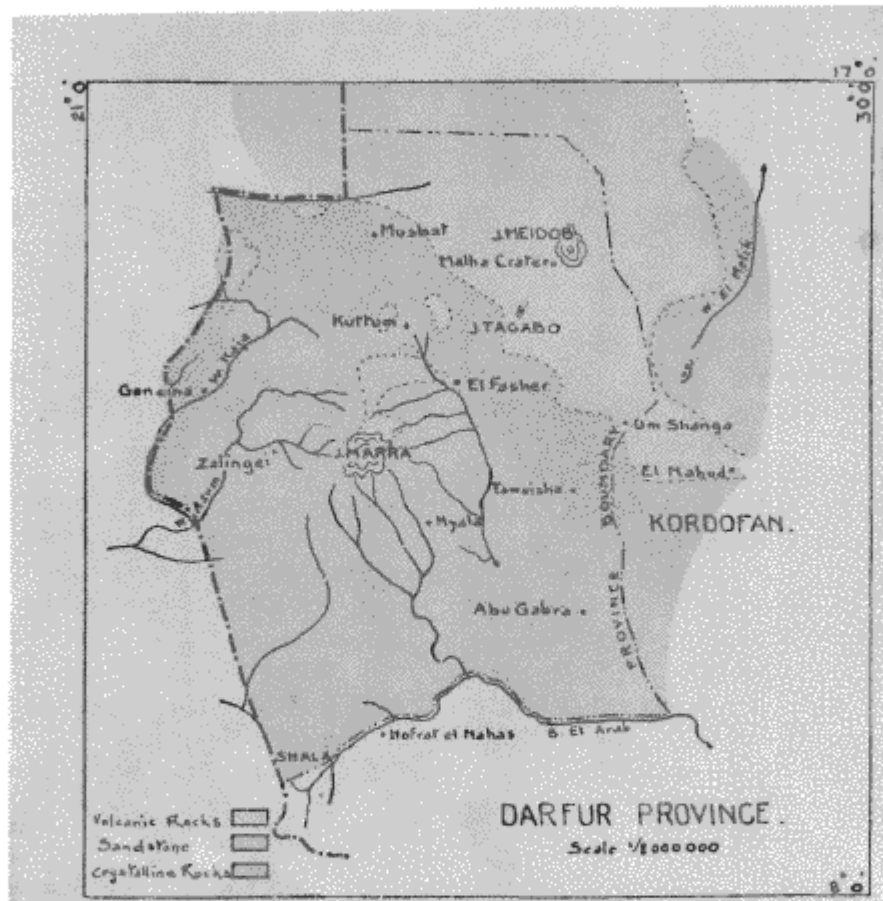
There was a woman just like a leopard, but she had a good-looking daughter called Kwoma. This woman ate people, but she used to go to the forest every day to catch a gazelle for her daughter. She would bring it home and say to the girl: "Go out and get the gazelle." The girl would go out and cook it and eat it alone. The mother would not eat any herself, she ate only human beings.

By and by a young man wanted to marry the daughter, so he came to the mother and said: "I want to marry your daughter," and she agreed. One night the young man came to talk to the girl, and spent the night in their house. After he had gone to sleep, the mother got up quietly and was just about to take the young man by the throat when the girl woke up suddenly and said: "Mother, what do you want?" And the mother said: "Kwoma, I am only having a game."

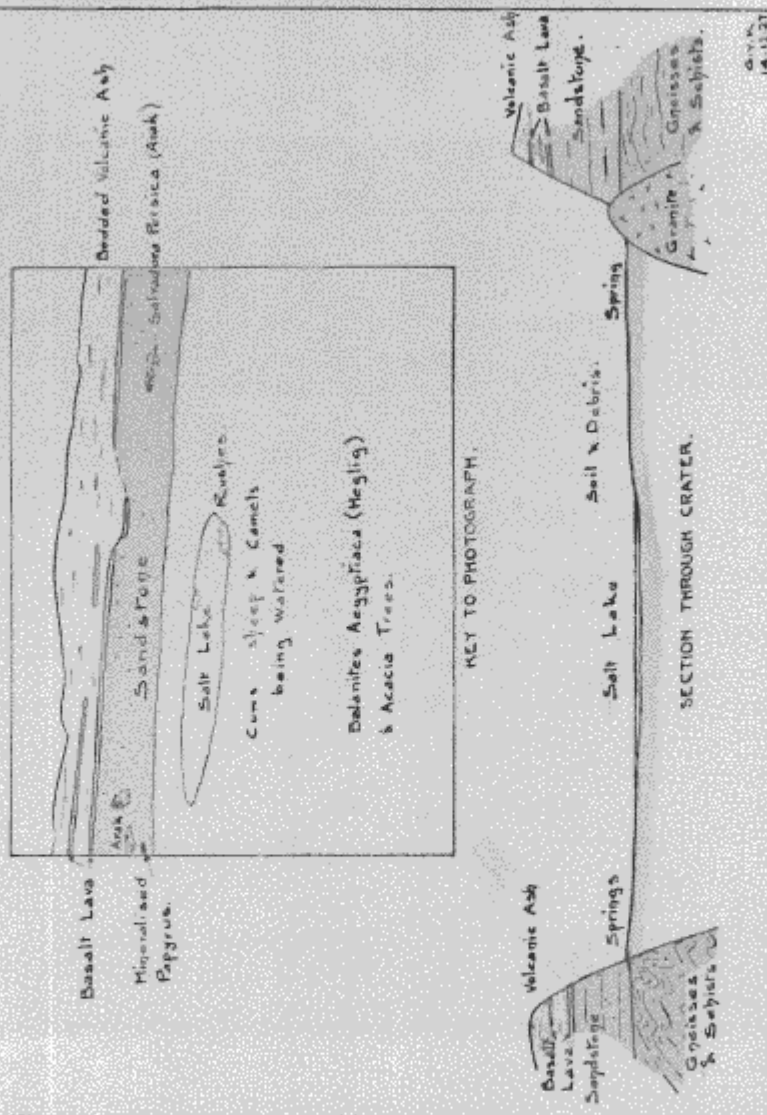
Another time the young man came to spend the night at their house. After he had gone to sleep, the girl went out and got a fowl and brought it in and tied it to the young man's neck, and then went to sleep. In the middle of the night the mother got up softly and seized the young man by the throat, but the fowl called out loudly and woke the girl. She got up and scolded her mother, but the mother said: "Kwoma, you don't know a game when you see one."

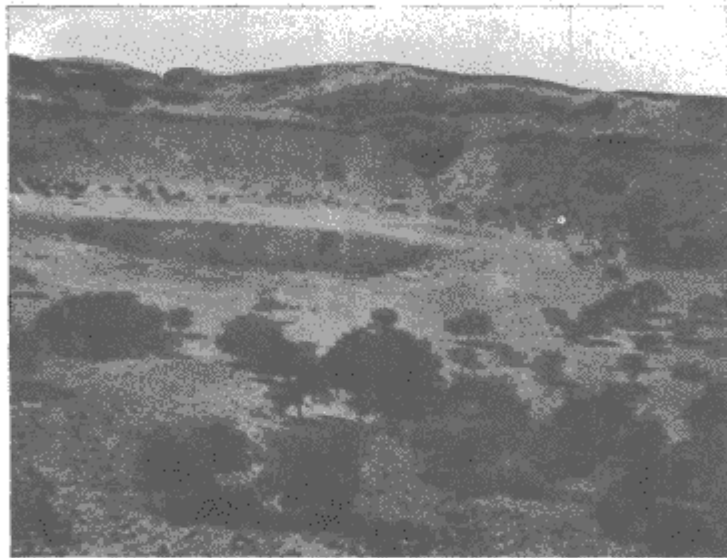
One morning the mother went off to hunt gazelle, and after a little time the young man came and took the girl away. They went to the forest and found a big Tebeldi tree, and climbed it and sat there.

The mother came home and called her daughter as usual, and said: "Kwoma, go out and get the gazelle." But Kwoma was not there. She went to the door and saw their footprints on the ground. So she followed them and came to the Tebeldi tree, and found the girl and the young man. The girl said to the young man: "Mother has come," and the woman sat at the foot of the tree, and, by holding an axe by her tail, chopped at the tree. The girl said to the young man: "Haven't you any people?" And the young man said: "I have no people, but I have some dogs that I keep for dancing." She said, "Call them quickly." So he



MALHA CRATER, DARFUR.





called them, and they came and ate the woman up. And the young man and the girl came down and went back to the house.

NOTE.—The word translated "Leopard" in the last two stories is, in Nuba, *kwira*. This really means not only a leopard, but also anything of frightful appearance. For instance, if a boy daubs his body with white clay, he says he is a Kwira; and they use the same term to describe some masks that have been given them to play with.

D. N. MACDIARMID.

Malha Crater, Darfur.

PLATES XXVI–XXVIII.

MALHA Crater is situated in a large, shallow depression in the sandstone plain, about a mile to the south-west of the Meidob Hills, in Darfur, Lat. 15° N., Long. 26° E. It was visited by Rear-Admiral Lynes in 1921, and described in the *Ibis* of July, 1924. The writer spent Christmas Day 1925, in the crater, and a few notes on the geology may be of interest.

It is about nine hundred yards in diameter and two hundred feet deep, and the lip only stands up a few feet above the level of the plain. It belongs to the caldeira (cauldron) type, and the size of the crater is quite out of proportion to the amount of ejected material, consisting of one or two thin lava flows and bedded volcanic ashes and debris containing numerous blocks of the ancient rocks which underlie the sandstone. The small amount of ejectamenta shows that the crater has been made by one or two gigantic explosions of quite short duration, perhaps only a day; leaving a crater which is quite out of proportion to the size of the surrounding rim of volcanic ashes, debris and lava. The state of preservation of this crater and others in the Meidob Hills shows that the vulcanicity is recent, geologically speaking; and it was evidently formed during the dying phase of the volcanic activities to which the Meidob Hills, composed largely of volcanic debris and basaltic lava, owe their origin.

North of these hills stretch the waterless and treeless plains of the Sahara Desert. There are a few trees on the floor of the crater: these consist chiefly of *hegliġ* (*Balanites Ægyptiaca*) and acacia (*Arabica*), etc.; but there is one large *harāz* tree (*Acacia albida*). The dark patches on the sides of the crater consist of Arak bushes (*Salvadora persica*), which

have the scent of a skunk, and the twigs of which make an excellent substitute for a tooth-brush. In the centre of the crater is a small, shallow lake, fringed by a few sedges, and fed by eight or nine fresh water springs, the *raison d'être* of which is explained below. In the accompanying photograph, by the aid of a lens, the camels, sheep, goats, and cattle can be seen watering at these springs.

At the foot of the cliffs, large white blocks of mineralized vegetation were found, and Mr. W. N. Edwards, of the British Museum, has identified these as *Papyrus Cyperus*, a modern form of papyrus, suggesting that in geologically recent times the climate was humid and tropical, and that the crater was filled with fresh water, surrounded by papyrus growth, which eventually became mineralized as the lake became more saline, owing to evaporation. With the advance of a desert climate, the lake contracted and became salter. According to native reports, the level of the lake has on occasions rapidly altered, and this has been accompanied with gurgling sounds. At the present time, black mud is taken from the edge of the lake, and this, after being dried in the form of briquettes, is exported as a camel lick. Owing to the accumulation of animal excreta, the water of the lake is dark brown in colour.

Darfur is composed mainly of the ancient Pre-Cambrian rocks, which have been exposed to the forces of erosion for such vast æons of time, perhaps more than 600 million years, that it has been worn down to a flat plain. During Cretaceous times (*creta* = chalk), probably about 65 million years ago, the northern half of Darfur was covered with a thin layer of horizontally-bedded Nubian sandstone, under the shallow water conditions of large inland seas or lakes; it is even possible that the Mediterranean Sea invaded this area, but owing to the paucity of fossils in the sandstone, it is difficult to confirm these points. The sandstone is an important formation, as it is porous, and soaks up some of the meagre rainfall, which can usually be recovered by digging wells at depths varying from 50 to 350 feet. This rock being soft, is easily excavated, but it is usually sufficiently hard for the sides of the well to stand up without lining.

During the Tertiary Era* and recent times large volcanic outbursts took place in central Darfur, forming the J. Marra and Meidob ranges,

* NOTE.—The Tertiary is the latest of the great geological eras, and perhaps represents some 60 million years. It is sometimes known as the age of Mammals, which made great advances from the first primitive forms evolved from reptiles in Cretaceous in earlier times. It also witnessed the rise of the flowering trees, plants and grasses.

which reach an altitude of 10,000 feet and 5,000 feet respectively above the sea, and about 7,000 and 3,000 feet above the plain. The Jebel Marra outbursts not only broke up the sandstone, but formed a watershed from which the rains have been able to remove all the soft sandstone in central Darfur, except a few vestiges here and there. The distribution in Darfur of the above three classes of rock, namely, the old crystalline rocks, the sandstone, and the volcanic rocks, all of which are exposed in the Malha crater, is shown on the accompanying geological map of Darfur and in the section of the crater. As will be seen in the latter, the porous water-bearing sandstone overlies the impervious crystalline Pre-Cambrian rocks, thus giving rise to the fresh water springs.

The Government Chemist reports that the lake water contains 53 per cent. of natron (sodium carbonate) and 33 per cent. of common salt.

G. V. COLCHESTER.

The Nomad Tent of Northern Kordofan.

TO any traveller in the desert and semi-desert regions of Northern Kordofan and Southern Dongola, the low, brown, worsted tents of the nomadic Arabs are a familiar sight. One sees them, perhaps, grouped in twos or threes, each huddled under the meagre shade of a stunted thorn, or perhaps lining for miles some great wadi, in which large numbers of Arabs are gathered together for water in the dry season. Sometimes they are built about with neat *rakūbas* of grass, and sometimes standing alone, without adornment. The fundamental plan of their construction, which I do not remember to have seen described before, may be of interest to readers of SUDAN NOTES.

The facts here given were gathered from the Hawawir tribe. Possibly other tribes may vary as to details, though in outward appearance all these tents are the same.

The essential parts of these, as, indeed, of all tents, are the roof and the poles. The side walls are a minor matter, and are susceptible of adjustment and alteration to suit changes of wind and weather.

To take, first, the roof. This invariably, as far as my experience goes, consists of four long strips of very heavy camel-hair carpet, each about eighteen feet long by three feet wide, sewn together so as to form a sort of tarpaulin, measuring roughly eighteen feet by twelve. These strips are called *shugāg* (sing. *shugga*), and after them the house takes its name.

Shugāg are always, I think, self-coloured, except for a narrow border of a darker shade; their usual hue is a dirty brown. They are not the same as the attractive, striped Arab carpets that one sees in many European houses in the Sudan, which, lighter in texture and gayer in hue, are used by the Arabs as walls and not as roofs. I will deal with them later.

A set of *shugāg* lasts for four years. One of the set is renewed annually. The next oldest, due for renewal next year, is placed at the back of the house, where its functions are practically those of a verandah.

The *shugāg*, when ready for use, may be depicted thus :—

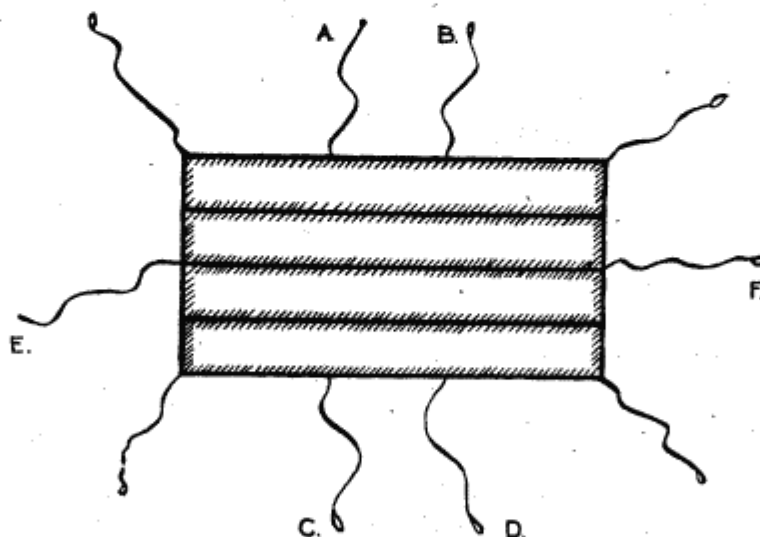


FIG. I.

The wavy lines represent the ropes by which the tent is pitched.

To turn now to the system of poles. The essential part of this consists of four poles about six feet long, each with a crotch in the top. These poles support the *shugāg* along the line of their central seam. Each of the end poles is called a *kimm*, and bears a crescent-shaped stick called a *tawia*, which lies under the seam of the *shugāg*, and gives the ridge of the roof its peculiar two-humped appearance. The *akmām* are slightly longer than the two central poles.

The central poles are joined across their crotches by a horizontal bar (on which, again, lies the central seam of the *shugāg*), and the three together are known as *el bāhir*. The four main poles of the tent may, therefore, be depicted thus :—

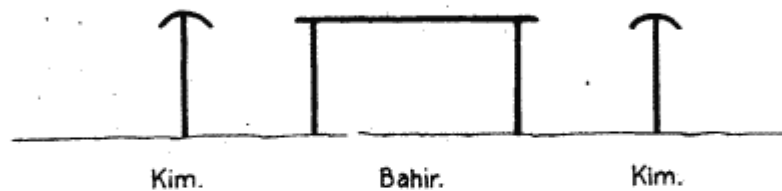


FIG. 2.

Before describing the further poles, etc., in use, it will be as well now to put in position the parts already mentioned. Laying the *shugāg* on the ground, we place the tops of the *akmām* and the *bāhir* below the central seam, and raise the whole into position by means of the ropes. If we now made fast ropes A, B, C, D, E and F to pegs, we should have a simple form of tent, which, however, would obviously be low and uncomfortable. The front half of the house is accordingly raised to the level of the ridge as follows : Running from rope A to rope C, and from rope B to D, are narrow strips of worsted known as *naḥīza*. Under ropes C and D, just beyond their junction with the *naḥīza*, are placed two poles known as *farāig*, while at the two front corners of the tent are placed

poles or ropes called *arfâf*. We now have a house of which the cross-section looks like this :—

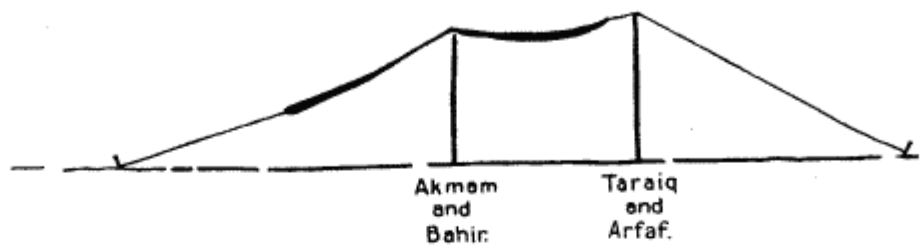
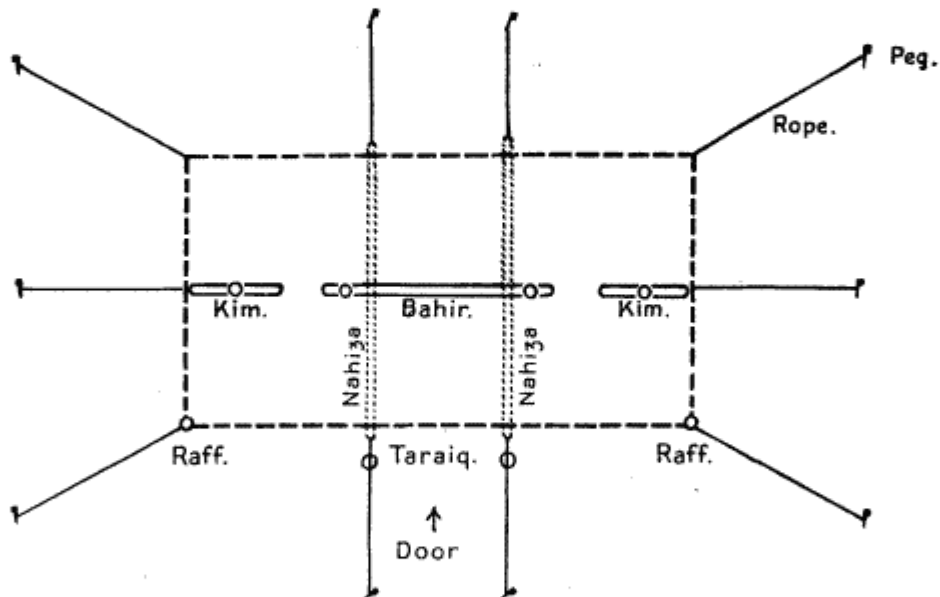


FIG. 3.

And the plan like this :—



(The dotted line represents outline of Shugag.)

FIG. 4.

This is the complete essential framework of the Arab house. It remains only to provide walls.

The front of the house, being faced away from the prevailing wind, is usually open, except, possibly, for a striped carpet, known as a *kudān*, which, with its two back corners fastened to ropes E and F, is simply thrown over the fore part of the tent, and, resting on ropes C and D, forms a sort of sun-blind which can be raised or lowered at pleasure.

The back wall, however, is invariably erected, and generally one or both of the side walls also. They consist of the attractive, striped carpets previously referred to, supported by upright poles, each with a crotch at the top, sometimes standing alone and sometimes joined by a cross-bar after the manner of the *bāhir*. These poles, whether at the back or at the sides, are known as *hagab*. At the back they are inserted under the rear seam of the *shugāg*, leaving the outermost *shugga*, as already mentioned, as a sort of verandah outside the actual dwelling part of the tent. These *hagab* are short, raising only by very little the natural backward slope of the *shugāg*. The *hagab* at the sides are naturally of the same height as the roof, which means, in the front part of the house, the same height as the ends of the curved *tawias* and the *arfāf* at the front corners.

The carpets suspended from these *hagab* are known as *kudān* or *kheisha*. They vary in colour and pattern in the different tribes, but, in the true nomads, are all of the natural colours of the wool, camel, sheep or goat, without artificial dye. Those of the Kababish are probably the handsomest. All, as also the *shugāg*, are spun and woven by the industrious hands of the *harīm*.

The house, when completed, looks from the back something like this: (Fig. 5). The front view I am not clever enough to draw, but it should be apparent from the previous description.



FIG. 5.

On ordinary family occasions, the one-roomed house now described generally remains undivided. Sometimes, however—as, for instance, when guests are expected—the back part of the tent is screened off for the women. This is done simply by inserting further poles between the front line *arfāj* and *farāig* and the main supports (*akmām* and *bāhir*) and suspending from them screens of any convenient material, carpet, *birsh*, or *damūr*. Sometimes only a part of the rear portion of the house is so screened off. The poles so employed are known as '*amūd el sitār*'.

The furniture of these nomad houses is very simple. Everything is subservient to the need for mobility. At the back is the bed, formed of rigid parallel reeds or canes, linked together by interwoven leather laces, and resting at right angles on wooden bars, which, in turn, are supported on neat little pedestals formed of the stumps of small trees. The whole is admirably designed for packing; the pedestals can be thrown into a bag, the bars tied together, and the reed covering rolled round them—but it looks remarkably hard to sleep on. A bull's hide well soaked in *gufrān*, a *furwa* or two, and a few grimy *tōbs*, complete the marital couch. Hanging on the *hagab* are leather sacks for clothes and valuables; a *makhhlūfa* and various cooking utensils strew the floor; an '*uṭṭa*', gaunt without its trappings, stands outside beneath the tree. Such is the nomad's home.

J. F. P. MACLAREN.

NOTE.

A minor point of some practical interest relates to the driving of the tent pegs, which are about an inch in diameter and eighteen inches to two feet long, to the best of my recollection. In the type of soil found in these northern steppes, it is essential that the pegs should be driven vertically, if they are to hold. If driven at an angle, as an Englishman would naturally drive them, they very quickly work loose and are pulled up.

R. D.

Medical Treatment by Bor Witch Doctors.

WHEN on trek amongst the Southern section of the Bor Dinka earlier this year, I witnessed what, to me, was a most illuminating example of the time-honoured way in which local "doctors" treat the sick.

It was reported to me that a certain influential and aged chief was sick with dysentery, and being at the time near his village, I went to see him, and found him in a bad way, but he would not accept my offers of help. He assured me that his own doctor would cure him, so I asked permission to see how the cure was to be effected. The chief appeared to welcome the idea, and the "doctor" (from this point to be referred to as the Tiett Wal) was ushered into the hut. The chief lay naked on the earth, and the Tiett Wal, having produced a gourd of hot water, started massaging the chief's stomach. I knelt quite close by. After a very short time, I heard a noise almost like the click of a trigger, and something hit me on the hand. Picking it up, I found it to be a small piece of charcoal. The massage continued, the Tiett Wal every now and then examining certain bits of skin very acutely, and from them would fly similar bits of charcoal accompanied by the same noise. Unfortunately for the Tiett Wal, I happened to notice him putting his hand under the patient's ribs for no apparent reason, and I made a grab at this spot, there to find a neat little pile of charcoal. I pointed this out to the chief, who at once reviled the Tiett Wal most bitterly, and ordered him out of the hut. The Tiett Wal expostulated that no one had ever watched him as I had done, but it was of no avail.

The chief then told me that he had a much better Tiett Wal, and thereupon an old woman was brought in. She started off massaging, but used oil instead of water. As before, bits of charcoal flew about with the usual click, but once more I spotted the deception (which was fairly obvious); on this occasion it consisted in the Tiett Wal having her charcoal hidden between her fingers. The chief ordered her to clear out at once, and expressed his amazement that he could ever have been taken in by such people. However, a minute or two afterwards he said that the first Tiett Wal was really a powerful doctor, and that he had other ways of curing; and so the first was recalled, and told to get on with his job, but to use other means. The Tiett Wal now produced a clean

piece of straw, about four inches in length, and held the point of the straw to the Chief's stomach. To my astonishment, a drop of blood at once formed on the end of the straw, and there certainly had been no signs of blood before. The Tiett Wal turned to me to note how I took this new manifestation, and I asked him if he could do the same to me. He replied that he could, but in my own hut. So we adjourned to my hut, and I noticed that my hut was much darker than that of the chief. The Tiett Wal entered in front of me, and just as his back was turned to me, I saw him momentarily raise his hand to his mouth. In my hut, the Tiett Wal extracted blood (or pretended to do so) from my knee, in the same manner as I had seen previously. But I took the straw from him, and discovered blood on the side of the straw, and on one of his finger-nails there was also blood. I can only surmise that the Tiett Wal had a wound inside his mouth, and from that, when I saw him raise his hand to his mouth, he drew the blood. I pointed this out to him, and he went off, but in no way upset. I was informed that this Tiett Wal had collected a large herd of cattle and goats as fees from his various patients.

I, perhaps, spoilt any chance that he might have had of adding to the herd in this particular instance, by curing the chief with a few injections of Emetine, but there is no doubt that the local natives set very great store on the "cures (?) " of these Tiett Wals.

M. G. RICHARDS.

REVIEWS.

The Sudan in Recent Political Literature.

1. THE ISLAMIC WORLD SINCE THE PEACE SETTLEMENT. By PROF. ARNOLD TOYNBEE. (Survey of International Affairs.) (Oxford: University Press, 1927.)
2. EGYPT. By MR. GEORGE YOUNG. ("The Modern World" Series.) (London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1927.)

THOSE interested in the present-day politics of Egypt and the Sudan will find these two books to some extent complementary. In Professor Toynbee's Survey, modern Egyptian nationalism and its repercussion in the Sudan are displayed as part of a world-wide revolt of the non-Western peoples against Western ascendancy—a revolt accompanied, however, by an impulse "to adopt the military technique, the political institutions, the economic organization, and the spiritual culture of the West, but to adopt these by deliberate choice instead of being compelled to conform to them under pressure." In Mr. Young's book the same modern movements in Egypt and the Sudan are treated as the latest phase of a development, within the basin of the Nile, which is traced through the last century and a quarter.

The two authors draw their pictures of affairs in the Sudan approximately to the same scale. Thus, with their aid, we can see recent events in this country either as part of the mosaic of contemporary world-politics, or as the last stage in an age-long growth.

It is, therefore, unfortunate that the two books are not equally authoritative. Professor Toynbee's is a work designed to provide material for the serious study of international affairs; and it very nearly attains the highest degree of accuracy possible to a writer of contemporary history, who must necessarily, to some extent, lack the assistance which the future historian will derive from documents still reposing in the obscurity of official archives.

Mr. Young's book, on the other hand, is addressed to the general public. It is not a repository of facts, but an exposition of a particular view of modern Egyptian history. The view is interesting and the exposition entertaining; but the book is marred by a disregard for accuracy in matters of fact (surprising in the author of a law-book

described by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher as "authoritative") which must make readers mistrustful of the conclusions reached. In fact, Mr. Young's most carefully consulted authority would seem to have been a Concordance to the Old Testament, which has furnished him with a set of extremely apposite chapter-headings. The chapter on "Egypt and the Sudan" could hardly have had an apter introduction than Ezekiel, 29, 3: "Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt . . . which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself."

It is not difficult to justify this criticism, from that part of Mr. Young's book which directly concerns the Sudan. Take first his view of the cause of the Mahdist revolt (p. 132):

"That the European intervention in Egypt in general, and the English invasion in particular, created the Mahdist movement in the Sudan, cannot be proved, but seems probable. The deposition of the Khedive and the domination of the Khalif by the Powers caused a subversion of Turco-Egyptian authority over the Sudanese tribes that was bound to result in anarchy and in attempts to set up a new Islamic autocracy. The principal conditions for the coming of the 'Mahdi' are that there should be civil conflict after the death of a Khalif."

Perhaps the most noteworthy thing about this pronouncement is the ease with which it dismisses the considered judgments of competent observers who studied the Mahdia at first-hand and at close quarters. Both the religious aspects of Mahdism are ignored—the fanatical aspect in which Mohammed Ahmed appears as the precursor of the second Advent of the Messiah; and the puritan aspect, in which Mahdism is seen as a movement back to the Sunna of the Prophet. The latter omission is not surprising, for we have already been told (p. 102) that "the Wahabite movement for a puritan reaction has always been confined to Arabia." Of Mahdism as a political reaction against sixty years of Turco-Egyptian misrule, the only hint is contained in one sentence, which states, without elaboration, that "the Egyptian immigrants and troops were hated as much as the Turkish officials and officers."

Mr. Young is still less happy in his observations on the area devoted to cotton-growing in the Gezira (p. 332), where he says:

"Under Lord Kitchener it was calculated that five hundred thousand acres (feddans) in the Gezireh could be irrigated

without in any way affecting Egypt's supply of water. It was decided to restrict this still further to three hundred thousand acres. Moreover, for no reason, apparently (other) than conciliation of Egyptian interests, the cotton area was restricted to one hundred thousand acres. It seems clear now that both restrictions were unnecessary in the interests of Egypt, and they were certainly obnoxious to the interests of the Sudan . . ."

The second so-called restriction from three hundred to one hundred thousand acres is, of course, due to the rotation of crops, only one-third of the total irrigable area being under cotton each season. This is not "obnoxious," but necessary to the interests of the Sudan.

Even when Mr. Young is dealing with his own subject—the Law—his standard of accuracy in the statement of facts is no better. He tells us (p. 327) that "the Sheri Courts, though maintained for matters of Moslem status, were put under British supervision. One half of the Judges had to be members of the British Bar"; this, of course, is merely untrue. No such impossible and foolish stipulation has ever been made, and no Judge of the Shar'i Courts has ever, in fact, been a member of the British Bar.

There is a large number of minor errors and ambiguities, a few of which will suffice to support the major evidence for the charge of inaccuracy. On p. 276 it is stated that the assassins of Sir Lee Stack were "lined up along the sidewalk" when they fired at him, the fact being that they were in a moving motor-car. On p. 327 we are told that "After their removal in 1924, the Egyptian officers raised against us the Sudanese regiments, and Egyptian emissaries caused disaffection among the Sudanese students in Gordon College, and among the military cadets." The main mistake in this sentence is that the military cadets had made their demonstration and had been imprisoned three months before the removal of the Egyptian officers. The statement on p. 325 that "until 1925 the country was occupied and policed mainly by Egyptian troops," is misleading, and can only be defended by the argument that the phrase "Egyptian troops" was meant to connote "Sudanese troops of the Egyptian Army."

In the matter of the spelling of foreign names, both authors depart from the customary forms; but with this difference, that Professor Toynbee spells in conformity with a rational system, explained at the

beginning of his book; while Mr. Young gives us unusual forms which have no justification in the Arabic originals. Thus Caliph we know, and Khalifa we know, but what is Khalif? Why is the customary (and accurate) Saad Zaghlul turned into Said Zaglul? And why "Meemur," "Shindi," "Khorthi," and "Osman Digma"? In view of these, are we to regard "Khasr-el-Nil," "Kabadish" and "Annuah" as misprints or idiosyncrasies of the author?

Mr. Young's excursions into Arabic are almost all of them unfortunate. It would have been better to leave his readers guessing than to mislead them with "fikis, or wizards" (p. 132) and "the Ulema, the clergy" (p. 43). "Allah-nebi (the prophet of God)," on p. 258, is not only painful, but obscures the real identity of Allenby and El Nebi when written in Arabic. But the more reprehensible errors are those which are gratuitous. Mr. Young may have felt obliged to make an attempt at fikis and Ulema, but he goes out of his way to tell us that the Arabic for The House of the Nation is Beit El Watan, when it is really Beit El Umma, and he translates "complete independence" as "istiklal el tam" (which probably means "the independence of the Deity") not realizing that he must either have the definite article before both words or before neither of them.

The climax of all this inaccuracy, major, minor and trivial, is reached in Mr. Young's proposals for a re-adjustment of territory between Egypt and the Sudan. "A line," he says, "could be drawn from Fasher, between Abu Hamed and Berber, that would follow the natural frontier along the Nubian desert and would assign to Egypt an area that would increase its territory by as much as half. Egypt would thereby acquire a considerable extent of the cattle range that it especially requires." This proposal is beyond temperate comment. One must draw the line somewhere.

Professor Toynbee's Survey will be invaluable to all who take an interest in the affairs of Islam, especially to those, probably the majority, who, as the result of their newspaper reading, retain but a confused impression of the course of events. Here they will find summarized, briefly, clearly and readably, the movements which interested them—the rise and fall of Abdel Kerim in the Rif, the revolt of the Druse in Syria, the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate, our dispute with the

Turks over Mosul, and so on. An admirable general introduction explains the relationships of these movements to each other and to the widespread revolt against Western ascendancy, of which, severally, they formed parts.

Those sections of the book which deal specifically with the Sudan, contain a good and full account of the political incidents of the post-war period and of the problem of the allocation of the Nile waters. In fact this work can be heartily recommended to those serving in the Sudan, who would like to have a clear picture of our chief political and economic problems against a background of wider interests.

But even Professor Toynbee is not entirely innocent of minor errors and ambiguities. Thus, it is misleading to state (p. 240) that after the Egyptian military units had been evacuated from the Sudan, "a strong contingent of Egyptians" was "retained in the civil administration because their services were still indispensable." They were retained in the technical departments (Railways and Posts and Telegraphs) but not in the civil administration properly so-called. Then, on p. 247, there is an account of the mutinous demonstration by the boys of the Military School at Khartoum, who are referred to as "Egyptian and Sudanese cadets" though, in fact, they were all Sudanese. Again, on p. 245, we have the story of the arrest, on his way to Egypt, of the Sudanese officer Zein El Abdin Abdel Tam, whom Professor Toynbee misnames and calls "an Egyptian official"; and this mistake leads to an explanatory footnote: "Natives of the Sudan might not travel to Egypt without written permission from the Sudan Government," which is merely untrue.

It is a pity that these and various other small blemishes were not removed, as they so easily might have been, before publication of the book; but the ways of authorship are strange; and perhaps this review should close with a congratulation to Mr. E. Grove (Assistant District Commissioner, Mongalla Province, 1918 to 1919), whose letter to *The Times* of 28th August, 1924, serves as authority both to Professor Toynbee (footnote 2, p. 233) and to Mr. Young (p. 324) for the view that there is a cultural and ethnological contrast between the Mohammedan North and the Pagan South of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

R. D.

CHARLES DE FOUCAULD, HERMIT AND EXPLORER.

BY RENÉ BAZIN.

TRANSLATED BY PETER KEELAN.

(Published by Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd. Price 12s. 6d.)

THE life of Charles de Foucauld is of both general and particular interest, portraying as it does the career of one of the most remarkable figures in recent North African history, and shedding considerable light on the methods of French Saharan penetration.

The early chapters tell the story of de Foucauld's upbringing and career as a typical French Cavalry officer, whose gay living brought him into conflict with the authorities. His transfer to the Chasseurs d'Afrique, however, was the turning point in his career; for this imbued him with a passion for Africa which was to alter the whole course of his life. The cavalry officer turned explorer, and Chapter III gives an account of his daring journeys through Morocco in 1883-84, when, disguised as a Jew, and accompanied by Mardochée, he visited the interior. His travels were published in two volumes, the "Reconnaissance au Maroc" and "Information"; and for his work he was presented with the Gold Medal of the French Geographical Society.

These journeys, and contact with the Islamic world, seemed to have touched some latent chord within him; and, on his return to France, he left the Army and turned Trappist monk. How he first went into retreat in the Monastery of Notre Dame du Sacré-Cœur at Alexandretta, and afterwards at Jerusalem and Nazareth, and later left these to take up his missionary work in the Sahara, is described at length in the present volume.

It is, however, from Chapter VII onwards that the story becomes of special interest for students of North Africa; for it is here we get a picture of the early French difficulties in those parts, and the way in which they were handled.

Not only is the work and growing influence of Charles de Foucauld vividly described, but we are introduced to such figures as Lyautey and Laperrine; the former to gain, later, undying fame in Morocco; and the latter to develop into one of the greatest desert administrators of the present century.

Charles de Foucauld's first post was Beni Abbes, but in 1905 he accompanied "a tournée d'appriovissement" of French Méharistes to Ahaggar, and there established himself at Tamanrasset. Here he was left completely alone and isolated amongst the Tuareg, and by sheer force of character gained the friendship of these wild people.

It was not until 1908 that the French placed a permanent detachment of troops in Ahaggar, when a fort was established thirty miles from Tamanrasset, with the name of Fort Motylinski.

By this time de Foucauld had established quite a colony of settled Tuareg around him, and his influence was worth many battalions to the French.

He made no great effort to proselytize, and he claimed no converts. His methods were simply those of example and charity, and in all his memoranda on the subject of the work to be done, he shows a breadth of mind and a sense of the practicable so often lacking in missionary effort.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the story is the friendship between de Foucauld and General Laperrine, and of how the two worked together to bring peace and security to these troubled regions.

The extent of the progress made, and the situation when war broke out, the reader will find in the tenth and twelfth chapters; and will, perhaps, make him think kindlier of French methods and attainments than he was apt to do.

The war brought reductions of garrisons in the Sahara, and intrigue from enemy powers; but the work which de Foucauld had done stood the strain until 1916.

His great influence, however, was his downfall; and he fell on December 1st of that year, the victim of a raiding band from Tripoli sent to capture him, if not to kill him. A full account of his death is given on page 13 of Mr. Francis Rodd's book, "The People of the Veil," which clears the local Tuareg of a charge of base treachery, and justifies, in some measure, the claim that Charles de Foucauld was "fair game" during hostilities.

He was laid to rest where he had worked; and it was fitting that a few years later he was joined there by his friend Laperrine, who died in February, 1920, from injuries received in an aeroplane accident. A fitting memorial now marks the graves of the two friends, whose work together won for France security for the southern frontiers of Algeria,

Tunis and Morocco, and a certain measure of goodwill from the Tuareg.

One is tempted to quote many passages of de Foucauld's writings, but in a short review one must abstain. His faith and political views are summed up in a letter of the 16th July, 1916, to the Duc de Saint James :—

“ The French North-west African Empire has a population of thirty millions, and it will, thanks to peace, have double in fifty years. It will then be in full material progress, rich, intersected with railways, inhabited by people trained in the use of arms, the élite of which will have received its education in our schools. If we have not been able to make these people French, they will drive us out. The only means of making them French is for them to become Christians.”

Motor-cars are now running from Oran to Timbuctoo, a Trans-Saharan railway is projected, and aeroplanes are annihilating distances.

Whether French cultural and religious penetration can keep pace with this material progress and whether France herself is strong enough to resist the demands of neighbours, jealous of her North African lands, the next fifty years will show; and the development of this problem will undoubtedly be one of the most interesting political questions of the twentieth century.

As an introduction to its study, the life of Father de Foucauld is of great value, and Monsieur René Bazin has done a service to his country and to all interested in compiling this volume.

The book has obviously lost certain literary qualities in translation, and would have been much improved by the addition of an index and a map.

J. A. DE C. H.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor, "SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS."

KURMUK,

FUNG PROVINCE,

February 25th, 1928.

Mr. Bowen's interesting notes on the Swallow-tailed Kite and the Bustard, in Vol. IX, No. 2, appear to demand two brief replies from me in amplification of my previous remarks on these subjects.

- (1) The Swallow-tailed Kites I have seen breeding have all been in Northern Kordofan, north of the zone of bush, in the steppe country of the nomads. I saw several round about Safia.
- (2) The Bustard was *Choriotis Arabs*.

As regards the range of Denham's Bustard, I should think Mr. Bowen's map is about right; I do not remember seeing this species in the very north of Kordofan Province.

J. F. P. MACLAREN.
