The Sorrow and Hope of the Egyptian Sudan

·Charles·R·Watson·

THE SORROW AND HOPE OF THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN

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of
The Egyptian Sudan

A Survey of Missionary Conditions and Methods of Work in the Egyptian Sudan

oger

By CHARLES R. WATSON

ILLUSTRATED

The Board of Foreign Missions
of the
United Presbyterian Church of North America
Philadelphia, Pa.

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF MISSION STATION AT DOLEIB HILL ON THE SOBAT RIVER,

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To the

Men and Women

Who Know Christ,

Who Believe in Prayer

and

Who are Resolved to Place

First in Their Lives

Obedience to the Great Commission

PREFACE

BOOKS on the Egyptian Sudan are not few in number, but books which describe this interesting country from the standpoint of missions may be counted upon the fingers of one hand. "The Egyptian Sudan" by the Rev. J. K. Giffen, D. D., has been the best known missionary book on this section of Africa, and in it the missionary conditions and experiences of a decade ago are set forth with a vividness and a descriptive power which can scarcely be rivalled. During the past decade, however, much has been done, and still more has been learned of what remains to be done. The present book undertakes to tell the story of what has been accomplished and to lift the vision of the unfinished task.

To make the book serviceable as a permanent missionary Handbook, and also to provide a setting for the missionary work and vision that are presented, the first chapter is devoted to a description of the country, the second and third chapters present the sorrowful story of Slavery and Mahdism in the Sudan, and the fourth chapter deals with the people and their characteristics. Then follows an account of existing missionary work and its methods and problems. The book closes with a presentation of the claim and the call of the Land of the Blacks. Important supplementary information is presented in the Appendix.

Special prominence has been given to the missionary work of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, which labors in the Sudan under the name of "The American Mission," inasmuch as this book is to be used by the young people of that Church for special missionary study.

The most valuable aid received from such books as Dr. Giffen's "The Egyptian Sudan," Westermann's "The Shilluk People: Their Language and Folklore," and the official publications of the Sudan Government will be evident to every reader. The author wishes to express his indebtedness not only to these sources of information, but also to those who have aided him personally by reviewing the facts presented as well as the outline followed, and by assisting in the many details connected with the publication of the book.

The book is sent forth with the earnest prayer that in this day of signal opportunity and of renewed missionary interest, the Church of Jesus Christ may enter into the now unoccupied fields of the Egyptian Sudan, so that its tribes and peoples may "obtain gladness and joy; and sorrow and sighing shall flee away."

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The Land of the Blacks

"Ah, the land of the rustling of wings,
Which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia;
That sendeth ambassadors by the sea,
Even in vessels of papyrus upon the waters."

—*Isaiah.*

"I view the end of the geographical feat as the beginning of the missionary enterprise."

—*David Livingstone.*

"Yesterday, Africa was the continent of history, of mystery, and of tragedy; to-day it is the continent of opportunity; to-morrow, if the Church is true to itself, it will be the continent of triumphant victories for Christ."

—*Bishop J. C. Hartzell.*

I

THE LAND OF THE BLACKS

THE lure of the Sudan is difficult to explain. Here is Steevens's explanation: "Perhaps to Englishmen—half-savage still on the pinnacle of their civilization—the very charm of the land lies in its empty barbarism. There is space in the Sudan. There is the fine, purified desert air, and the long stretching gallops over its sand. There are the things at the very back of life, and no other to posture in front of them,—hunger and thirst to assuage, distance to win through, pain to bear, life to defend, and death to face. You have gone back to the spring water of your infancy. You are a savage again—a savage with Rosbach water, if there is any left, and a Mauser repeating pistol-carbine, if the sand has not jammed it, but still at the last word a savage. You are unprejudiced, simple, free. You are a naked man, facing naked nature. I do not believe that any of us who come home whole will think, from our easy-chairs, unkindly of the Sudan."

The Lure of the Sudan.

To many, the lure of the Sudan is the lure of adventure. Here are miles upon miles of unexplored country, villages and whole tribes that have not yet been marked on any map, streams and even rivers whose sources and whose outlets are only roughly known, hilly ranges if not mountains that have not yet been scaled, peoples who have never yet seen a white man, innumerable forms of vegetable life and of animal life that await identification and classification. All this sounds strange when you add that the capital of this country can be reached in what an American would call a "Pullman sleeper" and with a well-appointed dining-car, and that from Khartum you may go a thousand miles farther south with quite as much safety and comfort as you would have going by boat from New Orleans to Cincinnati, and with vastly greater interest. Get away, however, from that main line of travel and immediately you are in the desolate desert, the grassy prairie or the marshy jungle, where adventure invites and wild game lures the hunters of Europe and America.

Adventure.

Exploration.

Until quite recent times, interest in geographical exploration drew men and even women to the Sudan. It was in the sixties that Miss Tinne, grand-daughter of Admiral van Capellen, headed an exploring expedition which pierced to the Sobat and even to Gondokoro, although a doctor and the Baroness van Capellen paid the price with their lives sacrificed to the black water fever. Nor was Miss Tinne the only woman who braved the dangers of travel through the Sudan, while the roll of men explorers is a long one and honorable with such names upon it as Bruce and Baker and Schweinfurth and Gordon.

History. To others, again, the lure of the Sudan is the strange fascination of its sorrowful history. Along these tangled paths of prairie and open forest, or along the scorching caravan routes of the desert, or perchance shut up out of sight and hearing in the slave dhows, have gone throughout the years and decades, countless thousands of slaves, women chiefly and children, but young boys and men too. And for every life that reached the slave markets of Khartum or Egypt, at least two other lives perished along the Via Dolorosa of the slave route, and probably two other lives were sacrificed in the murderous raid that preceded the capture of the living booty. To those who have this interest in the "Land of the Blacks" (for such is the literal meaning of the word "Sudan"), the name of Gordon, the "father and savior of the Sudan," and the hero and martyr of Khartum, occupies a place of singular honor and of peculiar interest.

Missions. Another ground of interest in the Sudan remains to be mentioned. It is the missionary motive and passion. The past century has been preeminently a century of missions. A passion for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ, strangely restrained, almost entirely extinguished for even whole centuries, has blazed up once again like a living fire in the heart of the Church, and has become the most powerful as well as the most hopeful feature of modern Christianity. This new missionary impulse of Christianity has a driving power that promises to accept nothing less than world conquest. To be sure, the movement is only in its beginnings as yet, but who will despise "the day of small things," when the missionary program is a world program. Because there are unconquered kingdoms along the two Niles in the great Sudan, the Christian missionary movement adds to the love of adventure and to the fascination of sorrow and suffering and to the lure of exploration, this constraining motive of interest in the Christian conquest of the Egyptian Sudan and in the fulfilment of the prophecy voiced twenty-six centuries ago by Isaiah, that "In that time shall a present be brought unto Jehovah of hosts

Isaiah.

". . . . from a people tall and smooth,
Ever from a people terrible from their beginning onward;
A nation that meteth out, and treadeth down,
Whose land the rivers divide—
To the place of the name of Jehovah of hosts, the Mount Zion."

This prophecy cannot find its fulfilment until *God's gift* shall have been first carried to that people by the preaching of the Gospel.

In Kitchener's victorious campaigns for the conquest of the Sudan, no department of the army was regarded as more vital than the Intelligence Department. Colonel Wingate, now the Sirdar, was Chief of the Intelligence Department, and it was said of him, "Whatever there was to know, Colonel Wingate surely knew it, for he makes it his business to know everything." In the missionary enterprise of the Christian Church, nothing is more important than its Intelligence Department, and there is great need for many a Colonel Wingate who will "make it his business to know." Devotion to missions must not be made a substitute for a thorough knowledge of missions, else how can the campaign be wisely planned? how can the enterprise be properly equipped? how can prayer be correctly focused upon the really vital issues? While there is much to be learned regarding conditions in the Egyptian Sudan, yet there is much that has already been discovered, and it is a plain Christian duty to become familiar with such facts as are vitally related to the Christian conquest of the Sudan. Among such vital facts will be not merely spiritual and religious conditions, but also material and physical conditions. Know About It.

The Egyptian Sudan is a vast territory, more extensive than most people realize. Its area would cover all the States east of the Mississippi, with enough left over to obliterate England, Size.

Scotland and Ireland. Its greatest length in a straight line, from north to south, is 1,250 miles and from east to west about 1,080. If its southern boundary were placed at Key West, Florida, its northern boundary would lie near Toronto, Canada. As a matter of fact, however, the Egyptian Sudan lies much farther to the south than this; it lies so far in the tropics that even its northern boundary is three degrees south of Key West, Florida, while its southern boundary is four degrees south of the Panama Canal. Its northern and southern boundaries fall respectively in latitudes which are about three degrees north of Bombay, India, and about three degrees south of Ceylon. In describing so great a stretch of country, it would be manifestly unsafe to generalize about anything.

Distances.

For practical purposes and in the Orient especially, distances are to be measured not merely in miles, but also in hours and days. To go from Wadi Halfa (the northernmost station) to Khartum, 579 miles, by rail, takes about 25 hours. To go from Khartum to Gondokoro, 1,077 miles by river boat, takes about thirteen days. Then, too, it is well to remember that in 1880, Gessi Pasha was blocked for some six weeks by the *sudd* of the (River) Bahr el Ghazal, lost over 100 men, and would have starved, but for a timely relief expedition. So you cannot always be sure of your dates in the Sudan. At Gondokoro, or slightly beyond, the steamer service ends, but there are still more than one hundred miles to be covered to reach the southern boundary.

North and south, the railroad and then the river, the great natural highway of the Sudan, afford comparatively easy and rapid modes of travel. For journeys east and west, there are only the time-honored caravan routes and the recently-opened railroad from Khartum to El Obeid in Kordofan.

Travel.

The chief railway lines are four: (a) from Wadi Halfa to Khartum; this is the line used in entering the Sudan by way of Egypt; (b) from Berber to Suakin, the latter being the port of entry for arrival by way of the Red Sea; (c) from Khartum via Sennar to El Obeid; (d) from Abu Hamed to Kareima.

The whole history of the Sudan and of modern missionary effort is a commentary upon the problems of transportation and means of communication. While he was Governor-General of the Sudan, Gordon dealt successfully with many most difficult situations by forced marches, which took his enemies completely by surprise. On one occasion he covered 85 miles on camel in a day and a half and rode up through the lines of an army that had expected to rebel, but thought it had hours in which to formulate its plans. Thus by his amazing rapidity, Gordon solved a situation which bristled with dangers and difficulties.

Gordon's March.

On the other hand, not merely the enemy but chiefly difficulties of transportation delayed the expedition sent to relieve him at the time of the siege of Khartum, and reached there after the city had fallen, just two days too late. Difficulties of travel and means of communication likewise affect vitally all missionary effort, determining, in large measure, the cost of the enterprise, the outreach of influence of a given station or missionary, the number of stations required, the need for medical provision, the regulations as to furloughs and mission meetings; indeed, the whole character of missionary work is frequently affected by such considerations and conditions.

Effect on Missions.

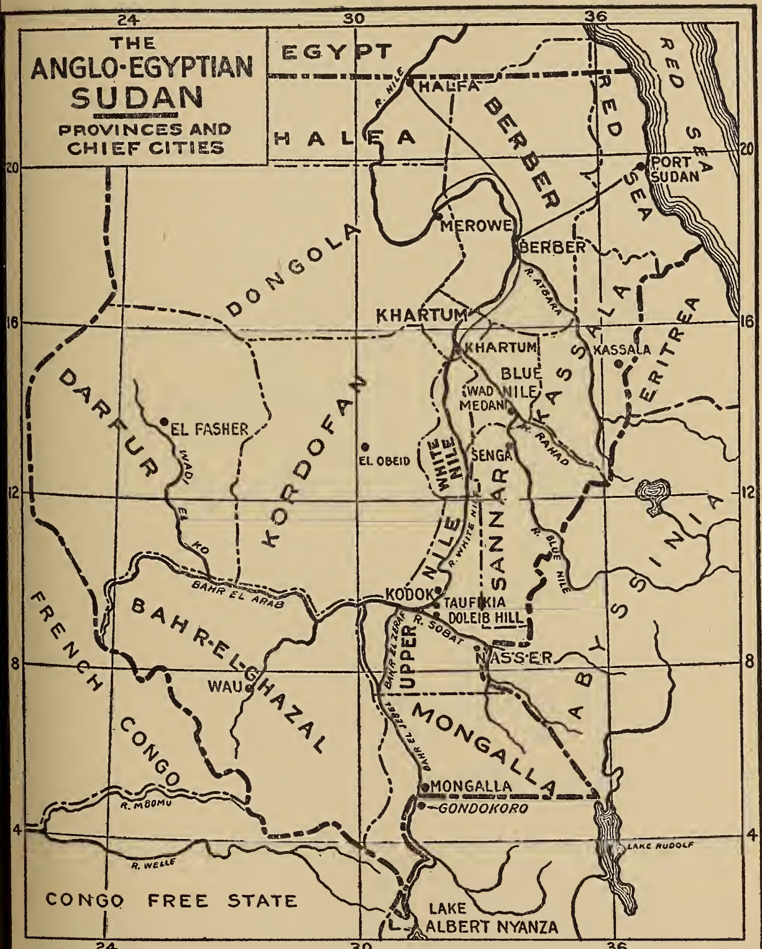
Meaning of "Sudan."

The word "Sudan" literally means "the Land of the Blacks," and as such is really applicable to the black belt of Africa from east to west. The Egyptian Sudan is that portion of the great Sudan which is in political affiliation with Egypt.

It will make it easier to refer to different sections of the Egyptian Sudan, if the names and general location of its main political divisions are mastered with clearness and accuracy. The outline map on page 25 will be of service in this connection. The following are the names of the thirteen provinces into which the Egyptian Sudan is divided, together with the names of their chief towns:

Transportation and Travel in the Sudan.

River Boat—Railroad—Train of Porters.


THE
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN
SUDAN
PROVINCES AND
CHIEF CITIES
EGYPT
HALFA
HALFA
BERBER
RED SEA
RED SEA
PORT SUDAN
MEROWE
BERBER
DONGOLA
R. ATBARA
KHARTUM
KHARTUM
KASSALA
KASSALA
ERITREA
BLUE NILE
WAD MEDANI
DARFUR
EL FASHER
KORDOFAN
EL OBEID
WHITE NILE
SENGA
R. RAHAD
SANNAR
WADI EL KO
R. WHITE NILE
R. BLUE NILE
ABYSSINIA
BAHR EL ARAB
KODOK
TAUFIKIA
DOLEIB HILL
R. SOBAT
NASSER
UPPER NILE
BAHR EL ZERAF
BAHR-EL-GHAZAL
FRENCH
WAU
CONGO
MONGALLA
BAHR EL JEBEL
MONGALLA
GONDOKORO
R. MBOMU
LAKE RUDOLF
R. WELLE
CONGO FREE STATE
LAKE ALBERT NYANZA
24
30
36
20
16
12
8
4

Name of Province	*Chief Town*
Bahr el Ghazal.	Wau.
Berber.	El Damer.
Blue Nile.	Wad Medani.
Dongola.	Merowe.
Halfa.	Halfa.
Kassala.	Kassala.
Khartum.	Khartum.
Kordofan.	El Obeid.
Mongalla.	Mongalla.
Red Sea.	Port Sudan.
Sennar.	Singa.
Upper Nile.	Kodok.*
White Nile.	El Dueim.

To these may be added, the Sultanate of Darfur which is a semi-independent kingdom paying tribute to the Sudan Government and having El Fasher as its chief town.

Each province is again divided into a varying number of Ma'murias, as for example:

Upper Nile Province. (42,350 sq. miles.)	Abwong. Gambela (Trading Post). Kaka (Trading Post). Khor Atar. Kodok. Malakal (Site for new Government Headquarters, and Base of Irrigation Department.). Melut. Renk. Taufikia.

*To be changed to Malakal.

Boundaries.

The political boundaries of the Egyptian Sudan may be roughly indicated as follows: on the north, Egypt at the 22d parallel of north latitude; on the east, the Red Sea, Eritrea and Abyssinia (the boundary line has recently been adjusted); on the west and the southwest, a line running through the Libyan Desert agreed to by France, then the Sultanate of Wadai and the line of watershed between the Congo and Shari rivers on the one side and the Nile on the other; and on the south, the Belgian Congo and Uganda (approximately the 5th parallel of north latitude).

The question is frequently asked, What sort of a country is the Egyptian Sudan? After what has been pointed out as to the size of the Egyptian Sudan, no one would expect any single general description of the country to suffice. However, to bring out more clearly the contrasts which different sections of the Sudan present, two descriptions may be compared with each other:

"Wretched Sudan."

"The poor Sudan! The wretched, dry Sudan! Count up all the gains you will, yet what a hideous irony it remains, this fight of half a generation for such an emptiness. People talk of the Sudan as the East; it is not the East. The East has age and color; the Sudan has no color and no age—just a monotone of squalid barbarism. It is not a country; it has nothing that makes a country. Some brutish institutions it has, and some bloodthirsty chivalry. But it is not a country; it has neither nationality, nor history, nor arts, nor even natural features. Just the Nile—the niggard Nile refusing himself to the desert—and for the rest there is absolutely nothing to look at in the Sudan. Nothing grows green. Only yellow halfa-grass to make you stumble, and sapless mimosa to tear your eyes; dom-palms that mock with wooden fruit, and Sodom apples that lure with flatulent poison. For beasts it has tarantulas and scorpions and serpents; devouring white ants, and every kind of loathsome bug that flies or crawls. Its people are naked and dirty, ignorant and besotted. It is a quarter of a continent of sheer squalor. Overhead the pitiless furnace of the sun, under foot the never-easing treadmill of the sand, dust in the throat, tuneless singing in the ears, searing flame in the eye,—the Sudan is a God-accursed wilderness, an empty limbo of torment for ever and ever. Surely enough, 'When Allah made the Sudan,' say the Arabs, 'he laughed!' You can almost hear the fiendish echo of it crackling over the fiery sand."—*Steevens.*

Such is one description and this is the other:

Pleasant Scenes.

"Trees with immense stems, and of a height surpassing all that we had elsewhere seen (not even excepting the palms of Egypt), here stood in masses which seemed unbounded, except where at intervals some less towering forms rose gradually higher and higher beneath their shade. In the innermost recesses of these woods one would come upon an avenue like the colonnade of an Egyptian temple, veiled in the leafy shade of a triple roof above. Seen from without, they had all the appearance of impenetrable forests, but, traversed within, they opened into aisles and corridors

The River Nile in Nubia.

In the Sudan, however, the river flows through a wholly level country.

which were musical with many a murmuring fount. Hardly anywhere was the height of these less than seventy feet, and on an average it was much nearer one hundred; yet, viewed from without, they very often failed to present anything of that imposing sight which was always so captivating when taken from the brinks of the brooks within. In some places the sinking of the ground along which the gallery tunnels ran would be so great that not half the wood revealed itself at all to the contiguous steppes, while in that wood (out of sight as it was) many a 'gallery' might still exist."—*Schweinfurth.*

Both descriptions are true. We need only to note that more than a thousand miles lie between the sections of country which they describe. Steevens was looking out upon the northern desert stretches of the Berber Province; Schweinfurth was either at the southernmost point of the Bahr el Ghazal Province or had already entered the forest region of West-Central Africa.

Along the Sobat.

With these two descriptions, compare a third, which was written half way between the two points referred to, in the lower Sobat region:

"In no place are the trees large. All—or nearly all —are a variety of the acacia. They do not grow very close together, nor is there the thick undergrowth that the pictures in our old geographies led me to expect. You know the sort I mean—those large trees covered with vines, and monkeys making a bridge on which to cross over rivers, with an immense snake hanging from at least one of the trees. Now I do not know that there are no such scenes in some parts of Africa, but I do say they are not in this part. I have sometimes heard officials and others talk about 'timber,' but in Ohio we would call it *brush,* or where the trees grew close together we might call it a *thicket.* Indeed it looks a good deal like a wild plum thicket. Just around where we ate our lunch the trees reminded us of an old apple orchard where about one half of the trees had died away, or some olive orchards I have seen in Italy. But the grass is in no way disappointing. It grows tall and rank everywhere."—*Mrs. Giffen.*

Varying Features.

Speaking generally, there are five different sorts of country in the Egyptian Sudan. There is the *desert* region to the northwest and north, which takes in the greater part of the Provinces of Halfa, Dongola, and Berber, with the exception of course of the cultivable land along the river. Just south of this desert region and to the west of the White Nile, is a country commonly described as *steppes and barren land.* The great Province of Kordofan and the Sultanate of Darfur represent a region of this sort, save for a large number of cultivable areas which stand out like oases in contrast with the rest of the country. To the east of the Nile and northward to the Red Sea, including the Provinces of the Red Sea, of Kassala, of Sennar, and portions of the Blue and White Nile Provinces, there is what may be designated *grazing land.* The country in the southern Provinces of Bahr el Ghazal, Mongalla and Upper Nile (which includes the Sobat region), is well described as *prairie and open forest.* Finally, and most important, there are the *cultivable lands;* these areas dot the Kordofan Province and Darfur, and, for the most part, fringe the Nile and its tributaries.

Effect on People.

These variations in the character of the country in different sections, make for important differences in the character of the peoples inhabiting these regions, as we shall see in a later chapter. Their occupations, their customs, their physical, their intellectual and even their religious traits differ according to the areas in which they live.

Effect on Missions.

It is remarkable that in all this region of Africa, which is designated the Egyptian Sudan, there are no great elevations. Most of the country lies at an elevation of from 500 to 1,500 feet above the sea level, and the rest ranges from 1,500 to 3,000, as at Erkoweit, a hill station on the Suakin-Berber railroad. To be sure, there are the Abyssinian mountains to the east and the high peak of Ruwenzori to the south, but these are beyond the boundary lines and do not belong to the Egyptian Sudan. Furthermore, there is as yet no means of communication leading to these more elevated regions. A serious missionary problem results from these conditions. In India it is possible for the missionary to escape the debilitating effects of a difficult climate or to counteract their evil influence by withdrawal for at least a month to the mountains of Northern or of Central India. In Egypt, the Mediterranean seashore affords a large measure of relief from the furnace-like heat of Upper Egypt. But what will the missionary to the Sudan do both to keep himself "fit" and to safeguard the health of his family? In missionary service as in military service, to become "run down" is the poorest economy imaginable. Will he journey to Egypt, a distance of some 1,650 miles from Khartum or some 2,150 miles from the Sobat region? And in Egypt will he find a change of climate sufficient to reinvigorate him, physically? Or will he go to the hill station of Erkoweit? Here is relief from both moisture and heat, but with only a limited tonic value and as yet but little social fellowship for which the missionary craves, even more than he does for physical recuperation, after his long and dreary stay in an isolated mission station.

Problems.

In describing climatic and other conditions in the Egyptian Sudan, it will be sufficient for general purposes to describe conditions in and about Khartum, which will be fairly typical for Northern Sudan, and then conditions on the Sobat which may be fairly representative of Southern Sudan.

Climate.

In the extreme north, there is scarcely any rain, but as you approach the sea or the Abyssinian hills and as you move southward, the

From Frye's Geography. Per. Ginn & Co., Pub.

RELIEF MAP OF NORTHEASTERN AFRICA.

Showing rivers, lakes and mountain ranges of the Egyptian Sudan.

rains increase and produce a damp climate for two or three months. The rainy season at Khartum lasts from the middle of June to September, but after all the rainfall is very slight.[1] On the Sobat the rainy season lasts from June to the end of October.[2] The hot weather in Khartum reaches its greatest intensity in May, June and July, the maximum temperature in the shade being from 110° to 115° Fahrenheit. During the year ending with June, 1911, there was only one month (December) in which a maximum temperature of *over* 100° failed to be recorded at some time during the month. It is to be remembered, however, that the dryness of the climate goes far to reduce discomfort caused by such heat. On the Sobat, the rainfall is much higher, but the thermometer registers no such extreme heat as at Khartum.

Heat.

The natural resources of the Sudan as exploited at present consist chiefly in the forests of Kordofan and the Blue Nile, which produce gum, ebony, furniture woods and fibre; and in those of the Bahr el Ghazal, which produce india rubber, gutta-percha, etc.; and in the products of animals, such as ivory, ostrich feathers, rhinoceros horns, skins, etc. There is doubtless the greatest amount of waste in the exploiting of even these few natural resources. For example, the writer

Natural Products.

[1]See Appendix III.
[2]See Appendix IV.

was told by an ostrich feather dealer at Omdurman, that the common practise in securing feathers is to shoot down wild ostriches, instead of attempting to establish ostrich farms, where a constant supply could be derived from the same birds. What the mineral resources of the Egyptian Sudan are, future surveys must reveal, but iron and even gold are known to exist in limited quantities in the western provinces. Unless Western governments discover some way of controlling abuses in the exploitation of Oriental labor, it is to be hoped that no great discoveries of mineral wealth in the country will precipitate upon the Egyptian Sudan some of the serious labor problems affecting to-day other sections of Africa.

Agriculture.

Apart from what is resulting from the Government's efforts to encourage agriculture, agricultural activities in the Sudan have been conspicuously limited. Only the country lying close to the Nile and its tributaries, is commonly under cultivation, and this merely for the people's own needs. Progress, however, is being made in Northern Sudan along these lines, and while 704,872 *feddans* [1] were reported under cultivation in 1905, the report for 1910 announced 1,953,200 *feddans*. The principal crops are durra (a species of millet), beans, lentils, tobacco, sesame, onions, melons, and some wheat and bar-

[1] A *feddan* is 1.038 of an acre.

ley. The Province of Dongola is famous for the quality and quantity of its dates. The three leading items of export trade in 1910 were: durra, 48,354 tons; gum, 14,082 tons; and sesame, 5,647 tons. Very earnest efforts are being put forth to persuade the people of the Sudan to grow cotton, this being a great source of wealth in Egypt, but disinclination to work, and also ignorance of the proper methods of work have prevented any large or good results in this direction. To the ordinary tourist, it would seem that cattle raising was the chief occupation of the Sudanese, and indeed immense herds of sheep, goats and cattle are to be seen along the Nile, and especially throughout the Upper Nile Province and the Sobat Region. A special emphasis is laid upon cattle raising among the pagans of this region by the fact that possession of cattle is their only means of obtaining wives.

Animal Life.

To describe the animal life of the Sudan would require an entire volume and whole pages of technical names which would mean little to the ordinary reader. Yet one should observe the wonderful richness of game and great variety of animal life to be encountered in the Sudan. As your train moves southward from Egypt to the Sudan, you look out of the car window and get glimpses again and again of gazelle scurrying through the mimosa brush. Your book will tell you that ariel and ibex, cony and wild sheep, hyena and leopard, are to be found also in this region. But it is in Southern Sudan that you find the greatest abundance of game. As your noisy stern wheeler splashes its way up the Nile, the common diversion of the tourist is to stay on deck and watch the sandbanks for crocodiles and

River Scenes.

then to shoot, if, perchance, he may really hit or kill them and thus rid the Nile of these pests. Again and again, black spots in some untroubled waters ahead are pointed out to you as hippopotami; but before you get a good look at them they are gone. At some way station a hunter comes on board with his trophies—an elephant's ear, ivory tusks, buffalo hides. Again your book tells you that there are in this region (the Upper Sobat) elephant, buffalo, rhinoceros, zebra, roan antelope, waterbuck, Mrs. Gray's waterbuck, white eared cob, Uganda cob, bushbuck, reedbuck, Jackson's hartbeest, tiang, lion, leopard, and giraffe. One herd of eighty giraffe is recorded.

Snakes.

The Sobat missionaries have also placed on record a good many interesting stories of encounters with snakes. The natives point out three kinds. "If one of a certain kind," they say, "bites you, you will probably die. You *may* get well, but you will be very ill and most likely will die. If another kind bites you, you will *surely die*. You may live over night, but you will never get well. If you are bitten by the third kind, they bury you right where you stand." About

Sandy Desert Land in Northern Sudan.
Grass Covered Prairie Land in Southern Sudan.

a hundred of the poisonous varieties were killed in or about the mission residences each wet season during the early years of the Mission. The following story is well worth repeating, although it has become familiar to many through reading Dr. J. K. Giffen's "The Egyptian Sudan":

"A Snake Story."

"But to the cooking of our crane hangs a tale, the very thought of which makes me feel sick. The bird was large, and I needed a platter on which to serve it. Now, our cupboard room is somewhat scarce, and such dishes as are not in constant use are packed away in a box in our pantry.

"When dinner was ready, I went to get the platter for my bird. As the plate was bottomside up, I had to slip my fingers well under to raise it; as I lifted it out of the box I don't know whether it was motion or sound that attracted my attention—there being no window in that end of the room, it was rather dark—but something made me peer into the empty space which the meat plate had covered, to find it *not* empty, but *full* of snake, and an ugly big head rising up at me.

"I shrieked. Abbas (the black boy) was in the kitchen and came on a run, picking up an axe on the way. Abbas is wiser than the rest of us concerning snakes. As soon as he saw what he had to deal with, he caught the head of the creature between the axe and the pile of plates; that is, he meant to catch the head, but in reality caught it about six or eight inches back of the head. Having it thus he could not kill it, but could hold it. When I started back—for I had put some yards between me and the snake—Abbas said, 'Keep away and call some of the men.' Just then Dr. McLaughlin, who had heard my excited tones, called across, 'What's up, Mrs. Giffen?'

I answered, 'A snake—come quick!' The doctor came, smiling, knowing my terror of snakes. He did not expect to see much, although I was telling him, 'It is a big one.' Abbas said, 'Bring a club,' but the doctor, after getting a glimpse, wanted to see more of it. Abbas said, 'Take care of your face! It will spit!' But the doctor either did not hear or did not comprehend. The next thing I saw was the doctor covering his eyes with his hands, and I heard him say, 'Give me your apron, quick!' I did so, and he wiped his face, then said, 'Give me water, quick!' Leaving Abbas and the snake to manage their own affairs, I began to help the doctor. The snake had not bitten him, but had thrown venom into his eyes. His face at the time was about two yards from the snake, but it struck him fairly in the eyes,—the doctor says, 'with the force of a good strong syringe.' The natives said, 'The doctor's eyes are finished. He will never see again.' And I have little doubt that with one of them it would have been so. But we did everything we could, and that at once. The eyes were bathed and anointed with sweet cream. This gave but little relief, but a strong solution of soda brought relief. The eyes were very red and sore for a time and the sight blurred and dim, but not permanently injured. The snake killed and carried out, and the doctor's eyes made as comfortable as possible, we turned our attention to dinner again. After dinner was over, Mr. Giffen examined the reptile. It was five feet long and eight inches in circumference in the thickest place, and tapered but little. He could find no fangs at all, but where the point of the tongue should have been there was a small tube-like arrangement, about three-quarters of an inch in length, and as thick as an ordinary lead pencil. At the end of this was an opening. From this, no doubt, it throws the venom. While killing it, Mr. Giffen saw it throw the venom. To do this it swelled out its neck until it was as broad as his hand."

It is only fair to add that such experiences become quite rare after a station has become well established and the land about has been brought under cultivation.

The bird life of Southern Sudan is calculated to excite the greatest wonder. As the steamer moves southward, little islands will be seen covered with white egrets, suggesting in the distance (if the weather permitted it) the remnant of some snow drift. Beautiful golden-crested cranes, repulsive maribou storks, reed-birds flying in myriads and giving the impression of a flight of locusts, vultures, hawks, owls, pelicans, ibises, spoonbills, and quail,—these, and hundreds of other varieties give a new meaning and a vivid literalism to the description of the Sudan by Isaiah: **Birds.**

"Ah, the land of the *rustling of wings* which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia; that sendeth ambassadors by the sea (*bahr*, same word for river), even in vessels of papyrus upon the waters."

"Almost the only large white spot now remaining unexplored in the Nile basin," writes Sir Harry Johnston in 1903, "is the district occupied by Nilotic Negroes (Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk) lying between the Sobat River on the northeast and the main White Nile on the west and southwest." Since that time, military expeditions and exploration parties have added at least somewhat to our knowledge of that section of the Sudan. Of course, it is to be recognized that the statement quoted above is to be taken in a very broad and general sense. But if its correctness be admitted at all, the further statement may now be made, that for the Egyptian Sudan the work of map making has now been completed in broad outline at least. Few will appreciate how great a task a modern map of the Egyptian Sudan represents. Fewer still are acquainted with that long list of explorers, soldiers, traders, and adventurers who helped to make this map, many of them willingly, others begrudgingly, sacrificing life itself in the effort.

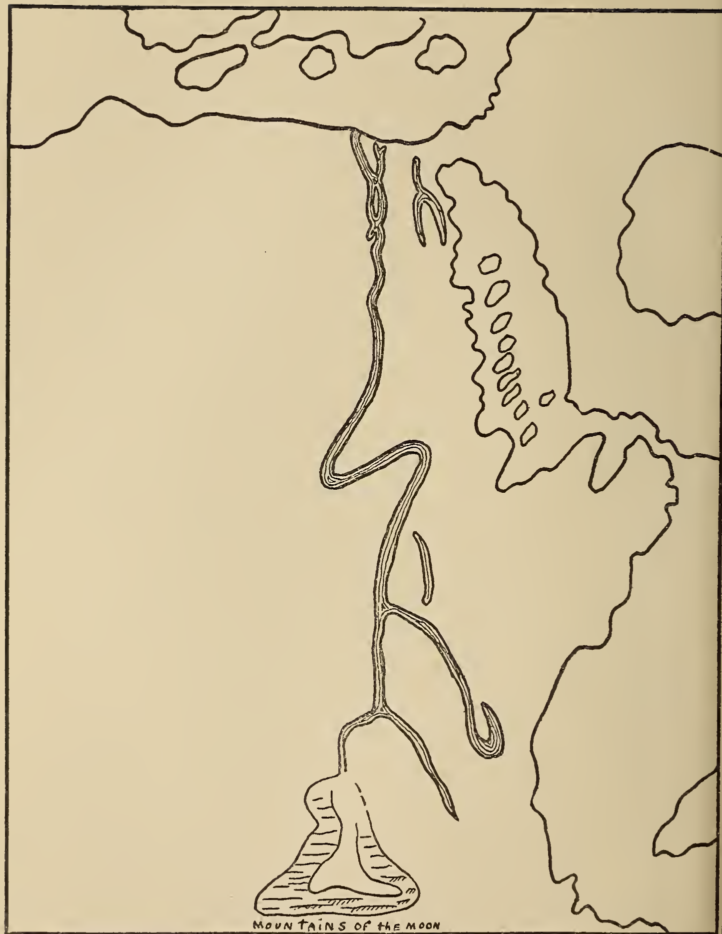
Early Exploration.

And the map of the Egyptian Sudan has been 2,500 years in the making. In 611 B. C., Neku, the son of Psametik I, succeeded to the throne of Egypt. He commanded his allies, the Phoenicians, to send an expedition to sail down the Red Sea and along the coast to the land of Punt. According to tradition, this expedition circled the entire Continent. In 457 B. C., Herodotus, the father of history, went up the Nile as far as the First Cataract and collected much information concerning the far-stretching land of Ethiopia to the south. Some seventy years later, the philosopher Aristotle, recorded the news of Pygmy

Herodotus.

races to the southwest of the Nile. In 274 B. C., Eratosthenes, a Greek philosopher, librarian at Alexandria, sketched for the first known time and with fair accuracy the course of the Nile, indicating its Abyssinian tributaries. And does not a reading of Isaiah's vivid description of the physical characteristics of the Sudan in his "Burden of Ethiopia" (chapter xviii), suggest that with his own eyes or with the eyes of some friend, he informed himself as to that wonderful land. But it is Ptolemy (more accurately Claudius Ptolemaeus), Greek-Egyptian, who is credited with the first clear indication of the lake sources and of the separate lake sources of the two branches of the Nile, adding hints as to the existence of twin lakes and great snowy ranges called the Mountains of the Moon. "Though not an explorer," says Sir Harry Johnston, "Ptolemy stands (for his age) in the highest rank of Nile geographers; but he had to wait something like seventeen hundred and forty years before Sir Henry Stanley, by his discovery of the Semliki, the Ruwenzori snow-range, and the last problems of the Nile sources, did justice to that remarkable foreshadowing of the main features of the Nile system due to the genius of the Alexandrian geographer." What he contributed set the high water mark of geographical knowledge of the Nile watershed for almost 1,800 years.

Ptolemy.



From "The Nile Quest," Per F. A. Stokes Co.

THE COURSE OF THE NILE ACCORDING TO PTOLEMY.

From the oldest version of Ptolemy's Maps, in existence about 930 A. D., preserved in the Mount Athos Monastery.

Thus we come down to modern times and the great period of African exploration. It is not possible to do more than mention names, nor will the list be complete. There are, however, the notable Bruce (1770) and the youthful Browne (1791); Burckhardt (1812) and Thibaut (1839); Petherick (1845) and Peney (1861); Baker (1864) and Schweinfurth (1868) who contributed so richly not merely to geography, but to botany and zoology also; and a great host of others, traders, explorers and government officials, who surveyed areas large and small in the Egyptian Sudan. In Modern Times.

"In 1839 or 1840 one of the most important affluents of the Nile was discovered by the expedition of Turks and Europeans dispatched by Mohammed Ali to explore the White Nile. This was the Sobat (as it was named by the Nile Arabs), which enters the White River under the ninth degree of latitude. The word Sobat was evidently an ancient Nubian or Ethiopian term which was in existence two thousand years ago, when it was applied to the White Nile (Asta Sobas), in contradiction to the Blue Nile (Ast'-apos). At the present day the Sobat is known by the name of Kir on its lower portion, and Baro on its upper course." The Sobat.

It is solemnizing to remember what a price has been paid in human lives for the information which our modern map of the Egyptian Sudan presents. It is also sobering to remember that as yet more lives have been enlisted in geographical exploration than in missions in the Egyptian Sudan. As yet more lives have been wholly sacrificed to this map-making than have been poured out upon the altar of missionary service in the Sudan. But these two undertakings, that of exploration and that of missions, must not be set over against each other. David Livingstone, the explorer and missionary, was right when he wrote: "I view the end of the geographical feat as the beginning of the missionary enterprise." The geographical feat has been brought to a satisfying conclusion in the Egyptian Sudan. It is time for the Church of Christ to launch in a worthy way and on an adequate scale the missionary enterprise that will win the land for Christ.

What Next?

"The strings of camels come in single file,
  Bearing their burdens o'er the desert sand;
Swiftly the boats go plying on the Nile,
  The needs of men are met on every hand,
But still I wait
For the messenger of God who cometh late."

CHAPTER II

A Sorrowful Past

"More has been learned of Africa in the past fifty years than has been known before since the Creation. The world has been both entranced and appalled as its enormous interior populations have come to light, and its natural mysteries have been disclosed, its gigantic problems revealed, its colossal woes uncovered, its piteous story of suffering and wrong recited, and the irresistible appeal of a sorrow-stricken, world-forgotten continent has been unfolded in current literature."

—*James S. Dennis.*

"The East and West, without a breath,
Mix their dim lights like life and death
To broaden into boundless day."

—*Lord Tennyson.*

II

A SORROWFUL PAST

THE first historical mention of the land south of Egypt carries us back some 5,900 years, to the days of Snefru, who is said to have conquered the land of the Negroes and to have taken captive 7,200 men and women and 200,000 head of cattle. The next mention, six hundred years later, refers to an expedition to the "Land of the Ghosts, which is south of the land of the Negroes." As years pass, the protection of the southern boundary of Egypt becomes increasingly a cause of anxiety to the kings of Egypt. Finally, about 1400 B. C., Napata is founded and becomes the far-famed capital of an Ethiopian kingdom. Some six hundred years later, during a period of national decay in Egypt, the Ethiopian hosts sweep northward, and all of Egypt, save a small section of the Delta, becomes a province of the Ethiopian kingdom, or at least Ethiopia provides the reigning dynasty of Egypt. After that, we see Napata give way to Meroe as the capital and religious center; and the history of this land becomes shrouded in mystery. History B. C.

Christian Era.

Here and there between Egypt and Khartum and even a short distance south of Khartum, there are to be found ruins bearing Christian symbols and inscriptions. These remind us that during the fifth century, A. D., Christianity entered Nubia and conquered it, and it is thought that about 560 A. D. Christianity was the established religion of Nubia and Ethiopia. Of course, it is a matter of conjecture how far south the term "Ethiopia" may be said to carry us. In 1092 A. D., there were powerful Christian kingdoms in these regions, for whose authority the Moslem conquerors of Egypt had a wholesome regard. It is interesting and yet saddening and sobering, to reflect that at one time Northern Sudan was nominally Christian. Why was the Christian torch extinguished? Perhaps we may understand in part if we study the type of Christianity which survives to-day in Abyssinia.

Moslem Entrance.

The last six hundred years have witnessed the irregular yet unfailing encroachments of Islam and Arab civilization upon Sudanese life and territory, until now the whole of Northern Sudan is claimed by Islam, has succumbed to an Arab civilization, and has to a great degree adopted the Arabic language.

Such superficial references to almost six millenniums of history can be justified only by the fact that, after all, this Land of the Blacks has not enjoyed any really connected development throughout this long period. Furthermore, the historical records of what actually took place are most meager. And, finally, it may be pointed out that if the chief interest of this study centers in the present-day races of the Sudan and in their condition, only those facts of history need be considered that relate themselves vitally to present-day conditions. It is chiefly the events of the past hundred years that have determined the character of the present situation. So overwhelming, so far-reaching has been the influence of the past century, that it may be said to outweigh the influences of entire millenniums and to have engulfed almost all that went before. A fairly accurate acquaintance with the history of the Sudan during the nineteenth century, and especially during the latter half of that period, is therefore necessary to a proper appreciation of existing conditions.

Egypt Annexes the Sudan.

Egyptian Rule.

One hundred years ago, the governor of Egypt, one of the choicest provinces of the Ottoman Empire, was Mohammed Ali, a remarkable personality, an alert mind, a military genius, a capable administrator. He it was who wrested Egypt in part from the Sultan, claimed it for himself and for his family as an independent kingdom, save for an annual tribute, and thus established the line of khedivial rulers in the Valley of the Nile. He it was also who looked with covetous eyes

Conquest by Egypt.

southward and extended the authority of Egypt to the Sudan. His motive was in part political ambition, in part a search for gold mines reported to be in the Sudan, and in part, perhaps, an honest desire to bring into a more settled and civilized state its ever-warring petty kingdoms and tribes. That year, 1819, marked the beginning of a movement by which Egyptian arms and strategy gradually carried the Egyptian flag steadily southward. At first the movement of conquest and annexation followed the Nile, for the Egyptian, whether soldier or trader, was afraid of the "man-eating" desert on either side of the river in Northern Sudan. But cupidity and greed soon turned the movement westward toward the rich settlements of Kordofan. At times the tide of conquest was arrested by the courageous resistance of some more powerful Sudanese kingdom, such as that of Darfur; but in the end, the Crescent and the Star were carried forward, the wealth of the conquered tribes increased the private fortunes of those sent to govern and extend the Egyptian Sudan, and the land became a part of Egypt's southernmost province. At last the Egyptian flag reached to within two degrees of the Equator, and there were none to define the limits of authority east or west.

Rise of Slave Trade.

It is almost needless to say that the government of the Sudan Province by Egypt was no model of justice, kindness or efficiency. Governors were appointed at Cairo, 1,500 miles away, and he was considered the most successful governor who caused the greatest revenue to fill, first of all, his own coffers and then to overflow into the treasury of Egypt. Trade chiefly consisted in gum, ostrich feathers, hides and ivory. It was not long, however, before the trader discovered that the largest returns were to be had not from *white* ivory, but from *black* ivory (slaves). Thus the slave trade sprang up and flourished. The Government leased out to traders vast areas,—sometimes areas that had never yet been annexed, conquered or explored,—to be exploited presumably for ivory. This meant in practice that within these areas the trader could carry on, without let or hindrance, his nefarious traffic in slaves. The Government, of course, would find a way to levy taxes on the slaves as they were driven to the seaboard. In 1861, Sir Samuel Baker journeyed through these regions of Southern Sudan, hoping to join hands with the great explorers, Grant and Speke, in the discovery of the sources of the White Nile. On that trip and during subsequent service in the Sudan, he had abundant opportunity to note the utter demoralization of the country by the slave trade.

Slave Trade.

How was the slave trade carried on? Just how was slave raiding accomplished? What were the profits which maintained this awful traffic? Who might be held responsible for such conditions? Why was it a difficult thing to stamp out both slave trading and slave raiding? These and other questions are answered by him in a clear and comprehensive account which he gives of the whole process and which may well be quoted in full:

The How of the Trade.

"The amount of ivory brought down from the White Nile is a mere bagatelle as an export, the annual value being £40,000 ($200,000). The people for the most part engaged in the nefarious traffic of the White Nile are Syrians, Copts, Turks, Circassians, and some few Europeans. So closely connected with the difficulties of my expedition is that accursed slave trade, that the so-called ivory trade of the White Nile requires an explanation.

"Throughout the Sudan, money is exceedingly scarce, and the rate of interest exorbitant, varying, according to the securities, from thirty-six to eighty per cent.; this fact proves general poverty and dishonesty, and acts as a preventive to all improvement. So high and fatal a rate deters all honest enterprise, and the country must lie in ruin under such a system. The wild speculator borrows upon such terms, to rise suddenly like a rocket, or to fall like its exhausted stick.

"Thus, honest enterprise being impossible, dishonesty takes the lead, and a successful expedition to the White Nile is supposed to overcome all charges. There are two classes of White Nile traders—the one possessing capital, the other being penniless adventurers; the same system of operation is pursued by both, but

SLAVE RAIDING IN THE SUDAN.

"The men are shot down, while the women and children are kidnapped and secured."

that of the former will be evident from the description of the latter.

"A man without means forms an expedition, and borrows money for this purpose at one hundred per cent., after this fashion; he agrees to pay the lender in ivory, at one half its market value. Having obtained the required sum he hires several vessels, and engages from one hundred to three hundred men composed of Arabs and runaway villains from distant countries, who have found an asylum from justice in the obscurity of Khartum. He purchases guns and large quantities of ammunition for his men, together with a few hundred pounds of glass beads. The piratical expedition being complete, he pays his men five months' wages in advance, at the rate of forty-five piasters ($2.25) per month, and agrees to give them eighty piasters per month for any period exceeding the five months advanced. His men receive their advance partly in cash and partly in cotton stuffs for clothes, at an exorbitant price. Every man has a strip of paper, upon which is written, by the clerk of the expedition, the amount he has received, both in goods and money; and this paper he must produce at the final settlement.

Organization.

"The vessels sail about December, and on arrival at the desired locality, the party disembark and proceed into the interior, until they arrive at the village of some negro chief, with whom they establish an intimacy. Charmed with his new friends, the power of whose weapons he acknowledges, the negro chief does not neglect the opportunity of seeking their alliance to attack a hostile neighbor. Marching throughout the night, guided by their negro hosts, they bivouac within an hour's march of the unsuspecting village doomed to an attack, about half an hour before the break of day. The time arrives, and quietly surrounding the village while its occupants are still sleeping, they fire the grass huts in

Deceptive Guests.

all directions, and pour volleys of musketry through the flaming thatch. Panic-stricken, the unfortunate victims rush from their burning dwellings, and the men are shot down like pheasants in a battue, while the women and children, bewildered in the danger and confusion, are kidnapped and secured. The herds of cattle, still within their kraal, or 'zareeba,' are easily disposed of, and are driven off with great rejoicing as the prize of victory. The women and children are then fastened together, the former secured by an instrument called a 'sheba,' made of a forked pole, the neck of the prisoner fitting into the fork, secured by a cross-piece lashed behind, while the wrists, brought together in advance of the body, are tied to the pole. The children are then fastened by their necks with a rope attached to the women, and thus form a living chain, in which order they are marched to the headquarters in company with the captured herds.

The "Open Sore."

"This is the commencement of business; should there be ivory in any of the huts not destroyed by the fire, it is appropriated; a general plunder takes place. The trader's party dig up the floors of the huts to search for iron hoes, which are generally thus concealed, as the greatest treasure of the negroes; the granaries are overturned and wantonly destroyed, and the hands are cut off the bodies of the slain, the more easily to detach the copper or iron bracelets that are usually worn. With this booty, the traders return to their negro ally; they have thrashed and discomfited his enemy, which delights him; they present him with thirty or forty head of cattle, which intoxicates him with joy; and a present of a pretty little captive girl, of about fourteen, completes his happiness.

"But business is only commenced. The negro covets cattle, and the trader has now captured, perhaps. two thousand head. They are to be had for ivory, and shortly the tusks appear. Ivory is daily brought into camp in exchange for cattle, a tusk for a cow, according to its size—a profitable business, as the cows have cost nothing. The trade proves brisk, but still there remain some little customs to be observed,—some slight formalities, well understood by the White Nile trade. The slaves and two thirds of the captured cattle belong to the trader, but his men claim as their perquisite, one third of the stolen animals. These having been divided, the slaves are put up to public auction among the men, who purchase such as they require; the amount being entered on the papers (serki) of the purchasers, to be reckoned against their wages. To avoid the exposure should the document fall into the hands of the Government or European consuls, the amount is not entered as for the purchase of a slave, but is divided for fictitious supplies. Thus, should a slave be purchased for one thousand piasters, that amount would appear on the document somewhat as follows:

Dividing Spoils.

Soap	50	Piasters	($ 2.50)
Tarboush (Cap) .	100	"	($ 5.00)
Araki	500	"	($25.00)
Shoes	200	"	($10.00)
Cotton Cloth	150	"	($ 7.50)
	1000	"	($50.00)

"The slaves sold to the men are constantly being changed and re-sold among themselves; but should the relatives of the kidnapped women and children wish to ransom them, the trader takes them from his men, cancels the amount of purchase, and restores them to their relatives for a certain number of elephants' tusks, as may be agreed upon. Should any slave attempt to escape, she is punished either by brutal flogging, or shot, or hanged, as a warning to others. An attack, or razzia, such as described, generally leads to a quarrel with the negro ally, who, in his turn, is murdered and plundered by the trader—his women and children naturally becoming slaves. A good season for a party of a hundred and fifty men should produce about two hundred cantars (twenty thousand pounds) of ivory, valued in Khartum at four thousand pounds.

"The men being paid in slaves, the wages should be *nil,* and there should be a surplus of four or five hundred slaves for the trader's own profit—worth, on an average, five to six pounds each.

"The boats are accordingly packed with a human cargo, and a portion of the trader's men accompany them to the Sudan, while the remainder of the party form a camp or settlement in the country they have adopted, and industriously plunder, massacre, and enslave, until their master's return with boats from Khartum in the following season, by which time they are supposed to have a cargo of slaves and ivory ready for shipment. The business thus thoroughly established, the slaves are landed at various points within a few days' journey of Khartum, at which places are agents, or purchasers, waiting to receive them with dollars prepared for cash payments.

Becomes a Business.

"The purchasers and dealers are, for the most part, Arabs. The slaves are marched across the country to different places; many to Sennar, where they are sold to other dealers, who sell them to the Arabs and Turks. Others are taken immense distances to ports on the Red Sea—Suakin, and Massawa—there to be shipped to Arabia and Persia. Many are sent to Cairo; and, in fact, they are disseminated throughout the slave-dealing east, the White Nile being the great nursery for the supply. The amiable trader returns from the White Nile to Khartum; hands over to his creditor sufficient ivory to liquidate the original loan of £1,000 ($5,000); and already a man of capital, he commences as an independent trader."

Reforms Begin.

In 1863, there came to the khedivial throne in Egypt one whose ambitious schemes made him well known in Europe and plunged Egypt into enormous national debt,—Ismail Pasha. He visited Europe and England, and was extremely sensitive to what the civilized nations thought of him, for he desired to have his Government counted among the enlightened Governments of his time. Detailed reports of conditions in the Sudan were constantly appearing in print, and the shame and disgrace of any connection with slavery had already been emphasized by the long anti-slavery agitations in Great Britain. Ismail Pasha could not fail to observe that the price of a good international reputation involved the suppression of the slave trade in the Sudan. Accordingly, orders for the suppression of the slave trade were issued, and Sir Samuel Baker himself was commissioned both to execute these orders and to establish in the Sudan what might at least approximate a good and efficient government. In 1873, Sir Samuel Baker retired, having accomplished much, and Gordon (then Colonel) was invited by the Khedive to carry forward the work so well begun.

General Charles G. Gordon.

It is no undue exaltation of an interesting and great personality that injects into the narrative of events in the Sudan, what may seem like a biographical digression. Few are the communities in the English-speaking world that have not at least heard of "Chinese" Gordon. Many are the lives, especially the young lives, that have been stirred and quickened to higher ideals by Gordon's career. Even if the re-conquest of the Sudan was inevitable after the Mahdi Rebellion, it may be said that no motive operated so powerfully upon British hearts and lives, releasing for this task British resources of life and money, as the memory of Gordon's martyrdom at Khartum. In the Sudan, Gordon's name is a name to conjure with; at one time, speaking with a veteran Arab in the market-place of Omdurman, one who had been all through the experiences of the Mahdi Rebellion, the writer put to him the question, "And Gordon, what did you think of him?" "Ah," came the reply with evidently suppressed feeling, "there was no man like him!" In the open square back of the palace at Khartum, is a statue done in bronze, of Gordon on camel back. They have set him there not looking toward the north where lay his own native land, but toward the south, the Land of the Blacks,—the land of

Gordon.

the people he loved and for whom he was willing to lay down life itself.

First, let us get a picture of the man's physical appearance. "In Colonel Gordon's appearance," writes Mr. W. E. Lilley, "there was nothing particularly striking. He was rather under the average height; of slight proportions, and with little of the military bearing in his carriage. . . . The greatest characteristic of his countenance was the clear blue eye, which seemed to have a magical power over all who came within its influence. It read you through and through; it made it impossible for you to tell him anything but the truth, it inspired your confidence, it kindled with compassion at any story of distress, and it sparkled with good humor at anything really funny or witty. From its glance you knew at once that at any risk he would keep his promise, that you might trust him with anything and everything, and that he would stand by you if all other friends deserted you."

Physical Traits.

Before coming to the Sudan, Gordon had won an international reputation by his remarkable achievements in suppressing the Taiping Rebellion in China and by his leadership of the famous "Ever-Victorious Army."

In entering the service of the Khedive, Gordon was assigned a three-fold task: to establish an efficient government in the Sudan, to carry forward the work of exploration, and to suppress

"Governor of the Equator."

the slave trade. His appointment, however, made him Governor-General only of the Equatorial Provinces with headquarters at Gondokoro. Gordon was at a serious disadvantage in that his authority extended over only a portion of the Sudan, when the problems of government and of the suppression of the slave trade involved the whole of the Sudan. Furthermore, the authority of the Egyptian Government in the Equatorial regions was a mere fiction. "Beyond the two forts at Gondokoro—garrison 300 men—and Fatiko—garrison 200 men—the Khedive had no possessions, and there was not even safety for his representatives half a mile from their guns."

A Hard Task.

For interesting side lights both upon the life and ideals of the man and upon the conditions and problems of his field of work, one must read "Colonel Gordon in Central Africa," and "Letters of Gordon to His Sister." For three long years—such years as his in the Sudan are longer than the ordinary years of men—Gordon measured his strength and skill against tropical disease and fatigue, against the intrigues and deceptions of slave dealers, against the shortcomings of inefficient agents and subordinates, against dishonesty, greed and cruelty,—and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred *he won out.* His European staff collapsed under the terrific climatic strain. Of those who went up the river with him in May, 1874, all were dead or invalided home in September. He

MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES GEORGE GORDON.

"Who at all times and everywhere gave his strength to the weak, his substance to the poor, his sympathy to the suffering, his heart to God."

Born at Woolwich, 28 Jan., 1833.

Slain at Khartum, 26 Jan., 1885.

found his native agents involved in the slave trade; he caught a native lieutenant letting a slave convoy pass in consideration of a bribe of $350. On this occasion he rescued 1,600 slaves, but almost every journey he took, (and he was always making unexpected or forced marches) brought him upon the tracks of this foul Dragon—the Slave Trade. A few quotations from his letters will best picture his life during both his first and second terms of service in the Sudan:

"July 28, 1877.—I have just been out to see the 210 slaves they captured near here. . . . . It is a sad sight to see the poor little starved creatures looking so wistfully at one. What can I do?—I declare solemnly that I would give my life willingly to save the sufferings of these people; and if I would do this, how much more does He care for them than such imperfection as I am. You would have felt sick had you seen them. Poor creatures! Thirty-six hours without food!" Letters.

"Sept. 28.—When near the end of our long weary march, I noticed a very small black boy in the path, who would not get out of it. . . . I immediately suspected something, and on going on I came across a lad with a chain of slaves, and I noticed a number more chained together under some trees."

"Sept. 4, 1878.—The sight of these ninety slaves was terrible. I did not see them, but a friend of mine says that there were few over sixteen years of age—some of them had babies, some were little mites of boys and girls! Fancy, they had come over 500 miles of deserts, and were a residue of four times their number."

"March 24, 1879.—The people of Obeid look very black at me, and every one complains that trade is ruined by the stopping of the slave trade. It is weary, up-hill work."

"March 31.—This evening a party of seven slave dealers with twenty-three slaves were captured and brought to me, together with two camels. Nothing could exceed the misery of these poor wretches—some were children not more than three years old; they had come across that torrid zone from Shaka, a journey from which I on camel shrink. I got the slave dealers chained at once."

"April 11.—When one thinks of the enormous number of slaves which have passed into Egypt from these parts in the last few years, one can scarcely conceive what has become of them. There must have been thousands upon thousands of them. . . . . We must have caught 2,000 in less than nine months, and I expect we did not catch one fifth of the caravans. Again, how many died en route?"

"June 18.—Thus in three days, we have caught 400 slaves. The number of skulls along the road is appalling."

Heavy Problems.

In one of his letters, Gordon estimated that in the Bahr el Ghazal Province alone, the loss of life through the slave trade must have amounted to 25,000 lives annually. Often, too, when slave caravans were overtaken, it was a problem what to do with the slaves. They might be hundreds of miles from their homes. They were usually worn out by their marching. If liberated, they would not know how to return to their native land, nor would they have the strength to do so. To feed them was a greater problem still. Meanwhile his heart was wrung by their sufferings.

His tenderness of heart, his human interest in those about him, his concern for the most obscure sufferer shine out through the quaint philosophy with which he views and describes tangled and difficult situations. Writing to his own sister he says:

Gordon's Heart.

"I took a poor old bag of bones into my camp a month ago, and have been feeding her up, but yesterday she was quietly taken off, and now knows all things. She had her tobacco up to the last and died quite quietly. . . . . A wretched *sister* of yours is struggling up the road, but she is such a wisp of bones that the wind threatens to overthrow her; so she has halted, preferring the rain to being cast down. I have sent her some durra, which will produce a spark of joy in her black and withered carcass. I told my man to see her into one of the huts, and thought he had done so. The night was stormy and rainy, and when I awoke I heard often a crying of a child near my hut within the enclosure. When I got up I went out to see what it was, and passing through the gateway, I saw your and my sister lying dead in a pool of mud—her black brothers had been passing and passing, and had taken no notice of her—so I ordered her to be buried, and went on. In the midst of the high grass was a baby, about a year or so old, left by itself. It had been out all night in the rain, and had been left by its mother. I carried it in, and seeing the corpse was not moved, I sent again about it, and went with the men to have it buried. To my surprise and astonishment, she was alive. After considerable trouble I got the black brothers to lift her out of the mud, poured some brandy down her throat, and got her into a hut with a fire, having the mud washed out of her eyes. She was not more than sixteen years of age. There she now lies. I cannot help hoping she is floating down with the tide to the haven of rest. The next day she was still alive, and the babe, not yet a year old, seized a gourd of milk, and drank it off like a man, and is apparently in for the pilgrimage of life. It does not seem the worse for its night out, depraved little wretch! . . . . The black sister departed this life at 4 P. M., deeply lamented by me, not so by her black brothers, who thought her a nuisance. When I went to see her this morning, I heard the 'lamentations' of something on the other side of the hut. I went round, and found another of our species, a visitor of ten or twelve months to this globe, lying in a pool of mud. I said, 'Here is another foundling!' and had it taken up. Its mother came up afterwards, and I mildly expostulated with her, remarking, however good it might be for the spawn of frogs, it was not good for our species. The creature drank milk after this with avidity."

His Rule Extended.

Realizing that permanent results could not be hoped for so long as his own efforts in Southern Sudan were being hampered by a contrary policy pursued in Northern Sudan by an Egyptian Governor-General, Gordon decided, in 1876, to resign from service. The Khedive, however, was loath to lose one whose administration and whose reputation had alike proved most valuable to him, and he accordingly agreed to a readjustment whereby Gordon should be appointed Governor-General of the entire Sudan, from Egypt and the Red Sea to the southernmost boundary of the Sudan. Thus Gordon entered upon his second term of service in the Sudan, which lasted from 1877 to the close of 1879. Upon his arrival at Khartum, now invested with supreme authority, Gordon found it necessary to submit to certain formalities, (which his soul always loathed) connected with his installation into office. The ceremony proved interesting enough to be referred to. There were first certain elaborate ceremonies of reception. Then followed the reading of the *firman* (edict) of his appointment. Then came the Cadi's extended address. Then the royal salute was fired. Then the gathered officials waited breathlessly for the Governor-General's response, which would outline the policy of his administration and set forth his program of government. The Governor-General responded. The address was somewhat shorter than they expected. It was also quite clear. No manuscript copy was required. No stenographic report was needed. It was simply this:

The Inauguration.

"With the help of God, I will hold the balance level."

In his efforts to suppress the slave trade, Gordon worked tirelessly. In the three years,—1877, 1878 and 1879,—he rode 8,490 miles on camels and mules. His average day's journey on camels was 32½ miles. "It is only by hard camel-riding that I hold my position among the people," he wrote in his diary. And indeed he almost gained a reputation for omnipresence. At one time, he heard that a revolt was being planned by certain troops. He rode on camel eighty-five miles in a day and a half, outstripped his escort and arrived alone. The leaders of the revolt were so dumbfounded to see him riding up through the line of soldiers, that they failed to carry out their plans, and declared themselves loyal to the Government.

His Devotion to Duty.

It was only at the price of great anxiety that Gordon thus forced crises to a successful issue, either without troops and trusting entirely to his personal influence and leadership, or else accompanied by forces of whose loyalty he was never certain. More than once he looked death calmly in the face. "In China," he wrote, "it was otherwise; I felt confident my troops would stand. Long before you get this, I shall be out of my troubles; so do not pity me, for I have the Almighty to guide me, and death is no terror. I only wish you to know *how worn I am through having to lean on God alone.*

"This seems odd, but it is diametrically opposed to our flesh to do so, and it is trying. My flesh says, 'I should like 1,000 good, trustworthy soldiers and not His promise. It is utterly wrong, but a widow would prefer £15,000 in the three per cent. consols to the promise that God will provide for her. . . . . After my spirit, I prefer the promise; after my flesh, I prefer the 1,000 soldiers; not having them, my spirit lords it over my flesh and conquers; but the flesh suffers all the same, and I see the deep lines in my face getting deeper and deeper day by day. Why did I go? Well, He sent me, for I went on a toss-up. He is Governor-General. I am only His agent."

Trust in God.

One loyal and efficient officer cooperated with Gordon in the suppression of slave raiding and slave trading. This was Gessi. Gordon described him thus: "Romulus Gessi, Italian subject; aged forty-nine; short, compact figure; cool, most determined man. Born genius for practical ingenuity in mechanics."

It was this man Gessi whom Gordon sent up the Nile to suppress a revolt in the Bahr el Ghazal Province, led by Suleiman, chief of the slave raiders. It would fill a volume to relate the dangers and struggles that this Italian officer went through. He found Suleiman devastating the country. "Those of the neighboring chieftains who would not submit to him, Suleiman attacked in their strongholds and put to the sword. The women and children, he either butchered or enslaved. He robbed the people of their stores of grain. In some places, there was nothing left for them to eat but the leaves of the trees."

Gessi's Work.

Gessi was compelled to move against Suleiman with a hopelessly insufficient force. He had but a thousand men against the enemy's six thousand. The closing of the Nile channel by long grass prevented speedy communication with Khartum. Some of Gessi's letters to Khartum took five months to reach their destination. For four months, Gessi was on the defensive in a place which he had fortified. Again and again, the enemy attacked him in overwhelming numbers, but each time was driven back. Ammunition ran so short that Gessi's men had to pick up the enemy's bullets which fell in camp and cast them anew. Finally, receiving two barrels of powder and three ingots of lead, Gessi decided to venture upon a sortie. The attack was successful and the besieged now became the pursuers.

Defeat of Suleiman.

In a few months, Gessi restored more than ten thousand liberated slaves to their homes. One day eight slave dealers were brought into his camp, and with them twenty-eight children whom they had chained together. He had the guilty wretches shot in sight of all the troops. "The people were wild with delight. The news of the punishment of the oppressors had spread like wild fire. To village after village the poor captives had been restored—rescued from what had seemed an endless and hopeless slavery."

In the end, Gessi overtook the slave dealer's army. "On the night of July 15th, he was abreast of the enemy, and at a distance from them of only a few miles. With the break of day, he surprised them in their sleep in the village of Gara. How many peaceful villages in days gone by had these packs of wolves burst upon in the dead of night! How many homes had they sacked, what rivers of blood had they caused to flow! What thousands and tens of thousands of lives had they wasted in slow misery whose dumb cry had reached no ear but Heaven's! Their day had come at last and had come none too soon!" With the bland remark, "Thus it is that God makes gaps in the ranks of His enemies," Gessi shot Suleiman, the chief of the slave-raiders.

Gordon Retires.

Such is the briefest survey of Gordon's work and that of Gessi. At last, however, Gordon's term of service as Governor-General of the Sudan came to an end. A new Khedive came to the throne of Egypt. Adapting the story of Joseph we may say, "Now there arose a new king over Egypt who knew not Gordon." Failing to receive cordial support from Cairo, and finding his health in a very serious condition owing to the exposures and hardships of his work in the Sudan, Gordon felt obliged to resign the Governorship of the Sudan.

Would the country relapse into the horrors of slavery? Would Gordon's work be lost? Gordon could not give a clear answer even to himself. But, having done what he could, he left results with God. He rested in that faith which led him once to write: "Were it not for the very great comfort I have in communion with God, and the knowledge that He is Governor-General, I could not get on at all."

CHAPTER III

Fire and Sword

A favorite verse of General Gordon; a copy was hung by him in his bedroom at Rockstone Place, Southampton:

"Oh! ask not thou, How shall I bear
The burden of to-morrow?
Sufficient for the day its care,
Its evil, and its sorrow;
God imparteth by the way
Strength sufficient for the day."

"Not by the blind hazard of chance was this great tragedy consummated; not by the discord of men or from the vague opposition of physical obstacle, by fault of route or length of delay, was help denied to him. The picture of a wonderful life had to be made perfect by heroic death."

—*Sir William F. Butler.*

III

FIRE AND SWORD

AFTER Gordon's departure, the government of the Sudan fell back into ways of tyranny and oppression. The cup of iniquity, which had been almost full before Gordon's righteous rule brought a temporary respite, now overflowed. The country, smarting under oppression, was ripe for a rebellion. The man of the hour for such a rebellion was Mohammed Ahmed. Slatin Pasha gives the following description of him: "He was a tall, broad shouldered man of light-brown color, and powerfully built; he had a large head and sparkling black eyes; he wore a black beard, and had the usual three slits on each cheek; his nose and mouth were well shaped, and he had the habit of always smiling, showing his white teeth and exposing the V-shaped aperture between the two front ones, which is always considered a sign of good luck in the Sudan. He wore a short quilted *jibba,* beautifully washed, perfumed with sandalwood, musk and attar of roses."

The Mahdi.

Mohammed Ahmed originally came from

Dongola in Northern Sudan, and was of a religious turn of mind. He attached himself to the leader of a religious sect, near the Island of Abba on the White Nile. Later he broke with this religious leader because he permitted singing and dancing in connection with a feast. This action gave the young religious devotee a wonderful reputation for holiness. Attaching himself to another Mohammedan sect, he soon became its leader. He traveled about the country, gaining converts and announcing himself to those whom he felt he could trust as "El Mahdi el Muntazir," the Expected Guide. It is necessary to remember that the Sudan, especially Northern Sudan, is colored by the Moslem faith. Mohammedanism, like Christianity from which it sprang, looks forward to a millennial age to be ushered in by some one sent by God, who will bear the title of "Mahdi." This prophecy, and the expectation which it has created in Moslem minds, has been the opportunity of fanatic after fanatic to declare himself the long-looked-for leader.

With sorrow and suffering, slavery and oppression hanging like a pall over the Sudan, it did indeed seem as if the time had come for a day of deliverance to dawn in the Sudan. To the naturally religious nature of the Negro of Southern Sudan, as well as to the Moslem Arabs of Northern Sudan, the religious claim of Mohammed Ahmed made a powerful appeal. Men rallied to the standards of this false prophet. It was no wonder. They had little to lose, they had much to gain. Heaven was assured them if they died in this holy war. If they lived, earth might also be theirs with its enjoyment of plunder and booty.

The Government shortly learned that trouble was brewing and sent a special messenger to bring Mohammed Ahmed to Khartum, but the latter overawed the Governor's representative with an assertion of his claims to the title of Mahdi, and the man returned to Khartum empty-handed. Then the Governor sent, in August, 1881, two companies of soldiers to bring the Pretender forcibly to Khartum. The Mahdi and his followers fell upon these and only a few escaped to tell of their mis-managed attack upon the Mahdi's village. Again another force was organized, this time from Fashoda, to attack the Mahdi and his increased following in Kordofan to which point they had moved from the Island of Abba. But this force was also ambushed and some fourteen hundred men were annihilated. Another expedition was organized and left Khartum in March, 1882, four thousand strong; it was reenforced by two thousand troops from El Obeid. Utterly careless and reckless, this expedition incurred defeat by a night attack, and the Mahdi's great victory was ascribed to his supernatural power and

Rebellion.

became the sure proof of his prophetic claims. Meanwhile the Mahdi sent his emissaries far and wide inciting the whole population to rebellion and summoning their warriors to rally around his standards. Stronghold after stronghold fell, enhancing his reputation and adding to his store of ammunition and to his stock of arms. Throughout Western Sudan his leadership was universally accepted. The Egyptian Government made a supreme effort to check the rising tide of Mahdism and sent forth Hicks Pasha with a mob of ten thousand men, mostly undrilled Egyptians, to attack an enemy that by this time could rally one hundred thousand fanatical warriors. What occurred on November 4th, 1883, was scarcely a battle; rather was it a massacre from which only a few individuals escaped.

Mahdist Successes.

The Egyptian Government, realizing the gravity of the situation and embarrassed financially and politically by events connected with the Arabi Rebellion in Egypt and the British Occupation, resolved upon the withdrawal of her troops and garrisons in the Sudan, and the temporary abandonment of the country. It was quite an impossible task, however, to withdraw the Egyptian troops, for there were no ready means of transportation, and the country was aflame with rebellion. To accomplish this impossible task, the Egyptian Government turned to Gordon, who had governed the Sudan so successfully a short time before. January 18th, 1884, found Gordon leaving London for Khartum, and on February 19th he entered that city.

The story of Gordon at Khartum is a long one and a sad one. It is difficult to compress into the limits of a few paragraphs the events of eleven months and eight days, or to set forth in a brief sketch the noble traits of character which these experiences revealed in General Gordon. Those who read his journals will appreciate better the significance of his life at Khartum. Here we come nearest to the heart of the man and the circumstances of his life.

Gordon's Return.

We see how he was hampered by shiftless men: "If these Arabs (one's servants) are not eating, they are saying their prayers; if not saying their prayers, they are sleeping; if not sleeping, they are sick. Now figure to yourself the position; you cannot do anything with them while in these fortresses—eating, saying prayers, sleeping, or sick,—and they know it. . . . . It is a beautiful country for trying experiments with your patience."

Again, he speaks of the unreliability of his troops: "I have ever felt the greatest insecurity respecting the lines, for I believe one hundred determined men would carry them with ease, if they made their attack on the Shaggia or Bashi Bazouk part. These creatures used to shut themselves into the houses at about 7 P. M. and never go out till it was broad daylight."

Then, too, Gordon had to deal with dishonesty. When the life of the city was so dependent on the stock of provisions, dishonesty here was disheartening. Two months before the city fell, he wrote: "Some one has stolen 93,000 okes of biscuit; this robbery took place nearly a year ago and was only found out two days ago. . . . . Rectified list of biscuits is 266,430 okes. Durra (corn) is 2,110 ardebs in magazine to-day—six weeks' consumption! and then the sponge must be thrown up. I could write volumes of pent-up wrath on this subject if I did not believe things are ordained and all work for the best."

Treachery in Camp.

Although so sorely tried, yet his love and pity for the people did not fail; "I declare solemnly, that if it were not for the honor's sake of our nation, I would let these people slide; they are of the very feeblest nature; but because they are weak, there is so much more the reason to try and help them; for I think it was because we were such worthless creatures, that our Lord came to deliver us."

That Gordon fully faced the thought of death long before the city was captured, is clear from the following entry in his journal: "I toss up in my mind, whether, if the place be taken, to blow up the place and all in it, or else to be taken, and, with God's help, to maintain the faith, and if necessary to suffer for it (which is most probable). The blowing up of the palace is the simplest, while the other means long and weary suffering and humiliation of all sorts. I think I shall elect for the last, not from fear of death, but because the former has more or less the taint of suicide, as it can do no good to any one, and is, in a way, taking things out of God's hands."

Soon the Mahdi forces appeared across the White and Blue Niles, and the siege of Khartum began. Gordon seemed to have been forgotten by the land that gave him birth and by the nation whose interests he was serving.

Several months before the city fell, Gordon generously sent down the river Stewart, Power and Herbin, the only other Englishmen at Khartum. He thought thus to save their lives, but the party was murdered and the dispatches they carried were lost.

Unselfish Devotion.

Then we have the inspiring, yet pathetic, picture of General Gordon left alone in Khartum, the only Englishman in a city of 34,000 souls. We see him here doing the work of a hundred men, strengthening the defences of the city in every conceivable way, baffled by the shiftlessness and incompetency of native officials, encouraging the people by promises until their faith even in his word as an Englishman began to fail, yet inspiring them, week after week and month after month, to new resistance. We see him often discouraged, but never showing it, always leaning on the assurance of a Divine Providence. Again and again he looks out of his palace window and scans the northern horizon to see if the long-looked-for Relief Expedition is in sight, then turns back to the cares and anxieties, the weariness and worries, of the defence of the city.

The last entry in any journal that has been preserved is made under date of December 14, 1884. At this time there remained in the city provisions for only eleven more days, yet we know that the city actually held out for a full month longer. We can imagine therefore, to what straits the population was driven. There is under the same date a letter to his sister:

"14 December, 1884.—This may be the last letter you will receive from me, for we are on our last legs, owing to the delay of the expedition. However, God rules all, and, as He will rule to His glory and our welfare, His will be done. . . . .

"Your affectionate brother,

C. G. Gordon.

P.S. I am quite happy, thank God, & like Lawrence, I have tried to do my duty."

THE GOVERNOR'S PALACE AT KHARTUM.

Front and Rear Views: Built on site of old palace. Gordon was slain near where circular stairway appears in lower picture.

It is Sabbath morning, January 25, 1885. To the anxious inhabitants of Khartum, it has been far from a day of rest or peace, for the roar of cannon has been heard all day. As darkness falls, there is a cessation of firing, but the silence seems more ominous than the noise of cannon had been. The wearied and half-fed defenders drop into a tired sleep, but across the river in the Mahdi's camp, there is renewed activity, for during this night a great assault is to be made upon the city. Boat load after boat load of Mahdist soldiers is brought across the river. The Mahdi himself comes across to harangue the troops. Silence is strictly enjoined that no shouts of war-cries may arouse the sleeping defenders. Finally, all preparations are completed and the Mahdi forces advance upon the city. The night is far spent. Indeed dawn is breaking. Suddenly the stillness is broken by a deafening discharge of thousands of rifles and guns. The weakened defences of Khartum are scaled, the enemy is within the city. Did treachery open the gates and make the capture of the city easier? None may say definitely, though many believe it.

The Attack.

Then the cry is raised, "Lil Saraya!" "To the Palace!" Here they expected to find rich treasure. Gordon came forth upon the steps of the palace and called out to the mob, "Where is your leader?" Doubtless he hoped to parley for the lives of the inhabitants. Ignoring his question,

Death of Gordon.

the irresponsible mob surged forward. A javelin was thrown. It struck Gordon in the breast. He fell forward. Other blows were struck and he whom the Sudanese women had once called "the father and savior of the Sudan," lay dead!

"By those for whom he lived, he died.
His land awoke too late, to crown dead brows with praise."

Two days later, just forty-eight hours too late, the British Relief Expedition steamed into sight and, seeing that the city was captured, steamed away again, not to reappear until General Kitchener, by a series of campaigns extending over thirteen long years, had first stemmed the advancing tide of the rebellion and then had driven it back to its final overthrow at the Battle of Omdurman.

Character of Gordon.

Character of Gordon.

In view of the exceedingly brief account that space allows for the portrayal of Gordon's life and work, it may not be amiss to definitely point out certain characteristics of the man.

Dislike of Display.

His indifference to position, public honors and money: The Chinese Government twice offered him large sums of money as a reward for his great services in suppressing the Taiping Rebellion. Both offers were firmly declined. They sent him six mandarin dresses in the correct fashion for his official rank. He could not refuse them, but writes regretfully, "Some of the buttons on the mandarin hats are worth thirty or forty pounds ($150 or $200). I am sorry for it, as they cannot afford it over well." In his honor, a heavy gold medal was struck by the two Empress Regents. This he prized very highly; but removed its inscription and sent it as an anonymous gift, at one time when many operatives were in distress and an appeal had been made for their relief. This explains a phrase he was wont to use to describe the height of self-sacrifice, "You must give up your medal." When he entered the Khedive's service, the Khedive fixed his salary at $50,000 a year; Gordon refused to accept more than $10,000; this left him greater independence and put the position he occupied beyond the covetousness of money-loving Pashas. "The astonished Egyptian officials looked on in amazement at one in high rank, who examined into every detail himself and who took his turn of the hard work." On his journey up the Nile, he would turn in and help his own men in pulling the boat.

He had a genuine sympathy with those in distress whether high or low: He felt genuinely sorry for the Khedive, and although he had fully planned to give up the arduous service in the Sudan, he changed his mind on receipt of a letter from the Khedive and stayed another year. "The man had gone to all this expense," wrote Gordon, Sympathy.

"under the belief that I would stick to him; I could not therefore leave him."

"The poor slaves," says Boulger, "from whose limbs the chains of their oppressors had only just been struck, would come round him when anxious about his health, and gently touch him with their fingers. The hostile chiefs, hearing as Bedden did, that he restored his cattle to and recompensed in other ways a friendly chief who had been attacked in mistake, would lie in wait for him, and lay their views and grievances before him."

Sense of Humor.

He had a keen sense of humor: "Last night, March 26th," he wrote, "we were going along slowly in the moonlight, and I was thinking of you all, and of the expeditions, and Nubar and Company when all of a sudden from a large bush came peals of laughter. I felt put out, but it turned out to be birds, who laughed at us from the bushes for some time in a very rude way. They are a species of stork, and seemed in capital spirits, and highly amused at anybody thinking of going to Gondokoro with the hope of doing anything." His journals and letters abound in remarks which show a quaint but keen sense of humor.

Godliness.

He was essentially religious: This is meant in the best sense. He could not tolerate the slightest suspicion of cant or pharisaism. His religion was real, for he hated formalism.

He was a Bible student.

"Boldly and humbly study the Scriptures," he writes. "God's dwelling in us is the key to them; they are a sealed book as long as you do not realize this truth which is sure and certain whether you feel it or not. . . . . Die now and you will never die. . . . . God's in-dwelling is all in all the great secret."

He was not only a strong believer in a ruling and overruling Providence, but felt constantly in touch with his God, so that to Gordon, God was a friend to be leaned upon in time of need. Indeed he carried to its logical conclusion and applied *fully* to his own life the doctrine of surrender to the will of God.

"DUFFLI, 10 July, 1876.

"Thank God I am well, and so happy now I have resigned the government of the Province and put all the faults on my 'Friend.' He is able to bear them and will use me as long as He pleases as His mouthpiece, and when He has done with me He will put me aside. . . . . I do not know if you will see this 'pearl' at once, but I consider it a great stride in the knowledge of Him, and yet it is an *old truth.* I consider, now I am free from any responsibility about the Province or my staying or leaving, that He has taken the whole work off my hands and that I am on leave as it were. What a comfort it is! He offers to do the same for all; but many appear to say, *'No, I would rather do my own work.'* "

That Gordon was a man of prayer has often

Prayer Life. been mentioned, but many will be surprised to learn to what extent he made use of prayer in solving the problems of his work even among pagan Sudanese:—

"FOGGIA, 7 June, 1877.

"Praying for the people whom I am about to visit gives me much strength and it is wonderful *how something seems already to have passed between us* when I meet with a chief (for whom I have prayed) for the first time. On this I base my hopes of a triumphal march to Fasher; the chiefs cannot wish war and can have little hopes of success, seeing that, as I trust is the case, Fasher has been relieved. I have really no troops with me, but I have the Shekinah, and I do like trusting to Him and not to man."

Should it seem strange that through his constant study of the Scriptures, Gordon should have also discovered and laid hold of the blessed hope of his Lord's return? Writing in his journal at Debbe, on February 15, 1878, he says:

"I wish, I wish the King would come again and put things right on earth; but His coming is far off, for the whole world must long for Him ere He comes, and I really believe there are but very, very few who would wish Him to appear, for to do so is to desire death and how few do this! Not that we really ever die: we only change our sheaths."

The Reign of Mahdism.

The Mahdi movement was, in its beginnings, a religious movement. Its proclamations were made, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate." The Mahdi claimed to be the Vicar of God, the prophesied "Guide." From all this, it might be inferred that the movement had, perhaps, a large measure of good in it. This however, was not the case, as may be seen from the character and acts of its leaders.

Reign of Mahdism.

The capture of the city of Khartum was marked by the greatest atrocities. The men were generally put to death. The women and girls were gathered together, and after the Mahdi had picked out those he wished for his harem, the rest were distributed among his officers and troops in the order of their precedence in rank.

Shortly after the fall of Khartum, on June 22d, 1885, the Mahdi died. During his life time, however, he had appointed four Khalifas to assist him in the government of his newly established kingdom and to succeed him at his death. These four were:

Abdulla Ibn el Sayid (Taaisha tribe).
Ali Wad Helu (Degheim Arab).
Sheikh el Senussi (who never accepted).
Mohammed el Sherif (son-in-law of Mahdi).

The Khalifa.

Upon the death of the Mahdi, Khalifa Abdulla succeeded him and became preeminently *The Khalifa,* never assuming the title of Mahdi. As the Khalifa was the leader of the Mahdi movement for thirteen of the seventeen years during which this movement lasted, he it was who determined the character of Mahdism and was chiefly responsible for almost a decade and a half of fire and sword and famine. It is to be noted that the Khalifa, like the Mahdi, was chiefly of Arab descent. While the Mahdi originally came from Dongola along the Nile, well to the north, Abdulla, his Khalifa, came from Darfur and belonged to the Taaisha division of the Baggara (cattle owning) tribe. This was a warlike, slave raiding tribe, but Arab rather than Negro; so much so that Abdulla's father had planned to leave the Sudan and remove to Arabia. While Mahdism swept negro and pagan sections, as a fire sweeps a prairie, yet it had its origin and leadership in men and tribes that were Arab and Mohammedan; this is an important point to observe if we are deducing national and racial traits out of these movements of history.

Slatin Pasha, who was a prisoner of the Mahdi and of the Khalifa for eleven long years and whose book "Fire and Sword in the Sudan" is one of the most thrilling narratives imaginable, gives this description of the Khalifa's appearance when he first saw him:

"He had a light-brown complexion, a sympathetic Arab face, on which the marks of small-pox were still traceable, an aquiline nose, a well-shaped mouth, slight moustache, and a fringe of hair on his cheeks, but rather thicker on his chin; he was about middle height, neither thin nor stout, was wearing a *jibba* covered with small square patches of different colors, and a Mecca *takia*, or skull cap, round which was bound a cotton turban; he generally spoke with a smile and showed a row of glistening white teeth."

Later he described his appearance and life as follows:

"He joined the Mahdi at the age of thirty-five, and was then a slim and active, though powerfully built man; but latterly he has become very stout, and his lightness of gait has long since disappeared. He is now forty-nine years of age, but looks considerably older, and the hair of his beard is almost white. At times the expression of his face is one of charming amiability, but more generally it is one of dark sternness, in which tyranny and unscrupulous resolution are unmistakably visible. He is rash and quick-tempered, acting often without a moment's consideration, and when in this mood even his own brother dares not approach him. His nature is suspicious to a degree to every one, his nearest relatives and members of his household included. He admits that loyalty and fidelity are rare qualities, and that those who have to deal with him invariably conceal their real feelings in order to gain their own ends. He is most susceptible to flattery, and consequently receives an inordinate amount from every one. No one dares to speak to him without referring in the most fulsome terms, to his wis-

Traits of Character.

dom, power, justice, courage, generosity, and truthfulness. He accepts this absurd adulation with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction; but woe to him who in the slightest degree offends his dignity!

"In all intercourse with him he demands the most complete humility and submission. Persons entering his presence stand in front of him with their hands crossed over their breasts and their eyes lowered to the ground, awaiting his permission to be seated. In his audience chamber he is generally seated on an angareb, over which a palm-mat is spread and his sheepskin stretched out on it, whilst he leans against a large roll of cotton cloth which forms a pillow. When those brought before him are allowed to be seated, they take up a position as in prayers, with their eyes fixed on the ground, and in this posture they answer the questions put to them, and dare not move until permission is given them to withdraw."

"The Khalifa thought it incumbent on his position to maintain a large establishment; and as this was also entirely in conformity with his own inclinations, he gradually became possessor of a harem of over four hundred wives. In accordance with the Mohammedan law, he has four legal wives, who belong to free tribes; but, being a lover of change, he never hesitates to divorce them at will, and take others in their places. The other women of the household consist for the most part of young girls, many of whom belong to tribes which have been forced to accept Mahdism, and whose husbands and fathers fought against him. They are, therefore, regarded as booty, and have only the rights and claims of concubines, or, in some cases, of slaves. This large assortment of ladies varies in color from light-brown to the deepest black, and comprises almost every tribe in the Sudan."

The Khalifa had a building erected over the tomb of the Mahdi, as a monument to his name, the Khalifa himself laying the foundation of it. This building, standing to the east of the Great Square where thousands gathered daily for prayer and prayed with their faces toward it, became one of the most venerated points in all the Sudan and it was announced that pilgrimage was to be made to the tomb of the Mahdi at Omdurman rather than to the tomb of the Prophet or even to Mecca.

Mahdi's Sacred Tomb.

Three words characterize the thirteen years of the Khalifa's rule: Cruelty, Famine and War.

Cruelty: Much of this was the direct outcome of the Khalifa's jealousy, exaggerated vanity and suspicious nature. When an attack upon Egypt was being organized in 1889, he called upon the Betahin tribesmen to enlist by coming to Omdurman. They hesitated. So he ordered sixty-seven of their chief men to be seized and brought,

Cruelty of Khalifa.

with their families, to Omdurman. Here they were divided into three parties. Those of the first were hanged. Those of the second were decapitated. Those of the third had their right hands and left feet cut off, whilst their relatives were bidden to gather up their mutilated remains. "It was Abdulla," says Slatin Pasha, "who gave the order for no quarter at the storming of Khartum, and it was he who subsequently authorized the wholesale massacre of the men, women, and children. After the fall of that city, it was he who, for the period of four days, declared the whole Shaigia tribe to be outlaws. When distributing the captured women and children, he was utterly regardless of their feelings. To separate children from their mothers, and to make their reunion practically impossible by scattering them amongst different tribes, was his principal delight."

Famine.

Famine: The Khalifa's army claimed so many able-bodied men that at times almost all the men of a given area were drafted into his army and there were none left to carry on the cultivation of the land. The maintenance of these thousands of troops frequently required the appropriation by force of the herds of sheep and cattle upon which their owners depended for their subsistence. Misgovernment and war also closed up many of the avenues of trade and commerce both within the Sudan and with lands outside the Sudan, so that in this direction also the land became impoverished. This resulted in a disastrous shortage of provisions, and famine conditions existed throughout the Sudan and even in Omdurman, the capital of the Mahdi Kingdom. In many villages, men blocked up the doors of their huts with stones, so that the hyenas and other wild beasts might not attack them in their weakness. Then they lay down to die of starvation. The White Nile brought down the bodies of those whom famine had overtaken in the interior. In the city of Omdurman, it was with difficulty that the dead were given a burial. What frightful experiences attended these famine periods may be inferred from the following paragraphs:

"One night—it was full moon—I was going home at about twelve o'clock, when, near the Beit el Amana (ammunition and arms stores) I saw something moving on the ground, and went near to see what it was. As I approached I saw three almost naked women, with their long tangled hair hanging about their shoulders; they were squatting round a quite young donkey, which was lying on the ground, and had probably strayed from its mother, or had been stolen by them. They had torn open its body with their teeth, and were devouring its intestines, whilst the poor animal was still breathing. I shuddered at this terrible sight, whilst the poor women, infuriated by hunger, gazed at me like maniacs. The beggars by whom I was followed now fell upon them, and attempted to wrest from them their prey; and I fled from this uncanny spectacle.

"On another occasion I saw a poor woman who must formerly have been beautiful, but on whose emaciated face the death-struggle was visible, lying on her back in the street, whilst her little baby, scarcely a year old, was vainly trying to get some nourishment from its mother's already cold breasts. Another woman passing by took compassion on the little orphan and carried it off.

"Another woman was actually accused of eating her own child, and was brought to the police-station for trial; but of what use was this? In two days the poor creature died a raving maniac!"

Terrors of War.

War: War also made fearful inroads upon life and upon the material resources of the Sudan. In the first flush of enthusiasm over the fall of Khartum, plans for extended foreign invasions were announced. Egypt was to be invaded; Abyssinia was to be conquered; the Southland was to be reduced to slavery. The Mahdi's army did not lack in brave leadership and the story is a long one, which tells of their raids and rallies, their assaults and forays, on the east against Abyssinia, on the south against the Shilluks, on the west into Darfur, and on the north against Egypt. Meanwhile, Kitchener was organizing an army of Egyptians and of Sudanese and of British troops for the reconquest of the Sudan. Each year thousands of Sudanese were sacrificed by the Khalifa in a vain attempt to stem the progress of Kitchener's army.

Was it any wonder that, during this decade and a half, these three forces, War, Famine, Misrule, brought down the population of the Egyptian Sudan from ten millions to less than two millions. Surely this was a literal fulfilment of the dark prophecy of Isaiah: "They shall be left together unto the ravenous birds of the mountains, and to the beasts of the earth; and the ravenous birds shall summer upon them, and all the beasts of the earth shall winter upon them."

Overthrow of Mahdism.

The reign of Mahdism in the Sudan ended on September 2d, 1898, at the battle of Omdurman.

Kitchener's Advance.

Year after year, Kitchener had been pushing his railroad and his army steadily up the Nile. There are those who say that the railroad, not the army, conquered the Sudan. Certainly in former years, lack of means of transportation had proved the undoing of many an expedition into the Sudan. However, we must not forget the army: "The British troops, the backbone of the army; the Egyptian troops—reorganized, re-officered and disciplined since the days when they could only be counted on to run—now thoroughly reliable, whether for a charge or for bearing the brunt of an attack; and the blacks, Sudanese themselves, many of them captives from former battles, now only difficult to handle because of their impetuous desire to charge the enemy and come to a close encounter."

September 2d, 1898, found the army but a few miles from Omdurman. The capital of Mahdism had been reached. The enemy had to fight now and win, or be forever defeated. Khalifa Abdulla rallied every fighter to meet the crisis. He had marshalled a force of no less than 35,000 men. Some placed the figures higher.

Battle of Omdurman.

And they fought! You can read the full account of that battle in Steevens's "With Kitchener to Khartum." As you read of their self-forgetful courage, of the devotion with which they rallied around the black banners of their leaders, of the fearless charges which they made in the face of the pitiless fire of the British; as you see how 10,000 of them did not hesitate to give up their lives freely for the cause to which they were committed—the exclamation will be forced to your lips, "What magnificent Christians these men might have made!"

Look, however, at the faces of the dead on the battlefield of Omdurman and you will recognize the features of those tribes who, in days gone by, were foremost in slave raiding and slave trading.

"Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, I will repay." And the death of these meant the opening of the Sudan to civilization and evangelization.

It was on Friday, September 2d, that Kitchener's army marched into Omdurman. On Sabbath morning, September 4th, a unique service was held across the river at Khartum. It was *the*

THE MAHDI'S TOMB IN RUINS.
Destroyed by Kitchener to prevent its becoming a center of future fanaticism.

THE DEATH OF THE KHALIFA.
(See page 99.)

funeral service of Gordon. We will let Steevens describe it:

"The steamers—screws, paddles, stern-wheelers—plug plugged their steady way up the full Nile. Past the northern fringe of Omdurman where the sheikh came out with the white flag, past the breach where we went in to the Khalifa's stronghold, past the choked embrasures and the lacerated Mahdi's tomb, past the swamp-rooted palms of Tuti Island. We looked at it all with a dispassionate impersonal curiosity. It was Sunday morning, and the furious Friday seemed already half a lifetime behind us. The volleys had dwindled out of our ears, and the smoke out of our nostrils; and to-day we were going to the funeral of Gordon. After nearly fourteen years the Christian soldier was to have Christian burial.

Gordon's Funeral Service.

"The boats stopped plugging and there was silence. We were tying up opposite a grove of tall palms.

"The troops formed up before the palace in three sides of a rectangle—Egyptians to our left as we looked from the river, British to the right. The Sirdar, the generals of division and brigade, and the staff stood in the open space facing the palace. Then on the roof—almost on the very spot where Gordon fell, though the steps by which the butchers mounted have long since vanished—we were aware of two flagstaves.

"The Sirdar raised his hand. A pull on the halliards: up ran, out flew, the Union Jack, tugging eagerly at his reins, dazzling gloriously in the sun, rejoicing in his strength and his freedom. 'Bang!' went the 'Melik's' 12½-pounder and the boat quivered to her backbone. 'God save our Gracious Queen,' hymned the Guards' band—'bang!' from the 'Melik'—and Sirdar and private stood stiff—'bang!'—to attention, every hand at the helmet peak in—'bang!'—salute. The Egyptian flag had gone up at the same instant; and now, the same ear-smashing, soul-uplifting bangs marking time, the band of the 11th Sudanese was playing the Khedivial Hymn. 'Three cheers for the Queen!' cried the Sirdar; helmets leaped in the air, and the melancholy ruins woke to the first wholesome shout of all these years. Then the same for the Khedive. The comrade flags stretched themselves lustily, enjoying their own again; the bands pealed forth the pride of country; the twenty-one guns banged forth the strength of war. Thus, white men and black, Christian and Moslem, Anglo-Egypt set her seal once more, for ever, on Khartum.

"Before we had time to think such thoughts over to ourselves, the Guards were playing the Dead March in 'Saul.' Then the black band was playing the march from Handel's 'Scipio,' which in England generally goes with 'Toll for the Brave'; this was in memory of those loyal men among the Khedive's subjects who could have saved themselves by treachery, but preferred to die with Gordon. Next fell a deeper hush than ever, except for the solemn minute guns that had followed the fierce salute. Four chaplains—Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist—came slowly forward and ranged themselves, with their backs to the palace, just before the Sirdar. The Presbyterian read the Fifteenth Psalm. The Anglican led the rustling whisper of the Lord's Prayer. Snowhaired Father Brindle, best beloved of priests, laid his helmet at his feet, and read a memorial prayer bareheaded in the sun. Then came forward the pipers and wailed a dirge, and the Sudanese played 'Abide with me.' Perhaps lips did twitch just a little to see the ebony heathens fervently blowing out Gordon's favorite hymn; but the most irresistible incongruity would hardly have made us laugh at that moment. And there were those who said the cold Sirdar himself could hardly speak or see, as General Hunter and the rest stepped out according to their rank and shook his hand. What wonder? He has trodden this road to Khartum for fourteen years, and he stood at the goal at last.

"Thus with Maxim-Nordenfeldt and Bible* we buried Gordon after the manner of his race."

After the battle of Omdurman, there still remained an extensive military task to be performed in pacifying other sections of the Sudan in which the Mahdi power continued to assert itself. The Khalifa, who had fled from Omdurman just before Kitchener entered the city, withdrew to the south. For a time he was ignored, but about a year later Colonel Sir R. Wingate led a force against him. After repelling a furious attack by the Khalifa's men in the dark morning hours, the expedition gained a complete victory. The Khalifa Abdulla and his leading Emirs, including the second Khalifa, Ali Wad Helu, seeing that all hope was lost, calmly seated themselves on their sheep-skins and awaited death. Shortly before this, the only other Khalifa had been shot, having been found guilty of preaching Mahdism, although he had been released on parole.

End of Mahdism.

Another extremely important task which required to be pushed after the overthrow of the Mahdi power, was the completion of the railroad. Reference has already been made to the development of railways in the Sudan.

A joint government for the Sudan was agreed

*That is, "with military honors and Christian ceremony."

Joint Government.

to by Great Britain and Egypt. The two flags fly side by side upon all government buildings. The supreme military and civil command in the Sudan is vested in a "Governor-General of the Sudan" who is appointed by Khedivial Decree on the recommendation of Great Britain. Lord Kitchener was the first to hold this office, but upon his recall to South Africa in 1899, Sir Reginald Wingate became Sirdar and Governor-General. There are no foreign consuls or consular agents and the Capitulations [1] which are such a sore trial in Egypt, do not extend to the Sudan.

It would require a separate volume to narrate all that has been accomplished during the decade and a half that have elapsed since the Sudan was opened up by Kitchener's forces. As yet the work of the Government is chiefly that of laying foundations for future development. How greatly and how rapidly Great Britain's policy in the Sudan has developed the material resources of the country may be judged by comparing the annual revenues of the Sudan at intervals of five years:

1898	$175,000
1903	2,315,000
1908	4,875,000
1912	6,875,000

The following extract from Kitchener's Report

[1] See "Egypt and the Christian Crusade," by Watson, page 87-88.

Lieut.-Gen. Sir F. R. Wingate.

Field-Marshal Viscount Kitchener.

to Parliament in May, 1912, bears upon the progress made in the Sudan:

"Prior to the Dervish conquest of the country, the number of inhabitants amounted approximately to nine millions. The fanatical rule of the Mahdi and his successor, with the wars, disease, and starvation which it brought in its train, reduced this number to considerably under two millions. To-day the population may be estimated at well over three millions, a rapid and satisfactory increase, due to the peaceful conditions now prevailing and the resulting increase in the prosperity of the people. The children born under our rule will themselves shortly become parents. Moreover, from all the surrounding parts of Africa a constant stream of immigrants, attracted by the peaceful and prosperous condition of the Sudan, is entering the country. It appears to me, therefore, justifiable to expect that in the next five years the population will have attained some six millions and have thus doubled the present total. It will be the duty of the Government to look after the welfare of all who live under their rule, so that they may live in peace and prosperity.

Recent Advances.

"When we conquered the Sudan there was hardly a single inhabitant who possessed any money, and, with the exception of the fighting men, the whole population was practically starving. Nothing, I think, strikes one more in revisiting the Sudan to-day than the great increase which has taken place in the individual prosperity of its inhabitants. This increased prosperity, which is the result of careful administration, has been so equally divided throughout the entire population that it is not too much to say that there is now hardly a poor man in the Sudan. Unlike the Egyptian fellaheen the Sudan cultivators are not bound down by debts, and have not therefore to struggle to meet the exorbitant interest of the usurers, who prey upon this class in Egypt. In the Sudan the benefits of peace have been fully reaped by the cultivators, and the increased facilities of communication have brought markets hitherto undreamt of to their doors. The development of the rich products of the country has been carefully fostered, and a golden harvest has thus been brought in which remained in the country. It is therefore not surprising that the people are contented, happy and loyal. When expressions of this happiness and contentment are heard, it is satisfactory to feel that they are not merely word painting for the benefit of the rulers of the country, but are based, as the people themselves maintain, on solid facts."

It is well to remember that these results have not been achieved by chance. They are, on the one hand, the result of a science of government which is itself largely a product of Christianity and Christian civilization. They are the result, on the other hand, of the devoted and self-sacrificing labors of officials, among whom many may be found who are animated by a high sense of duty and by motives of unselfishness and even of loyalty to a Divine Lord. These forces are therefore to be recognized and to be correlated harmoniously, wherever possible, with all other forces which labor for the establishment of the Kingdom of God. There are points at which outside influences and political traditions may influence governmental policy in directions that a Christian public may not approve of. For example, it is not likely that the British or American Christian public will ever become reconciled to the teaching of the Koran in Gordon College, founded in memory of that Christian hero, nor to that institution being in session on the Christian Sabbath though closed on Friday, the Moslem day. Nevertheless where such differences of opinion exist, it is important to do four things: (a) Distinguish between a governmental policy and the officials of a Government; approving the latter, if not agreeing to the former. (b) Recognize generously the important service which the existence of an established government renders to missionary activity. (c) Appreciate the great difficulties and limitations under which is carried on the government of a country that is undeveloped as to its resources, non-self-supporting as to its administrative expenses and subject in part to a non-Christian country. (d) Finally, remember and practise the Christian doctrine of "forbearance in love" remembering always the spirit of the apostle's injunction to "honor the king."

Attitudes.

CHAPTER IV

The People

"Our cry is out of the depths; we belong to the submerged millions of the race; our existence has been shrouded in darkness for centuries. We have long dwelt in ignorance and misery, the slaves of unhappy destiny, banished from the world's light, and strangers to the world's civilization."

—*James S. Dennis.*

"Can you conceive of anything more fatal, more monstrous, more immoral than a doctrine which declares men lost without Christ, and then refuses to make Him known to them?"

—*Robert E. Speer.*

IV

THE PEOPLE

IMAGINE a tourist following the Nile, as he seeks to enter the Sudan. In Egypt he makes his acquaintance first with the Delta Egyptian. He moves southward slowly and while his map tells him he still is in Egypt, he is aware that new physical characteristics mark the inhabitants of the land. They are still Egyptians but the skin is darker, the nose is flatter. He pushes on past the First Cataract; his ear tells him that a new language is being spoken, and here again new physical features appear; this is Nubia and these are Nubians.

So far, however, he has noted but few marked changes and has met only two distinct types and he has traveled almost one thousand miles up the Nile. But now he is on the borders of the Sudan. Let him still follow the Nile. He travels now seven hundred miles by river to the Atbara junction, but even in this shorter journey his guide has spoken to him at intervals, eleven times in all, saying:

"These are Berabra. "
"But these are Gararish."
"And these again are Danagla."
"These, however, are Shaigia."
"And these are Monasir."
"These are Robatab."
"But these are Angariab."
"These however are Hagab."
"And these are Merifab."
"And these are Fadlab."
"But those are Besharin."

The tourist is impressed, but is he any wiser?

Diversity of Tribes.

He turns to an official work. In it he finds twelve pages bearing almost a hundred and fifty different tribal names. In the Bahr el Ghazal Province alone, he reads that there are Dinkas and Bongos, Nyam Nyams and Golos, Ndoggos and Kreich, Mandallas and Mittus, Wiras and Madis. Bewildered, perplexed, he asks, "But who are these people? Where do they come from? Are they all of one race? Do they have a common language? What is their history?"

To these questions, who will give an answer? Shall we classify races by complexion or color of skin? But note how certain racial features appear with different colors of skin. Or shall we classify by tribal markings upon the face? But here are individuals of another race adopted into a given tribe through slavery or intermarriage. Or shall we depend upon tribal traditions and language characteristics? This may be the safest method to follow, but who will attempt the desired classification of these tribes, when their languages have not yet been reduced to writing, nor the grammatical structure of these languages been analyzed, nor their traditions recorded? It seems a hopeless task and you feel like falling back upon a crude and yet generally satisfactory division of the country into two main divisions: (a) Northern Sudan, where dwells the Arab, brown of skin, with aquiline nose, Moslem as to religion, Arabic-speaking; (b) Southern Sudan, where lives the Negroid, black of skin, flat nosed, pagan or Animist as to religion, with Negro dialects peculiar to each tribe.

Northern Sudan and Southern Sudan.

Yet there are those who have gone into the subject more deeply as Crowfoot [1] in "The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," and Diedrich Westermann [1] in "The Shilluk People," and Sir Harry Johnston in "The Nile Quest."

In Northern Sudan, then, we deal chiefly with the Arab, with an Arab civilization, with the Mohammedan religion and with the Arabic language. In many respects this part of the Sudan may be regarded as an extension of Upper Egypt. For this reason a detailed description will not be necessary. It was Northern Sudan that was the chief scene of action for the events connected with the Mahdi rebellion and it was Northern

[1] See Appendix, V.

Sudan therefore that was most affected by those ruinous experiences. Yet it is Northern Sudan that is now in closest touch with Egypt and civilization, and that is reaping the first benefits of the Anglo-Egyptian administration.

General Features of North.

In this part of the Sudan lies the seat of government. Khartum, the capital, is at the junction of the Blue Nile and the White Nile, and has a population of 18,235. Across the White Nile, to the northwest, lies Omdurman, the capital of the old Mahdi kingdom, with a population that still numbers 42,799. Across the Blue Nile, to the northeast, is Khartum North (sometimes called Halfaiyah) the site of Government workshops and for a time the railroad terminus, with a population of 34,381. Government service has brought into these three cities some 1,734 Europeans and 2,662 others who are foreigners to the Sudan, for the most part young Egyptians. The latter, many of them Christians, form an important base for Christian missionary effort. In Northern Sudan, the most important, commercially, as well as the most extensive occupation is that of agriculture, and the Government is encouraging the people in better methods of cultivation as well as in the cultivation of crops of higher value, such as cotton. Next to the cultivation of the land is the raising of cattle, for which so large a portion of Northern Sudan is alone adapted.

Southern Sudan.

It is not the purpose of this book to attempt a general description of all the southern regions of the Sudan, for generalizations would not be at all accurate and detailed descriptions would require too much space. Special interest, however, attaches to the Sobat region and some brief account will be attempted of conditions along that river. The Sobat River joins the White Nile at 9° 22″ north latitude and flows for the most part in a westerly (slightly northwesterly) direction. For some 300 miles of its course before it empties into the White Nile, the Sobat River meanders through an immense alluvial grassy plain almost as flat and as level as a board. For the most part the river is 150 to 300 yards wide, with water of a reddish yellow color in flood time, and a current of from two and a half to three miles an hour in flood time (only one mile February-May). From the mouth of the Sobat, for some 30 or 40 miles up the river, the country is inhabited by Shilluks. Then appear Dinka villages and these extend for some 40 miles, when a small section of Anuaks occupy some 25 miles of the river bank. Then appear the warlike and important tribes of the Nuers. Beyond the Nuers, there appear again representatives of the Anuak tribes, but this is in territory which lies outside of

Tribes Along the Sobat.

the Egyptian Sudan and across the Abyssinian boundary.

The Shilluks.[1]

In his prophecy concerning Ethiopia, Isaiah speaks of "a people tall and smooth, a people terrible from their beginning onward!" The Shilluks may be regarded as fulfilling this description with wonderful literalness. The average height is 5 feet 10 inches. Many of them naturally exceed six feet or six feet and a half. It may be admitted that they are "terrible from their beginning onward," in reality because of the bravery which they exhibit on the battlefield, and in appearance because of a custom which makes them hideous and terrifying: they frequently smear the whole body with ashes or cover themselves with pulverized brick, drawing lines across the face. They commonly remove the four front lower teeth which makes even the young look old or odd. Their tribal marks are three, four or five rows of dots across the forehead.

"A People Terrible."

Most striking of all, however, are the head dresses of the men. The hair is woven or twisted into a solid felt, kept further in shape by mixtures of gum, mud or even cow-dung, and molded into the shape of a huge saucer, or of a single horn bent forward, or in separate points standing out like the spokes of a wheel. The hair of the

[1]This is the Arabic form of the name and is the one most commonly used; another form is *Shulla.*

face, even to the eyebrows, is ordinarily pulled out, heightening the weirdness of their appearance. When missionary work was first undertaken on the Sobat River, there was practically no clothing worn save by the married women. Mrs. Giffen has given the following description of a woman's costume:

"First of all there is a small apron. This is a piece of coarse cloth—originally white—about two feet long and eighteen inches wide. It is made of two thicknesses, and it is tied by strings fastened to two corners around the waist, but just below the abdomen, and falls down to the knees. **Costumes.**

"Then there are two skins, of sheep, goat, calf, gazelle or whatever it may be, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out. One of these is tied around the waist, using one fore leg and one hind leg for the strings to tie with. The tail and the other two legs—or the skin of them—dangle and flap around the legs as ornaments. Indeed these are sometimes ornamented with beads, brass or iron rings. This skin is tied in front so as to show the white (?) apron underneath.

"The other skin is worn on the upper part of the body. The fore and hind legs on one side are fastened together at their very tips; this is then slipped over the head, the legs of the skin thus tied together resting on the right shoulder, and the other side passing under the left arm. This is the full dress of a woman. Of course, in addition to this they may wear as many beads and other ornaments as they can afford; strings of beads around the waist, neck, and arms, and armlets of brass; sometimes as many as ten or twelve brass or iron rings, weighing several pounds, and extending from the hand half way to the elbow. These are not loose, but drawn tight to the flesh and each made fast by the blacksmith."

The Shilluks are a proud race. They count themselves and all they have superior to others and all they have, even though the latter be white men. Their attitude toward strangers is never that of subserviency, but rather of mere tolerance. In going about they usually carry a spear and a club, often several. Their haughtiness and independence, perhaps more than any other qualities, mark them off from the freedmen of the United States. They bear a strong resemblance in these respects to the American Indian: at times one might imagine (?) himself living in the atmosphere of Fenimore Cooper's Indian tales, with Indians painted black.

A Strong Race.

"To give an opinion," writes Professor Westermann, "on the mental abilities of the natives would require a long and intimate acquaintance with them. From my personal experiences I can only say that I feel an admiration for the few men who have been working with me during my studies. Though we were at work day after day, which meant for them a considerable and quite unaccustomed mental exertion, they never showed any unwillingness but were really interested in the work. I consider them an intelligent, quick-witted people. This is confirmed by their folk-lore. They have a decided sense and predilection

Nuer Tukl and Enclosure.

Repairing Shilluk Tukl.

for historical traditions, being the only black people of the Eastern Sudan who are able to trace back their own history for centuries. The fact that they have had, up to the European occupation of the country, a kingdom with a well-ordered provincial government shows no doubt certain political capabilities."

Self-Government.

"The native house is a circle of wall built of mud, about one foot thick and six feet high, and thatched with a cone-shaped roof. The finished product has very much the appearance of a well built haystack. There are no windows and the place of entrance is a small hole about two and one-half feet high and two feet wide, and is in the shape of a horse collar."

Houses.

The following paragraphs descriptive of the Shilluks are gathered from Professor Westermann's valuable treatise, "The Shilluk People: Their Language and Folklore."

Food: "The staple food is durra. It is cooked, baked into bread, roasted, brewed: and, when green eaten raw. Fire is made by twirling a hard stick on a soft piece of wood. Besides durra they eat sesame, maize, beans, various grass seeds; white ants, when in the winged state, are a delicacy to them. Milk is used in the household in many ways. As domestic animals are almost never slain, meat forms no part of the daily food, but is rather an exceptional delicacy, which is however sought for with eagerness. Of game

Food.

they hardly leave any piece uneaten, skin and intestines not excepted; they do not even despise dead animals. The blood of slain animals is kept and cooked, but they do not tap the blood from living animals, as is the custom with the Bari and Masai. Two chief meals are taken daily; one from nine to ten in the morning, and the second at sunset.

"A large quantity of the durra the people reap is used in making merisa or beer."

Marriage.

Marriage: "When a young man wants to marry, he himself asks the girl he has selected. If she assents, she directs her lover to her parents and the old people of the village. If these also do not object, they ask him to bring the dowry, which consists of cattle. From four to six head of oxen and one milch cow is the ordinary price for a woman, besides a number of sheep and goats. A man cannot reach a social position without being married, and he cannot get a wife without cattle, so every young Shilluk's highest ambition consists in procuring cattle in order to buy a wife. A young man may not marry a girl from his own division or clan, but only from some other division; the girl may live in the same village or in any other village, but they prefer to marry in a distant village. These marriage laws are a well established tribal custom, and people fear to break them, lest death follow marriage. The position of woman among the Shilluks is no doubt a higher one than with most Mohammedan peoples of the Sudan. She is generally well treated and is shown remarkable respect. The women sometimes take part in public assemblies with the men, discuss the affairs that interest them and share in dances and religious ceremonies."

Children: "Affection of parents for their children is not wanting. The mother often places the infant in a long basket or bed made of grass; this she carries on her head, or covers it with a mat in some safe place, while the child sleeps. Education is limited to teaching the children the work and skill which the parents command. The naming of the children is done by some member of the family, in most cases by the parents or grandparents. When the boys are from thirteen to fifteen years old, they start the cultivation of a small field of their own, with the proceeds of which they try to acquire cattle. The boys and young men of a village born in the same year form a companionship, all members of such a 'class' having a common name. The young men of a village do not sleep in their parents' houses, but their common sleeping place is the cow-shed of the village. The act of sleeping in the barn is called 'sleeping in the ashes' from the fact that they sleep during this time in the ashes of the fire kept smouldering in the barn."

Care of Children.

Burial: "When a grown-up man dies, he is buried in or just before his hut. An ox is killed at a funeral feast, and its horns are planted on the grave so that they are visible from without. Women and children are buried in the bush."

Amusements.

Amusement: "Their chief amusement is dancing. The houses of a village are built in a circle, having an open place in their midst. Here the inhabitants assemble in the evening, stretching themselves in the warm ashes or on a skin, or squatting on a piece of *ambach;* several small fires of cow dung are kept burning and spread a smoke with a pungent odor, which is the best protection from mosquito-stings. The events of the day are discussed here; the tobacco pipe and merisa pot going from hand to hand. In the middle of this open place, the trunk of a large tree is erected, in which the drums are suspended. With them signals are given in times of danger, but more frequently they are used to accompany the dances of the young people. These public dances are among the greatest events in the lives of the young Shilluks; even old men and women, though not taking an active part are highly interested in them; sitting before the huts in front of the dancers they constitute a chorus, accompanying the actions of the younger generation with loud acclamations or reproaches. The dances generally take place during the dry season; they begin at about four o'clock in the afternoon, or in case there is moonlight, later in the evening, and last from three to five hours or longer. As a rule one village invites its neighbors by a drum signal given in the early morning of the day fixed for a dance. On hearing this signal the young people show great zeal in preparing their bodies, hair-dresses and the ornaments worn on the occasion. They go to the village in groups or singly, men and girls separately. Usually the youths perform some war dance in full arms at first, in which the girls do not take part; they form a large circle in four or in two rows, and while the drum is being beaten, they begin dancing and singing war songs. The dance consists in jumping on the toe and at the same time moving slowly forward. These rhythmical movements are from time to time interrupted by a group of dancers violently rushing out of the circle, howling and shouting aloud, brandishing their spears with fierce looks, and performing mock fights or playing pantomimes in which they exhibit very remarkable ability. Scenes from hunting, pastoral and agricultural life are represented with such a dramatic vividness that they richly deserve the applause they earn. On a signal given, clubs and shields are laid aside and put together in one place, and now the second part, in which the girls share, begins. The latter have, until now, been waiting in a separate place, where the female onlookers are gathered. Each girl selects her own dancer. First the men form a cir-

A War Dance

cle again. Then the girls rush into this ring, each looking out for the man she intends to favor. She draws up in front of him, so that they look each other in the face; again two or four rows are formed, and the same dance begins anew, accompanied by drumming and singing. The dances are in many cases repeated on four successive afternoons or nights; on the fourth day they frequently end in quarrels or real fights. The cause of this is that the young men of one village eye the girls of another village, and thus arouse jealousy. In such fights clubs are used; in exceptional cases also spears."

Religion.

Religion: "In the religion of the Shilluks three components are clearly distinguishable: 1. *Jwok,* or God; 2. *Nyikang,* the progenitor and national hero of the Shilluks; 3. *ajwogo,* the witch doctor or sorcerer. These three do not exist separate from each other, but have many relations with one another. There are still other religious elements, but they are not so prominent as the three mentioned.

"Jwok is a supreme being, residing above. Whether he is regarded as creator is not certain. According to the sayings of some natives he surely is, but it seems probable that this belief, if it exists, is recent, and must be traced to Mohammedan or Christian influences. On certain occasions an ox is killed as a sacrifice to Jwok, but according to my information, they have only one prayer to Jwok,[1] while to Nyikang there are many. 'Praying' to Jwok is expressed by a different word from that which serves for designating a prayer to Nyikang; the first is 'Lamo,' 'to pray'; its original meaning is, probably, to conjure. In praying to Nyikang 'kwacho,' 'to ask for, to beg,' is used. While the prayers to Nyikang are sung, and accompanied by dances, the one to Jwok is only spoken, not sung, and is not accompanied by dancing. Jwok has no visible symbols or temples, nor are the prayers to him offered by a priest or sorcerer, but by the chief or village elder.

"In the heart and mind of the Shilluk, Jwok does not possess a clearly defined rank. In some way they do attribute good and evil to him, and chiefly the latter. When a person is ill, they may say, 'Ere Jwok,' 'Why Jwok?' The sudden and violent death of a man is regarded as being caused by Jwok.

"The tradition of the origin of man or rather of the Shilluks leads to the second and most important part of the religious practice of the people, viz.: the worship of Nyikang. This tradition runs thus: A white or rather greyish cow, Dean Aduk, came out of the river; she brought forth a gourd; when this gourd split, a man and animals came forth out of it. The name of this man was Kolo; Kolo begat Omaro, who begat Wat Mol

Belief as to Origin of Man.

[1]See Appendix VI.

('son of Mol'); Wat Mol begat Okwa. Okwa used to go to the riverside; here he met repeatedly two maidens who had come from out the water, they were very beautiful and had long hair, but the lower part of their bodies was in form like a crocodile. One day Okwa seized the girls and carried them away. Their screams brought their father, who, until now, had not been seen by Okwa. His face and the left side of his body were human like, but his right side was of a green color and had the form of a crocodile. When asked, he declared his name to be Odiljil; he protested against his daughters being taken away by force, but afterwards consented. Okwa married the girls. The names of the two maidens were Nyakayo and Ongwat. One of Nyakayo's sons was Nyikang.

"Between Nyikang and one of his brothers, there arose a quarrel after their father's death. Nyikang left the country, seeking for a new abode. Several tribes whom he met on his way, joined him, thus increasing the band of his followers. Nyikang settled about the mouth of the Sobat, and here founded the Kingdom of the Shilluks. To increase the population of his new kingdom, he changed animals and fabulous beings whom he found in the place, into men, built villages for them, and made them his subjects.

"While residing in the Shilluk country, Nyikang fought many wars, among others one against the Sun and his son.

"When he felt his end approaching, he assembled all the chiefs of his kingdom for a splendid festival. While all were merry, suddenly a great wind arose and scattered all those present. At this moment Nyikang took a cloth, wound it tightly around his neck, and thus choked himself.

"But many Shilluks firmly believe that Nyikang is still alive. The Rev. Mr. Oyler writes to me: 'When I asked how Nyikang died, they were filled with amazement at my ignorance and stoutly maintained that he never died.' If he dies, all the Shilluks will die. He, Dak, and five other kings ascended to heaven, where Nyikang prays for the Shilluks (?). They say that he disappeared as the wind.

Worship of Nyikang.

"Nyikang is the ancestor of the Shilluk nation and the founder of the Shilluk dynasty. He is worshipped; sacrifices and prayers are offered to him. He may be said to be lifted to the rank of a demi-god, though they never forget that he has been a real man. He is expressly designated as 'little' in comparison with God. In almost every village there is a little hut dedicated to Nyikang.

"The third factor in the religion of the Shilluks is the Ajwogo, and what is connected with him. Ajwogo is the witch doctor or sorcerer; the word is probably derived from 'Jwok,' 'God,' and would then mean 'one who is dependent on God' or 'who has to do with God.' As some of them undertake to procure rain, Europeans generally call them all 'rain-makers.' Each is a mediator between the people and Nyikang; he leads the dances and prayers to Nyikang, and presides at the sacrificial ceremonies. He heals also sicknesses by administering charms. Sick people apply to him with the present of a sheep or goat, or even an ox; the animal is killed, and the contents of its stomach are laid on a sick person's body; or the skin of the animal is cut into strips and these are fastened below the knee of the patient. This is also applied as a protection against dangers on a journey. When in the dry season the cattle are brought across the river, the sorcerer has to prepare charms to protect them from being seized by crocodiles. Besides this, he is able to perform miracles, to kill a man by witchcraft, to prevent rain, and to cause the cattle to be barren."

The Witch Doctor.

Folklore.

Folklore: Professor Westermann has rendered a service of inestimable value in bringing together a large number of stories representing what may be called the *oral* literature, history, ritual, songs, proverbs of the Shilluks. There is a superficial tendency to depreciate the intellectual or religious life of peoples that have no written language, but the material which Professor

RACES IN THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN.

Arab. Syrian and Egyptian. Shilluk.

Westermann has brought together makes an array of interesting *oral* records that forbid an attitude of contempt for even the pagan Shilluk.[1]

Their Country: It is important to note that the Shilluks along the Sobat form a *very small* part of the Shilluk people. They inhabit chiefly the land on the west bank of the Nile from Kaka in the north to Lake No in the south. They are "the only people in the Sudan who acknowledge one head as immediate ruler."

The Dinkas[2]

"The Dinkas along the Sobat are shy and suspicious, but amenable to kindness and trade. They have been worsted in the frequent forays of the more powerful Nuers into their district. They complain bitterly of the spoliation of their herds by the Nuers, and state that many of their children now growing into manhood as Nuers, were torn from them in the constant raids of the Nuer tribe. The Dinkas, in spite of this alleged oppression, own large numbers of sheep, goats, and cattle. The Dinkas on the Sobat are far more intelligent and energetic than their kinsmen on the White Nile, and cultivate sufficient grain and tobacco for their own needs." The Dinkas.

[1]See Appendix VII.

[2]The brief descriptive sections which follow are largely taken from "The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," in which are described the tribes along the Sobat.

The Anuaks.

The Anuaks.

"The Anuaks occupy some 25 to 30 miles of the river bank as far as the village of Wegin, which is the boundary between them and the Nuer tribe. The different tribes hereabouts are considerably intermingled, as they appear to intermarry to a large extent, and Anuaks may be found living amongst the Nuers even as far east as Nasser. Their position would not, however, appear to be a very enviable one, as the men are more or less slaves of the Nuers, and are called upon to perform household and menial duties for their more powerful neighbors; at the same time the Anuaks appear to have no fear of entering Nuer territory.

"This section of the Anuaks is a small and unimportant one; in general appearance they closely resemble the Nuers. They appear to grow very little food, barely more than sufficient for their own requirements, but at the same time have flocks of sheep and goats and a few herds of cattle."

The Nuers.

The Nuers.

"The Nuers are by far the most powerful and numerous tribe living along the Sobat river. Originally they appear, from native accounts, to have occupied tracts of country south of the Sobat in the neighborhood of Bor and the Bahr el

Ghazal, but these sections trekked north, and ousted the weaker tribes living on the Sobat, and occupied their country. The Falangs and Bonjaks no longer exist, their territory being occupied by the Nuers. There appear to be three separate factions of Nuers at the present day occupying the Sobat valley, who, if native accounts are to be believed, are more or less at enmity with each other, owing to family disagreements.

"Although the huts and villages of the Nuers hereabouts are well and substantially built, the natives themselves are shy, suspicious, indolent and altogether a very low type of humanity. They appear to cultivate only such small plots of ground in the immediate vicinity of their villages as will suffice for their own requirements for perhaps six months in the year, whilst during the remainder of the year they live chiefly on fish, which, existing in great quantities, are easily speared during the dry season of the year.

Physical Appearance.

"Physically, the men are tall and well-built, but show few signs of muscular development, being generally long-limbed and wiry. They are all stark naked, and cover themselves from head to foot with cow dung ashes, which gives them a particularly filthy appearance and renders their skin extremely rough and coarse. They make no attempt to adorn themselves, but are extremely anxious to procure brass wire with which to make for themselves bracelets extending from the wrist to near the elbow. This seems to be about their only vanity. They are all armed with spears, of which every man carries two or three. Their weapon of defense consists of an oval-shaped buffalo hide shield. Bows and arrows they do not appear to possess.

"The elder married women are as filthy as the men in appearance. They all, however, wear a leather apron or skin fastened round their waists. The younger girls and unmarried women wear no such covering, and, like the men, are quite naked.

"The right bank of the Sobat near Nasser Post is densely populated as far as the junction of the Sobat and Pibor rivers, there being several large and important villages such as Kwoinlualtong, Taufot, and Ajungmir in addition to the smaller ones. The left bank of the Sobat is not inhabited, as from Nasser to the Pibor a considerable portion of the country is inundated when the rivers are full."

CHAPTER V

The Day Breaks

"A great and strong wind . . . . after the wind an earthquake . . . . after the earthquake a fire . . . . after the fire a still small voice."

—*I Kings* 19: 11, 12

"No man has done all he ought to do, until he has done all he can do."

"And when the strife is fierce, the battle long,
Steals on the ear the distant triumph song,
And hearts are brave again and arms are strong.
Alleluia!"

—*Sir Joseph Barnby.*

V

THE DAY BREAKS

PRACTICALLY the only form of Christian missionary effort in the Egyptian Sudan before the Mahdi was that of the Roman Catholics who had work at both Khartum and Kordofan. Their missionaries were caught in that awful storm of fanaticism and rebellion that swept the country in 1881 and the years that followed, and the story of their sufferings and of the final escape of some of them is dramatically told by their leader, Father Ohrwalder, in his "Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp." The British and Foreign Bible Society also made a beginning of missionary work in 1866, but the work continued only a short time, and thirty-two years passed before it was taken up again.

Pre-Mahdist Missions.

With the re-conquest of the Sudan by Kitchener, it became possible once more to enter the Sudan with safety, and the Roman Catholics undertook to reoccupy their abandoned field so far as possible. Two missionary agencies representing Protestant Christian Churches also entered the Sudan,—the Church Missionary Society of Great Britain and the American (United Presbyterian) Mission. The British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society also projected the leavening influences of the distribution of the Scriptures into the newly opened territory.

Attitude of Government.

In Northern Sudan, where the population is chiefly Moslem, the Government forbade at first all missionary work among Mohammedans, but, after some extended public criticism and agitation in England, changed the policy to the extent of permitting educational and medical work under certain conditions and restrictions.[1] On the other hand, the Government encouraged work among the pagans of Southern Sudan and assigned, broadly, certain spheres of activity to the three missionary agencies named: to the Roman Catholics, the west bank of the White Nile with Lul, near Kodok, for a center; to the Church Missionary Society the Bahr el Ghazal district with Malek as a center; and to the Americans, the Sobat watershed, with Doleib Hill as the first station.

The following is a brief official statement of the development of the work of the Church Missionary Society in the Egyptian Sudan:

"After Gordon's death at Khartum, in 1885, a Gordon Memorial Fund was opened and soon after the defeat of the Khalifa's forces, Omdurman (1899) and Khartum (1900) were occupied, under some re-

[1]See Appendix VIII.

strictions, however, as to evangelistic efforts. Atbara was occupied in 1908. In 1905, the Society was invited by Lord Cromer and the Sirdar to commence work in the southern part of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and Malek was occupied in the following year.[1]

"Egypt is included in the jurisdiction of the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem. An Assistant Bishop, the Right Rev. Ll. H. Gwynne, consecrated in 1908, resides at Khartum.

Church Missionary Society.

"No baptisms have yet (1912) taken place at Malek, but the confidence of the Dinkas has been won and the light is gradually entering their hearts. Accustomed as they have been for ages to animal sacrifices, they can the better understand the propitiation through the blood of Christ, but while they know right from wrong, they are lacking in any sense of sin. They are a kindly folk; women are not despised, and a marriage ceremony is observed, but immorality is common. Classes for reading are conducted among the sixty men and boys employed in gardening and other forms of industrial work about the station, and a dispensary is held daily with an average of fourteen attendances. In February, 1912, the Revs. C. A. Lea-Wilson and K. E. Hamilton went to Lau (west-north-west of Malek) to open new work, the Rev. A. Shaw accompanying them on their journey."

[1]See Appendix I.

The American Mission.

The American Mission.

In the Sudan, as in Egypt, the name by which the work of the United Presbyterian Church of North America is known, is "The American Mission." It is suggestive of the fact that such work is to be thought of as a missionary effort which aims to carry to a non-Christian world the full, rich content of our American Protestant Christianity. The native Church also that becomes organized as a result of these missionary labors is known as the "Evangelical Church." This name, too, suggests that the Church which it is sought to establish is to have as its chief characteristic adherence to Scriptural truth. The history of the founding of this Mission and Church in the Egyptian Sudan is a record full of interest.

In the early days of the Mission in Egypt, the possibility of developing a mission in the Sudan had been talked about. It was hoped that the young native Church, being developed in Egypt, might some day be taught to claim the Sudan as *its foreign field.* No action, however, was taken. In 1883, the United Presbyterian Church in America was offered some $25,000 through the American Missionary Association, if it would open up work along the upper reaches of the Nile toward Central Africa.

At this time the Egyptian Sudan was wholly closed to all missionary effort; furthermore certain conditions were attached to the offer which led the Church to decline it. In 1899, with the opening up of the Sudan by Kitchener, the question presented itself anew and more insistently. The death of Gordon at Khartum had moved hearts in America as well as in England. An additional motive, if not an irresistible argument, presented itself in the emigration to the Sudan of a large number of young Egyptians in Government employ, who had been trained in mission schools or were even members of the native Evangelical Church in Egypt. It seemed a Christian duty to follow them up in the new fields to which they had removed and to provide somewhat for their spiritual needs.

A Question of Church Policy.

Yet the Church in America hesitated. And is not the establishment of a new Mission an extremely responsible step? Is there not such a thing as attempting too much? The Church had had at one time five foreign mission fields and had adopted a policy of concentration, limiting itself to two,—Egypt and India. Should it now reverse that policy? Or had its strength now increased, so that with safety a new burden could be assumed? Or should a policy of faith rather than of cold calculation determine the decision? If so, by what sign or signs might a waiting Church discover the will of its Lord?

Meanwhile four questions were addressed to the Mission in Egypt concerning the proposed advance in the Sudan. These questions and the replies which were given to them were much as follows:

First, Is the way open for entrance into the Sudan? Not just now, but it promises to be soon.

Second, Could an experienced missionary be spared from Egypt to open a mission in the Sudan? Yes, but his place would need to be filled.

Third, What would be the estimated cost for the first year? Twenty-five hundred dollars.

Fourth, Does the Mission in Egypt recommend any advance? This is a question for the Church in America, not for the Mission in Egypt, to answer, for, given the resources, the work may be safely undertaken.

Why the Mission Was Establishd.

Yet the Church hesitated. A discretionary power was given to the Board to act in the light of subsequent developments. Then came the "sign" which guided the United Presbyterian Church into the Sudan. The Board learned through the Rev. George D. Mathews, D. D., of London, that "a Society known as the Freedmen's Missions Aid Society of that city, was contemplating disbanding. It had been organized some thirty years before for mission work among the freedmen of America and ex-slaves on the West Coast of Africa. Its special object was to educate men who might ultimately be employed in doing mission work in Khartum or among the

Bird's-Eye View of Khartum.
The Great Mosque at Khartum.
Gordon College at Khartum.

tribes south of that in Africa. Having come to the conclusion that it had accomplished its object so far as lay in its power, it was casting around to see where it could place the funds remaining in its treasury so as to most nearly meet the intention of the donors of the same. The result was a proposition to transfer its remaining funds to the Board on condition that it would expend them in mission work in Khartum or that region of the Sudan. The proposition seemed so clearly providential that it was accepted by the Board, and as soon as the transfer could be made there came into the treasury the large sum of $9,605.-60." Additional amounts were received later. For three years the work was carried on practically without burden to the Church in America.

Exploring the Field.

In December, 1899, two members of the Egyptian Mission were appointed as a Commission to visit the Sudan, study conditions, and report upon a policy for the opening up of missionary work. The Rev. Andrew Watson, D. D., who had spent thirty-eight years in Egypt, and the Rev. J. Kelly Giffen, D. D., who had been in Egypt eighteen years, were selected for the responsible task. Their report is marked by accurate information and far-reaching statesmanship. They recommended establishing a base at Omdurman or Khartum, and developing work up the Blue Nile. The significance of this recommendation lies in the fact that by following the Blue Nile, the Mission would be brought most quickly into touch with the Abyssinian population, and Abyssinia claims allegiance to Coptic Christianity,[1] so that it might be hoped that the large and strategic work done by the Mission in Egypt could be duplicated among the Abyssinians, especially through the agency of enlightened Egyptian workers whom the Abyssinians might count as brethren.

In 1900, two missionaries were formally appointed to launch the new work in the Sudan: the Rev. J. K. Giffen, D. D., and H. T. McLaughlin, M. D. The native Church appointed *its first foreign missionary,* the Rev. Gebera Hanna. Yunan Hanna, one of the most efficient colporteurs of the American Bible Society, was also engaged to aid in the new missionary enterprise. The arrival of Dr. Giffen at Omdurman on December 10, 1900, marks the beginning of the Sudan Mission. At this point, the Government became a factor radically affecting the missionary plans which had been proposed, as may be easily inferred from the following letter:

First Missionaries.

War Office, Egyptian Army,
28th October, 1900.

Sir:

I have the honor, by desire of the Sirdar, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th inst. and to acquaint you in reply that he is pleased to sanc-

[1] See "Egypt and the Christian Crusade," p. 114.

tion Mr. Gebera Hanna and yourself proceeding to Omdurman for the purpose of seeing the native Protestant community there, to whom your letter refers.

The Sirdar regrets that he is unable at present to entertain your application to procure land at Khartum.

The Sirdar desires me to say that it must be distinctly understood that, for the present, permission to conduct mission work amongst the Moslem population of the Sudan cannot be given. He has, however, no objection to your proceeding at your own risk to the non-Moslem countries in the White Nile districts.

The Government Acts.

I am, dear sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. M. May Prin,

For Civ. Sec. Cairo.

J. K. Giffen,

American Mission, Tanta.

The action of the Government determined the development of missionary work along two important lines: (a) At Omdurman and in Northern Sudan generally only the most restricted forms of missionary work were to be allowed. (b) The development of further work must lie far to the south along the upper reaches of the White Nile.

Providence, however, had given to the American missionaries an advantage which was outside the range of governmental prohibitions. There could be no objection to such work as ministered to the spiritual needs of native Christians, and there were to be found at almost every Government post, but especially at Khartum and Omdurman, a considerable number of native Christians, many of them among the Government's most faithful employees. If their spiritual life could be maintained, what an uplifting moral and spiritual force they might be in the communities in which they lived.

Doleib Hill Chosen.

The year 1901 was a year, first of all, of exploration with a view to discovering a suitable site for the mission station in Southern Sudan among the pagan blacks. Imagine yourself sent from Philadelphia and Pennsylvania to an undeveloped, uncharted region as far distant as North Dakota, and asked to survey an area almost equal to that entire State! The site now known as Doleib Hill was finally selected by the exploring party, and the reasons given for selecting this site are as follows:

"(1) Because it is central as to population, a number of villages being within easy reach, both on the north and south of the Sobat and east and west of the White Nile.

"(2) As favorable to health. The hill, which is several acres in extent, is about twenty-five feet above the surrounding land and 150 feet from the Sobat River, which is reported as excellent water. The hill is also covered with about 150 large doleib palm trees.

"(3) The Sobat River affords a waterway out from and through the territory it is hereby proposed to make the field for mission work.

"(4) It is within easy reach of Taufikiah, which is the Government station, steamboat landing and postoffice on the White Nile. It thus brings the mission station within reach of transport and communication."

Extended negotiations, however, were necessary before the Government's permission was secured for the establishment of a mission station at the site described, and it was March 27, 1902, before the missionaries reached the place and began work. It is well worth noticing that adverse as the Government's attitude often seemed to be toward Christian missions, unfailing personal kindness was shown to the missionaries by practically all, from the Sirdar down.

First Services.

Meanwhile, the work in Northern Sudan was pressed as far as loyalty to governmental restrictions would permit. On Sabbath, March 17th, 1901, the first communion service was held and ten men and two women partook of that sacrament which serves as an indissoluble link between the two comings of our Lord; having a backward look in its remembrance of Him Who died, and a forward look through its continuous observance "till He come." Of course, it was a day of small things, and largely of personal work. The Sabbath morning meetings at Omdurman, Khartum and Khartum North, averaged only an attendance of 28 men and 14 women for all three, while two night meetings brought 25 men and 2 women.

For the decade which follows (1902-1912) a clearer conception of the development of the missionary work will be gained if the work in Southern Sudan and that in Northern Sudan be considered separately, for these two fields differ so radically in almost every respect—language, climate, dominant religion, state of civilization, and methods of missionary work—that they present contrasts rather than resemblances.

SOUTHERN SUDAN.

Opening Work at Doleib Hill.

It was on March 4, 1902, that the Rev. J. K. Giffen, D. D., and Mrs. Giffen, and Dr. H. T. McLaughlin and Mrs. McLaughlin, left Omdurman for the site of the new station along the Sobat. It was March 27th when they reached Doleib Hill. The journey was made in sailboats. A considerable cargo had to be taken up the river to provide both food and furniture for life in a section where there were no stores and practically nothing purchasable.

"As we proceed up the great river," says Dr. Giffen in his book, "The Egyptian Sudan," "the change of scenery is very gradual, but there is a change. More trees come into view. The flocks and herds continue to be almost everywhere in evidence, but there is less of the cultivated land, and the islands are covered with tall grass.

"The population becomes more sparse, the game more plentiful, and great flocks of birds line the banks. The crocodiles and the hippopotami are a constant source of diversion. You begin to realize that there is a gradual change coming over the whole prospect and that you are a long way from home. Long lines of naked, black savages appear on the banks. Standing on one foot, the other resting on the knee with leg akimbo, and leaning the whole body on a spear, they curiously gaze for an hour or more while our boat slowly and silently pushes by. We return a curious gaze and meditate and wonder.

First Journey Described.

"Even at night the heavens are not the same as you have always known them to be, and the stars make you feel you are among strangers and give you a lonesome feeling. Generally, when one is homesick, the sky at night appears like the face of a friend; here it is the face of a stranger. The 'Dipper' and the North Star are away down on the horizon; even the 'Milky Way' has wandered from its natural place, and a lot of new denizens of the sky whom you never saw before have moved into the south side. The grunting and coughing of the hippopotami, just alongside your boat, does not conduce to sleep, but it helps you to realize that it is not all a dream."

Of the sort of welcome that awaited them and of their feelings and experiences during the first few days, Dr. Giffen drew this graphic picture in his address at the Pittsburgh Convention, in 1904:

"We landed there and we were met by these savage people. The sail had been the signal that we were coming, and for miles around these black neighbors had come out to greet us, or rather to meet us, and there they sat on the bank, three to five hundred of them. Each man was armed with a spear, or a spear and a club, or two spears, or two clubs, and they were all naked. I speak advisedly, friends, when I say, 'they were all naked.' There, my friends, is what I mean. That will reveal it all to you when I tell you that here is a full dress suit. (Holding up to the gaze of the audience a bead belt, probably half an inch thick and two feet long.)

Reception by Natives.

"We landed and saluted them with our blandest smile, but there was no response. We asked them to help us remove our goods and place them back under the trees, but not a man would move. We placed our goods under the trees and dismissed our boats, which returned towards Khartum. We were there alone—four of us. And maybe that night it was lonely! As these people went off to their villages, some distance away, it *was* lonely; but we had our evening devotions, and made our beds under those great trees, and went to sleep that night, and slept as peacefully as you will sleep here in the heart of this city to-night. And for the next six weeks, before we had a house or shelter of any kind, these people never once disturbed us, and after we had built our houses there was neither door nor window. Furthermore, our goods were at some little distance—the things we had brought for barter or provision. Yet we lost absolutely nothing from theft.

"Of course, our first chief thought was to find some shelter and protection for ourselves. Already the sky was overcast, and every evening and night we had thunder and lightning, and we knew that the rain would soon be here. We would have to find some shelter, so we began, first of all, to gather wood for the houses we expected to build. We intended to build something after the architecture of the country, and the house of the country was simply a little circle of mud about six feet high, with a small opening about two feet or two feet and a half high in the side, and a thatch of straw. The door is very small, and you must get down on your hands and knees if you want to get in, and some of us have to go in edgewise. But we had expected to build a larger room, with doors and windows. We sent out these men—some eight of them—for poles. They came back in the evening, and each man had a stick of wood about three or four or five feet long, and so crooked that it was absolutely worthless. The second day's work was very little better. We busied ourselves in making our camp in those two days, and the day following was the Sabbath, and we thought, just as you and every good United Presbyterian be-

House Building.

lieves, that we had a right to sleep a little longer Sabbath morning than any other; so we intended to have a day of rest. But long before we were out of bed they were lifting the curtains of the tent and looking in, and all day long they were about us in scores, and when evening came we felt as though we had been to a circus and had been the animals and had been looked at all day. It was not a day of rest.

First Sabbath.

"Monday morning Dr. McLaughlin and I concluded that we would build our own houses. It had been a long time since we had tramped mud in just that way. But we began to make the walls. I think we had perhaps two feet of wall when they took pity on us and came to us and said, 'Old man, we will build for you if you will pay us for it.' We said, 'Certainly, we would be glad to have you work,' and they went away and we didn't expect to see them again. They came back again, but on the Sabbath day, and we explained to them, 'This is our day of rest, a day sacred to our God; on this day we do no work.' And from that day on we were never troubled with regard to work on the Sabbath. They counted six days, for they had no days in the week, and the seventh day was our rest day. They were there for our services and devotions; they were there at all times; but on the Sabbath day they gave us no more trouble with regard to the work.

"On Monday they came back and began work at about half past five in the morning, and at seven o'clock they were all gone. There were perhaps twenty men and twenty women, but there was not one of them remained, and we never supposed they would come back. So through the heat of the day Dr. McLaughlin and I worked away. But about an hour before the sun went down they came back and did about an hour's work, and that was all we could secure from those people by love or money, threat or pleading, during all the time we were making those houses,—about three hours a day. I don't know whether I ought to mention it or not, but they certainly had some sort of labor union among themselves, because they were all of one mind. Before the rains came we had one house finished and the roof on.

Labor Troubles with Natives.

"And here I think I must tell you of our experience. It would certainly have been a joyful day but for one fact. There was one of our number struck with the sun that day. Fever followed, typhoid in type, and for months we despaired of her life.

"When the rainy season was over we called these people together again and said to them: 'Now we are going to build our houses. We want to have you help us.' We had conceived this thought, that our first work for these poor simple people must be a lesson of labor, something of the dignity of labor. I believe there can be no character without legitimate, profitable labor—labor that produces something for yourself and others. And so we must teach these people that lesson. And we told them what we wished. But, above all else, we explained that we wanted a day's work. 'Yes, sir,' they said, 'we know.' But, you know, they didn't. They came to me and said, 'Old man, we are going to die.' My back aches, and my breast hurts, and my arms hurt, and I am going to die.' We knew they were not going to die. We had been working with them right along day after day, Dr. McLaughlin and I, and our lame muscles helped us to feel what they expressed in saying, 'We are going to die,' but we knew also that the disease would heal itself. After two or three weeks it was all over; they had learned their lesson, and they were the better for it.

Native Simplicity.

"I might go on indefinitely, telling you of these poor, simple people, and of the steps we took, one after another, to teach them; but I want to emphasize this: That we got nearer to them because we had to deal in this way with these poor, simple, black people from the first. Had God placed in our hands men who would have done the service we required, do you believe that we or any missionary would have got down in the mud alongside of these black people and worked there for days and months? Not at all. I believe that

Early Industrial Missions.

during the first few weeks we drew the hearts of those people to us in a confidence that we might have been years in establishing had we had this service performed for us. That was Christ's way. He humbled Himself that He might get into touch with fallen, sinful humanity and lift them up. And this is to be your method and mine."

CHAPTER VI

The Message of Hope

"And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness."

—*Matthew* ix: 35.

"The efficient missionary is one who will try to multiply himself in natives, willing to sink himself from activities which might be more fascinating, so that he may prepare Africans to do his work and give to them something of that spirit which is in himself."

—*Donald Fraser.*

VI

THE MESSAGE OF HOPE

MISSIONARY work in Southern Sudan has called for the solution of innumerable difficult questions, among them such as these: How shall the missionary live? What kind of a house shall he build? How can he get the natives to work? What diseases are to be guarded against? What will be the best food to use? What may the soil produce? What forms of missionary work should be used? How approach the study of the language? In almost every case, little help could be derived from missionary experience in Egypt. Indeed, acquaintance with conditions in Egypt was likely to suggest a wrong approach to problems. Space does not permit a detailed recital of the development of the work at Doleib Hill from year to year. We will therefore deal in a topical way with the outstanding characteristics of missionary life and work at Doleib Hill.

Serious Problems.

Missionary Force: Of the Sudan missionaries the following have been located for a longer or shorter period at Doleib Hill: the Rev. J. K. Giffen, D. D., and Mrs. Giffen, Dr. H. T. McLaughlin and Mrs. McLaughlin, the Rev. Ralph Carson and Mrs. Carson, Dr. Hugh R. Magill and Mrs. Magill, the Rev. Elbert McCreery and Mrs. McCreery, Dr. Thos. A. Lambie and Mrs. Lambie, Mr. R. W. Tidrick and Mrs. Tidrick, Mr. C. B. Guthrie and Mrs. Guthrie, Rev. D. S. Oyler and Mrs. Oyler. It is not possible to indicate the differing services which have been rendered to the cause by the distinctive labors of these men and women. Their labors are built into the life and history of Doleib Hill, but there is One who can give to each the comforting assurance, "I know thy works."

Missionaries Named.

Nor may the forces that serve the Kingdom be limited to the labors of adults. When the Rev. Mr. Carson and Mrs. Carson went to the Sudan their family included little Erskine, just two years old. The Shilluks had seen white men before, more rarely white women, but never a white child. From all sides, for miles, they came to the Mission compound to see the little white baby. As he grew and learned to run and play, they took delight in watching him. The big chief came to see him. One day his mother was drawing him in a little express cart. The wheels struck some obstruction, the cart toppled over and the little fellow fell out. His mother relates that a big Shilluk warrior had been following, his eyes riveted on the baby, with a real interest and affection. When the cart upset, it seemed to be just

A Child Leads.

too much for the Shilluk. He righted the express cart. He put the little fellow back in again. And then, as if afraid to trust the mother, *he himself took the handle of the cart and pulled it.* Of old the prophet wrote, "A little child shall lead them."

The presence of foreign missionaries at Doleib Hill has carried with it innumerable problems. Houses had to be built. At first the native mud wall had to suffice. Then brick was burned. Later on, a portable frame house sent from America formed a link in the series of experiments aimed at the solution of the residence problem. Now, concrete blocks are being used for building purposes.

Health Problems.

Problems of health arose. One missionary was struck down with the dreaded black-water fever and had to leave. A regular daily use of quinine was adopted as in many parts of India. The houses were screened and even screened communications between the houses were provided in an effort to avoid the malaria-bearing mosquito, whose activities begin at dusk. Such precautions have availed greatly in safeguarding health. The problem of a suitable and easily accessible sanitarium is still unsolved. The Abyssinian hills look near on the map and are inviting, but their use awaits the day of railroad communication. To the physical hardships we must add social limitations. With mail but twice a month and only military stations within hundreds of miles, the Doleib Hill missionaries constitute indeed an isolated social world; especially to the noble and self-sacrificing wives of missionaries, enduring such trials for the Kingdom's sake, must the highest praise be given.

A Divine Guardian.

The past decade of missionary life and service at Doleib Hill has witnessed many instances of watchful divine care and of intervening providences. No life has been sacrificed and no property losses have been recorded during these ten years although dangers threatened on every hand, dangers from the elements, dangers of wild beasts and poisonous reptiles, dangers of uncivilized, excitable and warlike peoples. The following incident is related in the Mission's Report of 1905:

"One other special providence that stands out large amid many others should be mentioned, that you may understand some of the reasons why we thank God and take courage—it is preservation from the fearful prairie fires that seemed at times destined to envelop us. On one special occasion the fire which, we afterwards learned, originated at or beyond Fashoda (now Kodok), some sixty miles away, was driven southwards by a fierce hurricane and on the morning of December 23, overleaping our insufficient fire guard, was upon us before we could realize it. Providentially we were all at home that morning and had about ten good, strong Shilluks working on the place. All hands turned out to fight the fire, and a fierce and apparently hopeless battle ensued. At the moment when all seemed lost, when the flames had come within thirty feet of the grass roof of one of the Mission buildings, a sudden and momentary shifting of the wind gave the slight respite needed to establish a dead-line and stop the further onslaught of the flames. When we think of what our condition would have been had the flames caught the thatch roofs, with which all our buildings were at the time covered, ... left on the bank of the river, amid a blackened wilderness and savage surroundings, without houses, food or clothing, the mind revolts at the picture and our hearts overflow with thanksgiving to Him who has so mercifully preserved us."

Language Problem: Few indeed will realize how great, how serious is the language problem presented by a mission to the Shilluks. Here was a language that had never been reduced to writing. Should Arabic characters be used to represent the Shilluk sounds, or would it not be better to use Roman characters and thus avoid acquainting the pagan Shilluk with characters which might lead him to an easier knowledge of Arabic and thus of Islam? Furthermore, here were strange sounds, nasals and aspirates, with no equivalents in European languages; how should these be represented? And when a system for transcribing sounds has been decided upon, what a task remains to gather a vocabulary! Armed with the phrase, "What is this?" it may seem easy to go about, pointing to material objects, and discovering by the reply the names of these ob-

Language Problem.

jects. But how can you point to mental, moral and spiritual realities and discover the equivalents of "thought," "purpose," "love," "hate," "sinful," "holy." And even when long vocabularies have been listed, how will the grammatical structure of the language be analyzed? Will analogies to Aryan grammatical forms be sought for? Or will some Semitic language afford a nearer parallel? Or is the Shilluk language like the Chinese? Remember that when the missionaries began their work along the Sobat there was no grammar, no dictionary, no syntax of the Shilluk language at hand, and the only interpreters were crude and indifferent and inexact instruments for search after knowledge.

Yet here stood the language, a supreme barrier, a supreme difficulty, in every effort to reach the mind or heart of the Shilluk. In the Report of 1908, the Rev. R. E. Carson wrote:

> "In connection with the language work, considerable time was spent in collecting material for a Shilluk grammar. A fairly good working vocabulary of between 1,700 and 2,000 Shulla words has been gathered together, comprising the words collected by all the missionaries during the past years; a much clearer insight has been obtained into the Shilluk grammar and some translations have been made. Much work yet remains to be done, chiefly in acquiring those peculiar idiomatic expressions which are at once the distinguishing features and the genius of any language, and then in translating the Scriptures."

To the labors of those who went before, the Rev. Elbert McCreery made most valuable contributions because of his special linguistic gifts, but the problem seemed to require for its solution some broad acquaintance with African languages and some specialized knowledge of Negro systems of speech. Here again a remarkable providence ministered to the need of this Mission to the Shilluks. A German missionary on the west coast of Africa was compelled to return home for reasons of ill health. His brief missionary experience had revealed in him linguistic gifts, so unusual, so phenomenal, that his Government attached him to the Berlin University and commissioned him to visit Nubia for a special study of the language characteristics of its peoples. Through acquaintances formed in connection with the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, the news reached the Board in America that Professor Diedrich Westermann was contemplating this trip to Nubia. An invitation was extended to him to proceed to the Sobat, at the Board's expense, to study the Shilluk language and, if possible, to prepare a grammar that would at least outline the structure of the language. The invitation was accepted and, without charge for his talent or services, Professor Westermann brought out a brief grammar, then a larger work consisting of grammar, dictionary and folk lore, then a small primer, which

Prof. Westermann's Language Work.

now place the Shilluk language among the long list of languages that have been put into written form and analyzed by the servants of the King in the interest of Kingdom conquest. As if to show forth the exceeding goodness of God, another providence brought financial aid from the Arthington Fund of England which covered the bulk of the expenses of these publications. From this same fund there was also secured a generous grant toward the support of a missionary at Doleib Hill for six years. The Gospel according to John is the only portion of Scripture that has, as yet, been translated and printed in the Shilluk language.

Subtle Grammar.

How difficult and perplexing was the analysis of the Shilluk language may be better appreciated now that some of its problems have been solved. It has been found, for example, that intonation plays a large part both in the meaning of words and in grammatical structure. As illustration, *otwon* and *leu*, with a certain intonation mean respectively *cock* and *hot season;* with another intonation they mean *hyena* and *small lizard.*

Evangelistic Work.

Evangelistic Work: The earliest efforts at evangelistic work were by means of an interpreter, a Mohammedan who was a Shilluk by birth, but who had lived in Northern Sudan for some time. But what assurance had the missionary that his thought reached the mind of the native Shilluk? In the first place, the missionary had to express

MISSIONARY WORK.
The "Evangel," Used on the Upper Sobat.
Boys' Home at Khartum.

his own thought in Arabic, to most of the missionaries an unfamiliar language. Then the Mohammedan interpreter had to grasp the thought thus crudely expressed; to what extent would his Moslem conceptions permit him to understand the Christian truth? Then, to what extent might he be expected to be either willing or able to translate into the Shilluk language these Christian terms and teachings? And finally, if success attended the effort thus far, what assurance was there that the pagan mind would not read into every Christian statement the crudest conceptions of an Animistic and pagan religion?

How it is Done.

The opportunity for evangelistic work lay in several directions: there were the casual visitors drawn to the mission compound through mere curiosity; there were those who came singly or in groups to trade at the store; there were those who came for medical treatment; there were those who were employed in connection with the industrial work of the Mission,—some 1,580 throughout 1911. Then there were outlying villages within walking distance of Doleib Hill. Finally, there were communities still farther away, to be reached by boat, whether requiring absence over night or not. Through the labors chiefly of friends in America, a boat, "The Elliott," was secured. Upon the character and success of these evangelistic efforts, the following paragraphs throw light:

"Visits have been paid on Sabbath afternoons, as regularly as circumstances would permit, to the village of Apio, directly across the Sobat River from the Mission, where the Gospel has been preached with more thoroughness than in any other one village. Sometimes quite large audiences were obtained; at other times, a mere handful. Hopes have been entertained that Apio would be the first village to erect its own church building and accept the Gospel. Some of the leading men went so far as to request that a school be opened for their children. This was done and the school maintained for a short time, until the village got very busy with the fall work (harvesting the late white durra, repairing their cattle enclosures, making grass baskets to contain their grain, etc.). At the same time a revulsion toward paganism seemed to affect them and we were told by some of the young men that they did not wish to hear the Gospel any more, that the Word of God was 'bad,' that much sickness had come upon them since the school had been started. After a few weeks' absence, however, a delegation of older men came over to inquire why the preaching had been discontinued and to disavow the action of the young men, who, they said, had no authority to talk as they had. In view of all the above facts, it is felt that the village of Apio deserves a special place in the prayers of Christians at home. The parting with heathen customs, the breaking of pagan ties, will cause a terrible pang, changes in habits of thought and life of which friends in America have no conception. Think what it will mean, for example, to give up polygamy, an evil which now has its roots deep down in the foundation of their social fabrics. 'This kind goeth not out save by prayer.'"

Pray for Apio.

"At times, some of the people have seemed on the eve of a spiritual awakening. One young man who had worked many months at the Mission and had received a fairly thorough knowledge of the plan of salvation, said: 'I believe in Jesus and have only one wish, to keep God's commandments. When the Holy Spirit comes into my heart, then I will go to preach the Gospel to all my people.' Another time he said: 'My heart wishes to follow Christ, but my head is full of other thoughts.' Pray that the Spirit may come to him and the glorious fact of the new birth be consummated in him.

Almost Persuaded.

"Another, a middle-aged man, recently cried out in meeting, 'Do not tell us of these things (the Resurrection and the Judgment) any more; now we dream at night about dead people rising up out of their graves.' And yet another said, 'I see the plan of salvation very clearly now, and I hope some day I shall be a Christian.'

"Side by side with these glimmerings of the dawn, have stalked bigoted opposition, the foulest crimes, the bloodiest tragedies. Frequently the preaching of the Gospel has been openly laughed at, sneered at. Once, when the claims of Jesus were being pressed home upon them, they cried out: 'We have a king; Jesus may save the foreigners, but Nyikang will save the Shilluks. We do not want to follow Jesus.' Venereal diseases, the result of the Christless life, have given evidence of their spread on every hand; and perhaps not since the Mission was founded has there been greater zeal displayed in the prosecution of blood feuds, nor more foul murders committed. At one time, the men of a certain village made an ambuscade and fell upon their rivals while at a funeral service, killing over fifteen of them. Another day, before the dawn, the men of a near-by village filed out into the darkness, surrounded the dwellings of their doomed enemies and fell ferociously upon

Reactions.

all those who unsuspectingly left their homes, killing three and wounding four. The Devil is showing his power and verily there is only one Power able to cope with his and to dethrone him from the hearts and lives of the Shilluks."

Evangelistic work, however, may be regarded as having been either halted or hampered by initial limitations in the knowledge of the native language and by the further difficulty of conveying to the pagan mind ideas and conceptions that are wholly foreign to it, and that have no real equivalent in the Shilluk language.

Industrial Work.

Industrial Work: The casual visitor will probably be most impressed with the development of industrial work at Doleib Hill, for here are the obvious proofs of this department of missionary work: 200 acres of land available for cultivation, a vegetable garden, a fruit orchard, selected cattle and sheep and goats, even some ostriches, a windmill for irrigation, a store,[1] and industrial buildings. In charge of this work are two industrial missionaries, graduates of a State Agricultural College, so that the work may enjoy the advantage of the application of scientific knowledge and of specialized training in the solution of its problems. And its problems are many and serious: To what products is the soil best adapted? Will the climate permit such cultivation as might be

[1]This has been recently closed by the Government for reasons not yet known.

possible elsewhere? Will these products be of service to the native for food? If he produces more than he himself needs, can he find a market for the surplus? Finally, but most important, in what way may the Shilluk be coaxed, persuaded, taught to work? Nor must industrial work become too complex or ambitious, for even though the Shilluk learns to work efficiently on the Mission compound, how can he carry forward such work when he neither owns nor is able to buy expensive implements? No, his training must ever be in keeping with his circumstances and condition, advancing only as he is able to advance with it. In 1908, Mr. R. W. Tidrick gave this vivid description of the work:

How Rapidly?

"From an agricultural standpoint there are many obstacles to contend with here. While the climate is favorable to some of the staple crops, it is too hot for some, too wet for others, still others cannot endure the dry season. The soil also is ill suited for many plants that otherwise would find a congenial home here. The climate has also drawbacks to stock raising. Mosquitoes, flies and ticks prey upon live stock and make it necessary to house them most carefully. Tsetse fly disease and Texas fever were both prevalent this year; this is not the same trypanosome of the tsetse fly that is so deadly in other parts of Africa.

Injurious Insects.

"There are many injurious insects but the termite (white ant) is the worst of all. They devour not only lumber, wherever they can reach it (this includes native wood in general), but they also destroy vegetables and cereals to a certain extent. Most of the native wood is also attacked by a boring beetle which perforates the wood through and through, and in a short time leaves it a mass of wood dust that is hardly fit for fuel. Transportation is limited, and prohibitive to the profitable production of some of the best growing crops. The scarcity of fuel and building material limits the possibilities in the development and teaching of trades, etc. The lack of any skilled workmen as leaders retards this part of the work. But the hardest problem is the Shilluk himself. Having been in contact for generations with a civilization from which he could appropriate little besides diseases and new forms of vices, he has naturally a contempt for all civilization.

"The African Indian."

"To the writer the Shilluk resembles the American Indian in many more ways than he does his colored brother in the United States. Proud, haughty to a contempt for foreigners in general, conceited and set in his ways and in customs that seem almost a part of his religion. Ignorant of needs, his wants are few, other than the satisfying of animal passions and appetites. Of course he is generally lazy, and if a real *jal dwongs* (man of means) he does not work at all. He cannot understand why we missionaries should labor with our hands. Honesty is not a common practice at least. Moreover, he is quarrelsome; village feuds are common; many deaths result from fights; it is not uncommon for our workmen to suddenly drop their tools and run off to a fight. These feuds prevent many men from coming to work or trade at the station. As yet no Shilluks have been willing to remain at work more than a few months at a time. It takes but a week's wages to purchase a cloth or buy a spear head or all the beads that they want, and, until one of these wants returns why should they work?"

A most important service rendered by the industrial department is set forth in the following paragraphs:

"The durra famine, mentioned in last year's report, continued in severity until the new crop of 1910. While the people did not actually starve, they were weakened physically. They scoured the fields for the grass bins of the large black ants. These ants store up grass seed in considerable quantities, as squirrels do nuts. The women dug up this ant provender, and used it like durra. It satisfies hunger, but is poor nourishment. In the swamps they also find a reed whose stalks yield a sweet juice. These they first scorched in a smoldering fire, then steeped in hot water for some hours! Dirty water, about five per cent. sugar, was the result.

Trade with Natives.

"Our first effort was to supply the need of the natives directly dependent on us, but others soon besought us to bring them durra also, first in small quantities, and then in sail boat loads. We urged the people to supply their needs early so as to take advantage of the trade winds to bring the grain by sail boat, rather than by expensive steamers. Their improvidence was shown by the few who really tried to lay up a sufficient amount to last till the new crop. Steam transportation costs treble that by wind power, but the north winds last only from November till the end of March.

"At first every one bought with silver money, but their cash was soon exhausted. Of course, some had but little money to begin with, and some perhaps, barely touched the money they had been hoarding ever since silver became a medium of exchange among them. When their cash ran out, we accepted anything they had to exchange that we could dispose of for money.

"The trade developed, principally in cattle, sheep and goats. Some six hundred animals were taken in exchange. Many were resold within a few minutes after they were traded for. Shilluks who had money to spare came to take advantage of the famine prices, so that our Mission became a center of live stock exchange. It was no uncommon sight to see a crowd of Dinkas or Nuers, accompanied by Shilluk buyers, coming with their stock to trade for durra. Often the Shilluks from the same village would come together as seller and buyer, the one wishing to buy the cattle that his neighbor wanted to sell. When asked why they did not make an exchange in the village, and the seller bring his money for durra, they always replied that they preferred to make an exchange through us.

"When stock arrived, we estimated the value in money and durra, and announced it openly. If the seller agreed (and it was a rare exception that he did not), we offered the buyer the animal at the cash value of the durra. The buyers were as well pleased as the sellers, and all parties usually went away happy. We tried to give the people the grain as near cost as possible, and still not run too great a risk of going into debt, and thus largely prevented the Mohammedan traders from taking advantage of them in their extremity. They were angry at us, however, and petitioned the Government to stop our trading with the people; but their petition failed of its object. The Governor of the province reported to the central Government that we had done them a favor rather than an injury." [1]

Efforts to give the young boys and girls something of a practical and literary education combined have been attended with great difficulty.

[1]Since this time the Government has forbidden such relief measures by missionaries.

Mr. Roosevelt at Doleib Hill.
His Steamer Approaching Khartum.
Addressing Young Men at Khartum.

Prizes were offered for regular attendance. Lessons in sewing were given to the girls.[2]

Medical Work.

Medical Work: In 1910, Mr. Roosevelt visited the station at Doleib Hill on his way down the Nile. A few days later in a public address at Khartum, he said:

Roosevelt's Testimony.

"I stopped a few days ago at the little Mission Station on the Sobat. One of the things that struck me there was what was being done by the medical side of that mission. There were about thirty patients who were under the charge of the mission doctor. Patients had come in to be treated by the mission doctors from places 125 miles distant. I do not know a better type of missionary than the doctor who comes out here and gives his whole heart to the work and does his work well. He is doing practical work of the most valuable type for civilization and for bringing the people up to the standards you are trying to set. If you make it evident to a man that you are sincerely trying to better his body, he will be much more ready to believe that you are trying to better his soul."

Diseases Treated.

Among the diseases treated there have been, first and most dreadful, those brought in by the immoral foreigner, especially the Moslem trader and soldier; but also eye diseases, leprosy, the black fever (*kala-azar*), lobar pneumonia, elephantiasis and guinea worm. The efforts to put this work on a proper financial basis are well described in the following quotation:

"We have, after considerable thought and prayer,

[2]See Annual Report of 1904, p. 214 and of 1910, p. 225-6.

entered upon a new departure, which is to endeavor to make every patient pay something for treatment. We make the fee very small, from two to five cents, and if they have no money we accept a fowl or a few eggs. We believe that this principle, if followed out, will eventually militate for good. A petty Anuak chief came one afternoon with six sick people. He himself had sore eyes which would need treatment for some time. He had a rather exalted opinion of himself and thought that, since he was such a great man and had once been addressed by the Governor of the Province, that we would of course feel honored to treat him. When asked for fees he seemed surprised, but after some grumbling he produced 10 piasters, or 50 cents. We declined, then a few spears were offered in addition, but we said, 'Bring a cow.' The whole party would then file off to a neighboring Shilluk village to talk it over and then return with a compromise. At last they sold the boat they came in and brought what probably seemed to them the fabulous sum of $4.00; still we were obdurate, as one cannot afford to change his word with these people or even argue with them as they would speedily become unmanageable. We had made sure in the first place that the party was abundantly able to pay the price we asked. Then they said, 'We will go to Fashoda,' which is 60 miles distant. We said, 'Very well,' and they silently marched off. Early the next morning they were encamped in our yard wanting to talk. 'We are tired of talk,' we said. 'Just one word,' they said, 'we have found a cow.' A few mornings afterwards the animal was brought."

Paying for Value Received.

Station Near Nasser.

Nasser.

The establishment of a mission station at Doleib Hill, near the mouth of the Sobat River, has, from the very first, been recognized as only an initial step toward the evangelization of the tribes living farther up the river. Nor has it ever been proposed to establish many stations requiring such elaborate equipment as the various departments of work call for at Doleib Hill, but rather to use the latter as a base and to establish a series of stations farther up the river where an ordained man and a medical missionary would constitute an adequate force for missionary effort. Clear and definite as were these plans for the extension of the work, their realization had to wait upon the discovery of the necessary resources. Several exploring trips having been made, it became possible at last to appoint two missionaries who might proceed to the establishment of a second mission station near Nasser, some 182 miles up the Sobat River among the Nuers. The Rev. Elbert McCreery and Dr. Thomas Lambie, equipped with a barge, "The Evangel," and a launch, started from Khartum in the spring of 1912. Owing to tribal wars between the Nuers and Anuaks, the Government would not permit them to take their families with them. Only a few months of work were possible at this time. In 1913, these missionaries located their families at Doleib Hill and again planned for such work as might be possible at Nasser. A site was bought near Nasser and the new station may be regarded as fairly established. Much of the experience gained at Doleib

First Work at Nasser.

Hill will doubtless be serviceable at Nasser, but there is a new language to be mastered and reduced to writing, and to this task Mr. McCreery has applied himself with characteristic thoroughness.

NORTHERN SUDAN.

The work in Northern Sudan contrasts sharply in almost every way with the work in Southern Sudan. Here are centuries of civilization, a fairly unified language area and Islam in the ascendancy. The limitations placed upon direct missionary work have led to a new emphasis being laid upon the part which the native Evangelical (Protestant) Church is to play in the evangelization of Northern Sudan. Where there were a sufficient number of native Evangelical Church members, work has been organized either as a congregation, or as a mission, or as a Men's League, and religious services have been held with entire or partial regularity. At Khartum, the first native Protestant congregation was organized on December 30th, 1907, but religious work has also been carried on at Khartum North, at Omdurman, at Atbara, at Wadi Halfa and Wad Medani, at Port Sudan, and at Dueim. At these last four points, however, the work is very feeble for lack of workers and financial support. On March 21, 1912, the Presbytery of the Sudan was organized in faith and prayer.

Church Work in Northern Sudan.

The Northern Sudan field has been held up before the native Evangelical Church in Egypt as *its foreign field.* The first ordained man sent, the Rev. Gebera Hanna, was a man whose sweet spirit, judgment and devotion, made him a worthy leader of what, it is hoped, will be a long line of native Egyptian missionaries to the Sudan. The interest of the Church in Egypt in the work in the Sudan needs greatly to be cultivated, for at many centers in Northern Sudan there is a real spiritual destitution for lack of the means of grace.

The presence of so many young men in Government employment in the Sudan has made the Young Men's League and the Christian Endeavor Society effective forms of Christian work. A strong organization of the Protestant young men exists at Khartum. There is also a somewhat similar organization (although ethical rather than religious) among the Coptic young men, called "The Coptic Library."

Educational Work.

Educational work in Northern Sudan has, for the most part, followed the lines laid down by similar work in Egypt. The fact that such literary education is of little value save for Government positions, and the fact that its compact curriculum affords little opportunity for religious instruction and influence, and no opportunity for practical or manual training, have suggested the propriety of restricting missionary work along educational lines to the development of an altogether different type of school. Two institutions have emerged from this effort to meet existing needs,—the one is the Boys' Home at Khartum, the other is the Girls' School at Khartum North.[1] It is the aim in both of these institutions to break away from the rigid curriculum and provide a training which will equip for honorable, useful and efficient, remunerative professions and life callings, whether in the trades, in business or in the home. The sort of material upon which it is sought to bring the influences of Christian education to bear, may be judged from the following paragraphs:

Changed Children.

"The youngest, a little girl, had been given to the use of 'marisa' (a fermented drink in use all over the Sudan), until she was really a drunkard. For the first month or two after coming to us, she was peevish and fretful, and nothing seemed to satisfy her. She was constantly craving hot foods, spices, raw onions, and the peel of limes. Gradually, this unnatural appetite wore away. The child is completely changed; indeed the children are all changed in manner, and we are encouraged to believe that in time each will experience a change of heart also."

"Rizkullah was our bad boy. His father, who is dead, was a Copt, and his mother was a concubine. She is still alive somewhere. The grandfather who disliked the boy and therefore ill-treated him, died just recently. Rizkullah, who came to us about three years ago, was

[1]This school is supported by the Women's Board in America and was opened September 1, 1908.

then the worst boy I ever had to do with. His mind was bright enough, but seemed almost hopelessly ruined. But recently there seems to have come a great change in Rizkullah, for which our hearts are exceedingly glad.

"Zeinab is the daughter of a Moslem father, and an Abyssinian mother. The mother is living in Khartum, and is married to another husband, the father is also alive. She is a pretty child, but with a rather bad disposition. She is about seven years old.

"Abu Makari is the child of Egyptian Moslem parents. There is nothing remarkable about the child. He has been with us for two years, but as both his parents are alive, it is probable that we will lose him."

Medical work in Northern Sudan has experienced the disadvantage of many changes and interruptions. It was begun at Omdurman after the Church Missionary Society had apparently given up this field on the death of Dr. Hall. Later it was transferred to Khartum North, where a dispensary was built, and again it was extended to Khartum. Dr. Magill gives the following account of the conditions which call for Christian medical work:

Medical Work in North.

"Native medicine is a curious mixture of superstition and quackery. One is not surprised to find the ignorant Sudanese putting implicit confidence in auguries and amulets; and one learns not to be surprised to find even the educated resorting to the same unreasonable methods, for after all it takes at least two generations for what is usually called education to get beneath the surface deep enough to touch the real man or woman.

"Moslems are fond of writing passages from the

Koran upon the sick; some Christians use the Scriptures in like manner. One boy whom I attended was not only well covered with writing but had also an open Bible on the bed near him.

"Counter irritation in the form of a series of cuts, or actual cautery and blood-letting, are the most popular remedies. While sometimes harmless and occasionally useful, native medical practices are often harmful.

"On one occasion a prescription was written for a man suffering from an eruption on his face and directions given for the use of the medicine it called for. He took the paper and began to rub it all over his face in the most careful and matter-of-fact way; and it was with some difficulty that he was made to understand that the healing virtue lay not in the paper, but in the medicine which the paper called for.

Ignorance and Immorality.

"The drinking of native beer is a great and prevalent curse. The amounts consumed are sometimes enormous. A woman patient in replying to a question said that she could drink nearly a bucketful (two gallons) at one sitting; and a man who complained of dyspeptic symptoms said that he drank two bucketfuls every day.

"Life in and around Khartum is on the whole on a very bad level. Political exigencies seem to forbid the employment of the only force by which it is possible for a people to be regenerated; and the forces employed, while sufficient to transform a waste of ruins into a well-ordered city with many splendid buildings and beautiful gardens, and to make smartly dressed, well-drilled soldiers out of naked savages, are not powerful enough to change the beastly character developed by generations of excess.

"Practices and diseases which it is a shame even to mention are common, and both Sudanese and Egyptians are regulating the size of their families. Practic-

Missionary Agencies.

Church at Khartum. Girls' Boarding School at Khartum North.
Dispensary in Khartum North and Outlying Community.

ally all of the Sudanese women pass through the dangers of confinement without any help worthy of the name. They suffer without much complaint, perhaps, because they consider suffering their appointed lot. Ignorance, carelessness, and vice work havoc among the children. Pitiful little skeletons are often brought to the clinic for whom apart from good nursing and proper food there can be no hope.

"The needs of women and children are particularly great. It must always be so where Islam rules. The women of respectable families are, for the most part, rigidly secluded and must pass the greater part of their lives within the narrow confines of their homes. There is not sufficient data on hand from which to make a forecast but it is highly probable that the needs of women and children will occupy a large place in our hospital of the future."

Those who have labored in the Northern Sudan mission field are the following: The Rev. J. K. Giffen, D. D., and Mrs. Giffen, Dr. H. T. McLaughlin and Mrs. McLaughlin, Rev. George A. Sowash and Mrs. Sowash, Dr. Thomas A. Lambie and Mrs. Lambie, Dr. Hugh R. Magill and Mrs. Magill, Rev. Elbert McCreery, Miss Hannah C. McLean,* Miss Fannie G. Bradford, Miss Anna M. Barackman,* Rev. Paul J. Smith and Mrs. Smith, Miss Aulora McIntyre.

Workers Named.

Missionary Comity.

In Southern Sudan, the different Christian missionary agencies have been assigned by the Gov-

*Married in the Mission.

ernment to different areas. In Northern Sudan an agreement exists between the two Protestant Missions,—the American and the British,—to counsel with each other in every development of their work, so that there may be no overlapping or friction. As a result of this agreement, in many places where both Missions are laboring, the one Mission will develop work along one line and the other along a different line. In Khartum, for example, the Church Missionary Society has a Girls' School; the American Mission has therefore no Girls' School, but has a Boys' School. A most happy illustration of mission comity occurred at Omdurman. The Church Missionary Society had a successful medical work here which continued until the death of Dr. Hall. The work was entirely suspended for some time, and finally the American Mission located a doctor there and developed a considerable medical work. It was then discovered that, unknown to the Americans, Mrs. Hall had been collecting funds to erect a building as a memorial to her husband which should also serve as an equipment for medical work. The American Mission, therefore, generously gave up Omdurman as a field for medical work and located at Khartum North the dispensary which they had been about to erect at Omdurman. Bishop Gwynne, formerly a missionary, has been a great promoter of mission comity.

Missionary Comity.

CHAPTER VII

Challenge and Conquest

"Christ expects that every one who knows His love shall tell of it. Christ claims that every one who is made partaker of His redemption shall yield himself, as the first object of his existence, to live for the coming of His Kingdom."

—*Andrew Murray.*

"Behold, I have set the land before you, go in."

—*Deut.* 1: 8.

"The signs of the times, the lessons of the past, the indications of the future, the call of Providence, and the voices which come borne to us by every breeze, and from every nation under heaven, all alike bid us lay our plans upon a scale worthy of men who expect to conquer a world."

—*Bishop J. M. Thoburn.*

VII

CHALLENGE AND CONQUEST

THE year 1898 marks the military conquest of the Egyptian Sudan. We may well ask, When is the Christian conquest of the Egyptian Sudan to be accomplished? Less than fourteen years elapsed after Gordon's death before the land for which he died was won back from barbarism to civilization by Kitchener and his army. Why have almost nineteen centuries been allowed to elapse since Christ died for the Land of the Blacks, and not even yet have these people learned that there is a World Savior? The early Christianity that reached Egypt and Abyssinia barely touched the fringes of the great Sudan, and it was as inadequate in spiritual character and doctrinal purity as it was in its extensiveness and missionary outreach. Yet in three distinct ways does the challenge come to-day to the Church of Jesus Christ to press forward to the Christian conquest of this section of Africa.

The Christian Conquest: When?

1. There is *the Challenge of Past Neglect and of Present Need*: Why has the Egyptian Sudan been left so long an unoccupied field? Is it said

that the country has not been open to missionary effort? Strange, is it not, that this Land of the Blacks has been open to the modern explorer for a whole century and a quarter, since the days of James Bruce, but not open to the herald of the Cross? Strange, is it not, that dangers to life and cost of equipments did not daunt the geographical societies, but did discourage the missionary societies? One hundred years ago, the slave raider and the slave trader—European, Syrian, Egyptian and Arab—found it possible and profitable to pierce into the undisturbed, unknown regions beyond the march of civilization that they might trade in human flesh, but it is only in the last decade and a half that the Church has cared to press forward into these regions to win souls unto eternal life. Is the Church driven by weaker motives than the slave trader? But were there not real difficulties in the way of earlier missionary effort? Of course there were difficulties. But do difficulties afford a reason for failure to fulfil the commissions of Christ? Was not Calvary difficult? Did not redemption cost life, the life of the Son of God? Shall not evangelization cost life, the lives of the sons of God?

Why has the Church Delayed?

Because of *past* neglect there is *present* need. Take your stand at Doleib Hill, that lonely station near the mouth of the Sobat River, and search for your nearest missionary neighbors. To the north is Khartum, over 500 miles away.

To the south is Malek, the Church Missionary Society's mission station, some 200 miles distant. East you may go 100 miles to Nasser, to find the second American mission station in Southern Sudan, and passing that you will go 400 miles to Addis Ababa in Abyssinia, where stands a lonely missionary of a Swedish Mission; passing that you will go 700 miles to the Indian Ocean, but you will find no mission station. West, you may go five hundred miles,—one thousand,—fifteen hundred miles, and you come to Nigeria, and there you are introduced to your nearest missionary neighbors on that side. Is this not need,—desperate, appalling, almost inconceivable?

Physical Need.

There is physical need. From those living on Sudanese plains as fertile as much of our Western prairie land, there is heard again and again the famine cry, *Durra, durra!* (Corn, corn!) This is a physical need that Christian teachings of agriculture, thrift and foresight, may easily satisfy and banish forever. Thin and wasted by disease, Shilluks, Dinkas and Nuers come to the mission station for help, many of them traveling over a hundred miles. But what of the physical sufferings and needs of those who cannot come through weakness, or because of distance, or because they have no knowledge of a hope other than that which comes from the witch doctor. There is also intellectual need. Christianity has ministered richly to the intellectual life of the nations. It has reduced languages to writing, awakened dormant faculties, stirred the imagination, created literatures, inspired poets, historians, philosophers. But it has not yet done these things for the peoples of the Sudan. They live and die with only oral traditions and a crude folklore. All that civilization which rests on books and writings and calculations and correspondence, lies far out of sight still, for its foundations have not yet been laid among the black tribes of the Sudan.

Moral Need.

Moral need in the Sudan is also a challenge to Christian missions. Missionaries have indeed testified to the comparatively fair moral character of the black tribes which live beyond easy contact with the Arabs. Woman's position is better than in Moslem Egypt. Theft is severely punished. Immorality is counted a grave offence. But there is often a legalized immorality; for example, a man may have just as many wives as he can buy with his herd of cows. Furthermore, this natural morality of the uncorrupted blacks is no match for the temptations, the sins, the refinements of iniquity which follow in the wake of civilization. Tribal restrictions and moral regulations melt away as wax before the fire, when these rude pagan tribes come into touch with the Arab and his insidious and degrading social customs.

Finally, there is religious need. The black man of the Sudan is essentially religious: witness his devotion to a false leader in the great Mahdi rebellion. Why should he not be given the true "Guide," Who will lead him not to death but to life? However crude and illogical his religious conceptions may be, yet they are real. He believes in a supernatural world, in a God or in gods; he has not fallen to that lowest degradation, atheism; for him, though not in the worthy sense in which the poet meant it, "Earth's crammed with Heaven, and every common bush afire with God." Even the little work already done testifies to the religious nature of the Sudanese. "On one occasion," writes Dr. Magill, "a boy suffering from a club wound on the head was brought in by his father; while I was working on the boy, I heard his father speak, and thinking he had addressed me I asked him what he had said; he replied, 'I was asking God to spare the life of my son.' "

Religious Need.

With assurance it may be said that if once the Lord of Love is revealed to him none,—no, not the fiery and passionate Arab of the desert, not the gentle and meditative child of India, not the honest and practical Mongol,—none will love the Master with greater abandonment or loyalty than the black man of Africa, Nature's child, in whose heart is no guile, but a tender, glad and undivided love.

2. A second reason for the speedy evangelization of the Egyptian Sudan is to be found in *the Challenge of Islam*. If Christianity will not claim the Egyptian Sudan, Islam will. The World Missionary Conference, held at Edinburgh, in 1910, had before it the findings of a Commission appointed to study the world missionary situation. One of the most important of these findings reads as follows:

The Challenge of Islam.

"The threatening advance of Islam in Equatorial Africa presents to the Church of Christ the decisive question whether the Dark Continent shall become Mohammedan or Christian."

In discussing this report, the Rev. George Robson, D. D., said:

> "Pagan Africa is becoming Mohammedan more rapidly than it is becoming Christian. Along all the inland routes of trade, Mohammedan traders are steadily advancing southward, and every Mohammedan trader is a Mohammedan missionary. The very first thing which requires to be done if Africa is to be won for Christ is to throw a strong missionary force right across the centre of Africa to bar the advance of the Moslem."

But the question is raised, To what extent does this hold true of the Egyptian Sudan? A recent visit to the Sudan presented an opportunity for gathering information on this point, not only from missionaries, but also from conversations with government officials and others.

Not a statement nor a suggestion was voiced to contradict the universal judgment that Islam is advancing with startling rapidity in its conquest of pagan territory in the Egyptian Sudan. Along the single waterway of the Sobat River from 20 to 30 boats of Moslem traders were seen in 1911 as against only four or five in 1909. These traders stayed the whole season, from fall until spring, moving about among the pagan villages. In villages along the Sobat that were formerly purely pagan, groups of young men are now to be found who have come into contact with Islam, have adopted Arab dress, speak some Arabic and are referred to by their fellow villagers, either with or without contempt, as "foreigners." Settlements of Moslem traders are now found in increasing numbers in pagan territory along the Zeraf River. These settlements are usually to be found at such strategic points as to claim for them the striking designation, "the Gateway of the District." Islam is not only extending its influence to new territory, but it is becoming more firmly entrenched in sections where before it had barely secured a foothold. Even chiefs of villages, men of more advanced years, have adopted the Moslem rite of circumcision. The town of Wau, the largest pagan center in the Bahr el Ghazal district, over 850 miles south of Khartum, has now become so predominantly Moslem that the Roman Catholics, who

Aggressive Moslem Traders.

had a mission to pagans at that point, are reported to be withdrawing.

While the Moslem trader is the chief agent in the spread of Islam, the military station operates in the same direction. The Egyptian officer is invariably a Moslem. Even where the troops are blacks they are almost universally Moslem, for they have been recruited and trained at the capital where Moslem influences predominate. If additional men are recruited from the pagan community, they are usually circumcised; doubtless at the order of the Moslem officer in charge. To this we must add the building up at each military station of an extensive social community, of the wives and relatives of this Moslem soldiery. Immorality widens the circle of influence. And finally, the trading relationships involved in the maintenance of so large a community makes the outreach of Moslem influence still greater. The fact that the soldier represents the ruling power in a military way, vests his religion—Islam—with a greater authority and influence than it could possess without this accompaniment of military power.

A Moslem Army.

What are the effects of this occupation of pagan territory by Islam? Where Islam enters there appear a cunning, a capacity for deception, an untruthfulness, and a dishonesty which did not characterize pagan life before Islam appeared. There is general testimony to this fact.

War Dance of Shilluk Warriors.

There are also changes in dress and a spirit of self assertion and self confidence, all of which may be ascribed simply to the contact of pagan life with civilization and which are not bad in themselves. The position of woman seems invariably to be lowered. In pagan communities, a woman, especially an unmarried woman, may go about and be quite safe from all molestation. Not so after the introduction of Islam. It is true that in paganism woman is safe because of a commercial value attached to her person, but in any case her person is safer under paganism than under Islam.

Spread of Immorality.

But most disturbing of all are the reports concerning the spread of immorality and of its attendant diseases through the followers of Islam. From villages near the military centers, 99 per cent. of all the cases treated by the medical missionary are of this type. From villages distant from such centers, there are scarcely any such medical cases.

Such testimony as is available points to increasing difficulty in carrying the Gospel to those who formerly were pagans but have come under Moslem influences. In part this is due to a greater independence of spirit; in part, due to an attitude of hostility to Christianity created in the minds of the pagans by such Moslem references to Christians as "firewood of hell."

In the light of such facts as these, the judgment of Canon E. Sell, of Madras, can be easily understood, when he says, "There are times when it is very difficult to balance the competing claims of various parts of the Mission field. I see no difficulty now. . . . Certain parts of Africa form now, in military language, the objective, and are the strategical positions of the great Mission field. . . . . Parts of Africa in which the Moslem advance is imminent have for the present a preeminent claim." This is the challenge of Islam.

"O God, which shall it be?
Shall Islam's god the pagan's heart o'erthrow,
That heart so childlike in its helplessness?
Be first to mould such pliant clay, and so
Forestall the Christ and His sweet gentleness?

"O God, which shall it be?
We pray Thee, Lord of Harvest, hear our cry!
Hold back the hosts of Islam, stay their hands,
Until the Cross of Christ be lifted high,
So high, His peace shall reign throughout all lands."

The Will of God for the Sudan.

3. There is also *the Challenge of the Will of God* to urge us forward to the speedy evangelization of the Egyptian Sudan. In that great address, "The Place of Missions in the Thought of God," Robert E. Speer gives four proofs that the missionary enterprise holds first place in the thought of God. The first is to be found in the very character of God; He is a missionary God. The second proof is to be found in the missionary

character of Christ. The third is seen in the missionary character and teachings of the Word of God. The fourth proof is to be found in the very movements of history, which are as scaffolding for the upbuilding of the Kingdom of Christ. These four reasons apply with special force to the Egyptian Sudan. What means the history of this land, written in sorrow and tears, with its bloodshed and war, with its death of Gordon and its reconquest of the country by Kitchener, what is it all but a dramatic call to the Church of God to enter in and occupy the land for Christ? As for the missionary message of the Word of God, how specific are the promises, how definite are the prophecies, that relate to this part of God's great world! The Psalmist sings:

> "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall haste to stretch out her hands unto God."

Isaiah speaks in the name of Jehovah, saying:

> "The labor of Egypt, and the merchandise of Ethiopia, and the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over unto thee, and they shall be thine; they shall go after thee; in chains they shall come over; and they shall fall down unto thee, they shall make supplication unto thee, saying, Surely God is in thee; and there is none else, there is no God."

Most wonderful of all is that description of war and bloodshed and death that seems to have had such literal fulfilment in the Mahdi wars and in the raids of slavery, and which is followed by a prophecy of redemption, clear, specific, radiant with hope and contrasting sharply with the dark picture that precedes it:

> "They shall be left together unto the ravenous birds of the mountains, and to the beasts of the earth; and the ravenous birds shall summer upon them, and all the beasts of the earth shall winter upon them. In that time shall a present be brought unto Jehovah of hosts
>
> ". . . . from a people tall and smooth,
> Even from a people terrible from their beginning onward,
> A nation that meteth out and treadeth down,
> Whose land the rivers divide,
> To the place of the name of Jehovah of hosts, the Mount Zion."—*Isaiah* 18: 6, 7.

Will We Do His Will?

The conclusions which Mr. Speer draws in the address referred to, apply therefore with peculiar force to the claims of the Egyptian Sudan: "If the missionary enterprise has this place in the thought of God, will we not ask ourselves whether it holds any corresponding place in our lives? Shall that be second with us which was first with God? Shall that for which God gave up His Son make no appeal to us that we should give up our sons, and that for which Jesus Christ gave up His life strike no such chord in our hearts as shall call upon us to give up our lives for Him? What ought the individual life to think of that of which God thought so much? If the missionary enterprise is first in the thought of God, ought it not to be first in our own thoughts and lives? Is it the first in our lives? I speak to you men here this evening, Is the missionary enterprise the first business in your life? Does it have a place above your own business by which you earn your living? Does it have a place in your affections beyond any of your personal cares or concerns? If this thing is first with God, and we believe in God, must this thing not be first with us, God's sons?"

The Cost of Conquest.

The Cost of Conquest.

If the Egyptian Sudan is to be won for Christ, what will be the cost of this spiritual conquest? "Which of you," says Christ, "desiring to build a tower, doth not first sit down and count the cost?" We do well therefore to estimate the price of victory in this holy warfare.

Prayer First.

1. As a part of the price of victory, *Prayer may be placed first.* It is to be put first, both because it is the most difficult to secure and because it is the most vital.

It is the most difficult to secure. "We cannot pointblank ask every one to pray for Missions," says Warneck. "It is much more difficult to pray for Missions than to give to them. . . . . We can only really pray for missions if we habitually lead a life of prayer, and a life of prayer can only be led if we have entered into a life of communion with God. . . . . Prayer for missions is intercessory prayer, and prayer for oneself is doubtless easier than that for others. Intercession which advocates the interests of others before the throne of God with as much sincerity and readiness as its own interests, presupposes not only maturity in prayer, but maturity in the whole Christian life, and in particular maturity in love. . . . There is a third condition, namely that I should *know* something about missions. Many prayers, not only prayers for missions, suffer from being so general as to be colorless; they are often long prayers, but they have no real content."

Intelligent Prayer.

Prayer is also the most vital contribution to ultimate victory. This, of course, is a great mystery. We cannot understand how God should, humanly speaking, allow His activities to be directed or affected by prayer. Yet this is the clear teaching of Scripture; this is the meaning of Christ's prayer life; this is the experience of God's servants in all mission fields. Prayer *makes a difference.*

Furthermore, there are some things in the missionary enterprise that can be wrought only by prayer and there are many things that can be wrought better by prayer. Among the important objects of prayer in connection with missions in the Egyptian Sudan, is the policy and attitude of the Government toward missionary work and toward the people generally. Having pointed out that Paul's injunction calls for prayer "for kings and all that are in high place," Warneck says, "We are *not* to pray that they may forcibly assist in the spread of Christianity by their earthly power, but that under their rule their subjects, their Christian subjects in particular, 'may lead a quiet and peaceable life.' Those in authority are so placed that they may maintain right, exercise justice, make for order and security, punish evil-doers, and protect the righteous; more the Apostle does not expect nor ask of them, nor do we to-day. But what a service would be rendered to missions even if those in whose hands lies the control of the mission field would carry on righteous and peaceful government, permit the preaching of the gospel unhindered, place its messengers and hearers under the protection of the rights of citizenship, and so render possible a quiet and peaceable life in all piety and honesty." To these general remarks of Warneck may be added more definite suggestions that prayer be offered for Government officials, many of them earnest Christian men, that their lives may bear full witness to their Christian profession; for the formulating of Government policy, frequently influenced by policies and personalities hundreds of miles distant from the scene of action; for the

Prayer for Rulers.

missionaries in their relation to the Government that they may give no unrighteous offence, but may maintain sympathetic relations with the Government and its representatives.[1]

Prayer should also be offered up in behalf of the health of the workers, foreign and native. In some fields, health may not be a serious problem. In the Sudan it is of great importance, involving anxiety, large expenditures and a far reaching effect upon the work.

Pray for These Things.

Prayer is needed for the guidance of the missionaries in important decisions of missionary policy. The work in the Sudan is new; the Mission is young; work in Egypt affords no satisfactory analogy. The Mission is daily formulating the missionary policy of the future; how greatly do the missionaries need prayer!

Prayer should also be offered for the missionary and his message. Such prayer is always necessary to vitalize the preaching of the Word, but it is doubly needed in the Sudan where the religious conceptions of the black man have not yet been studied with accuracy and where the foreigner's mastery of the Sudanese languages is still very imperfect.

Prayer stands first among the conditions requiring to be fulfilled in the Christian conquest of the Sudan. The enterprise needs men and

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[1]In this connection, the report of Lord Cromer upon missionary work in the Sudan is an interesting study. See Appendix VIII.

women who will live Christ. And Christ had a two-fold life; there was His *day life* of service and work; but there was also His *night life* of prayer and intercession. Many are those who call themselves His followers, who have never followed Him in His *night life* of prayer. Prayer in America is needed to *make things different* in the Sudan.

Christian Stewardship.

2. Another price that must be paid for the conquest of the Sudan to Christ is *the Consecration of Wealth in Christian Stewardship*. It has been stated that the Scriptures give a larger place to the discussion of matters relating to wealth than to any other single subject. Was it because unconsecrated wealth has been at the root of the greatest and the most prevailing sins? Or was it because consecrated wealth could enter so largely into the service of Christ's kingdom?

Need for Money.

Missionary work in the Sudan has hitherto proved to be expensive. This means that wealth bears a peculiar relation to missionary effort in the Sudan. This is not the case, to the same degree, in all lands. There are heavy expenses in the Sudan due to the transportation of goods under difficult circumstances and therefore at high rates. There are greater expenses involved in missionary travel because more frequent furloughs are made imperative by climatic conditions. There is increased cost in having to provide everything in regions to which not even the advance guards of civilization have reached. There are unavoidable losses of time, money, and effort, in making experiments to discover what will best befit Sudanese conditions whether for building material or for style of residence, for industrial occupations or for agricultural development, for river navigation or for language study.

Service by Money.

All of this, however, is not an argument against such missionary work. Rather is it a matter for thanksgiving that the material things of life can be made to thus serve a spiritual Kingdom and that it is possible to relieve strain and safeguard health and prolong life by means of money. A more deplorable situation would be where money could render no such helpful service. And is it not little enough that those who cannot go to the front should lessen the hardships of those who do, by ministering along material lines? These, then, are some of the reasons why a part of the cost of conquest is the consecration of wealth through Christian stewardship.

Tithe the Minimum.

Only in a very limited way as yet have those conditions of Christian stewardship been fulfilled on which depends the Christian conquest of the non-Christian world and of the Egyptian Sudan. In Old Testament days, the law of the tithe was enacted. Its authority still abides as a minimum measure of giving for the rank and file. But if the method be the tithe, let the motive be Calvary. "The love of Christ constraineth," says Paul. To what? To give a tithe? No, not merely that; but this: "We thus judge that One died for all. . . . . that they that live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto Him." Apply this great truth. Here are two men. The one has for his distinct gift, the gift of preaching, of teaching. The other has the gift of business, of money-making. The one gives his life to become a herald of the Cross, a missionary. The other gives his life to a business career. Both must live; both must have food and clothing: the missionary and the business man. If each has a family, the family of each must be provided for: the family of the business man and the family of the missionary. Doubtless each should make a reasonable provision against the needs of old age: the business man and the missionary alike. And now should not *the entire output* of life be, in each case, for the Kingdom of God: with the business man as with the missionary,—*"that they that live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto Him who for their sakes died."* This is what is meant by "being in business for the Lord." Of course, the business man will have to decide in the presence of his Lord at the end of every successful business venture whether he should minister at once to the needs of the Kingdom with the full measure of his pro-

Money is Life.

fits, or whether he shall reinvest those earnings which lie beyond the tithe and thus gain still greater earnings for his Lord. But the ultimate aim, the final object of all these increased earnings is to serve the Kingdom of Christ. Are any in business thus for their Lord? Thank God, there are such, and these hold a place of equal honor with him who goes to the front, for theirs is a like consecration.

Life.

3. *The Giving of Life* is necessary to complete the price of victory and to meet the cost of conquest. In the parable[1] of our Lord, "the good seed" is said to represent "the sons of the kingdom." Now it is manifest that unless the seed be sown in new fields, these fields can never be brought under cultivation. Intensive cultivation in one field can never of itself extend the harvest to other fields. The seed must be sown in these new areas. Therefore *some must go* and cast their lives into the great regions beyond. This should be the ambition of each life: to be sown where there is no other "good seed."

But, what particular qualifications does the Sudan field seem to call for?

Qualifications of a Missionary.

Personality and leadership are desirable qualifications for a missionary to the black peoples. This race responds quickly to leadership. Their tribal form of government, their methods of selecting a chief, suggest their readiness to fol-

[1]Matt. 13 : 38.

Sudanese Tyfes.

Nuer Fisherman. Arab Children. Shilluk Warrior.

Patients at Doleib Hill Dispensary.

low strong leadership. In some countries, too, missionary work is of an institutional character; the school, the hospital, the ecclesiastical organization exert the chief influence here; the individuality of the missionary is not so conspicuous. But with the black man of the Sudan, life is altogether in terms of personal relationships and, other things being equal, he to whom God has given a strong personality may make the profounder impression. But it must be a personality through which love shines radiantly. The pagan races of Southern Sudan are, for the most part, glad and happy, smiling and merry, as the blacks so often are. A strong, hopeful and loving personality will therefore appeal to them powerfully.

Leadership.

Culture is also a requisite. Quite misleading, although very prevalent, are the conceptions which would assign the crudest to pagan mission fields, and the more gifted to the more civilized sections of the world. Two obvious reasons call for culture in the missionary who goes to the Sudan: where culture is most conspicuously absent, there does Christianity need most to show forth the power of true culture; furthermore, conditions of life in Southern Sudan tempt so greatly to carelessness in habits and manners that only a special emphasis upon culture can maintain in an isolated station the standards necessary to a proper social life.

Culture.

Health.

Health requirements must also be satisfied. These are usually the subject for a general medical examination, but nothing more than general health and vigor have been required hitherto. Much more important is it to have that proper regard for rules which safeguard health; for careful habits count for much more in resisting disease than does natural robustness.

Even Temper.

An unruffled temper and an even disposition are among the most important requirements for successful missionary service in the Sudan. The "Sudan temper" is a climatic influence which is supposed to be the undoing of all but the most kindly disposed. Gordon once declared that no white man under forty years of age should be allowed in the Sudan. After that age, he thought there might be the poise and self-control that life in the Sudan seems to require. Without the grace of kindliness and geniality, the missionary is likely to first become disgusted with the natives, then with his fellow-missionaries and lastly with himself. A sense of justice is not sufficient; there must be a genial disposition, for as an Indian missionary once remarked, "The quarrels of missionaries are always *on principle.*"

Adaptability.

Adaptability to all sorts of conditions and situations may seem like asking too much, but in so unsettled and undeveloped a field as the Egyptian Sudan, it is a most valuable qualification. Many are the occasions, even during the past decade and a half, when the success of the work has been safeguarded alone through the self-denying grace of the missionaries in adapting themselves to new conditions arising in this land of uncertainty, the Egyptian Sudan. And still there is need of men and women with infinite adaptability who in spite of difficulties and hindrances will find a way to success.

The need for courage has perhaps been already implied, but it deserves emphasis. Before the Sudan will be evangelized, there will need to be displays of courage, physical and moral, that shall stir the Church. There are dangers to be braved in exploration and itineration. There are difficult situations to be solved in dealing with the natives. Not rashness, but courage will alone solve these problems. **Courage.**

Last but supreme, is the qualification of spirituality. How hopeless is the condition of the unspiritual missionary! The standards of Hinduism and Islam are high in this respect, though false. A prayerless life is incomprehensible to these non-Christians. No less so is it with the blacks of the Sudan. How also shall this missionary's own life be sustained? "The new missionary," says Robert E. Speer, "joins some little company of men and women who are already under the fullest strain. He dare not draw on them for spiritual life. There is none in the surrounding hopeless lifeless people. If he has no springs in him, **Spirituality.**

where the Living Water is flowing, woe to him! Can he give to others, if his own supply is scant?"

Better a spiritual man, even though he be a physical wreck! Such a man can at least go out and die, and his death will be like Cox's or Martyn's or Lull's, a clarion call to service. Such a man carries with him a sense of God's presence. A spiritual atmosphere seems to gather about his life. The very pagan knows that he is "a man of God." Sir John Lawrence, the Christian and military hero of the Punjab, was once asked: "What are your methods by which you accomplish such strange and wonderful results?" "It is not our methods," was the quick reply, "but our men."

These Three, but the Greatest is Life.

Prayer, Money, Life, these three measure the cost of conquest. But the greatest of these is *life,* for it includes the other two. Is the price too great to pay for carrying the Gospel to this Land of the Blacks?

The Appeal of the Shilluk.

A boat is floating silently down the Sobat River. The high grass parts on the river bank and there rises up suddenly a tall black figure. See him silhouetted against the sky,—a spear in one hand, a club in the other. Wonderingly, he watches the boat and gazes at the white faces on board. These men hold in their possession the Gospel of eternal life; they hold the message of salvation. Across just a few hundred feet of water is that which spells life eternal, but the man on the bank does not know it. He stands there watching the boat for a few fleeting moments, then sinks down again. The grass closes upon him and waves indifferently with the soft evening breeze. The man is gone; he has gone back to his little tukl and to his life of paganism. It is the nearest that he ever came to the Gospel message. It was his only chance. Is it fair? Yet he is only a type. Hundreds of thousands do not get even that near to life.

Again, the train swings around a sharp curve. The mountainous ranges of the Red Sea district have converted the stereotyped level prairies of the Sudan into a hilly country. All about is the thorny mimosa and scant grazing land, fading away in the distance into dreary stretches of desert land. Life here must be hard. The sandy soil is unresponsive to cultivation. The heavens are as brass. The air is like the blast of a fiery furnace. Just for a moment do you see any signs of life. As it happens, this is what you see: an Arab, bronzed by the sun, matching in color the brown sand about him; his rough woven cloak serves as a carpet where he kneels. His lips move in the "opening" prayer which more than 200,000,000 Moslems know by heart: "El hamdu lillahi Rab el 'alamin," "Praise be to God the Lord of all the worlds." This is no prayer of a Pharisee on the street corner, for he is here in the desert alone and the train breaks in upon his

The Appeal of the Arab.

prayer unexpectedly. Through the car window the follower of Mohammed gets a glimpse of the white face of a follower of Christ. That is all. There is no stopping place for the train in all this region. That is the nearest this son of the desert will come to the Gospel message. Is it fair?

Livingstone, Gordon, CHRIST gave LIFE.

Prayer, money, life—the greatest of these is *life!* Would life seem wasted, if laid down for Africa and the Land of the Blacks? Livingstone didn't seem to think so, when he wrote in his diary on the next to his last birthday: "My Jesus, my King, my Life, my all. I again dedicate my whole self to Thee. Accept me. And grant, O Gracious Father, that ere this year is gone I may finish my work." Gordon did not seem to think so when he wrote, "I declare solemnly that I would give my life willingly to save the sufferings of these people." Christ did not seem to think so, when He said to His disciples, "I am the good Shepherd: the good shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep. . . . . I lay down my life. . . . . No one taketh it away from me, but I lay it down of myself."

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

STATISTICS OF THE "AMERICAN MISSION" (UNITED PRESBYTERIAN), IN THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN.

JANUARY 1, 1912.

Ordained Missionaries	5	
Laymen	2	
Medical Missionaries (Men)	2	
Women Missionaries, Unmarried	3	
Women Missionaries, Wives	6	
Foreign Missionaries under regular appointment		18
Native Ordained Minister	1	
Teachers	13	
Total Native Workers		14
Total Foreign and Native Workers		32
Main Stations		4
Organized Congregation		1
Preaching Stations		9
Received by Profession		6
Total Membership		163
Primary Schools	6	
Industrial School	1	
Total Number of Schools		7
Pupils in Primary Schools	586	
Pupils in Industrial School	14	
Total Number of Pupils		600
Dispensaries or Clinics		2

Number of patients treated—Khartum...2565 Doleib Hill.9428	
	11,993
Number of village visits	27
Number of operations—Doleib Hill	24
Number of villages visited	7
Total receipts	$900.28

Expended by the People for all Purposes:

Church contributions	$957.36
Educational	1,623.24
Medical	900.28
Total	$3,480.88

APPENDIX II

STATISTICS OF THE "CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY."

	1911—1912							
	Khartum	Omdurman	Atbara	Total Northern Sudan	Malek	Lau	Total Southern Sudan	Grand Total
Foreign Missionaries:								
Total	1	4	1	6	4	2	6	12
Ordained Men	*				3	2	5	5
Medical Men		1		1				1
Other Laymen					1			1
Unmarried Women	1	3		1				5
Wives								
Female Native Christian Lay Agents	4	3	2	9				9
Native Communicants	1		1	2				2
Baptized Native Christian Adherents	4	3	2	9				9
Baptisms During Year								
Schools	1	1	1	3				3
Scholars: Total	97	50	33	180				180
Boys								
Girls	97	50	33	180				180

*The work is supervised by Bishop Ll. H. Gwynne.

The following items of information are gleaned from *The Church Missionary Society Gazette,* of March 1, 1913:

Malek:

The Rev. A. Shaw in charge. Daily classes of thirty boys are learning to read the Gospel fluently.

Lau:

The Rev. C. A. Wilson in charge. Lau is the main settlement of the Cic Jieng and is in center of comparatively large population. Dispensary work is winning confidence of people. Over 4,000 people were treated. Two reading classes are held.

The Azandi People:

Call has come to start work among these people, to the southwest of Malek. The Revs. A. Shaw and K. E. Hamilton are exploring in this territory.

New Recruits:

There sailed in November, 1912, the Rev. E. C. Gore and Mr. G. P. Thomas.

APPENDIX III

METEOROLOGICAL NOTES, 1910-1911 (GORDON COLLEGE, KHARTUM.)

TEMPERATURE, DEGREES FAHRENHEIT.

1910-11 Month	Maximum		Minimum		Mean	Prevailing Wind	Rain Inches
	Highest	Lowest	Highest	Lowest			
July	110.1	93.2	83.2	68.0	90.0	S.S.W.	1.49
August	104.9	87.6	81.6	69.2	88.2	S.S.W.	0.57
September	106.7	91.6	81.6	68.8	88.2	S.S.W.	0.85
October	108.5	91.0	81.0	70.4	89.0	N.N.E.	0.00
November	101.3	80.0	72.4	56.6	79.8	N.N.W.	0.00
December	97.8	76.1	66.6	50.4	71.6	N.N.E.	0.00
January	102.4	68.0	67.8	46.6	74.6	N.N.E.	0.00
February	105.8	74.4	77.9	45.8	72.0	N.N.E.	0.00
March	104.6	84.2	73.8	55.2	79.2	N.N.E.	0.00
April	113.5	85.6	84.4	57.2	86.2	N.N.E.	0.00
May	113.2	100.2	85.1	68.4	90.4	N.E.	0.27
June	114.4	103.6	87.8	70.2	92.4	S.W.	0.00

APPENDIX IV

CLIMATIC CONDITIONS AT DOLEIB HILL.

The following statement concerning climatic conditions on the lower Sobat was prepared by Dr. H. R. Magill, after careful observations made at Doleib Hill, during the year 1905:

"At present, the only known source of danger is the malaria bearing mosquito, but with suitable buildings and the exercise of common sense, this danger can in a large measure be avoided. If the experience of the last fourteen months can be taken as a fair index of our future health conditions, I would say that this climate is delightful and much more healthful than many places not a hundred miles away from my Philadelphia and New England readers. With the exception of Mrs. McLaughlin, to whose serious illness in January, 1905, reference was made in the last report, each member of the missionary circle enjoyed at least fair health during the year ending December 31, 1905. In the really very mild sicknesses brought to my attention, upon one occasion only did I find any suggestion of malaria, although signs of this important disease have always been carefully sought for. From among the natives, however, a good number of malarial patients appeared.

"It is very commonly believed that a country only 600 or 650 miles away from the equator must necessarily have an intolerably hot climate. Allow me to state most emphatically that such is not the case in our district. We suffered much less from heat in the whole year than the people of Boston and vicinity usually do in one summer month. In fact, the cold occasioned much more discomfort than the heat. The following table will be of interest:

1905	Mean Max.	Mean Min.	Mean Average	Mean Daily Variation	Rainfall in Inches	Rainy Days
January	94.7°F.	62.2°F.	78.3°F.	32.5°F.	None	None
February	99.3	67.4	83.3	31.9	None	None
March	104.4	72.3	88.3	32.1	None	None
April	104.0	73.9	88.9	30.1	.04	1.
May	99.0	73.9	86.4	25.1	3.6	9.
June	92.0	69.9	80.9	22.1	3.24	12.
July	91.3	70.5	80.9	20.8	4.3	10.
August	90.0	69.4	79.7	20.6	5.2	14.
September	92.8	69.4	81.1	23.4	6.	11.
October	96.6	68.9	82.7	27.7	1.9	8.
November	102.1	67.6	84.9	34.5	2.7	5.
December	97.3	62.2	79.7	35.1	None	None
			82.9		26.98	70.

The figures were obtained under proper conditions from instruments thoroughly tested at the Government Observatory, Helwan. The total rainfall of 27 inches is below the average.

"But these figures would convey only half the truth if I failed to speak of the beneficent effects of the cool winds, which rarely fail us for more than half an hour at a time. The wind follows a law from which there is very little variation. About sunrise, it begins gradually to increase its force until it reaches its full strength between 8 and 9 A. M., then it continues blowing steadily until the sun has passed the zenith, after which it sinks down as gradually as it rose. From 3 P. M. to 5 P. M. the breeze is gentle; but as the sun approaches the horizon it grows stronger and cooler; and at 8 P. M. it has about one half the force it had at 8 A. M. Before midnight the breeze again becomes gentle, but very cool and refreshing, and continues so until the dawning of a new day arouses it to renewed activity. Thank God for the winds! Because of them, we have no discomfort from the heat, and a temperature of 100 degrees in the shade seems just right.

"As you know, our year has two seasons only, the wet and the dry. The dry season begins in November and ends in May. During this period the prevailing winds are northerly, there is no rain, the rivers fall, the swamps and *khors* dry up, and mosquitoes practically disappear from Doleib Hill and its vicinity, although they persist in great numbers along the White Nile. Early in May, the south and southeasterly rain-bearing winds begin to blow, and, before the month has ended, the rainy season is in full blast. The rains of May and June are quickly absorbed by the thirsty ground, and there are few breeding places for mosquitoes; but in July, pools form in the low places after the heavy rains, and remain long enough to permit mosquitoes to breed in great numbers, and from this time until the middle of October, it is unwise to be out after sunset, or to sleep without a mosquito net.

"From this brief statement, it will be seen, that during five and a half months of the year (from the first of December to the middle of May), there are practically no mosquitoes in this vicinity; that there are three months (from the middle of May to the first of July, and from the middle of October to the first of December) in which mosquitoes are not troublesome; and that there are three and a half months (from the first of July to the middle of October) during which mosquitoes are a dangerous pest.

"Our water supply (the Sobat) is excellent and unfailing. It is more palatable than the water of the White Nile or the water of the Zeraf. It is also free from disease-producing micro-organisms, at least I have seen no diseases which could be numbered among the water-born. The Shilluks drink right out of the river and the *khors*.

"My present opinion is, as you see, a decidedly favorable one, although I came here feeling sure that the climate must be as described by so many travelers. I trust that this statement may prevent the friends of Sudan missionaries from worrying about our health. The climate seems good, and life and property are much safer than in any town of over 30,000 inhabitants in any of the so-called Christian countries."

APPENDIX V

ETHNOLOGY OF THE SUDAN.

Crowfoot divides the population of the Egyptian Sudan into four main divisions, besides a number of sub-divisions, as follows:

I. Negroes:

1. The Swamp Negroes: Shilluk, Shuli, Bari, Jur, Nuer, Dinka, Anuak, etc.
2. The Iron-Working Negroes: Bongo, Mittu, Golo, Sheri, Madi, Kreich, etc.
3. The A-Zande or Nyam Nyam.
4. The Latuka.

II. Nubas:

1. The Barabra: natives of Dongola, Mahas, Sukkot, Halfa.

III. Begas:

1. Abada.
2. Besharin.
3. Amarar.
4. Hadendoa.
5. Halenga.
6. Beni Amer.
7. Habab.

IV. Arabs.

Diedrich Westermann, out of his encyclopaedic linguistic knowledge, proves the existence of a great family of Sudan Languages, "which extend from the Red Sea and Abyssinia through the whole Continent to the Atlantic Ocean, from the northern Cameroons to Senegambia." This Sudan Language System breaks into three groups: the Eastern, the Central and the Western. The Nilotic Languages naturally are identified with the Eastern group and divide into (1) the Niloto-Hamitic languages of British and German East Africa; and (2) the Niloto-Sudanic Languages, which he again divides into: (a) The High Nilotic Group, comprising Mittu, Madi, Madi-Kaya, Abo-Kaya, Abaka, Luba, Wira, Lendu, and Moru; (b) the Middle Nilotic Group, comprising the Shilluk cluster of languages; and (c) the Low Nilotic Group, comprising Dinka and Nuer.

APPENDIX VI

SHILLUK RELIGIOUS CEREMONY.

Professor Westermann gives the following account of the ceremony followed in invoking health for a sick man, beginning with the only prayer to Jwok which he discovered among the Shilluks:

"I implore thee, thou God, I pray to thee during the night. How are all people kept by thee all days! And thou walkest in the midst of the (high) grass, I walk with thee; when I sleep in the house, I sleep with thee! To thee I pray for food, and thou givest it to the people; and water to drink; and the soul is kept (alive) by thee. There is no one above thee, thou God. Thou becamest the grandfather of Nyikango; it is thou (Nyikango) who walkest with God; thou becamest the grandfather (of man), and thy son Dak. If a famine comes, is it not given by thee? So as this cow stands here, is it not thus; if she dies, does her blood not go to thee? Thou God, to whom shall we pray, is it not to thee? Thou God, and thou who becamest Nyikango, and thy son Dak! But the soul (of man), is it not thine own? It is thou who liftest up (the sick)."

This is all; and the cow is speared; and the contents of her stomach are taken out, and are thrown on the body of the man who is sick ("is with God"); and water is poured on his body. And one ear of the cow is cut off; it is cut into strips; these are tied together and the whole is tied around the leg (of the sick one). And the right foreleg (of the cow) is cut off, and it is cooked at once; the people are not allowed to taste it. They make a little broth out of it; that is poured on the ground; it is the thing (property) of God.

APPENDIX VII

SHILLUK FOLKLORE.

The following animal story, song and riddles are quoted from Professor Westermann's "The Shilluk People; Their Language and Folklore":

The Camel and the Donkey.

Somebody had a camel and also a donkey; they used to carry goods every day, but they got nothing to eat, so they were very thin. One day the camel said, "Dear me!" Again he said, "Donkey!" The donkey replied, "Eh?" The camel said, "We are going to die!" "So it is," replied the donkey, "we are going to die." The camel said, "Suppose we run away, would you consent?" The donkey replied, "Yes, I would consent!" Then he said, "Let us flee!"

And they went traveling. They arrived in a very distant place; there they saw an island in the middle of a river. There was much grass. And they said, "How shall we get there?" The donkey confessed, "I do not know!" But the camel said, "We will swim." The donkey asked, "Shall we not be drowned?" "No," said the camel, "we shall not be drowned." (Here follows some camel-talk.) He said again "God is great! We shall arrive safely." They went into the river; the donkey went behind the camel. And they swam.

When they came to the bank, they got out of the water. They were very glad; there were no men on the island. They ate and then lay down; the next day they grazed again (the whole day), and when the night came, they lay down. Thus they did every day. The donkey and the camel became fat: their bellies became full.

They used to drink water in the river; and from there returned to grazing.

One day the donkey said to the camel: "Friend!" He replied, "Eh?" The donkey said, "You have indeed succeeded in bringing us into a good position; I am quite surprised; if it had not been for you, we would be dead now!" Such was the talk of the donkey. The camel replied, "Are you not a stupid fellow? Do you know anything? Are you not an ignorant one?" So said the camel. One day later the donkey continued, "Friend!"—So he used to call the camel. The camel replied, "Eh?" The donkey said, "I have some thoughts ('little seeds') in my head; how may it be with them?" "Dear me," replied the camel, "what may be your thoughts?" Then the donkey was silent; and they went to sleep. But the next morning he began again, "Friend!" The camel said, "Eh?" The donkey said, "These things (thoughts) are still working in my head." "You begin to forget;" warned the camel, "do you not remember, when we were caught (every morning) and were always beaten with a club?" "I will be silent," and he remained silent. On the next morning he continued, "I cannot eat on account of this thing; my mind is always wandering." The camel said, "Why, if you talk so loud, the people who are traveling on the river will hear us." At last the donkey begged, "Let me bray! just once; that is what is troubling me." Thus the talk of the donkey. The camel said, "Well, do bray! I am worn out by you. Death will come to all of us, not to me alone!" And the donkey ran, snorting, and braying exceedingly loud, and he snorted again. Some people who were traveling in a boat, heard him; they said, "Where does that donkey cry?" They went ashore saying, "There must be people on the island." They searched in the grass, but there were no people. At last they found the donkey and the camel. They seized them and beat them with clubs. The camel said, "Did I not tell you, saying: we shall be found? but now, what do you say?" The donkey was silent. They both were driven away and were bound with boat-ropes, in order to pull the boat. The rope of the camel broke, and he ran away. The people pursued him, but he outran them. So the donkey was left with the strangers. He was beaten with clubs; the boat was heavy; he died. Some days later the camel came to the river bank to drink; he found the donkey dead in the water; he was bloated. And he said, "Get up!" (Here follows camel-talk.) He said again, "Get up and bray: formerly I told you, do not cry! But you said, something is ('working') in my head. Now get up!" But the donkey was dead. So the camel went to drink and then returned into the forest.

Mourning Song.

Agwetnyanedong, the country is starved, the people are dying. Agwet, son of Nyikang, they are mourning, stretching up their hands.

Riddles.

Brothers who never hurt each other?
The two horns of a cow.

Which sorcerer spends the whole night in swinging?
The tail of a cow.

The gray one running toward the fields?
The mist.

(Who asks) I am traveling, where are *you* going?
The shadow of man.

APPENDIX VIII

EXTRACT FROM OFFICIAL REPORT OF LORD CROMER IN 1903.

"An opportunity was afforded to me, during my recent tour in the Sudan, of visiting the station established by the American missionaries on the Sobat River. The establishment consists of Mr. and Mrs. Giffen and Dr. and Mrs. McLaughlin. I was greatly pleased with all I saw. The Mission is manifestly conducted on those sound, practical, common-sense principles which, indeed, are strongly characteristic of American Mission work in Egypt. No parade is made of religion. In fact the work of conversion, properly so-called, can scarcely be said to have commenced. Mr. Giffen has, very wisely, considered that, as a preliminary to the introduction of Christian teaching, his best plan will be to gain some insight into the ideas, manners, and customs of the wild Shilluks amongst whom he lives, to establish in their minds thorough confidence in his intentions, and to inculcate some rudimentary knowledge of the Christian moral code. In these endeavors he appears to have been eminently successful. By kindly and considerate treatment he is allaying those suspicions which are so easily aroused in the minds of savages. I found considerable numbers of Shilluks, men and women, working happily at the brick-kiln which he has established in the extensive and well-cultivated garden attached to the Mission. I may remark incidentally that cotton, apparently of good quality, has already been produced. The houses in which the members of the Mission live have been constructed by Shilluk labor. I addressed the men present, through an interpreter, and fully satisfied myself that they were happy and contented. They understand that they can now no longer be carried off into slavery, that they will be treated with justice and consideration, and paid for their labor.

"Not only can there be no possible objection to Mission work of this description, but I may add that, from whatever point of view the matter is considered, the creation of establishments conducted on the principles adopted by Mr. Giffen and Dr. McLaughlin cannot fail to prove an unmixed benefit to the population amongst whom they live. I understand that the American missionaries contemplate the creation of another Mission post higher up the Sobat. It is greatly to be hoped that they will carry out this intention. They may rely on any reasonable encouragement and assistance which it is in the power of the Sudan Government to afford. It is, I venture to think, to be regretted that none of the British Missionary Societies appear so far to have devoted their attention to the southern portions of the Sudan, which are inhabited by pagans. Not only do these districts present a far more promising field for missionary enterprise than those provinces whose population is Mohammedan, but the manifest political objections which exist in allowing mission work in the latter, do not in any degree exist in the former case. I entirely agree with the opinion held by Sir Reginald Wingate, and shared, I believe, by every responsible official who can speak with local knowledge and authority on the subject, that the time is still distant when mission work can, with safety and advantage, be permitted amongst the Moslem population of the Sudan.

"Subsequently to writing these remarks I visited the Austrian Roman Catholic Mission, situated a short distance south of Fashoda. It is also very well conducted, and deserved the same amount of encouragement as that accorded to the American establishment.

"I should add that, although mission work, properly so-called, cannot as yet be permitted amongst the Moslem population of the Sudan, I see no objection to the establishment of Christian schools at Khartum. Parents should, of course, be warned, before they send their children to the schools, that instruction in the Christian religion is afforded. It will be then for them to judge whether they wish their children to attend or not. Probably the best course to pursue will be to set aside certain hours for religious instruction, and leave it optional to the parents whether or not their children shall attend during those hours. It must be remembered that besides the Moslem population, there is a small number of Christians at Khartum. These might very probably wish to take advantage of the schools."

APPENDIX IX

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