

day was about S.S.E. Many partridges crossed the river during it, and we saw more wild geese than is usual in Egypt.

Nov. 28

We observed, for the first time since our embarkation, some appearances of fertility on the eastern bank. In an hour and a quarter (about three miles) is Wady Hinnówah. We were told that the Desert here abounds with a very large species of jackal; we had heard the cry of wild beasts frequently during the night. In one hour and twenty-five minutes the Nile widens on the left side; and in two hours our direction was, for a short distance, to the *westward* of South, which was very unusual; the river is not more than two hundred and fifty yards broad; the western bank in its turn becomes barren, and the yellow sand is visible near the water's edge. In two hours and forty minutes the deep water is by the eastern shore, and our direction was South again; in the third hour we made about three miles and a half. In three hours and fifty minutes, after a short interval of fertile land, the sand again prevails on the West. The river is very broad, and there are many sakies, though no palms, on the East. In four hours we passed a small island, which was soon followed by another about two miles in length, both on the East side.

Of the soldiers on board our boat all, but two, were Asiatic Turks; who, though not forward in their attentions to us, were yet not deficient either in civility or respect. Of those two, one was a Georgian, or Persian, a remarkably fine young man, who

had committed some singularly violent acts: he found himself engaged, one morning, in a gambling quarrel at Cairo, with two Turks, one of whom fired at him; he first locked the door, and then with the greatest coolness took out his pistols and shot them both; the fact became notorious, but as the first outrage had been committed by his antagonists, his life was spared. He killed a third soldier at Siout under nearly similar circumstances, and then Ismael Pasha would have punished him with death, but for the influence of his head janissary, who was a fellow-countryman of the Persian. At Assouan he received several hundred blows of the *nabboot**, for some offence which he is said to have repeated the following day; however, he soon afterwards determined to reform, and gave the usual proof of his good intentions, by allowing his beard to grow; but even after that event, being one day furiously irritated by his fellow-soldiers on board the boat, he once more drew out his pistols, and though he had full three inches of the hair of repentance on his chin, he gave them all (thirteen in number) a challenge, which none of them thought proper to accept. This man was most particularly attentive to us and our servants, and was in manners and demeanour the most civilized man on board. The other was an Albanian, in appearance the very reverse of the Persian, but even surpassing him in good will to "the

* The nabboot is a long straight and thick stick, generally to be found in the hands of Turks in authority, and supplying, as an instrument of punishment, the place of the more complicated weapons in use among Christians.

strangers;" he insisted on baking our bread, and doing other little services for us, with his own hands; he was a shrewd fellow, but full of humour and buffoonery, which he exercised at the expense of the more devout natives of Asia; and when they spread out their gazelle skin, to perform upon it their adorations and genuflexions, he often mimicked the whole performance so admirably, as to amuse even Mussulmen* more than he offended. It is needless to add, that he was a professed infidel. It appears to me that infidelity is about as common in this class of Mahometans, as it is among the lower orders of Catholics. I have seen several instances of both, and have generally remarked them to be men of courage and intelligence, worthy to have been educated in a purer religion.

The eastern bank continues to be fertile and well cultivated, and, at some distance in the Desert, we observed a tomb finely situated on the top of a conical rock. In five hours and a quarter we arrived opposite to Old Dóngola. The capital of what was not long ago a powerful and a Christian kingdom, and of whose present importance we had been led to form high expectations at Cairo; where we had hoped to find much worthy of observation, and where the soldiers had long promised themselves a fresh supply of tobacco, is a miserable ruin, differing only in size from those that we had been in the habit

* Our soldiers were in general very *liberal*; on discussing the fate of their companion, who died the other day, one of them remarked, "Well, he is gone to see which religion is the best!" and nobody found fault with him.

of remarking; it is situated on a rock, sloping down to the water's edge, and now covered with sand, a large mass of which has evidently buried much of the centre of the town, and has divided the remains into two parts. The first of these is a brick ruin, situated on a sandstone rock, having on one side a portion of the fortification wall; the other, or southern division, is larger, has more appearance of neatness, and is partly inhabited. The whole is surrounded on three sides by the desert, and there is not so strong, or a more barren, spot in the whole country. There is a black-headed hill a little to the S.E. of the town, and a large detached fortress beyond it.

We were not allowed to stop here, and passed the whole, going very well, in about ten minutes; and in twenty more we came to a small island on the west bank; a little below the beginning of it, on the east, is a large stone ruin, among the acacias, about two hundred yards from the river. It is, probably, only a fortress of no great antiquity, though differing in appearance from any we had seen: we were not permitted to indulge our curiosity by landing to examine it. The Nile is very broad here, and our rate of going at least four miles and a half an hour. In six hours and twenty minutes begins an island on our left, though at some distance from the eastern shore, on which is a curious brick building; and in six hours and thirty minutes we saw another on the western side. The river is shallow here, and the tops of some trees were visible above the water;

here our direction changed to S.E., and soon afterwards to S.E. by E. In seven hours and ten minutes we passed a ferry-boat by the shore of the island on our left, which we learned is called Tángér. Soon afterwards the desert on the west comes down to the water. It was very rare, even in Dóngola, that we had the sight of fertility on both banks at the same time. Tángér seems, by the palms which mark the river's course beyond it, to be at least half a mile broad. In seven hours and a half we saw a very distant building on a hill-top on the east side; a small island intervenes between us and Tángér, about a mile long; and in eight hours we passed a large ruined mud building of two stories, not far from us on the left. Our direction was latterly east, or even to the northward of it. Here is an old town on the right side. In eight hours and thirty-five minutes (our rate was latterly very slow) the long island of Tángér ends. We observed sand-hills thinly sprinkled with acacias beyond it, the usual scenery of the eastern (now northern) bank.

It has been remarked, that in Nubia, the country between the cataracts, the course of the Nile being generally from the westward of south, the eastern bank is the richest, and the converse of this is certainly true in Dóngola; however, the degree of fertility must depend on the height of the banks, and not on the direction of the river; as the lower ground, even when too high for the inundation, is more easily irrigated. There is another fact, which may assist in accounting for the

great difference in the soil of the two sides of the river in Dóngola. The desert on the right bank is in general a deep sand, while that on the left (as we had afterwards opportunities of observing) has frequently a hard stony surface; in the former case the alluvial soil by the waterside may have been covered by heaps of sand, carried thither by the violent tropical winds, which may also have gradually heightened the bank; no such accumulation can have taken place in the latter.

Our direction here was E.N.E., but it changed in a quarter of an hour to E.S.E. In nine hours and ten minutes we stopped at a place called Wady Jebriah, after making scarcely two miles and a half in the last hour and ten minutes.

The soldiers every evening broke down the trees, which were dry and abundant, and lighted their large watch fires along the bank, which extending, with intervals, for nearly half a mile, threw a red and warlike glare on the river, and the opposite shore; and their own appearance, as they stood feeding the blaze, or conversing with much gesture by the side of it, possessed peculiar barbarity and wildness; the light shone on the handles of their pistols and the hilts of their sabres, and the various and strongly contrasted colours of their dresses, appeared more confused and more brilliant; their faces, already shaded by beard and mustachios, assumed a darker and sallow hue, and the expression of their black rolling eyes, which by daylight would have been only animation, became heightened into anger and ferocity.

My man, Giovanni*, who is by profession a tailor, and whose unadventurous spirit has already been mentioned, foreseeing nothing in this ill-starred expedition but privations and dangers, exclaimed, this evening, smiling at the time most wofully—“ *Quel chi è morto là basso ha fatto molto bene;*” and proceeded to lament the continuance of his own existence. James was much better employed in examining the contents of a Nubian cottage, which produced us a fine fowl, seized, of course, by violence, and then paid for. This was a bad example to the soldiers, who, extraordinary as it may appear, observed the strictest discipline, and in their transactions with the natives, allowed themselves to be imposed upon with extreme facility, and confessed, that in small parties they dared not have taken the strong measures, to which in the beginning of our journey we had been unfortunately obliged to have recourse.

Nov. 29. The first scene this morning was sufficiently amusing:

our commodore, an elderly man, with a white beard, and who always consulted his dignity by wearing a long orange-coloured vest, appeared early on the bank with a long stick in his hand, declaiming violently; he warms as he goes on, and shortly proceeds to apply his nabboot to all within his reach,

* Though no adventurer, Giovanni Fiamingo is no coward; but as he held it extremely unwise to make any advances to danger, he would willingly have confined his travels to the country *below* the Second Cataract. He is, *withal*, a most respectable and honest young man; and in the charge, that we afterwards gave him, of conducting our two *Dongola* horses to England, he conducted himself with great propriety and fidelity.

till he has cleared the coast; he then finished his harangue, and returned to his boat. The cause of all this confusion was a complaint of the natives, that the soldiers in the night had plucked the ears of their dhourra, of which offence this discipline, thus inflicted, was to prevent the repetition. Our case of the fowl also came under his cognizance; but as a previous refusal to sell, and subsequent payment, were proved on our part, he gave his approbation to such a modification of robbery, saying, at the same time, with great justice and a good deal of pride, that a French or Russian army, in a march through a conquered country, would not be troubled with so many scruples. He is evidently a very good sort of man, and, for a Turk, probably well informed. At the time when Mahommed Ali wished to open a trade with the East Indies by the Red Sea, he went thither, with Mr. Briggs, in an official capacity; and returned, though unsuccessful, yet with the highest possible respect for the English name. He gave us daily, and, as far as he could, substantial proofs of this, by supplying us with rice and flour, the only provisions on board the fleet.

Owing to the change in the course of the stream, those of the soldiers who prayed were generally unfortunate in their guesses at the direction of the Holy City, and their prayers, in consequence, lost their efficacy; this exposed them to the ridicule of the sailors, who were in this instance better geographers. There were some artillery officers on board the fleet,

sent, it was said, from Constantinople, and they were the only men who preserved the slightest appearance of *uniform*; they wear blue trowsers, a red jacket, and a striped black and white silk turban; the rest were such a motley set of ragamuffins as I never beheld; they were dressed in green, blue, scarlet, brown, or white, each man according to his own fancy, agreeing only in their general raggedness. Their offensive arms are a long gun, a brace of very long and often very bad pistols, and a sword, or attaghan, or knife; they are defended, rather than clothed, by a large turban round the head, and three or four long shawls, of which the inner ones are very coarse, and even the exterior seldom tolerably fine, bound very tight round the body, and capable of stopping a pistol-ball at fifteen or twenty yards. The Albanians are distinguished by wearing no turban, the only covering of their head being a large red cap, coming over the ears and forehead.

There are a few mud buildings among the trees here, but the ruins are generally on the edge of the Desert; it was no doubt with a view to economize the fertile ground, that the inhabitants, who seem formerly to have been very numerous, consented to sacrifice the convenience of living by the water-side; at present, most of the land is overgrown with trees, and the cottages are scattered among them. A fine north wind got up, as had been the case for several days, at about seven o'clock; but as our course here was, for a short distance, East, the Commodore and his officers hesitated whether they should set sail or

no, and it was not till after a delay of four hours, that, without any change of circumstance, we began to move on. I was no longer surprised at the information, that they had been employed sixty-four days in coming up from Wady Halfa, and if there really existed any great difficulties in passing the cataracts, it is hard to conceive how they surmounted them. Yet, notwithstanding this general conviction of their incapacity, we could not help being astonished at the fresh proofs they were constantly giving of it; it is to be said, however, that there is probably not a Turk in existence who sets any value on time, or who thinks any thing better done for its being done more quickly.

In twenty minutes we passed two saints' tombs, in the Desert on the left. There is here a little turn southward, or rather, a widening of the Nile on the right side. In twenty minutes more begins an island on the right; and in ten minutes from there we met a very strong current, which continued nearly half a mile, where the passage must be rather difficult when the water is low. The Nile then turns round this island from East to S.S.E., and our course was round near the sandy shore on the left; in one hour the island ends in a sandbank; we made about three miles in this hour. Soon afterwards, there are appearances of fertility and cultivation on our left, which are also so extensive on the opposite bank, that there is perhaps no richer spot on the Nile than this. The corn was in all states; I observed it just coming up, just coming into ear, ripe, and removed, in the same field. The river here is not above a

quarter of a mile in breadth. In one hour and forty minutes our course was S.E. again, and the Desert once more prevails on the East, and in two hours we passed a stone building on the West bank, and the yellow hills just behind it. In two hours and fifty minutes, our direction was gradually become E. by N.; we soon afterwards passed two sandbanks on the right, having made about two miles and a half in the last hour. In three hours and ten minutes an island, named Ghirrah, begins on the left, and there were some small rocks in the water on our right. The island is very rich and covered with palms, and has two ferry-boats on the bank; the inhabitants were at their labours, and all had the appearance of peace. Most of the Dongoláwies* seem to speak Arabic, which has been, probably taught them at the point of the spear by the Sheygy'a, who, like more civilized conquerors, will speak no other language than their own. In four hours and fifty minutes Ghirrah terminates, being scarcely three miles long; and in five hours and thirty minutes our little fleet drew up for the night on the western (now southern) bank, as, to prevent surprise, it had always done hitherto; the headquarters of the Turkish army are supposed to be on that side of the river, and the force of the enemy on the other.

There had been many speculations, we found, on our probable mission or occupation; the better informed, however, or more

* Their mother-tongue is Nubian, and the Arabic they speak is generally very bad. I am, therefore, surprised to find in Burckhardt, (p. 65.) that "in Wady Dóngola, the Nubian language ceases to be spoken."

penetrating, part of our observers, had come to the conclusion, that we were two geographers, employed by our government to survey the country and note down the situation of the places.

Nov. 30. We began nearly East, and made about two miles and a half in the first hour. In one hour and a half we had the Desert on both sides of us; that on our right was brown and stony, while loose yellow sands were all that was visible on the left; on the contrary, in Sukkót, and during the whole length of the Batn el Hadjar, the rocks on the West side are generally covered with sand, and form a striking contrast with the unvaried blackness of their opposite brethren. In two hours we stopped for want of wind, after having made about four miles. In fifteen minutes more begins an island, on the left, named Gooshop; and in half an hour more we ran on shore in the middle of the channel, near the end of the island, and so lost half an hour. In one hour and a half, near some sakies on our right, several of the boats again got aground, and the river continues very shallow, and with not above three or four feet of water for nearly a mile beyond. We kept on the right side, and in two hours perhaps made two miles and a quarter. We heard accounts that the Sheygy'a were encamped on the East bank, with two pieces of cannon, and had lately repulsed a severe attack of the Moggrebyns. In the third hour we made about two miles; on our right was a rich and well-cultivated island, which ended in forty-five minutes; the stream dividing it from the main land is a mere canal, which may possibly have been

artificial; it is dry in spring. In four hours and fifteen minutes, fertility having for some time recommenced on our left, we counted at the same moment thirty-two water-wheels at work on that bank; we kept close to the right, which was not so well cultivated. The Nile is broad here, varying from a half to three-quarters of a mile. Our direction through the whole day was, with little variation, East; we were detained for some time, waiting for another boat, after which we made two miles and a half more in the evening, and came up with our friends a-head, whose situation was marked by the usual blaze along the water-side. There were no houses nor cultivation in this place, but the other side seemed as rich as any part of the banks of the Nile, though without many trees: there are some high hills, four or five miles within.

Dec. 1. There was little wind this morning, and that little nearly contrary, as our direction, which was at first rather to the northward of East, soon became E.N.E. Egyptian sailors have no idea, however broad the river may be, of struggling against wind and tide by tacking; indeed, they require so much time to shift their large triangular sails, that more way would be lost during the operation than would be gained by the tack. Accordingly, the sailors and some of the soldiers were sent on shore to haul us up, and the Commodore resumed his naboot, and directed and stimulated their exertions; this time, however, he confined his blows to the sailors, who were entirely Arabs or Nubians, and whose less honourable country and profession

entitled them to the exclusive endurance of a chastisement, which was rendered more effectual by their nudity. The soldiers became geologists: having seen us pick up a few agates and cornelians, many of them immediately followed our example, and made a vast collection of all kinds of stones, which at Cairo were to be transformed into rings and mouth-pieces for their pipes. After advancing, with great labour, about five miles, we drew up for the night. The Nile in this spot runs due South, back to its source. The opposite, now the western, side, had resumed its sterility; that by which we slept was nearly uncultivated, though rich, and covered, to above a mile in depth, with doums and acacias. Mr. Hanbury made an excursion into the Desert, in pursuit of gazelles, and was rewarded by a distant view of a larger animal, with branching horns like a stag. He observed traces of the inundation at some distance from the river. Some men with their camels passed us on their way down, who professed to have left the army in the morning. The Sheygy'a were said to be collected in arms on a large island opposite to the invaders. Giovanni, this evening, gave vent to his feelings, in words which I am willing to hope were meant for poetry, and were, perhaps, only the burden of a song composed by him during the progress of this *adventurous* journey. I overheard him repeating, with great feeling,

Benedetto sia il giorno
Del nostro ritorno!

Our fare was certainly not sumptuous; a flat cake or two of half-baked dough, tea without sugar or milk, a little rice, and abundance of water, were our certainties; it was only occasionally that we could any how obtain a morsel of meat, or a few dates; but the only real evil was, that we had no active employment; after exercise, any food is palatable, but idleness requires to be pampered. We were under orders to be always ready to move, and were hardly ever moving; we had no comfort on board, and there was little to interest on shore; we passed a good deal of time in transcribing our journals, and consoled the day with the hope that the morrow might produce events more lively and animating.

Dec. 2. In about a mile and a half we passed some stone ruins on a sandhill on our left, of considerable size; on the highest point is a castle, with steps up to the only visible entrance, which is near the top. A very small island lies just beyond, and the Nile above it is more than half a mile broad. We soon afterwards came opposite to a fine group of conical black hills, in the Desert on our left, about four or five miles off.

There was a good deal of sickness in the fleet, and our boat had its share of the evil; one little soldier had been all the time lying at our feet, groaning most lamentably, both day and night from a pain in his face and neck, which were violently inflamed. He had contrived, I could never learn how, to force out one of his teeth, which he considered as the author of his suffering

but with no good effect. There were also one or two cases of ophthalmia on board; our own party had hitherto escaped, but to-day James had so violent an attack of dysentery, as to be unable to stand; as he attributed it entirely to the penetrating keenness of the night air, to which we were always exposed, we prescribed him a box-coat, which happily effected the cure.

To-day we did not make above four miles and a half; our general direction being N.E. The river had been of late very shallow, and the sailors walked in the water, while they dragged us, at the distance of at least two hundred yards from the shore; it is in this place about a mile broad. The bank, where we tied our boats for the night, was well cultivated; dochen was growing there, as well as the Syrian dhourra, but no wheat. The Dongoláwys told us that Abdin Casheff had promised them all the seeds of Egypt. There were some houses, of which the inhabitants were not to be found; the soldiers were consoled for their absence, by the discovery of some sheep and goats, and learnedly concluding their non-existence from their non-appearance, took logical possession of the whole flock.

In the course of the afternoon, a heavy cannonading was heard from above, in consequence of which the old commander invited all the soldiers to draw up before him in two lines; they then proceeded, not to exercise or show the state of their arms, but to pray: one of the party was selected, from superior strength of lungs or of devotion, to give out the prayers, and the rest

made their prostrations and genuflections, as regularly as a Christian regiment performs a military evolution. Our friend, the Albanian, stood all the time close by, cooking a goat which he had just stolen.

Dec 3. Ramousses, and fragments of trees, and reeds innumerable, covered the face of the Nile; and went floating down; the silent messengers of a battle, in whose consequences we were involved, and of whose event we were yet ignorant.

In about half a mile some granite rocks come down to the water's edge, and continue, with intervals, for half a mile more. Our direction then was E.S.E.; an island with a few palms begins on our left, and lasts about three-quarters of a mile. A dead camel floated by. In about a mile more, we turned East again, and four or five coveys of Egyptian partridges crossed the river. I never found it hotter in Sicily, Greece, or Egypt, than this day.

In the afternoon, some pilgrims passed on their way to Mecca, and announced to us the victory of the Pasha over the Sheygy'a: they had passed through the army; their holiness or their poverty had been respected, and they were prosecuting their peaceful march amid the bustle and the desolation of war. This welcome intelligence enlivened our warriors extremely, and one of them immediately discovered some horsemen lurking on the other bank; peasants, apparently, on asses, with an old woman.

In about a mile more we came to a fertile island on our left, about two miles long; and soon afterwards, to a very perfect old fortification, built on a rock projecting into the river, of mixed stones and mud, except the higher part, which is of mud only, with seven battlements, and appears to have been lately repaired. The rock, which is sandstone, is singularly marked down to the water, and the marks, though unmeaning, are not, I think, natural*. There is an entrance in the middle of the side facing the Nile, cut in the rock just under the wall, and about thirty feet above the water's edge. Other ruins are on the rocks above it, which continue a few hundred yards by the river-side. Our direction here was E.N.E. A little wind got up, and we made four or five miles more, during which our direction changed to N.E. There are some palms and cultivation on the other bank.

Dec. 4. Early this morning a dead body floated close by us; the back was upwards, and in part out of the water; the head much swelled and uncovered, and the shirt on. The soldiers discovered it to be the corpse of an Egyptian Arab, probably a groom, and four of them went back to bury it; he had been strangled, and the cord was still about his neck; it is probable that he had been taken prisoner by the Sheygy'a, and

* We examined them again on our return, with the same conviction. There is one Arabic inscription on the rock, purporting that a shiek had died there. There is also an old well, about forty feet deep, cut in the rock, within the castle, near the entrance facing the Nile; the gate is on the other side. The place is called *Hettán*.

then hanged. We were told that this sight greatly depressed the spirits of our gallant battalion; and certain it is, that, from whatever cause, we did not make one attempt to advance all day. A very small body of resolute men might, by a well-timed attack, have destroyed the whole of us—in the day-time there was no order, or attempt at discipline, and by night the few men who pretended to watch, were so posted as to be able to see nothing into the country, where were generally trees, or high grass, or corn, and sometimes the watch was placed under the bank itself, which was in some places very steep; the boats were quite close to it, with every soul on board asleep.

We learnt from our servants that we had already, as Christians, two enemies among our fellow-passengers—very peaceable ones, luckily, and very devout Mussulmen—we had to-day the imprudence to make a third. The little invalid before-mentioned, who was also a true son of Mahomet, had been long entirely neglected by his companions, and seemed now so seriously ill as to make some relief necessary to save his life; we advised him to try a poultice, and a succession of these, made and applied by our servants, in a few days completely cured him. The consequence was most natural—he hated us—his hatred increased as his health improved, and after his recovery, he shewed it (in the only way he dared) by a thousand petty attempts to prejudice his companions against us, and to lessen the very few conveniences that we enjoyed on board.

We went out gazelle shooting in the evening with no success.

Persian weed and acacias extend for above half a mile, but there is no cultivation or appearance of houses; there are two mountains, three or four miles within, finely shaped and solitary; the extensive desert on the other side of the river is bounded by a long extent of high hills, distant apparently forty or fifty miles.

Dec. 5. In about two miles we passed a very large ruined fortress among the trees near the shore on our left; we were obliged again to stop opposite to it, as there is a turn nearly northward just above, and the wind blew so hard as to make it impossible to drag up the boats against it; the fine black mountains on the frontiers of Dar Shegy'a, where the army now was, appeared about ten or twelve miles N.N.E. After a sufficiently bad breakfast, we set off with our guns into the desert; we soon discovered a herd of antelopes making off at a great distance towards the mountains. Mr. Hanbury determined, rather adventurously, to pursue them. I followed for some distance with my servant a valley covered with withered shrubs, at the end of which we observed two women tending a large flock of sheep; the younger of these immediately took to her heels at the sight of us, and was soon out of sight; and with the other, who was singularly old and decrepid, we immediately proceeded to bargain for a sheep: she expressed extreme contempt for Mahomed Ali's piastres, but her eyes shone at the sight of a Spanish dollar; and after counting the four marks*, she said to us,

* We saw frequent instances of the preference given by Nubians and Arabs to the dollars of Charles III. over those of Ferdinand VII., from their containing four

"With you I have no acquaintance, but *this* I know well." We learnt from her that there was a large town near, named Amboocote, and thither we proceeded forthwith; it is situated about two miles from where we left the boats, and above one in a straight line from the Nile; this interval is as rich and better cultivated than Argo, and in scenery resembling it extremely. It was covered with all kinds of tame animals; the sheep are the highest I ever saw, and instead of wool have hair like goats*. The village was full of women, and a few old men and boys; the young men, they tell us, have been taken away by the Pasha; the fact probably was, that those who have not been killed in the late battles were with the Shegy'a, as the inhabitants of this part of Dóngola had been so long tributary to those Arabs, as to have become almost incorporated with them, and to have thus imbibed much of the pride and intrepidity of their character. I was witness to a curious instance of this, while passing through the town. An officer of artillery with three of his men had seized two sheep, and sent for their owner to pay for them; he

straight lines, and the others only two; the fact, and the reason of it, are mentioned by Burckhardt, p. 289.

* This was written long before I saw the passage of Strabo, (book xvii. p. 822.), where, speaking of the Ethiopians, he says, *κωδιοφόροι δ' εἰσιν ἐρέαν οὐκ ἔχοντες, τῶν προβάτων αἰγίτριχούντων*. Diodorus Siculus (lib. ix. sect. 8.) mentions the same fact—*εἰσι δὲ οἱ περιζώμασι μεχρὶ τὸ μέσον σώμα καλύπτουσι, ἐκ τῶν τριχῶν πλέκοντες, αἷς ἂν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς προβάτων ὄντων μὴ φερόντων ἔρια δία τὴν ιδιότητά τῆς χώρας*, and Ælian xvii. H. A. 10. *πρόβατα ἐρίων μὲν ψῖλα τρίχας δὲ καμήλων ἔχοντα*.—Strabo is not equally correct in his assertion, (vide loc. cit.) that the breed of sheep is also peculiarly small.

presently appeared—an old man of a most striking appearance, with much savage haughtiness in his eye, a black head quite bald, and a very white beard and whiskers; a very pretty young woman* attended him, and they presented themselves before the Turk, who shortly explained to them his intentions. The old man very firmly and quietly pressed his objections, and the officer took out his purse and threw some piastres on the ground: the old Nubian put them aside uncounted with the greatest dignity and contempt, and telling the conqueror, in the midst of his myrmidons, that he would repent of what he was doing, said, in going away, something very insolent. The officer jumps up, and follows him with his nabboot; and the other, instead of escaping, unexpectedly turns round, and defies his persecutor, who contents himself with picking up the money again, and marching away with the sheep.

The women here have an emphatic manner of speaking, and use much gesticulation, not at all gracefully, and when meaning to be very expressive, they sharpen their voice to shrillness, and the shrill sound alone is often repeated by the other women present, and not otherwise engaging in the conversation; this concert

* The fair Ethiop at first took me for the man of consequence, and addressed me in the smiling seductive manner mentioned by Burckhardt, as peculiar to some women on the Atbara, and which she instantly transferred to the Turk, when better informed. Had the Christian really been the robber, her graces and coquetry might, perhaps, have been more successful; for all open, as Orientals are supposed to be, to the influence of beauty, I could not observe that, in this case, it produced the slightest effect on the hungry Mussulman.

is meant to impress very strongly on the listening stranger the force of what may have immediately preceded it. They are not afraid* of being seen in public, and talking to the soldiers; and though in general very ugly, they are so far from affecting the entire concealment of the person, usual with Mahometan women, that the upper part of the body, down to the loins, is always quite naked†; their hair is as usual greased and plaited, and by some evidently with great nicety. I observed on the more fashionable heads some of the plaits passing backwards, above the ears, under those which are hanging down by the sides, as in some of the figures on the Egyptian temples. They call the soldiers Romans‡—a term flattering to their vanity, as they suppose it to be used in compliment to their courage.

There is a large perfect fortification in the east end of the

* Even in the northern part of Dóngola we found the women less reserved in their manners; they ride and walk about uncovered, talk fearlessly to the men, return your salutation, and sometimes even salute you first. One addressed me in Argo, from between two palms, to know if I had any beads to dispose of. She had probably some dates, or Dhourra flour, to offer in exchange for them.

† In many of the older ones the nipple of the breast, after hanging down very low, turns and grows up again, like a broken branch; from this or some similar deformity, was derived, no doubt, the opinion—"In Meroe crasso majorem infante mamillam."

‡ "Roumy, i. e., Roman; a word first applied by the Arabs to the Greeks of the Lower Empire, and afterwards to all Christians."—*Burckhardt*. To the Turks, even in this case, the term is very far from being applicable, though certainly they are considered by the natives as very inferior to themselves in purity of Mahometan Faith. Is it very unnatural that a white soldier should be called a Roman by the descendants of those who were conquered by Petronius?

town, with a saint's tomb near it. Some soldiers, with a number of Arabs and horses, were reposing at the gate, on their way to join the army by land. One of them was immediately detected by my servant to be a Moggrebyn, *by his accent*, and his own country was as instantly discovered by the other by the same means. The number of Moggrebyns in the Pasha's service has increased materially since the destruction of Algiers, for which its inhabitants bear us no great good will; those, however, whom we have seen, appear good tempered, and, for Mussulmen, very lively, and quite men of the world; they generally speak a few words of Italian, and are of all Mahometans the most free from the prejudices usually proceeding from their religion.

The few Arabs resident here are the Cubbabish, who are not tributary to any state. Ismael Pasha sent to them on his arrival here to ask, whether they were for him or against him; and as they prudently took the stronger side, he did not molest them; they inhabit the desert towards Shendy.

Dec. 6. We were not much surprised to find, on revisiting the town, that most of the inhabitants, with all that remained of their property, had retired, during the night, so far into the Desert, as to be out of the reach of nabboots and piastres. We were fated to pass the whole day without moving; the wind was blowing nearly down the river, and as we were for the future to be pulled up on the other bank, it was necessary first to sail ~~over~~, which the Commodore fancied to be impossible with a side wind. In the mean time, he affected great impatience to

advance, and expressed some fears of losing his head for the delays that had already taken place; these fears, however, did not prevent him from accepting a pipe, with which Mr. Hanbury presented him, as being rather better than his own. We were surprised to see how ill our soldiers were provided in this article, which was their greatest source of enjoyment. I observed the Persian making a new short pipe, of a soft wood named *habil*; others were driven to similar resources, as well as to find substitutes for tobacco.

In the afternoon, as I was sitting alone in the boat writing, some Cubbabísh Arabs came on board and paid their respects to me; they were a party of strolling preachers, who go about the villages reading and explaining the Koran, in most of which there is some building set apart for that purpose; the Sheygy'a are said to have destroyed that at Amboocote, before they evacuated the place. The business of these pious men with me was to inform themselves about the rate and manner in which the country was to be taxed; they were anxious to know whether the rich and poor were to pay the same sum, and hoped (calling me, as directed, Osmán,) that I should not be too severe in the impositions I was laying upon them; all which questions I answered greatly to their satisfaction. They assured me that almost all their tribe can read and write. They spoke of Bedoo Arabs, who inhabit the Desert above, but knew nothing of the Bedeyr Arabs, mentioned by Burckhardt; they said, we were now only five or six days from Shendy, and

talked, with an interest almost superstitious, about the antiquities above Merawe. In the mean time one of the soldiers began to crow like a cock, and I observed the rest most ardently engaged at leap-frog; a relaxation from their dignified habits, which can only be accounted for by their joy at the confirmation of the victories of the Pasha.

Dec. 7. We sailed across this morning, as we might have done yesterday, and lost more way, as we had less wind. In about half a mile from Amboocote begins the island Owetah, nearly a mile long. After this comes another, named Galáshi; the houses here were destroyed; one, containing sheep and other animals, had been burnt, and the symptoms of war became more marked. Past this island, which is about a mile and a half long, we went North. Another succeeds it, named Gartooni; there was so much garlic on the shore opposite to it, as to perfume the whole air for some distance. This island is well cultivated, and inhabited; the fields of battle were on both sides; the artillery recognised the grave of one of their own men, and prayed over it; there was much blood near it, though, upon the whole, very few appearances of a field of carnage. We observed a number of the small country boats sunk by the side of the bank.

Just at this spot we left Dóngola, and entered Dar Sheygy'a. The large town of Korti is nearly opposite, on the left bank; and at this moment, Abdin Casheff's cangee, on board of which we had embarked at Dal a great part of our luggage, passed us

at full sail, with the assurance that all was safe. Our direction here was about N.E. A number of the natives, brought in by the soldiers from their labours or their prayers, were yoked to the ropes, and dragged us along with great animation ; one of them was a dervish, distinguished by a kind of wickerwork-cap on his head, coming to a point at the top ; they were chiefly old men or boys. This island is about a mile and a half long ; the Desert is visible on the other side, while the right bank is well cultivated. After an interval of four or five hundred yards begins another island, on our left, named, I believe, Sowerab. We approached the black mountain barrier of the Sheygy'a, and following the shore of the island, presently observed two men, who by their walk were instantly pronounced to be Franks, coming towards us. One of them proved to be Prince Amiro, a Milanese, who is well known to Syrian and Egyptian travellers by the title of the Cavaliere Frediani ; the other was a Greek, named Demetrio, by trade a tailor, and very lately and suddenly promoted to the office of Assistant-Surgeon. We asked him some questions, to which his answers contained more lies than words ; we contrived, however, to assure ourselves of the disagreeable news, that Abdin Casheff was still at some distance in advance, with the Pasha. We drew up for the night on the island, where six thousand Sheygy'a women were said to be confined.

The Cavaliere shared with us our uncertain repast. He seemed a man of from forty to forty-five years of age, and had

been attached to Ismael Pasha, by his father, as a kind of private tutor or Mentor ; for this office he appears to have been selected by the late French Consul, Drovetti, and he accepted it with pleasure, as being extremely favourable to his designs as a traveller and explorer ; he was now, as he had been for some time, in disgrace, owing partly to his own great, and probably intemperate, freedom of words and actions, and partly to the intrigues of a fellow Christian.

Ismael Pasha's first physician, or *Protomedico* (as he styled himself,) was a Smyrniote Greek, and as he spoke Turkish perfectly, he acted also as his interpreter. This man, being personally and nationally jealous of Amiro's supposed influence with the Pasha, devised various little expedients to undermine it, some of them so very amusing, that I may be excused for mentioning one. The Protomedico one hot day, meeting the Cavaliere on foot, addresses him with great surprise and warmth : " How strange it seems, that you, the friend of the Pasha, placed in his confidence by his father, the envy of all the Turks about you, should have no horse ! Shall I ask the Pasha to give you one ? " Cavaliere, " There is justice in what you say ; you will oblige me by so doing." Being thus the established medium of all conversation between the two parties, the physician represents the complaint to the Pasha as first proceeding from the Cavaliere, and makes the request. The horse is given. Presently comes the Protomedico in great indignation : " Do you see this horse the Pasha has given you ? a very *dog-horse*, a Rozinante (*rozzo*), a scarecrow ; it is equally

disgraceful for a Pasha to have given such a beast, and for a Cavaliere to accept it. Shall I ask him for a better for you?" *Cav.*, "The horse is certainly not a fine one*; pray do ask for another." The interpreter immediately hastens to the Pasha. "The Cavaliere desires me to say, that the horse your Highness has given him is a very dog-horse, &c., (repeating his own words,) and requests you to change it for a better." The Pasha, highly offended with the impudence of Amiro, and yet unable to take back himself a present that he has once made, transfers the horse to the Doctor, without giving any substitute to his insatiable Mentor. And thus is the wily Greek represented to have overreached his competitor for substantial favours in money matters, as well as other affairs, and by his success, to have answered the double purpose of bringing Amiro into disgrace, and becoming master of the presents intended for him.

The Cavaliere had lately made an application to the Pasha, for leave to return, to which he received this singular answer:—that such a permission would only be granted him, on the condition of his writing a letter to Mahommed Ali, expressive of his satisfaction at the treatment he had received from his son. In such awe does a Turkish Prince stand of his father, though at the head of an army at two thousand miles distance from him. The letter was refused; and thus the matter stood on our arrival.

It may, perhaps, be better to anticipate, in this place, some

* And most certainly it was not; it was afterwards in our service, at Djebel el Berkel, and a meaner animal no one ever bestrode.

information, that we afterwards collected, on the objects of this expedition, of which we now found ourselves forming a part, the force and composition of the army, the opposition it had already met with, and that which it was likely to encounter in its further progress. The only persons from whom we could gain any *immediate* information on these subjects, were the Franks, Greeks*, and renegades in the Turkish service, who in general astonished us by their ignorance; however, the principal facts were notorious; many particulars we learnt casually from other quarters. Such an account must necessarily be imperfect; though accurate, I trust, as far as it goes; at least, nothing is mentioned in it which did not come from good authority, with subsequent confirmation.

The ambition of Mahommed Ali is to possess all the banks and the islands of the Nile, and to be master of all who drink its waters, from Abyssinia to the Mediterranean: an ambition worthy of a great Prince, if its origin were not to be traced to his avarice. His designs on Abyssinia he seems to have abandoned, on a formal assurance that an attack on a Christian State, so situated, would probably involve him with the English Government, and he determined to limit his conquests to the kingdoms of Dóngola, Dar Sheygy'a, Berber, Shendy, and

* One of the Greeks, a man high on the Medical Staff, who professed to keep a journal, when asked any simple question about the events of the campaign, usually answered, "L'ho dimenticato, *perchè* lo tengo scritto;" and when invited to consult the writing, pleaded its illegibility.

Sennaar; this plan included the extirpation of his old enemies the Mamelouks, who were in quiet possession of Dóngola. The means he employed appear at first sight hardly adequate to the purpose; the whole force engaged in the expedition being about ten thousand men, of whom not more than four thousand were fighting men: the addition of twelve pieces of cannon made it irresistible. His mercenaries, who form very nearly the whole of his army, are engaged, like servants, by the month, and have then the right of sending in their resignation and retiring. Those going on an expedition, are engaged for the whole of it, but no one is obliged to enter upon it in the first instance; in this, they were paid six months in advance, before they left Egypt, and yet engaged only as far as Dóngola, either through a fear that volunteers would not easily be found for a more distant war, or to avoid giving suspicion to the states above Dóngola. Means were afterwards found to induce them to continue to serve as far as Sennaar; and thus far they seemed to have no fear of success, though such is their terror of the Habesh, that I believe no hopes of reward or plunder could induce them to venture into *that* country.

The best soldiers in the army were about fifteen hundred Bedouins*, part of whom appear to have been natives of a tract

* Descendants of the Armentarius Afer, and differing, probably, from their ancestors in little else than their arms. In all wars in Asia, as well as in Africa, the best irregular soldiers are the Bedouin Arabs; nor is it any wonder that they

of land conquered by the Pasha in his expedition towards the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and part Moggrebyns from the deserts near Tripoli, Tunis, and Morocco; they were all horsemen, and some had bayonets to their guns; they had a peculiar song when moving on horseback, whether alone or in bodies, common to all African Bedouins, but not to those of Syria; they wear in general two brace of pistols, besides their sword and gun, and all are skilful in the use of the lance. The next in merit were the Moggrebyns, a term confined in military language (as well as I could understand) to the infantry, who are natives, not of the deserts, but of the cities on the northern coast of Africa. There were many Albanians, but not in this army forming a separate corps, and many Asiatic Turks, who were also dispersed under different leaders. The Generals were, Abdin Casheff, Kogie Achmet, Commander of the Bedouins, Hassán Dar, Selagh Dar, and Omar Casheff. At the head of the whole was Ismael Pasha, the younger son of Mahommed Ali, and only twenty-two years old; he is possessed of great personal

are the bravest people in the world, since they are naturally the most free. A mere gallop across the Desert produces a certain excitation and levity of spirits, a gay and rapturous feeling of liberty, that cannot be experienced elsewhere.

The naked inhabitant of the Desert is subject to no master, and acknowledges no superior; his very view is unbounded, and all that he views is his own; he can direct his steps whither he wills, and trace his path where no man has trodden before him; the shrubs on which he feeds his horse, and the spring of which he drinks, like the stars that light and guide him, are common to himself with the whole world; he can change them when he chooses, and again travel the waste which he fancies to be infinite.

courage, and much generosity, when it is consistent with policy ; he is self-willed and obstinate, as a young Prince ought to be ; has some information and much curiosity, and talents apparently so considerable, that he may some day be a great Turk, though a personal defect will ever prevent in him all dignity both of appearance and manners.

The army left Cairo early in the summer, passed the Cataracts during the inundation, and advanced without opposition to New Dóngola, which they found evacuated by the Mamelouks, who had retired, some months before, to Shendy. Their next step was to advance against the Sheygy'a. The character of "this interesting people" has already been given by Burckhardt, though only from hearsay, yet so faithfully, that little remains to be added to what he has said about their manners and their literature. Their love of liberty, and their courage to defend it, had not then been put to the proof, as their wars with the Mamelouks, though frequent and of long continuance, were never wars of extermination ; they were only known to be good horsemen, and brave and successful soldiers.

They are divided into four, or (as we were informed) more than four tribes, whose chiefs, however, seem to have been nearly under the government of one of the two Kings, or Maleks, Chowes and Zobey'r, who divided the force of the nation, and were often at war with each other, but always united

in cases of common danger. Malek Chowes is described to be a fat, lively, good-tempered man, and very fair for a Sheygy'a, who are in general jet-black ; he was the more powerful of the two, and Mérawe was the name of his capital and his kingdom. Zobeyr was represented as a more violent man ; and, since a great victory obtained by an ancestor, fifty-five years ago, at the foot of M^t. Dager, over the King of Argo, he had governed the southern or lower part of Dar Sheygy'a ; the name of his capital was Hannech. The united force of these two monarchs was about ten thousand men, of whom more than two thousand were cavalry.

On his arrival at Dóngola, the Pasha sent them orders to submit to the power of Mahommed Ali ; they expressed themselves willing to cultivate their ground and to pay tribute. The Pasha then commanded them to prove their sincerity by sending to him their arms and their horses. They simply repeated their former offer.. The Pasha replied, that his father had ordered him to make them a nation of Felláhs* instead of a nation of warriors, and renewed his demand. They replied, with a defiance, " Either go on your business, or come and attack us ;" and the Pasha moved his troops towards their frontiers.

The first skirmish seems to have taken place near Old Dóngola, when the Pasha and some of his generals, with very few soldiers,

* The name of the labouring Arabs of Egypt, and one of reproach among all their free brethren.

were surprised by a party of Sheygy'a, whom they repulsed. In one that succeeded, Abdin Casheff took prisoner the virgin* daughter of one of their chiefs; he instantly sent her unseen to the Pasha. The young Turk commanded the half-naked savage to be brought before him; he received her with kindness, and asked her some questions about her father; he then ordered her to be washed, and splendidly dressed, changed her ornaments of dollars for others of Venetian gold, and sent her, under a strong escort, back to her father †. As soon as the chief recognised his daughter, and saw how she had been honoured, "All this is well," said he with impatience, "but are you still a virgin?"—She assured him that she was; and when he had ascertained the truth of this, he withdrew his troops, and swore that he would not fight against the man who had spared the virginity of his daughter: an act worthy to be recorded among those sacrifices of public spirit to private feeling, which have ever been condemned by philosophers, and will ever be forgiven by other men.

* The signal for attack among the Sheygy'a, as I believe among other Arabs, is given by a virgin, richly dressed, and seated on a dromedary, who is held sacred even by the enemy. The signal is *lilli-lilli-loo*, frequently repeated. This same sound is used by the women, to testify their joy at a festival, or their sorrow at a funeral. The Greek word *ολολυγη* was similar in sound and in usage.

† The merit of the action depends almost entirely on the beauty of the Princess. We never saw her; but if she resemble some of her compatriots, whom we have seen, Ismael Pasha is as deserving of immortality as Scipio Africanus. But as durability of glory depends on the historian more than on the hero, the virtues of a Turk may despair of being perpetuated: it was easier even for Rome to give birth to Scipio than to Livy.

This little anecdote was very generally spoken of, and made a great noise in both armies.

About the same time, in order to intimidate his enemy by so wonderful a display of power, the Pasha ordered an exhibition of fireworks. His enemy was less timid, though, perhaps, not less ignorant, than he imagined, and on seeing the rockets shooting into the air, they only remarked, "What, is he come to make war against Heaven too!" and their courage was confirmed by the sight. "You are come against us," they used to shout from their encampment, "you are come against us from the North and from the East and from the West; but we will destroy you." When told by the Ababde, who were escorting the Chief's daughter, that if they did not submit the Pasha would drive them to Sennaar—"He may drive us to the gates of the world; but we will not submit."

Some days after the affair of the virgin, the Pasha, with about three hundred men, was encamped three or four miles in the Desert, on the left bank, not far from Korti. He was suddenly roused in his tent by shouts of "Where is the Pasha?" He was surrounded by three or four thousand Sheygy'a. He sprung on his horse, and rode up to Abdin Casheff in high spirits, and asked him and the other Generals, whether they would fight that day in their own fashion or in his? Abdin answered, that during the many years that he had been a soldier, he had never fought in any other fashion than that of his General. The Pasha then placed the Bedouins and

the Moggrebyns in two divisions in front; and behind the former, Selagh Dar, and behind the latter, Abdin Casheff; with the camels and baggage he formed a kind of rear-guard, and was himself every where. He had no cannon with him, and was, we were assured, so little prepared for this attack, that none of the men had more than sixteen rounds of cartridge, and many much less. Luckily for his life and his glory, the arms of his enemies were of a much simpler kind; they have each two lances, the long Solingen sword, and an oblong shield of hippopotamus' or crocodile's skin; but generally the former. Some of their leaders wore a coat of mail, covering the head, and falling over the shoulders to the middle of the back*. A very few had pistols; but the possession of guns was confined to the Chiefs, and it is a singular proof of their attachment to the weapon of their fathers, that having it always in their power to be tolerably supplied with fire-arms, and having, in their wars with the Mamelouks, than whom none knew better how to use them, experienced their fatal effects, they would never condescend to adopt them.

They are singularly fearless in attack, and ride up to the very faces of their enemy with levity and gaiety of heart as to a festival, or with joy as if to meet friends from whom they had been long separated; they then give the "*Salam aleikoum!*"

* We afterwards saw one of this kind at Argo, belonging to a relation of the Malek, and they are said to be common at Cairo, as the Mamelouks used them. They seem, however, though impenetrable by a spear, to be not so by ball.

“Peace be with you!”—the peace of death, which is to attend the lance that instantly follows the salutation: mortal thrusts are given and received, with the words of love upon the lips. This contempt of life, this mockery of what is most fearful, is peculiar to themselves—the only people to whom arms are play-things, and war a sport; who among their enemies seek nothing but amusement, and in death fear nothing but repose.

In this case, they had motives enough to increase even their natural and hereditary bravery. They had lived the companions of their horses, with the lance in their hand: they were to resign the former to strangers, and exchange the latter for harrows and pruning-knives; and were to drive an ox round a *sakie*, instead of chasing an enemy across the Desert. They had many Nubians settled in the country, whom they obliged to all the labours of cultivating the ground, and whom they treated as greatly their inferiors. They were now called upon to perform these labours, which they had been brought up to consider as servile, and were to expect no better treatment than that which they had been accustomed to exercise; they were to fall at once to slavery, not from liberty merely, but from tyranny; and again, besides their prejudices against white men generally, they had particular religious ones against the Osmanlies, to whom, in common with Christians, they applied the term *Dog*.

Their first attack was irresistible; the Bedouins were driven back, and Abdin Casheff advanced from the opposite angle of

the square to support them; while he was engaged, the Bedouins rallied in his rear, he returned to his post, and they charged again. The Moggrebyns had been similarly routed and rallied. The Sheygy'a, though suffering very severely, repeated their attacks, and three times was Abdin Casheff seen to charge in person, and throw himself into the middle of the enemy; he shot several of them with his own hand, and having disarmed one, he drove his own lance quite through his body. The Pasha was giving, in other parts, similar proofs of courage, the only one he could now give of generalship, and the pistol of his Highness is said to have been particularly destructive; he caught the gaiety of his enemies, and rode among them with a laugh. At last, the Sheygy'a, finding that their magic had not been able to stop the course of Turkish balls, and that the charms of the enemy were stronger than their own, said, "that God had declared against them," and took to flight. They had placed great dependance on those charms, to which their necromancers* had given, for this occasion, peculiar power and efficacy; and their first act after the battle was to put to death the whole race that had thus imposed on their credulity.

Their cavalry, being much better mounted than their adversaries, in general escaped, but a great part of the infantry was massacred. It is, however, universally acknowledged that the

* The Magicians formed a distinct profession among the Sheygy'a, distinct from their Fakirs and their Shieks, and they lived together in a village near Merawe, named Shibbah.

Pasha exerted himself to save the flying enemy, and succeeded in preserving some, who were of the infantry, and chiefly Nubians ; inhabitants of that part of Dóngola which was tributary to the Shegy'a, and attached to their army by force, or habit, or inclination ; for these Arabs were not disliked by their subjects. The Pasha made presents to his prisoners, and clothed them, and sent them back to the Shegy'a with the insulting message, not to send Berabéras against them, but to come themselves ; to which they answered, as when yet unwounded, " Either go on your business, or come and attack us." He had not yet passed their mountain barrier, where they had been in the habit of routing their invaders.

It is a singular, though very certain, fact, that the Pasha had not one man killed in this action, and only one officer and sixteen men wounded, and these, with scarcely any exception, in the back—the natural consequence of their manner of fighting ; they discharge all their fire-arms, and then retire into the rear to re-load, while the second and succeeding ranks are firing ; when loaded, they advance again, and therefore, after the first discharge the whole is a scene of confusion. One Bedouin received seven lance wounds, not one of which was honourable, and recovered of them all ; he had been unhorsed among the enemy, and lanced while lying on the ground.

The Shegy'a left six hundred men on the field of battle, and they are now lying where they fell, unburied, in the Desert. I am told that the dying expression which remained on the

faces of most of them was that of anger rather than of terror, and that many had expired with a smile on their countenance. I have heard of some acts of individual courage performed by them during the battle, and which are related with admiration by the Turks themselves. One Arab, who appears to have placed perfect confidence in the strength of his charms, after receiving five balls, continued fighting and crying out, "that they might fire, but could never hurt him;" till he received his mortal wound. The exploits of another are particularly celebrated by his enemies, who, after being similarly perforated, fought till he fell, and died crying "Where is the Pasha?" Another, also wounded, had lost his horse; however, he found his way to the door of the tent of Sēlagh Dar, whose groom was standing there biting his master's charger; the Arab disabled the groom, leaped on the horse, and galloped away. However, such acts are common in all battles; nor are they more admirable in savage than in civilized man. Death is not more terrible in the desert than in the city; it ought to be less so to those who have less to live for.

Yet shall I be pardoned for mentioning these not uninteresting exertions of human energy. The national existence of the Sheygy'a, and their attempt to preserve it, will either never be known, or soon forgotten. In a few years, the next generation, perhaps even the present, will be turning the sakies, and heaving the water-buckets, like the Felláhs of Egypt; and instead of being the Pasha's bravest enemies, will only be

known as his most active slaves. They will have no place in History; their conquerors, more illiterate than themselves, have no writer to preserve their name; for so, they would at least descend to posterity, as a nation of brave robbers*; and even that were better than to be forgotten.

Those who escaped from the battle of Korti, took refuge in some strong stone castles, one of which is built on the site of an ancient temple at the foot of M^t. Dager, on the other bank of the Nile. Their horses are taught to swim across the river in the broadest parts; they are also trained, by a particular jerk of the bridle, to advance by springs instead of any regular pace, making their gallop exactly that of an antelope; they thus prevent the enemy from aiming with certainty, by the uncertainty of their own motion, without impeding the actions of their rider, who is accustomed to it. The Pasha pursued them to their castles, in and behind which were drawn up to receive him these black horsemen of the Desert, darkening (as an eye-witness described it,) the side of the mountain; they were shouting terribly, and seemed awaiting the attack with impatience. This time, the Pasha thought it more prudent to bring some pieces of artillery to bear upon them. A heavy fire of shot and shells, which they were equally unable to avoid and to avenge, quickly dissipated the ardour of these unhappy

* “What are you but a nation of robbers?” said a Turk to them, during some negotiation. “Robbers!” was the indignant reply: “Robbers, then, were we born; and robbers will we die.”

men, and they appear to have fled without making any attempt at resistance. Yet even in this case (as we afterwards learnt), were their terrors derived from their superstition: a shell fell into one of the castles, and began rolling and bounding about; they collected in numbers to look at it, and were much amused by its motions, till it burst and wounded several; it was then that they fled, exclaiming, "that the Spirits of Hell were come against them, and were too strong for them." To the last they had no fear of man or his inventions; but, astounded by the power and novelty of the means employed to destroy them, they came to the natural, but hopeless, conclusion, that "the Spirits of Hell were come against them." They were pursued by the cavalry and artillery for the whole night; and with what effect, we had afterwards an opportunity of observing. The first halt of the army was at the spot where we found it encamped, about twelve hours from Djebel Dager.

In the mean time, the Cavaliere, who is also a poet, had already celebrated, in Tuscan rhyme, the glory of the conqueror; and whatever be the merit of his composition, it was at least a singular incident to have found the Muse of Italy singing the exploits of a Turk among the mountains of Africa.

A proof that the Shegy'a, though beaten, had not ceased to be formidable, is, that this morning, as the Chevalier was advancing in his boat, a little a-head of the main body of the fleet, who were not less than sixty in number, he saw first two, and then four, and then two more, of these Arabs, on the right

bank, coming down to water their horses at the river-side ; he turned his boat about, and the whole fleet followed him, and we found them drawn up on the left bank, a little above us ; his boat only, and a few others, being at the island in the rear of the rest.

We were not flattered with the hopes of experiencing any kindness at the hands of the Pasha ; he hates all Franks (it seems), and was determined to have no *freemen* in his army. He had, long ago, and constantly, received information of our movements, had expressed himself unfavourably regarding us, and intended (it was said) to discourage the attempts of any future travellers, by his manner of receiving us.

Dec. 8. Among the various pieces of intelligence given us yesterday evening by the Greek Demetrio, one unhappily turned out to be true, and that was a prophecy ; he had told us, in a savage and almost exulting manner, " I shall have to bury a doctor to-night." The invalid was a Piedmontais, named Gentile, who had been many years in the English service, and had an English wife then living at Calcutta ; a man of irreproachable character, and by general confession the most respectable Christian in the service of the Pasha : he died in the course of the night, and the Greek had accomplished his prediction before day-break.

We left the island rather early, and crossed over to join the other boats : this led to the usual scene of confusion, during which our boat had the misfortune to run foul of the commodore.

The little veteran seized his stick in his left hand, jumped on board us, and chased the sailors about, to the great diminution of his own dignity, and the unrestrained amusement of all spectators. The scene becomes lively; every stone is a Sheygy'a; a telescope of Mr. Hanbury's is in great request; pistols are cleaning and guns firing; the whole presents an animating mixture of good humour and disorder, full of novelty and interest.

At first our direction was N.; the river is very broad, but shallow towards the right bank. In about half a mile some small islands began to intervene, but the Nile is navigable on both sides of them. M^t. Dager is now on our left; our right side is rich and cultivated, but without palms. In about one mile and a half we passed a village on our left, at the foot of M^t. Dager, and some large buildings, apparently of stone, near it; these are the castles, whence the Sheygy'a were driven by the *mitraille*. The country is all along quite open on the right. In about three miles Mount Dager ends. Being unable, from our weight, to cross to the other side, according to orders, we tied our boat for the night to the left or east bank, with two or three others, though with some supposed danger of an attack; as this bank was not so thoroughly depopulated as that opposite, on which the Pasha had advanced in person.

Dec. 9. Near the river is a village, almost entirely burnt down, and deserted, except by the dogs. In the middle of it is one of those large mud fortresses, of which we had never yet been able to examine the interior. It is a square of about forty

yards, with houses round the inside, though lower than the outer wall, which is very thick, and has stair-cases up to the top. In the middle is a court, in the centre of which is a small square building, with little holes in the wall near the top, higher than the exterior wall, and near it is a large well, lined with stone ; the whole building was black with smoke, and every thing combustible in it had been destroyed. The dhourra, which was just ripe, was broken down in every direction, and a dead camel was lying among it. The trees alone preserved their verdure and their inhabitants, and we observed many flights of partridges crossing over from the mountains opposite.

A low bank projected into the water about two hundred yards before our boat : returning to breakfast, I observed a number of soldiers collected on the bank, and went that way to see what had brought them together. They had already left the spot when I arrived, and found there a dead body, just washed to shore, but still in the water. Its back was upwards, the head a little deeper, yet still partly out of water, and " heaving with the heaving billow ;" though, as the face was downwards, and the motion rather sideways, in the direction of the waves that occasioned it, the reality did not correspond to the idea one is apt to form from the poet's description. The arms were bent at the elbow, and advanced exactly as in the act of swimming ; and as the motion of the water kept them also moving, the corpse had the appearance of a person always swimming and never advancing ; the neck was green, and the head and body much

swelled and almost white, appearing as if they had been covered with a black skin, which in most parts had been washed off; no hair was left on the head, the legs were under water, and the sheath of the small knife worn on the left arm still remained there, though the soldiers had taken out the knife; the usual rope was round the waist. The men whom I had met had come with the intention of burying the body; but finding that he was an enemy (for even in that state they pretended to be able to distinguish him from the Arabs in the Pasha's service), they left him to his fate; his fate was not doubtful, for the hawks and the vultures were already wheeling about at no great distance. We returned to the boat, and sent our servants with instruments to drag him on shore, and dig a grave in the sand, and soon afterwards went back ourselves to place him there. We found him extended on the bank, motionless now, and fated to move no more; lifeless and not to be re-animated, and beyond the power of imagination; he was become an object merely of horror, which but for one feeling and one reflection, would have been disgust: the nose and lips had been worn away by the friction of the water, the upper jaw was driven in much within the under, and exposure to the sun had almost instantly changed the colour of the whole body to a deep red. The legs were thin, and not swelled like the rest of the body; the right much bent at the knee, and the left stretched out; there was no visible wound; he had been killed by a ball, or more probably drowned in an attempt to swim across the river. We were proceeding to lay

him in the hole already dug for him, when the soldiers interfered, and some words being exchanged, they pleaded, "that their allegiance to the *Sultan* obliged them to leave all *his* enemies unburied, and swore they would do the same, were the corpse lying before them that of Mahommed Ali himself." We desist, and return to the boat, determined to execute our intention after dark; the vultures soon discover, and approach, and hover about, and alight near him; and I observed one, the hungriest or boldest among them, who walked round and then quite close to the unprotected corpse, but seemed restrained by some sort of fear from touching it; and continued for two or three hours, apparently desiring and hesitating, without daring to commence its unholy feast: the dogs, who were living almost wild among the dhourra, also came near, but shewed the same unwillingness to begin a revel on what had so lately been man. May it be, that the human figure, even thus deformed and fallen from its glory, continued to inspire these animals with a part at least of the respect they had felt for it when upright and breathing? or is there a superstition or a religion*, common in some degree to all the brutes of creation, which awes their approach to the image of their Creator, however degraded and corrupted? Towards dusk a vulture alighted on the body; he was quickly displaced by a rifle-shot, and soon afterwards a boat

* There are stories of the wildest animals having been awed by the steady regard of man—their attack, perhaps, is only to be feared when they are infuriated by hunger, or confinement, or provocation.

passed with a Cadi or Judge (a Turk) on board. He orders two men to bury the corpse. They answer, "It is an enemy."—"And does the Koran teach you not to bury an enemy? for the future read the Koran before you pray: go and bury the body!" and the order was obeyed.

There was another village, about a mile higher up, still larger than this, and in the same state of desolation; some mats and bedsteads were found there, and a number of quotations from the Koran on wood and tile, and two inscriptions, both well written on paper, left over the doors, and purporting 'that the inhabitants had been driven away by force, by unholy people, and not under the protection of God.'

This depopulation of huts and cottages, that marks the course of war through a poor country, presents a spectacle perhaps more deeply afflicting than the destruction of cities or of palaces. Simplicity of houses and manufactures is connected in our ideas with simplicity of manners, with ignorance and with innocence: such a people may have much to move benevolence or even pity, but can possess nothing to excite envy or rapacity; the thirst of plunder becomes almost an excuse for hostile depredation, when compared with the fury of that invader against whom poverty is no protection.

Dec. 10. Yesterday evening we contrived in two hours to perform the labour of crossing the river, after a fortunate rencontre with some peasants, who were returning with their oxen into Dóngola. The oxen were killed, and, in entire

dearth of other provisions, immediately eaten; the life of the men was spared, and they proceeded, upon the whole well satisfied with their adventure.

The country on this (the right) bank was as deserted as on the other, except that in a village near, there remained one old woman, who had refused to leave her cottage with the rest, and stayed to perish with it; she rejects offers of sustenance, and talks lightly of death. The women seem generally to have shared the courage of their husbands and fathers. "Are you not afraid of the soldiers?" said our servants to some of those confined at the island below: "Why should we fear the soldiers?" answered one of them; "Can they do more than kill us?" A quantity of plaited hair was found in one of the cottages, cut off, no doubt, by some widow, on hearing the death of her husband, before she fled.

We observed some of the sailors, who happened to have lost or worn out the very simple vestment which is considered necessary in this country, supply its place by a cincture of acacia leaves attached to the cord worn round the waist: a very primitive* covering, though less effectual than the original fig-leaf.

* Hardly less simple, though more singular, means were employed for the same purpose by the ancient inhabitants of these countries. See Diodor. Sic., lib. iii. sect. 7.: *Τινὲς δὲ τῶν προβάτων τὰς οὐράς ἀποκόπτοντες ἐκ τῶν ὀπίθεν καλύπτουσι δία τούτων τὰ ἰσχία, καθάπερ αἰδῶ ταύτην προβαλόμενοι· ἔνιοι δὲ χερσίν ταις δοραῖς τῶν κτηνῶν· εἰσι δ' οἱ περιζώμασι μεχρὶ τὸ μέσον σώμα καλύπτουσι, ἐκ τῶν τριχῶν πλέκοντες.* Which is confirmed by Strabo, lib. 16, in his account of the manners of the Ethiopians

A soldier brought in a colossal wild-goose, which he had just shot with ball, and presented it to us: it had the breast grey, the belly white, the tail black, the back a speckled brown, and the head and upper part of the neck a deep brown, and was larger by a third than any one I ever saw in any country. The side of M^r. Dager and the stony ground near it abounds with partridges, which come down in coveys of forty or fifty together to the river to drink; they fly high with much chattering and noise, and are very difficult to approach.

In the course of the day, some of our party made an excursion to the mountains, and found there a village full of old women and children; their attention was excited by the cries of one of the latter from among the dhourra; they went to the spot, and succeeded in rescuing a little girl of ten or eleven years old from the violence of four men, the most active of whom was our friend, the donor of the wild goose. They ask a little boy after his father: "He is dead." He uttered the words mechanically, as if hardly knowing their meaning. A child comes to them, pleading her extreme youth, and claims to be spared and protected. How far such claims were allowed by the other Christians in the army, appears from an anecdote we heard to-day. There was a little boy, who had a very young colt, all that he inherited at the death of his father, and which even the soldiers had left him: Demetrio, the Greek already mentioned, passed soon afterwards, on his return from the camp, whither he had been carrying the news of Gentile's death: to complete his triumph over humanity, he seized the colt, beat

its little owner, and returned to his master glorying in his victory and his spoil.

His master was the Signor Protomedico, who having also come to the rear on account of the same event, paid us a visit in the evening. His object was evidently to become acquainted with our wishes and intentions; and this, like all greatly cunning men, he endeavoured to attain indirectly. It is most amusing to observe how much time and ingenuity are often employed by the tortuous mind of a Greek to arrive at a conclusion, which an answer to a simple question would give him much more surely: what a complicated machine he erects to fathom a rivulet; and how vain he is, if he succeed! However, he was extremely civil, made us some very trifling, though acceptable, presents, and promised to send down horses for us from the army; his manners are extremely smooth, and his behaviour, and even appearance, upon the whole, prepossessing.

Dec. 11. The Persian found one of the Sheygy'a shields, and sold it to us: it is about four feet long and one foot and a half broad, of hippopotamus's skin; it was completely hacked with sabre-cuts, and a ball had passed through the middle. An immense crocodile, apparently fifty or sixty feet in length, lay on a bank near the other side all the afternoon; our rifle would not reach so far, and the report did not even disturb him, and there were no means of approaching nearer. We were detained here all day by the dilatoriness of some of the other boats, who came up in the evening, and whose Reisses furnished the Commodore

with an hour or two of exercise. We heard the blows of his nabboot very distinctly in our boat, though nearly a quarter of mile to windward of the flag-ship.

Dec. 12. Returning to the boat, after the execution of a cannibal vulture, we found our part of it occupied by three very important Turkish-looking men, one of whom saluted us in English. They proved to be an Italian and two Americans; the former, named Rossignoli, was a physician on the staff, and the others were renegades; the more consequential of the two is named Mahommed Effendi—it is said, that he is of a good family*, and that after deliberately weighing, with all the advantages of education, the merits of the two religions, he declared in favour of the Mahometan. He then wrote a book, to prove to all the Christian world how well he had decided, and of which he greatly wishes, we were assured, to obtain the publication in England. He was now an officer of artillery in the Pasha's service; he is a pale, delicate-looking man, of above thirty, and has been successful in acquiring the grave and calm look of the Turks, and the slow motion of the head and roll of the eyes. Two other Americans followed his example, and also (to use

* We afterwards learnt, from one of his fellow-countrymen, that he is a native of Boston, son of a merchant, and educated a Protestant. Since then, besides being for some time a Jew, he has adopted in succession nearly all the opinions that divide the Christian world. He is now an orthodox Mahometan; and, should he survive this expedition, will, of course, turn Wahabee. He will next offer his adorations to Vishnou, and to Fo; and after making the tour of the world and its religions, will be contented to die an Atheist.

the orthodox expression) "*took the turban*," and they have since been heard to express their repentance of an act performed (as they say) at his persuasion. Of their conversion, or rather, transformation, (and it seems to have been almost miraculous,) I can give no better account than by a *literal* translation of one I received from an eye-witness: "One day, at Cairo, I saw pass by two Americans, dressed like common sailors (which they were) in a blue jacket and trowsers; and then, for eight or ten days, I saw no more of them. After that interval, I observe them again, dressed in red, with a white turban on, and I say, 'What thing is this?' (Che cos' è questo?) and I am told, that they have made Turks of themselves; and since, it seems, they have also made gentlemen of themselves." One of these was our third visitor. It is, perhaps, unjust to suspect that the principal object of their visit was curiosity to know on what service we were employed by the Pasha; supposing, as they did very naturally, that it was not a voyage of mere pleasure, that we were making to such a place, and at such a time. Amiro had before met us under the same impressions, except that he was led by his own pursuits to suspect us of being professed antiquarians, as the Americans did, no doubt, of being very able engineers. Their apparent, and perhaps only, motive for being at some trouble to see us, was highly honourable to their humanity. They had, as they fancied, very strong reasons to believe that Gentile had been poisoned, and that Demetrio had administered the drugs, at the instance of the Protomedico,

who intended thereby to escape the payment of eight thousand piastres, which he owed the deceased. They talked of the Protomedico's general character, and mentioned a similar act, which he had notoriously committed at Cairo, by the hand of the very black who had so lately been our fellow-traveller ; and, in short, were more successful in proving him capable of such crimes, than guilty of this ; for it appears that Gentile's complaint (whatever may have been the cause of it) was a dysentery of some weeks' standing, and that there were no marks of poison to be discovered on the body. Their conviction, however, that such had been his fate, was very strong, and, as it appeared to us, principally founded on extremely slight, though very singular, grounds. During the last hours of the sick man's life, Demetrio was observed to be particularly pressing to obtain from him his pardon : pardon for what ? Now, I know not whether it be one of the tenets of the Greek Church, but I have been often assured that it is a general belief among that worthy people, that the pardon of the dying victim ensures the mercy of God to the murderer, who thus whitewashed, without fear, and therefore without remorse, buries the corpse, and goes off with a light heart, to the repetition, perhaps, of so simple an act. Demetrio did ultimately obtain this pardon, and was observed to be in peculiarly high spirits ever after. Be the fact of the murder as it may, their object was to secure the payment of the eight thousand piastres to the widow, our own countrywoman, and this the British Consul was to effect (as they hoped)

by our information. Unwilling to trust our memory on the details of a matter of so much importance, we begged them to make a written statement of the whole affair, which we promised to deliver to the Consul. Rossignoli spoke the most and with the most warmth; though the others were not without anxiety about an act of humanity, in the performance of which they had no visible interest whatever.

Our visitors had walked three hours to find our boat, and, no doubt, expected to be regaled with a hearty English breakfast. Now we had long lived, from day to day, on what fortune brought us, even the Commodore's rice having been some time finished; and it happened that morning, that two small bits of bread formed our whole stock of provision, one of which they had devoured at the moment of entering the boat. Two of our servants were out foraging. We fairly confessed our situation to them; and after staying about two hours, they took their leave. Presently the foragers returned unsuccessful, and the remaining morsel of bread furnished us with our temperate repast. This is mentioned, only because we heard, afterwards, that Mahommed Effendi had complained severely of our reception of him. Now it is difficult to say what reception a renegade has a right to expect from those whose religion he has deserted. We offered him neither insult nor reproach: did he expect cordiality and friendship? or was it in the presence of the corpses left to rot on the face of the earth by those whose

faith he had from conviction embraced, that he thought us likely to respect him and his faith?

We were, it is true, alike natives of a distant land, we spoke the same language, and were in the country of a common enemy; but the nature of crimes is not changed by the sun that burns, or the deserts that surround you; nor can any circumstances of hardship, difficulty, or danger, alter the feeling with which you approach an apostate. And yet it must be confessed, that, to the disgrace of the Christians resident in the East, renegades are, in general, much less despised by them than by the Turks themselves*.

Our servants, in their expedition into the village, found only an old woman alive, with her ears off. The Pasha buys human ears at fifty piastres a-piece, which leads to a thousand unnecessary cruelties, and barbarizes the system of warfare; but enables his highness to collect a large stock of ears, which he sends down to his father as proofs of his successes. The shore is putrid, and the air tainted, by the carcasses of oxen, sheep, goats, camels, and men. The latter, in particular, are found every fifty yards, scattered along the road and among the corn; some in an attempt to reach the Nile, and escape by swimming, have been overtaken on the bank, and there killed; others are found with

* These men, in the army, are called, "the English," from the language they are supposed to speak; the name of America is not yet known so far. I am proud to add my belief that there is only one British renegade in Egypt.

their oxen* in the sakies, where they had been labouring together; some near the houses they probably inhabited. Those I saw were generally lying on their back, the legs apart, the knees bent, the body and neck much bloated, horribly offensive to the smell, and of the colour and stiffness of the earth on which they were rotting. Many were so placed as to be hardly distinguishable from it, and we often mistook for a lump of mud what was, in fact, nothing better. The arms were in different positions, but, in general, one was on the breast, and the other often under the neck. They were of all ages; the older ones, and there were many with white beards, had something like a grin, of ferocity or agony, on their faces; the younger, among whom was one boy of fourteen or fifteen, looked very placid, as if they had parted with life more easily. Beyond this I can conceive little variety of expression on the countenances of the dead. On the face which the eye has ceased to animate, the grin of indignation, or contempt, or even joy, can differ but little from that of anguish; and the calmness of resignation, or fearlessness, or innocence, or despair, will be nearly the same—of those that I saw, the mouths

* A great number of oxen were lying dead all along the water's edge; either because, when left at liberty, they gorged themselves with dhourra, and then drank till they died, or because, terrified by the fire and tumult, they ran into the water, and were unable to extricate their feet from the mud. It is not supposed that they were killed either by the Sheygy'a or the soldiers; the former had no time even to save themselves, and as to the latter, I never heard that the Pasha gave any reward for the ears of an ox.

were all open, and of most the dying expression (if ever distinguishable) was now rotted away, as they had been dead seven or eight days. They had died all kinds of deaths; one had been hanged, and the chord, a very thin one, was still about his neck, and his eyes starting from his head; one had his arm broken, and the same, a very fine young man, had a large scar on his face, received no doubt in some former war; the boy had a sabre-cut on the neck, and his head was nearly severed from his body; some had their dust-coloured cloaks on, some only the covering round the waist, and that generally displaced, and others were quite naked: the clear red colour of the flesh of those bodies that had been most exposed to the sun, clear as if transparent, had an effect indescribably horrible. Those whom the birds and beasts had begun to devour (who in proportion to the whole number were very few), were attacked almost exclusively in the wrist and the arm below the elbow, and perhaps the eyes, which, from that cause, or putrefaction, were gone in almost every instance. I saw no body of a woman or child, and am unwilling to believe an assurance we received, that many of both had been massacred. In the midst of the contemplation of such a spectacle, we met a trembling shrivelled old woman, carrying something on her head, who told us, as intelligibly as her agitation allowed her, that the Pasha had made peace with the Sheygy'a, and that multitudes of people were coming down this way. She was not maimed or wounded, but such a picture of human deformity

as I never saw living. The presence of such a being, moving like an evil spirit among the dead, completed a scene already too horrible*.

The place where we had passed our last two days was nearly opposite the end of a small island; two miles above begins another, and continues about two miles more; a large bank projects from the right side towards it, and the Nile is in general very shallow. Two high green islets succeed, where the river widens on one side, and in about five miles we stopped again opposite the end of another island. Both banks are rich and well cultivated, full of villages, with old castles in the desert behind; one near this place the troops found quite full of dates, which by the order of the Pasha they burned. A shield of crocodile-skin, but not impenetrable by ball, was found to-day, and fell into our possession.

I never saw the Nile so smooth and beautiful as in this country; it is like a succession of lakes, ornamented by green islands, and surrounded by verdure—this may be fancy, and that the mind, disgusted by the fury of man, takes refuge in the tranquillity of nature; and is more disposed to the admiration of inanimate things, as it is shocked by the crimes and the miseries of the things that live.

* Giovanni was sick whenever he went on shore, and one of the soldiers was actually taken so ill, while walking over the field, as to require support to return to his boat—an Albanian, too, and probably not unaccustomed to scenes of carnage.

Dec. 13. The island is about two miles and a half long ; in a village opposite to the end of it we found a few women and children, with their cattle. They were sitting close together, in a cluster, by the side of a ruined house, and they tell us, " they have no fear, as they are under the protection of God and the Pasha ;" though their trembling looks were far from confirming their words. Two of the women were young, and one extremely pretty* ; some of the children were beautiful ; they really were without fear ; they were pleased with the dresses and arms of the soldiers, and smiled ignorantly on the destroyers of their fathers. Little notice was taken of them ; but while some of the soldiers are attentive to their mothers and sisters, we observe our friend the Infidel in the act of carrying off a large sheep, of which (to the disgrace of our weak and hungry nature) we afterwards accepted a considerable portion.

Near the end of the island the right bank becomes less fertile, and the cultivation narrower, which from Mount Dager thus far has varied from one and a half to two miles, and not one spot of good soil appears to have been neglected. About one mile and a half beyond, the sandstone rocks come down to the river, and extend

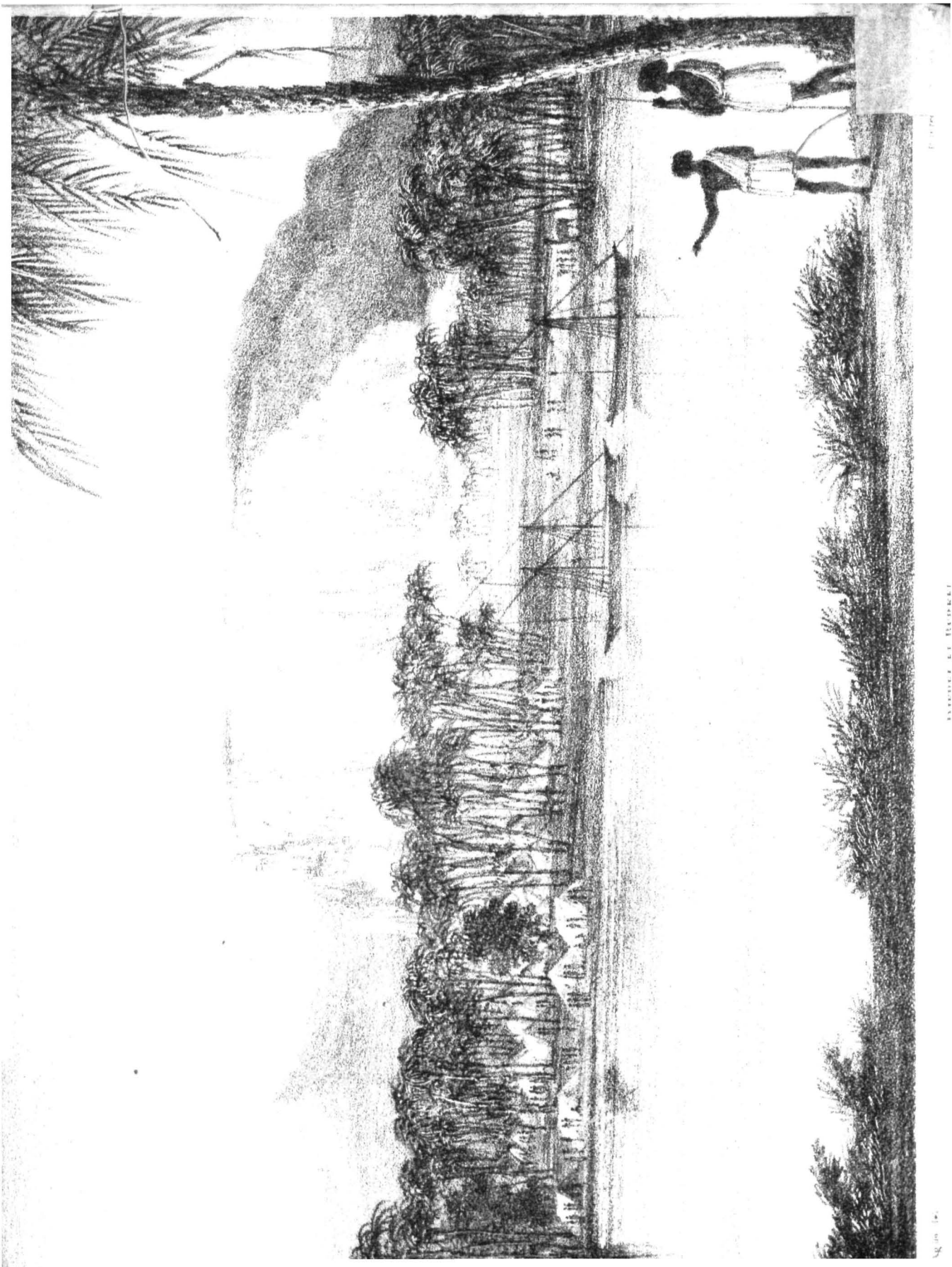
* The Sheygy'a (as I have already mentioned) are black—a clear, glossy, jet-black, which appeared, to my then unprejudiced eyes, to be the finest colour that could be selected for a human being. They are distinguished in every respect from Negroes, by the *brightness* of their colour, by their hair, and the *regularity* of their features ; by the mild and dewy lustre of their eyes, and by the *softness* of their touch, in which last respect they yield not to Europeans.

one hundred and fifty yards: there are two rocky hills close by the shore with ruined mud castles on them, and some higher stony hills behind; on the top of one of which were some piles of stones, like the *pikes* of the Westmoreland mountains. The cultivation is not interrupted for above two hundred yards. In an excursion among these rocks, Mr. Hanbury found a very large old castle of mixed stone and mud, of about one hundred yards square; the walls are thirty feet thick, and are flanked by several towers. He also visited a more modern fortress, said to have belonged to Malek Chowes: the door is remarkably thick and strong, and has two iron bars on the outside crossing each other at right angles. Within was a part of that king's distilling apparatus, and some dates in a state of fermentation; great quantities of written papers were lying all about the rooms. Near one of these castles was found a living man, with a ball in his jaw, and his ears cut off.

We were arrived about two miles above the island, when some dromedaries met us, sent down for us by the Protomedico; and we soon took leave of the Commodore and our other friends, and mounted. In a quarter of an hour we entered Kadjeba, a large castled town, now utterly deserted by all its human inhabitants. In two hours more we came to the river again, at a rocky place, and where the cultivation, for a little distance, is very narrow. Here are some very fine and curiously shaped rocks, with valleys among them, and houses in the valleys. Here are no antiquities, but all with whom we conversed confirmed the accounts we had

so often received, of the men and monsters of stone to be seen at Djebel el Berkel, the name of the mountain at whose foot the army was encamped.

We met at intervals a number of families returning, by the Pasha's permission, to their villages; a great mixture of animals of all ages formed these interesting parties, on their way to bury the corpses of their friends. There were old men supported by their daughters, and close by them four or five children, stark-naked, mounted on an ass; others were riding on cows. There was as great a variety in their countenances; some looked careless and happy, as if satisfied with the knowledge that they were returning in safety to their homes, and ignorant of the desolation that awaited them there; others had the appearance of extreme misery, as if they were ashamed to have survived the massacre of their friends, and the devastation of their country. Among the latter, at a little distance from her party, I observed a young woman, in whose countenance, besides great beauty, there was something so peculiarly expressive, that I desired my servant to salute and address her: he asked her where she was going. There was a natural dignity and pride in her manner, too deep either to be counterfeited or described, as she answered, "I am going to inhabit the house of the Pasha." She spoke with hesitation, as if she would willingly have expressed herself otherwise, but the house of her ancestors she dared not call that, which was in the possession of an enemy—the house of her husband she would gladly have said, but he was dead. She passed on and joined her party.



In one hour more we came at last to the city of Malek Chowes, MERAWE; it is similarly built, but much larger, than Kádjeba. It was now nearly dark, and in passing through its long and gloomy streets, between the thick mud-walls, we were assaulted by multitudes of half-starved dogs, whose howling in the absence of all other sound, and whose adherence to the habitations which their masters had deserted, increased the dreariness, if not the solitude, of the place. Our guides here desire us to keep close together, and we advance for nearly an hour towards Djebel el Berkel, whose outlines are visible in the moonlight. At such an hour as this, and under such circumstances, we would willingly have made our first visit to the Sacred Rock, which we had long hoped was to be the reward, and perhaps the termination, of our labours. We approached near enough to see some of its fragments and projections, which by the uncertain light we mistook for columns and colossi; but all nearer examination was prevented by our guides, who obliged us to avoid the mountain, as well as the trees by the river side; as two soldiers had been murdered two nights ago by some of the natives, concealed there for purposes of plunder or revenge, and who might still be hid among the caverns of the rock. We therefore steered a middle course, and soon after heard the cannon from the camp, which we entered by the quarter of the Ababde, in five hours and a quarter from our leaving the boat. The distance is about sixteen miles in a N.N.E. direction.

We found the land universally rich and well cultivated, and

nowhere more so than near the camp, where the water from the sakies is frequently distributed by four channels, side by side, generally elevated by woodwork or stones, as neatly put together as in Egypt.

The Protomedico had prepared a tolerable mud cottage for us, and incense to perfume it, while supper was preparing; he received us with politeness, and assured us that the Pasha was anxious to see us. We were sorry, however, to learn that Abdin Casheff, to whom we intended to have paid our first respects, was encamped on the other side of the river, a few miles in the rear of the Pasha.

An incident had just happened strongly characteristic of uncivilized warfare, the course of which is usually marked by a mixture of the extremes of generosity and barbarity. The remains of the Sheygy'a, still strong in cavalry, were stationed about a day's march higher up the river than the Pasha; and this morning the son of Malek Chowes arrived at the camp with an escort of a hundred men, and a present of five horses, craving his highness's permission to remain there till such time as he should be cured by the physicians of a wound which he received in the late battles. The Pasha promised him all possible attention, and desired the escort to assure his father, that, when restored to health, he should be sent back to fight again. The young prince was a short stout lad of about sixteen, in appearance and dress like his father's meanest subjects, and only to be distinguished from them by some ornaments on the hilt of his sword. His wound was

in the foot, and not severe ; but the Sheygy'a have no method of curing gun-shot wounds. One or two bodies were found of men who had forced tow or rag into them, to prevent bleeding to death ; the blood had found its way out at the mouth and nose, and even at the eyes, and thus had they only changed the manner of their death, and taken pains to procure one more painful, and not less certain.

Happening to go out late at night, to breathe a little fresh air in the court before the door, I heard, to my unspeakable surprise, some people in a neighbouring hut singing and playing " God save the King !" In the heart of Africa, in the centre of a Mahometan army, surrounded by Turks and Greeks, and slaves and renegades, to hear the song of my country ; and thus, and so suddenly, to be reminded of the land which contains all that is most dear to myself, all that is most noble in the world—I could only lean and listen by the soft moonlight, till the rude minstrelsey was finished, and then retire, with the consolation that to-day at least had not been lost to happiness.

Dec. 14. The Pasha being on the other side of the river, and the Deftar Dar commanding on this, it was necessary (as the doctor assured us) to begin by paying a visit to him. He went himself to present us and interpret for us. The Deftar Dar is a proud-looking and rather handsome young Turk, and we found him sitting in a small tent, much crowded, notwithstanding the heat of the day. He received us indifferently enough, and without paying us any attention began

a conversation with the doctor in Turkish, which it was easy to discover was of no very friendly nature; and though no indecent anger was shewn, it soon became a very warm dispute. Ignorant of the language, we were much interested in observing the countenances of the disputants; and never was there a finer contrast than that formed by the changeable, flexible, moving features and small cunning eyes of the Greek, with the gravity and composure and dignity of the Turk, whose natural violence of temper was only betrayed by his eye; you saw, in this contrast, the characters of the master and the slave. We afterwards learnt that the quarrel was about the very camels which had brought us to the camp. The Greeks had told us a boasting story, that on their return to the camp, the night after the Protomedico's visit to us, they had fallen in with a large party of natives among the corn-fields, loading their camels with dhourra, to be carried to the enemy; that they had charged and routed them, and taken six camels and three or four men; that they had presented the spoils to the Pasha, and his Highness had released the men, and given the camels to the warriors who had so gallantly taken them. This very morning, while standing near our quarters, I was saluted by an upright, grey-bearded old native, who, in a respectful, but determined, manner, seemed to be making some request to me. I was going to call for an interpreter, when Demetrio appeared with a large stick in his hand, severely beat the old man, and turned him out of the court-yard. The noble Arab bore this chastisement haughtily, and with the

air of a person more accustomed to command than to obey. It proved that he was the owner of the camels, and that he then went to the Deftar Dar, to reclaim them, which led, first to the dispute between him and the doctor, and afterwards to the restitution of the camels (whose seizure was proved to have been an indefensible act of robbery), to the honour of Turkish justice.

As we were not more courteously treated by the Head-Treasurer, after the dispute, than we had been before it, we soon took our leave. He is said to be a man of no family, and little estimation at Cairo, and to have been raised by some fortunate circumstances to the high situation that he holds here.

We spent the next three or four hours more pleasantly, in a visit to Djebel el Berkel, returned to an early dinner, and set off to see the Pasha in the evening. A very small country boat, containing nineteen passengers, conveyed us to the island opposite, which is chiefly a long bank named Nain, and hence we were transferred to the other side in the Pasha's own cangee, which was obliged, in the want of all lighter craft, to act as a ferry-boat. After waiting a short time in a small tent near, that served for an antechamber to the place of audience, we were admitted to his Highness. We were presented by the Protomedico, who acted as interpreter, standing all the time. The Pasha made us sit on the same sofa with himself, and began by desiring us to put ourselves at our ease and arrange ourselves in the European manner.

The conversation commenced, of course, with compliments to the Pasha on his victories, his humanity, and his courage, and this subject gradually led to a comparison of European with Turkish warfare; the numbers generally engaged in the former rather confounded him, and it would have been difficult to persuade him that his own battles were at all comparable to those of Napoleon. He asked some sensible questions, and had an evident desire to be well informed on European politics; and this he will find extremely difficult, as he can scarcely propose any question to which he will receive the same answer from the natives of different kingdoms.

He had been assured by the Americans, that if Buonaparte could effect his escape to their country, he would have little difficulty in regaining all his power; and by some other person (probably an Austrian), that all the subjects of all European governments were perfectly free. He inquired about Ali Pasha of Albania, whose success against the Porte he evidently desired, and expressed surprise that the English did not assist him. A reported war between the Swedes and Algerines also interested him; he was acquainted with the position of Sweden, and tolerably well master of the geography of Europe. But the subject on which he entered most warmly was the military force and power of Russia (a subject afterwards introduced to us by Abdin Casheff also), and he asked us why the Congress had allowed it to be so materially increased? We had not answered this question, when his private secretary desired an