

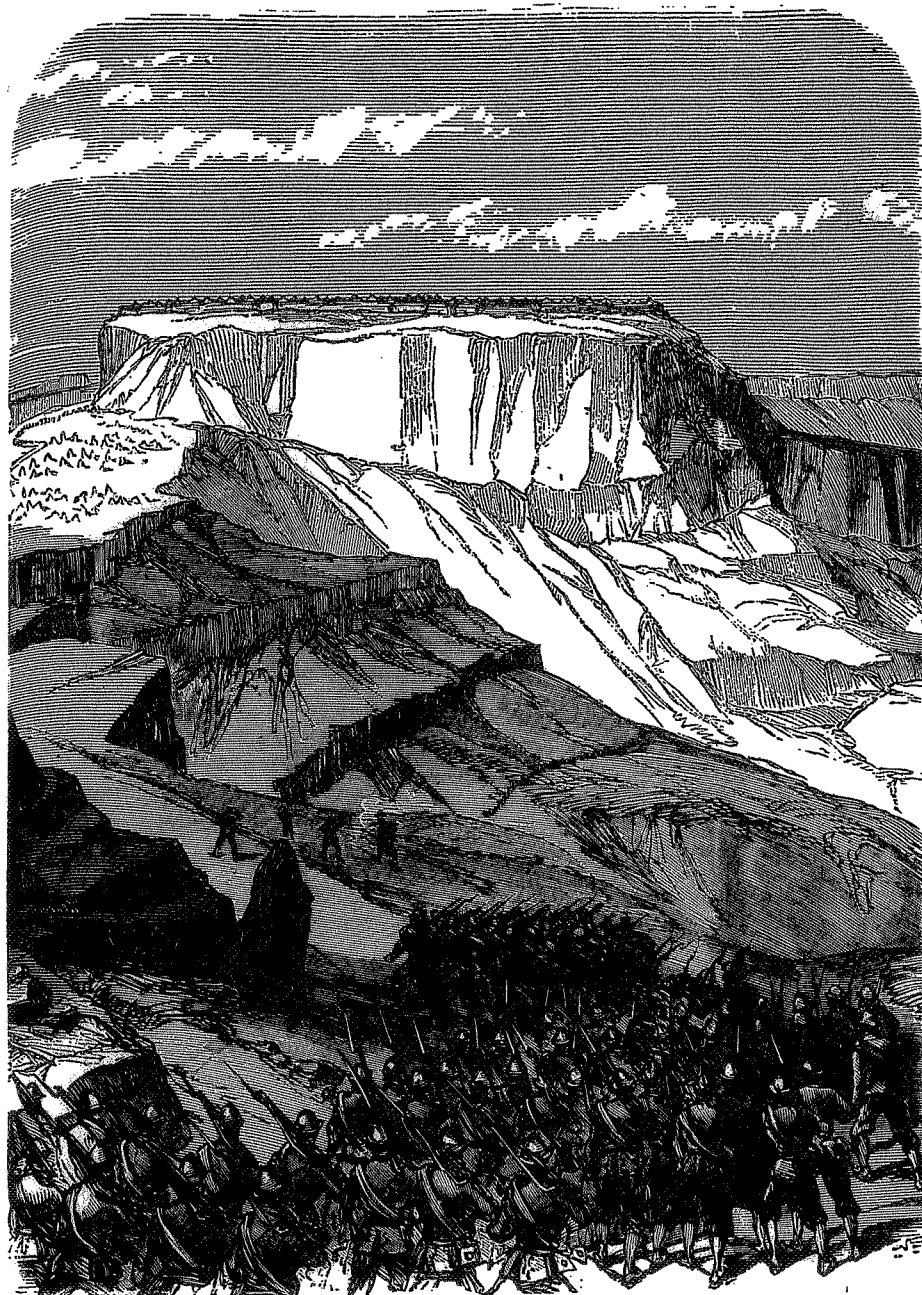
Bulletin of the Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East: Notes and Queries

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GOING UP TO ATTACK MAGDALA.

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The Aims of the Association

The Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East, established in 1997, encourages and promotes education and learning with particular reference to the history of travel and travellers in Egypt and the Near East. It brings together anyone interested in the subject, whether professional academics or not, across a wide spectrum of nations and subject areas. Essentially, the Association acts as a focus for the collection of materials and information and contacts related to its object.

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ASTENE Website

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Here you will find information about the Association, some extracts from the *Bulletin*, membership and standing order forms, a calendar of events, etc.

Any material for the website should be directed to the ASTENE Office.

The designer of our website is Peter McConochie.

ASTENE BULLETIN

The ASTENE *Bulletin*, published twice a year, aims to keep members informed of research interests in the field of travellers and travel in Egypt and the Near East. Members are encouraged to submit queries, information and articles (2000 words or less) and material relating to ongoing research, relevant exhibitions, conferences and seminars, publications, etc.

All back issues of the *Bulletin* are available and may be ordered from the ASTENE Office for £5 each, including postage.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS

Members A: those from the EU, USA & Canada, £20 per annum

Members B: those from elsewhere and all students, £12 per annum

Libraries who wish to receive the *Bulletin* may subscribe for £12 per annum (two issues)

The subscription covers two issues of the ASTENE *Bulletin* and access to the database of members' interests (The Yellow Pages). Any queries about membership should be directed to the ASTENE Office.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

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DEADLINE

for submission of copy for *Bulletin* No. 16
1 September 2003

Dear Readers,

In this Bulletin, the background theme is Ethiopia - or Abyssinia, as it was chiefly known before the 20th century. Originally I intended to draw on material from travellers who ventured into this remote country during the 18th and 19th centuries. However, I found such a staggering array of accounts based on one event, that I decided to concentrate exclusively on that - the epic tale of the taking into captivity by the Emperor Theodore of Abyssinia of the Europeans in his country, and the expedition mounted by the British Government to rescue them from his fastness of Magdala.

The British public were not sanguine about the rescue attempt. 'Letters from correspondents were inserted in [the columns of the daily journals], which drew ghastly pictures of the malaria of the coast, and the insalubrity of the country. At one time the expedition was to die of thirst, at one time to be destroyed by hippopotami...Animals were to perish by flies, men by worms. The return of the expedition was regarded as chimerical, the massacre of the prisoners as certain.' (Holland, I/59)

Their fears proved largely unfounded, and the mission was a success. It was most carefully prepared; the accounts of James Bruce, Henry Salt, Nathaniel Pearce, Charles Tilstone Beke, Mansfield Parkyns and others were closely studied for their observations on the topography and peoples of the territory - an example of how travellers' accounts may be illuminating and useful to the readers' own particular preoccupations. Nor, in the course of the expedition, was the opportunity lost of gaining new information. With the army went an archaeologist, a zoologist, a meteorologist and a geographer, later to have a world reputation in his field, Clements Markham,

The enormous interest aroused by the Expedition enabled many writers to find publishers for books about it. The most thorough account of the military operation (running to two large volumes and a case of detailed route maps) was compiled by order of the Secretary of State for War by two men who had served in the campaign. Major Trevenen J Holland of the Bombay Staff

Corps was Assistant Quartermaster-General of Headquarters Staff, and Captain Henry M Hozier of the 3rd Dragoons was Assistant Military Secretary on Lord Napier's HQ Staff.

By 1867, it was normal for the press to send reporters and artists to accompany campaigns and the pressmen at Magdala included GA Henty, HM Stanley and (somewhat later, arriving after the decisive battle), William Simpson. All published about their experiences. Some of the army officers also wrote accounts. Last but not least, many of the captives themselves put down first-hand narratives of their horrific experiences. Henry Blanc's first account was written in captivity, while there was still no expectation of rescue, and smuggled out. 'So closely packed are the letters, words and lines,' reported the *Times of India*, 'that into sixteen sheets of notepaper is compressed material enough to fill three pages of the [London] *Times* - less about a quarter of a column. So thin, likewise is the paper, that the whole - report, covering letter, envelope, and all - weighs less than an ounce.'

Faced with all this, how could I do other than devote this issue to the Abyssinian Expedition?

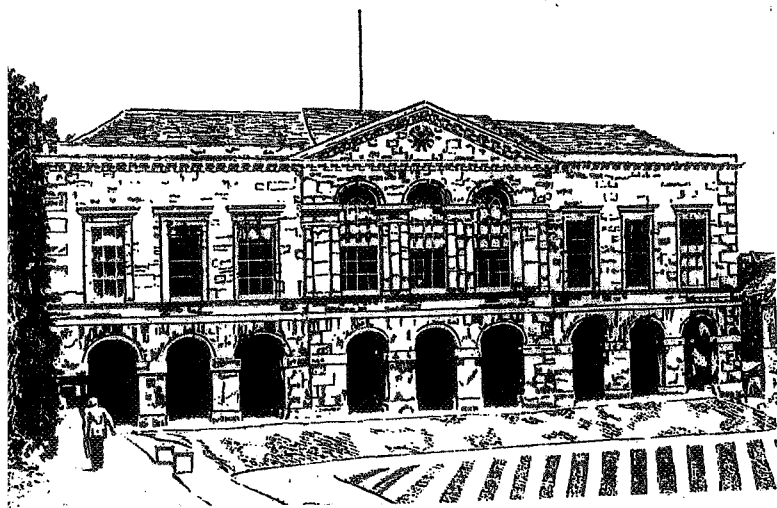
This Bulletin is the last of which I will be the Editor. I've enjoyed the job, but it is a lot of work and I need to get back to my own researches. Albertine Gaur is also retiring from the Book Editorship, and I thank her very much for all she has done. The Autumn Bulletin will be in the capable hands of Deborah Manley, who is exchanging organising your events to organising your reading. All material for the next Bulletin should therefore be sent to her at:

57 Plantation Road, Oxford OX2 6JE, tel/fax 01865 310284

Peta Ree

ASTENE EVENTS

ASTENE CONFERENCE JULY 11-14, 2003



An Introduction to Worcester College, Oxford

Those coming to the ASTENE Conference in July will have a rare treat. Worcester is one of the most beautiful of all the Oxford Colleges.

In 1283, the Benedictine order founded Gloucester College for the monks from its southern monasteries. When Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries from 1540, the college was re-formed as Gloucester Hall and fell into the doldrums. In the early 18th century it was re-established as Worcester College - the first new foundation in Oxford for a century.

The entrance in Beaumont Street leads to a spacious loggia looking over lawns below to the promise of a garden beyond. The loggia links the Hall (where we will dine) and Chapel - both designed by James Wyatt. Above, the Library runs the length of the building.

A range of 'cottages' to the left are among the oldest buildings in the University - a remarkable survival of 15th century architecture, each built to house monks from a different monastery. Facing them is a Classical range of buildings, with the Provost's Lodge of 1773 resembling a Palladian country house. Worcester is generously endowed with some fine modern

buildings, some of which we will be using.

The Gardens are 'the most romantic of all college gardens'. Planned on 'picturesque' principles - carefully designed to look natural - they have great specimen trees and a lake. On a fine summer evening, as the light fades, it is a magical place.

(Based on Philip Opher's *The Oxford College*, 2002)

A few practical details: The college is at the junction of Beaumont Street (the Ashmolean Museum and the Sackler Library lie further up this street), Walton Street and Worcester Street.

The bus station is five minutes walk from the college. There are buses every 15 minutes from London (Oxford Tube and Oxford Bus Company from Grosvenor Gardens near Victoria Station in under two hours), also direct buses hourly from Heathrow and Gatwick airports, and regular buses from Stanstead and Luton airports.

The station is 10 minutes walk from the college, with hourly trains from Paddington Station, London, and from the north of England.

Parking in the college can be booked by conference residents.

Conference papers are already accepted on such topics as:

The Eastern Mediterranean: Early European Travel Guides; A Princess of Wales in the Levant; Archaeologists' wives as Travel Writers; Architects in Jerusalem and Egypt and their impact on Design; Style in Travellers' Writing; European Slaves on Pilgrimage

Turkey, Greece and the Ottoman Balkans: Busbecq and Lorck in Istanbul; Travelling to Post: Lady Liston; Georgian Travellers in the Ottoman Empire; Miss Irby's travels; A Student Travels in Greece
Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, Iraq: Travellers' views of the Bedouin; The Grave of Husayn in Travel Literature

Egypt: Tourists in the Late Roman Empire; Al Jabarti's view of the French; Rilke's Trip to Egypt; With Lepsius and Bonomi in

Egypt; Prince Puckler-Muskau; Emmeline Lott; Governess to the Khedival family; The Voyage of the Needle; German Journeymen in Cairo; Breasted and the Stereoscope

Further topics we would welcome:

*In transit to India; Travellers through the Red Sea and Kosseir, the Overland Route or the Suez Canal; *Travelling with Children; *Pilgrim accounts of the Haj; *European Travellers and the Haj; *Biblical scholar-travellers; *Merchants and Traders; *The Silk Route through Palmyra; *Travellers in the Footsteps of the Trojan War....and other topics mentioned in the Call for Papers.

Other Events

There will be two relevant exhibitions to visit:

All Stones: Foreign Architects in Jerusalem at Worcester College and Edward Lane In Cairo at the Ashmolean Museum (see p30)

The keynote paper on Friday evening will be given by Professor Martin Biddle (Professor of Medieval Archaeology at Oxford University) on 'Travellers to the Holy Sepulchre'.

One evening there will be an organ recital in the College chapel.

Any member wishing to use the Bodleian Library and other University Libraries while they are in Oxford should bring a letter of recommendation from their college or an academic referee.

Please note, the Conference is filling up, so anyone who plans to come would be wise to register very soon, or at the least let Deborah Manley know of your intentions.

Can't bear to tear yourself away from Oxford? Some of those coming to the ASTENE Conference might like to consider staying for Week 2 of the century-old Oxford University Summer School for Adults.

This is held at Rewley House, St John Street by the department of Continuing Education, from 19-26 July. The cost is £595 for seven nights with full board or £395 non-residential, with lunch and dinner. (A few bursaries are available.) Courses are accredited through the Credit Accumulation Transfer Scheme.

Related topics: Victorian Scientific Travellers; Ancient Egypt and the Biblical World. Other topics include 'Finish your

Novel and get it Published'...

For further information:

www.conted.ox.ac.uk.oussa or write to the Department of Continuing Education, 1 Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JA

Report on An Evening at The Travellers' Club

On 11 October, 2002, members of ASTENE much enjoyed an event hosted by The Travellers' Club, meeting members to have a drink and then hear our Chairman, Malcolm Wagstaff, speak on *William Martin Leake, topographer and clubman*.

As was particularly appropriate, in the Library of the Club of which he was a founder member, Malcolm spoke of Leake's contributions as a committee member, and, with a quote from Thomas Walker (1835) enlightened anyone pondering the *attraction* of gentlemen's clubs: 'For a few pounds a year, advantages are to be enjoyed which no fortunes, except the most ample, can procure... For six guineas a year, every member has the command of an excellent library, with maps; of the daily papers, London and foreign, the principal periodicals, and every material for writing, with attendance for whatever is wanted. The building is a sort of palace, and is kept with the same exactness and comfort as a private dwelling. Every member is a master without the troubles of a master. He can come when he pleases, without anything wrong. He has the command of regular servants, without having to pay or manage them. He can have whatever meal or refreshments he wants at all hours, and served up with the cleanliness and comfort of his own house. He orders just what he pleases, having no interest but his own. In short, it is impossible to suppose a greater degree of liberty in living.'

(In short, it is difficult to imagine anything nearer paradise! Can I have one too? Ed.)

Afterwards some of us stayed on to enjoy a delicious dinner. All in all, a delightful evening - many thanks to our hosts.

(*Thomas Walker was quoted by E Walford in Old and New London: A Narrative of its History, its People and its Places, Vol IV, p140, London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, n.d.*)

Future ASTENE Events

Following last year's very successful evening at The Travellers' Club, reported above, there will be another joint evening event on October 24, combining papers on travellers with dinner at the Club.

This year the theme will be 'Your Charles Barry and Ours' and the speakers will be Neil Cooke on 'Charles Barry, Architect of the Travellers' Club' and Patricia Usick on 'Charles Barry in Egypt'.

Anyone wishing to attend should contact Deborah Manley on 01865 310284 (tel and fax) for details and registration

ASTENE and the Oxford University Department of Continuing Education, Rewley House, Oxford

On Saturday 21 February, 2004, we will be holding our fourth Study Day with OUDCE. This will be entitled *Into Nubia and Beyond: Egypt above the Cataract*.

Papers will be given by Dr Jacke Phillips (archaeologist), Dr Jaromir Malek of the Griffith Institute, Oxford (and our Vice President), Dr John Alexander of St John's College, Cambridge and Dr Patricia Usick, ASTENE's secretary.

Details and a booking form will be available in the Autumn Bulletin.

CYPRUS CONFERENCE & TOUR AUTUMN 2004

We plan to have details of this event in the Autumn Bulletin.

Report on Day School, Travel in Greece & Crete

Rewley House, Oxford, 22 February 2003, organised by ASTENE and the Oxford University Department for Continuing Education

The Lion Gate at Mycenae was not 'always known', since its very existence was forgotten for over a thousand years. Malmsey wine originated, not at Monemvasia, as the dictionary says, but in Crete. Colonel Leake's superb studies of classical topography were ancillary to his day-job as a British spy. And the Venus de Milo went for a five-month cruise of the

eastern Med. before taking sail for France. These were a few of the facts which emerged at the third OUDCE-ASTENE day school.

With Deborah Manley as Course Director and Malcolm Wagstaff in the chair, Lisa French's appearance as the first speaker completed the ASTENE committee team. She gave a lucid and fascinating account of those who arrived at, or failed to arrive at, Mycenae, from Pausanias in the 2nd century CE to Dilys Powell in the 20th, and showed a brilliant series of illustrations which were handled without difficulty by the Rewley House projector. Her demonstration of how well hidden the site is from the modern road explained why the Lion Gate was only rediscovered in 1700; and the fact that corrupt data in our text of Ptolemy led to Mycenae being wrongly sited on early maps, explained something that has often puzzled me.

Peter Warren, Emeritus Professor of Ancient History and Classical Archaeology at Bristol University, was totally unfazed by the misbehaviour of the projector, and in reviewing the early Irish and English travellers in Crete he shed an unexpected light on the strong continuities in the life and economy of the island from the medieval period to the present day. In the early days, few Cretan ancient sites were accurately known, and the oft-described 'labyrinth' at Gortyn was correctly identified by George Sandys in 1611 as a disused stone quarry. William Lithgow, a year earlier, was more interested to record that the men were heavily armed and the women 'insatiably inclined to venery'. So some things, one supposes, have changed.

Malcolm Wagstaff followed with an account of the Greek journeys of William Martin Leake. Leake's books, which seem to conform to the expected pattern of the time, were actually something quite new, and their value is even today immense. And this topographer and classical scholar managed to cultivate some of the leading personalities of Greece while mapping the harbours and beaches which might have been of use to French invaders, doing his own surveying and drawing, and sending regular reports to the Foreign Office. Not surprisingly, the Ottoman Government and even the somewhat naive French consul, Pouqueville, eventually woke up to the fact that he was a spy.

The final paper was somewhat different. Claude Doumet Serhal, a Lebanese member of ASTENE now working at the British

Museum and UCL, recounted the fascinating history of the Venus de Milo, from its discovery by a Greek peasant on Melos to its final departure for the Louvre. The Comte de Marcellus, a young French diplomat, took possession of the statue on behalf of the French government, and then spent five months touring the eastern Mediterranean from Santorini to Alexandria with the statue on board, stopping in Lebanon for a long night's gossip with Lady Hester Stanhope, and in Athens for Aphrodite to be properly admired by the leading French residents.

Altogether, it was a perfect day; informative, professional and entertaining throughout. And on that day Oxford was the sunniest place in the whole British Isles.

Charles Plouviez

Following our previous pattern, there were two 'annexes' to the day school.

On Friday evening, 21 February, a merry party of us enjoyed an excellent dinner at a Lebanese restaurant.

On Sunday, 23 February, a smaller group had the great treat of being shown by Henrietta and Christopher McCall over their stunning 'dream' Egyptian house, Sphinx Hill. The black-and-white illustration of it in Bulletin 14 gives one an idea of the shapes of the building, but can give no hint of the colours used both within and without. One is reminded of Amelia Edwards' comment on the painted portico at Philae - 'Every tint is softened, intermixed, degraded. The pinks are coralline; the greens are tempered with verditer; the blues are of a greenish turquoise, like the western half of an autumnal evening sky'. Add to these a soft warm yellow, and a very little dark lilac...

Sumptuous! We are very grateful indeed to Henrietta and Christopher for sharing their vision with us for an hour or two - and great coffee and biscuits too!



THE ARTEMIS OF MILO

The fascinating paper given at the Day School in Oxford in late February by Dr Claude Doumet-Serhal leads me to call attention to another statue from Milos acquired by the French a century earlier.

A unique representation of the Artemis Ephesia with three dancing women on her neck was described in a letter home by Nicolas Sarrabat, a Jesuit priest, who arrived in Melos from Toulon in 1735. He saw this statue in the Capuchin Monastery on Melos (at the modern Zephyria).

The statue seems to have been purchased by the captain of his ship who transported it back to Toulon. She did not however find her way to a museum or collection but sat on the docks for some time until she was used as building material in the harbour works of the Napoleonic wars.

The piece was recovered from the harbour wall in 1945. It was then thought to have come from the Roman site Telo Martius and to be the westernmost example of the Artemis type - thus explaining the unusual additional figures gracing her neck.

This has now been shown to be quite untrue thanks to the work of two former colleagues of mine, Dr Guy Sanders and Dr Jan Motyka Sanders, who combine expertise on the island of Melos and on classical sculpture. Guy Sanders unravelled the history of the piece which intrigued him some years ago (and told me of his discovery at the time) and the information and details of the statue herself was presented by Jan at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in 2000 (AJA 104[2000]369).

Some background to the French interest in Melos during the Ottoman period is given by our chairman Malcolm Wagstaff in *An Island Polity, the Archaeology of Exploitation in Melos* (co-edited with Colin Renfrew, Cambridge 1982) though he does not list in detail visitors to the island.

Elizabeth French

A Brief Account of the Abyssinian Expedition

Abyssinia had suffered disunity and civil war for over a century when there appeared a young rebel, Lij Kassa, who one by one conquered most of the different provinces of the country. On 7 February 1855, 'without rival King of Kings of Abyssinia', he was crowned at Axum as Tewedros II.

It was his attempts at unification and modernisation, and his fear of Egyptian incursion that were to lead, largely unnecessarily, to his dispute with the British Government. In October 1862, he wrote to Queen Victoria, saying he desired to send her an embassy, but could not because of the Egyptians on the coast, and, after enquiring how he could send her presents, appealed to her as a fellow Christian to 'stand by him' against Muslim Egypt. Unfortunately, the British Government was more interested in the cotton trade with Egypt, and in using good relations with the Ottoman Empire as a buttress against potential Russian expansionist threats to British India than in becoming embroiled in the affairs of a poor, remote and backward country - and not for the first time. The Foreign Office forwarded the letter to the India Office, where it was filed unanswered. In April 1863, Lord Russell, the Foreign Secretary, added insult to injury by recalling Consul Charles Cameron from his Abyssinian post.

Theodore was naturally furious at this neglect... 'he had no intention of submitting meekly to what he regarded as the insolent behaviour of the British Government' At the beginning of 1864, he seized Consul Cameron and his suite, imprisoned them in chains and tortured them.

He also imprisoned the missionary Henry Aaron Stern, whom he considered to have written lies about him in a book. At some stage, other missionaries, and other Europeans were taken captive, but it is difficult to establish exactly when this happened. There were also missionaries who, working as artisans for the Emperor, in particular making him cannons, remained at a kind of liberty until later.

Cameron's imprisonment did cause the British Government hastily to send a friendly reply to the neglected letter, by the hand of Hormuzd Rassam, the British Assistant Resident at Aden. Dr Henry Blanc of the

Bombay Army happened to be in Aden at the time, and thought it would be interesting to accompany Rassam - a bad decision!

Rassam waited at Massowah from July 1864 until August 1865 before Theodore gave permission to proceed to him. Lieutenant William Prideaux, of the Bombay Staff Corps, had by then been added to the mission to give it extra weight. At first Theodore received them graciously - and, indeed, he seems never to have ceased having a friendly feeling for Rassam - but this did not prevent him, in due course, from making them captive also. In July 1866, all the captives were taken to Theodore's mountain fortress of Magdala, and Rassam and his company at least, as well as Cameron and Stern, were put in chains - in which they were to remain for nearly 21 months.

The imprisonment of Rassam at last led the British Government to take action, and send the artisans Theodore had requested to Massowah. However, they would not send them actually into Abyssinia until the captives were released. Theodore refused to do this until he had the artisans. Negotiations broke down.

By this time, Theodore's brutalities had so estranged his own people that his power was collapsing - 'his very camp is pitched in the midst of his mortal foes' wrote Henry Blanc, who also wrote to the British Resident at Aden, Colonel Merewether, in June 1867, that should Theodore execute *one* of his European captives (as he was frequently doing to his Abyssinian ones), 'the fate of all the Europeans in this country would be sealed; he has done every kind of injury to the white men except spilling their blood; but the day he throws away all restraint and gives full licence to his passions he knows that he is done for - that blood calls for blood, and that he has not even pity to expect; he will, therefore, before seeking safety in flight, murder every white man in his power.' In August 1867, it was decided that the captives must be liberated by force of arms. The 'Abyssinian Expedition' was to be entrusted to Sir Robert Napier, Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army in India.

It was from India also that most of the army was recruited. Only the 10th Company Royal Engineers and the officers in the Medical Department came from England. The very large size of the force, it was hoped, 'would bring Theodore to reason without a collision, would tend if active hostilities were

necessary to shorten their duration, and enable the British forces to leave the country as soon as their object was accomplished'. Napier eventually had at his disposal a fighting force of 4,038 Europeans and 9,050 Indians. There were also nearly 50,000 servants and followers, and for transport, 5,735 camels, 17,943 mules and ponies, 8,075 bullocks, 2,538 horses and 44 elephants.

The British advance guard landed on 21 October 1867 at Zoulla, at the head of Annesley, or Zoulla, Bay, south of Massawa, to prepare it as a base camp, and from there to reconnoitre the hinterland. With about 400 miles of very difficult terrain to traverse to Magdala, it was necessary to keep communications to the coast open, therefore way-camps were established at intervals, so that by the time Napier reached his goal, there remained to him little more than 4000 fighting men, carrying the very minimum of baggage.

Once the army had passed from the hot and foetid lowland coastal area up a pass to the tableland of Abyssinia, the air was more salubrious, but the progress became more taxing. 'They tell us this is a tableland,' grumbled one of the soldiers, 'if it is, they have turned the table upside down, and we are scrambling up and down the legs!'

Meanwhile Theodore sat in his fastness of Magdala and sneered at the 'white donkeys'. He felt impregnable, and well he might. Blanc describes the site: 'Magdala is formed of two cones separated by a small plateau..the northern peak is the higher, but...it is not inhabited, and to Magdala alone falls the privilege of being Theodore's most famous fortress, his treasury and his jail...The Amba [a flat-topped mountain] owes its strength to the almost perfect wall of columns of basalt that completely surrounds it, varying in height from 3-700 feet.'

On April 10, the Abyssinians looked down from Magdala upon a numerous army below, but, undeterred, charged down into the plain of Arogee, to confront massed British artillery. Markham wrote: 'The Snider rifles kept up a fire which no Abyssinian troops could stand. They were mown down in lines, and unable to get within range themselves. Hope left them. Led on by their gallant old General...they returned again and again to charge with great bravery. But it was like a man struggling against machinery - the most heroic courage could do nothing in the face of such vast inequality of arms.'

Theodore realised he could not win. He sent down Prideaux and Flad, one of the missionaries, to sue for peace. But Napier demanded both the release of the captives and the surrender of Theodore himself. Holland remarks: 'It must have been hard for Lt. Prideaux and Mr Flad, after having once set their feet within the British lines, to be required to return to the presence of and into the power of such a capricious and cruel despot as Theodore. Equally was it trying to Sir Robert Napier, on whose slightest action or word hung the lives of so many prisoners still within Theodore's power, to insist upon terms which it must have been evident the still proud, though defeated, monarch by no means contemplated.'

It was touch and go indeed for the prisoners - but happily, wiser councils prevailed, and, escorted by several of the artisans, Cameron, his secretary and one servant, Blanc, Rassam, Stern and Mr and Mrs Rosenthal were sent down to the British camp. Napier sent back the artisans in case Theodore did not intend their release, and though Prideaux turned round and came down with Rassam, Flad went back for his wife. Soon all the other captives, with their Abyssinian servants, were also freed - 'Not a hostage, not a child, not a box was kept back,' wrote Markham, 'It was the act of a king, an act without cunning or treachery, however slight soever, to mar its fullness'. But Theodore refused to surrender.

On April 13, Napier stormed the fortress. When he could see all hope was lost, Theodore released his men from their allegiance, and, determined not to fall into the hands of the enemy, put a pistol to his mouth and fell dead - to win himself a revered place in Ethiopian history and mythology.

Two days later, having looted the treasury and burned the fortress to the ground, the British army turned towards the coast. The captives' number had been increased by one, according to Stanley - Theodora Moritz was born on the morning after their arrival in camp, and was named after the Emperor. According to Simpson, Mrs Pauline Flad gave birth to a daughter on the march back to the coast.

NEWS



'QURNA DISCOVERY' PARTY

The exhibition at Luxor of the Theban Panoramas made by Robert Hay and his companions in 1826 has moved to the left of the direct path from the car park to the Nobles' Tombs. It is one of a line of single storey buildings facing the back of the Omda House.

Open every day except Tuesday, 8.00-12.00 and 2.00-5.00, with free admission, the project is still in need of funds. Any donations will be gratefully received by Caroline Simpson at 9 Whittington Road, Bounds Green, London N22 8YS. Cheques should be made payable to Hay's Theban Panoramas.

On March 18, 2001, Caroline Simpson gave a party for the descendants of Sheikh Awad (c1773-1868), Egyptian guide, foreman and local historian, to meet Yvonne Neville-Rolfe, Joseph Bonomi's great-granddaughter.

The party took place outside the Omda's house, beside the Tombs of the Nobles at Sheikh abd el Gurnah, Thebes.

Both ancestors were neighbours in the 1830s, but the amazing fact was that not one, but two of the Sheikh's grandsons were present. He had 10 or 12 wives, he was never sure how many, which accounts for the large gathering of all ages present.

With great dignity they listened to speeches and readings, swapped stories and enjoyed coke and cakes.

I believe each one will have gone home standing taller because he had been valued, a bit of his family history will have been enlarged and his community had been honoured thanks to a great deal of work by Caroline.

Meanwhile, after a quick coke and cake, the mud plasterer continued working on the walls of the Omda's house in readiness for the grand opening of Robert Hay's Panoramas on April 16th.

Yvonne Neville-Rolfe

A BIRTHDAY PARTY

Last summer, Jesus College, Cambridge, held a birthday party for one of its oldest members - a 200th birthday party.

The guest of honour was an oriental plane grown from a seed brought back from Thermopylae in 1802 by Dr Edward Daniel Clarke, a fellow of Jesus. There were drinks, a specially composed Latin Ode, jazz and Morris dancing. The two latter activities may have somewhat astonished the tree - or perhaps it's seen everything by now! I think Dr Clarke, so fond of a bit of fun, would have been delighted.

The Bulletin would like so much to hear about lectures and other activities of our members. Some of you might have liked to attend the following two lectures arranged by the British Lebanese Association - but, alas, they have already taken place.

On 28 January, Sarah Searight spoke on 'Lingering in the Levant: 300 years of British involvement and impressions'

On 12 March, Bryony Llewellyn gave the 2003 David Roberts Memorial Lecture, entitled "Magnificent remains" and "Enormous old trees": Perceptions of Lebanon by British artist-travellers'

A PLACE TO STAY FOR ASTENE

MEMBERS VISITING LONDON

A large twin-bedded room with private bath, overlooking gardens in a quiet cul-de-sac in Bayswater. This mews house is within easy reach of Bayswater and Queensway tube stations and several bus routes. NON-SMOKERS ONLY

Prices for 2002: £56 per night (twin), £48 per night (single), £68 per night (three persons), with breakfast.

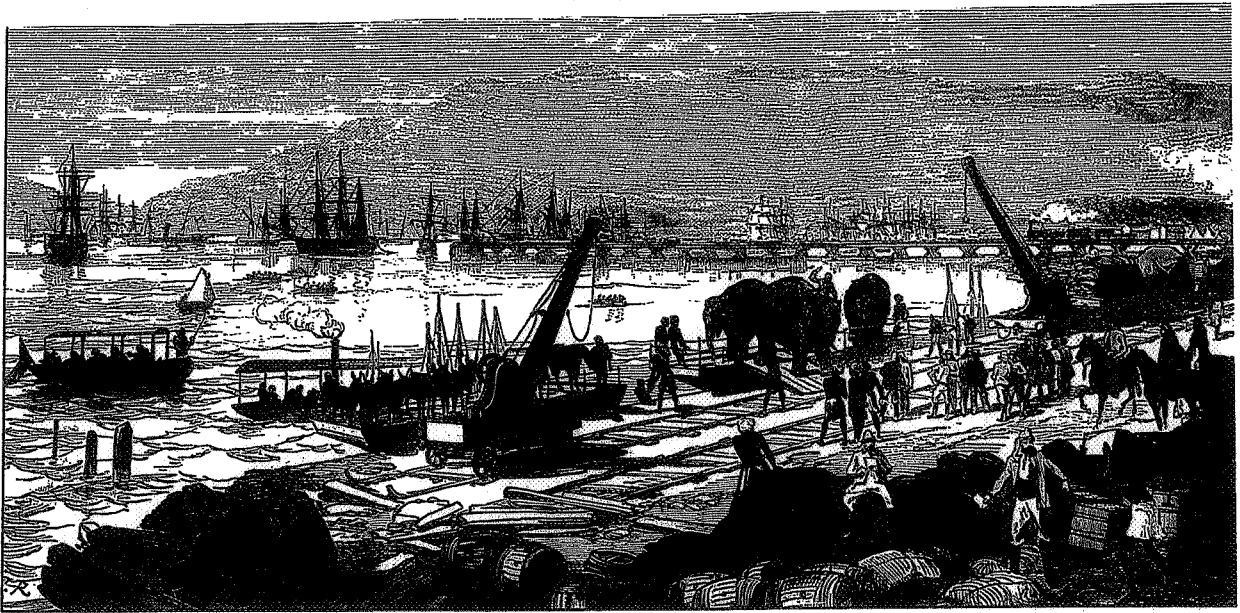
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ARRIVING AT ZOULLA

A most extraordinary and novel sight presented itself as I landed upon the bunder at Zoulla. Thousands of half-naked coolies were shouting and chanting a barbaric song while they worked under as hot a sun as ever blazed in the tropics, and hundreds of uniformed superintendents, armed with long *courbaches*, were coercing the labourers under their charge to work. The braying of hundreds of donkeys, the neighing of horses, the whinnying of mules, the lowing of thirsty kine, the shrill shriek of two anomalous locomotives, the noisy roll of ricketty cars as they thundered to and fro, caused the scene to appear at the first impression as if a whole nation had immigrated here, and were about to plant a great city on the fervid beach of Annesley Bay. The mountainous piles of stores covered with tarpaulins, the long warehouses with their roofs of brushwood, filled to the utmost with the *matériel* of war, and the noble bay crowded with majestic transports, steamers, men-of-war, great sailing packets, tiny tug-boats, elegant little yachts, and innumerable Turkish kanjeahs, from Mocha, Jedah, Souakim and Massowah, flitting about with their swallow-winged sails, only served to heighten the illusion.

Henry Morton Stanley

THE EMPEROR THEODORE

The tragedy of Emperor Theodore of Abyssinia is that of a potentially great man fatally corrupted by power.

He is about 45 years of age, darker than many of his countrymen; his black eyes are somewhat depressed, the nose straight, the mouth large, the lips small; he is well knit, a splendid horseman, excels in the use of the spear, and on foot will tire his hardest followers. When in good humour the expression of his countenance is pleasing, his smile attractive, his manners courteous, really kingly; but when in anger, his aspect is frightful, his black face acquires an ashy hue, his eyes bloodshot and fierce, seem to shed fire, his thin lips compressed, have but a whitish margin round the mouth, his very hair seems to stand erect, and his whole deportment is that of a savage and ungovernable fury.

....As a candidate for power, he was brave, generous, pious and just and led a moral and sober life. Ambition, achieved, either altered his nature or brought to light his many vices... [he] proved himself more cruel and more treacherous than any of his countrymen, more bloodthirsty, more regardless of human life than any other being that not only Abyssinia but the world at large ever produced. Famines, epidemics and desertions soon reduced his army; rebellion spread far and wide...and at present the great conqueror of Abyssinia, the really remarkable man, is nothing more than a robber chief, and a wholesale murderer, without country, army or friends...his very camp is pitched in the midst of his mortal foes.

Henry Blanc

TWO MUCH-TRAVELLED NILE GUNBOATS & THEIR PERSONNEL

PART II THE BORDEIN

In parts (i) and (ib) of this article, the tale of the *Bordein's* service under the Turco-Egyptian administration (1869-85) was recounted, at the end of which the steamer had been damaged and sunk in the Nile.

(ii) In Mahdist service (1885-98)

The wrecked *Bordein* was soon retrieved and repaired by the Mahdists and served in their 'navy' for nearly fourteen years until 1893. The steamers which fell into the Mahdi's hands on the capture of Khartoum formed a valuable part of his forces. Indeed, as his successor the Khalifa Abdullahi later acknowledged to the captive Rudolf Slatin, 'these steamers are of the greatest value to me, and I must do all I can to preserve them'. (1) It was his concern that their engines were kept in good working order that led him, at Slatin's suggestion, to ease the plight of another of his European captives, the Englishman Frank Miller Lupton (1854-88), the former governor of Bahr el-Ghazal, who had been obliged to surrender to the Mahdi in 1884. (2) The Khalifa gave him an appointment in the Arsenal at forty dollars a month to maintain the steamers. In fact, Lupton, though a former mercantile marine officer, knew little or nothing about ships' engines and was in any case not disposed to do more than he could help to assist the Khalifa. (3)

Among the Mahdi's prisoners, however, were a number of men who had worked the steamers for Gordon. Moreover, Egyptians and Sudanese, even without formal training, are often remarkably adept at handling machinery (though often in ways that to a European appear frighteningly hazardous). As will be noted later, a number of European observers commented on how well the steamers' engines, and those of the *Bordein* in particular, still functioned, regardless of the vessels' otherwise filthy and decrepit condition.

The *Bordein's* movements during her long period in Mahdist service do not appear to be at all well documented. Following the

death of the Mahdi in June 1885, his successor lost no time in consolidating his grip on outlying provinces, and in August of the same year the Emir Yunes ed-Dekkeim was despatched to Sennar on the Blue Nile. For some unknown reason, at Yunes's request, Slatin was sent with him. With the Khalifa's warnings to be faithful to him ringing in his ears, Slatin left Omdurman on board the *Bordein*. At Wad el-Abbas, north of Sennar, however, Yunes suddenly ordered him to return to Omdurman on the pretext of sending information to the Khalifa. (4)

Following the fall of Khartoum, the last European governor of Equatoria, Eduard Schnitzer (1840-92), better known as Emin Pasha, had gradually retreated further south from Lado to Wadelai. (5) In 1888 the Khalifa decided to crush Emin. On 11 June in that year Umar Salih departed from Omdurman in command of three steamers, six barges, and 1500 troops and advanced up the White Nile. One of Umar's steamers was the *Bordein*. (6) In fact, he failed in his bid to kill or capture Emin.

(iii) The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (1898-1906)

In 1898 the *Bordein* was recaptured by the Anglo-Egyptian forces, on the first day of the action at Omdurman. (7) According to Ernest Bennet, (8) an Oxford don who was covering the campaign as 'special correspondent' for the *Westminster Gazette*, the *Bordein* encountered Kitchener's gunboats and was shelled while making for the river bank, and sank as she reached it. She was quickly recovered, however, and though not present at the memorial service for Gordon held at Khartoum on 4 September, she was soon made riverworthy and put back into service.

While wandering around Omdurman after the battle, the *Daily Mail* correspondent GW Steevens had noted amid the rubbish, filth and squalor of the town 'one or two relics of civilization'. They included the *Bordein* which he described as 'a shell-torn husk of broken wood round engines that still worked marvellously.' (9)

As soon as the victory had been won, the army began the return to Cairo. At 11.30 am on 6 September the Lincolnshire Regiment embarked on gyassas (sailing barges) and at 1.30pm moved off downstream. In his diary the ever-observant Private George Teigh of the First Battalion noted, *int. al.*, that he

saw 'a peculiar steamer going down the Nile which the Dervishes had captured some years ago.' (10) This vessel may well have been the *Bordein*, 'peculiar' by reason of her generally dilapidated appearance. Nearly all her woodwork had been stripped off by the Mahdists for use as fuel, and what very little remained was smashed to pieces, leaving virtually only the metal skeleton of her superstructure. Her hull and her tall, and by now misshapen, funnel was pitted with shell and bullet holes, not all of them repaired, and she had no paintwork left. Her engines, however, were still capable of a bone-shaking speed of two knots. If she was heading for the railhead at Dakhala, she could, if she returned immediately, have been back at Omdurman by 8 September. On the afternoon of that day the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent Bennet Burleigh and the other newsmen, together with all their belongings, 'proceeded on the horribly frowsy, rat-overrun, dervish steamer *Bordein* to Dakhala the railhead. The steamer was packed upon and below deck with British soldiers, about 50 of whom were sick, whilst several were wounded. Stowed almost like cattle, sitting, squatting, lying anywhere, anyhow, without shade or shelter, we underwent two days of it on board. It was found necessary to tie up occasionally for wood (fuel), and at night the steamer was always moored to the bank'. (11)

After the departure of the troops, the *Bordein* was for a time employed in carrying building material (mud-brick, stone, wood) from Omdurman to Khartoum for reconstruction work.

In the winter of 1898, very soon after the recapture of Khartoum, the Trustees of the British Museum, with the full co-operation of Lord Kitchener, sent EA Wallis Budge, Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, to the Sudan on his second archaeological mission to that land. His instructions were to examine the pyramid field at Begrawiyeh, the ancient Meroe, and report on the possibilities of conducting excavations there. From Wadi Halfa to Atbara he travelled across the desert by the Sudan Military Railway. At Atbara the English commander offered him transport south by steamer. Budge jumped at the chance and went to inspect the vessel. She turned out to be the *Bordein*, and it soon became clear that she was in the same deplorable state, if not more so, that had so disgusted Bennet Burleigh some weeks

earlier. With the woodwork all gone, all that remained of the *Bordein* were 'the iron deck-beams, a narrow iron bridge aft the boiler, and the small iron platform at each end of her. These were all that were required for military purposes...but they were not conducive to the comfort of passengers.' (12) However, the resourceful Budge, with the aid of a friendly army officer, had some planks laid across the deck-beams and pitched his tent on them. 'The centre pole was lashed to a beam, and the ropes were tied to the twisted railing or to anything that came handy. This done, a rug and a sheepskin made a very good carpet.' The addition of a native bed, or *angarib*, and a large *zir*, or water-jar, completed the accommodation and equipment which Budge found 'not unsatisfactory'. (13)

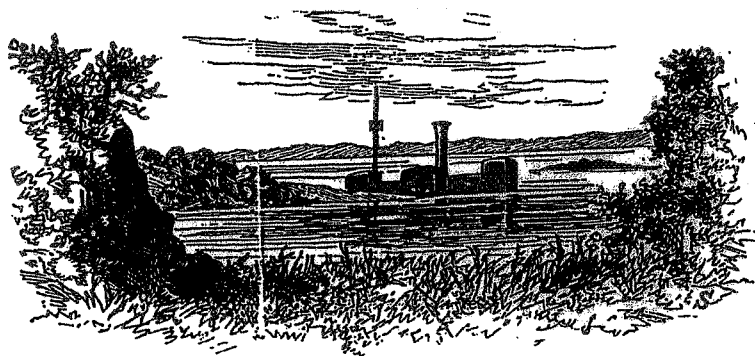
Thus ensconced, the Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities departed upstream for Begrawiyah with a crew, nearly all black Sudanis, some of whom a few months previously had been fanatical Mahdists. Apart from the bitter cold at night and early morning, and running aground in the dark on a moonless night, the voyage was reasonably incident-free. (14)

Budge's comments on the *Bordein's* engines and the 'engineer's' handling of her boiler are worth quoting. In contrast to the vessel's generally ruinous state, 'most parts of the engines were in first-class condition, and though the cranks knocked, and the shaft turned in badly worn bearings, and the piston-rods wanted packing and the whole iron framework lifted at each revolution, they drove the steamer against the current at the rate of a mile and a half per hour.' The state of the boiler was even more remarkable: 'one felt astonished at seeing how thin its plates had become, and how many tubes leaked, but the most amazing thing of all was that it had no safety valve! The engineer kept heaping in logs of wood, but so far as I could see he had no guide at all to tell him what the pressure in the boiler was...when he thought the engines were working too fast, he left the furnace door, and went and turned a tap projecting from the top of the boiler, and let out as much steam as he thought necessary. This done, he returned to his furnace and heaped on more wood. In any other country that boiler would have exploded and killed many men, and wrecked the steamer, but in such respects Egypt and the Sudan are under the care of a special Providence. The natives have ways of

their own in such matters which do not commend themselves to Europeans, but the results are singularly successful.' (15)

The fuel consumption of the *Bordein* and her sister-ships was enormous and their environmental impact considerable. Such matters must, of course, be viewed against the general background and specific circumstances and requirements of the time, but there can be little doubt of the detrimental effect on the environment of the riverine Sudan of these voracious vessels. At numerous points along the banks were 'wooding stations' where huge piles of logs and thick branches were stacked ready for use. A glance at contemporary photographs of such sites reveals at once the extent of the destruction of vegetation. (16)

By 1906 it had become very clear that the *Bordein* was totally uneconomical to run and in that year she was finally taken out of service.



(iv) In 'Retirement' (1906-early 1980s)

In 1929 the *Bordein* was lying 'high and dry' on the bank of the Blue Nile at Khartoum North, presumably having been deposited there by an exceptionally high Nile flood. (17) A photograph taken in 1930 shows her at Khartoum. (18) The hull of the *Bordein* was preserved on brick foundations in the dockyard of the Sudan Government Railways and Steamers Department at Khartoum North. (19)

As part of the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Gordon's death, 26 January 1885, the *Bordein* was restored to her original state at the time of the siege of Khartoum, and scheduled as a national monument. On 26 January 1935, dressed overall, she appeared on the Nile in front of the Governor-General's Palace (20); and she soon became, in Richard Hill's words, 'the most photographed of all ships on the Sudan Nile.' (21)

In the years following the coronation of George VI in 1937, the *Bordein* was moored by the bank opposite the Palace for the delectation of winter tourists (22) but as the years passed, it appears that she was not maintained and gradually became more delapidated.

She may, for a time in the late 1950s, even have served to accommodate overflow guests at the Grand Hotel. On the evening of 4 November 1957 I arrived at Khartoum with Professor and Mrs WB Emery for a five-day stay while we set up the Egypt Exploration Society's new expedition to Buhen, near Wadi Halfa, and bought certain items of equipment. Despite having booked rooms well in advance, we found that all accommodation in the Grand Hotel had been taken by government ministers and officials and other grandees for some official jamboree ('conference') or other. Since Emery had his wife with him, he was able to cajole the Management into providing them with a room in the hotel proper. I, however, had to make do with a 'room' in what was grandly termed the 'Annexe'.

This consisted of three old Nile steamers moored at the bank opposite the hotel and each approached by a narrow gangway. Two of the vessels were the *Omdurman* and the *Gedid*. The third and much the smallest, in which I was quartered, was, so I was told, a former gunboat. Whether it was the *Bordein* I cannot be certain, though there could not have been many other candidates. It was dark when I arrived and I had no desire to stay once I had washed and shaved in the mornings (in cold water). I do, however, remember making out in the darkness what could have been a paddle-box, but could discern no name. (I was, in any case, not particularly interested in Nile gunboats at the time.)

The vessel was certainly very old, with woodwork rough and unpainted, a very narrow central gangway and low headroom, it was dimly 'lit' by a number of low-power naked bulbs strung at intervals from a length of worn flex that ran from somewhere to somewhere. The scratchings, etc, audible during the night indicated that there was other company on board.

According to one writer (23), the *Bordein* was still moored at Khartoum - he does not specify the location or her condition - in the early 1980s, when as part of the preparatory work for the aforementioned painting by Terence Cuneo (see Bulletin 14), 'colour

photographs of the actual location [were] kindly taken at dawn, midday, and dusk by a member of the Embassy staff'.

By the early 1990s, however, the *Bordein*, or rather what remained of her, lay in the shipyard at Khartoum North, and presumably is still there: her iron frame, paddle wheels and engine. Judging from recent colour photographs, they are, considering the circumstances, still in remarkably bright condition, a tribute to the craftsmanship and skill of her builders. (24)

It seems a sad end for a vessel which, over decades, served not only the foreign Turco-Egyptian and Anglo-Egyptian Condominium governments, but also the Sudanese Mahdist empire. After having been restored in 1930 and having adorned the Nile at Khartoum for some years thereafter, it is a mystery why she was allowed to deteriorate to a point where it now seems dubious whether she can be saved. If anything ever does come of the efforts of the Melik Society to salvage her, it seems likely that what may emerge will be less a restored *Bordein* than a modern replica incorporating such of her original workings as can be utilized.

David Dixon

Notes and References

1. Slatin, *Fire and Sword*, 244
2. On Lupton see E Macro, *Frank Miller Lupton*, *SNR* 28 (1947), 50-61. The only known portrait of Lupton seems to be the photograph published in Wilhelm Junker (and probably taken by him) *Travels in Africa during the Years 1882-1886*, London (Chapman & Hall Ltd), 1892, vol III, 214: 'Lupton Bey, Governor of the Bahr el-Ghazal Province'. He is shown wearing a tarbush and heavy beard.
3. Slatin, *op cit*, 245. Lupton died in misery at Omdurman, 8 May 1888.
4. *Idem*, *op cit*, 240-41
5. On Emin, see Richard Hill, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Oxford (Clarendon Press) 1951, 333. [hereinafter: Hill, *Dict.*]
6. Hill, *Dict.*, 365; JR Smith, *The Emin Pasha Relief Expedition 1886-1890*, Oxford 1972, 235ff: R Jones, *The Rescue of Emin Pasha*, London 1972, 288ff. Two copies, both dated 17 February 1889, exist of a report by Mohammad Bornawi, who participated in this expedition. One is in English, the other in French (Smith, *op cit*, 307)
7. General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-eight Years' Service*, London (John Murray) 1925, 119.
8. Ernest N Bennett, *The Downfall of the Dervishes, being a sketch of the final Sudan Campaign of 1898*, London (Methuen & Co) 1898, 220. This statement seems at variance with that of Alford and Sword (*The Egyptian Sudan*, 279), who say that the *Bordein*, along with two other steamers, was recaptured 'still fit for use'. But they, of course, may have meant after the necessary repairs had been effected. On Bennett, see now RT Stearn, 'Ernest Bennett and War, *Soldiers of the Queen, The Journal of the Victorian Military Society* 105 (June 2001), 16-24. This paper contains excellent photographs of Ernest Bennett, GW Steevens and Bennet Burleigh.
9. *With Kitchener to Khartoum*, 308
10. J Meredith (ed), *Omdurman Diaries 1898*, 195. Teigh does not say how far downstream from Omdurman he saw the vessel, but it was before they reached Royan Island. Teigh's *gyassa*, after leaving Omdurman at 1.30pm on the 6th did not reach Dakheila until 6.30am on the 10th, but it was a *sailing* vessel and had been severely hampered by lack of wind, a sandstorm necessitating a stop of several hours, and adverse currents (*Op cit*, 195-98).
11. Burleigh, *Khartoum Campaign 1898*, 267
12. EA Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, London 1907 [reprinted Darf Publishers Ltd, London 1986], 2 vols, Vol I, 255.
13. *Ibid*
14. *Op cit*, 256
15. *Op cit*, 257-58
16. *Op cit*, 260, 262, 263 (photographs); Bennet Burleigh, *op cit*, 69
17. *SNR* 12 (1929), 119 [Editorial Note]
18. Allan Moorehead, *The White Nile*, New York (Harper & Brothers) 1960, *illusts.* between pp246-47
19. *Handbook of the Sudan Government Railways and Steamers*, [Wellington House, Buckingham Gate, London SW1] n.d. (c1930s) 51,52.
20. An excellent photograph in EW Sandes, *The Royal Engineers in Egypt and the Sudan*, plate facing p116.
21. *SNR* 51, 135
22. FJN Wallis, 'Aere Perennius', *Blackwood's Magazine*, vols 247 (1940), 677-93; 248 (1940), 1-19. Even for Latinists a more uninformative title could scarcely have been devised. In fact, Wallis's rather prolix paper is about the *Bordein!*
23. Lt-Col D Boyd, *The Gordon Heritage. The Story of General Charles Gordon and the Gordon Boys' School*, (London, Robert Hale) 1985, 188
24. *GN* 1 (December 1999), [6]

BOOKS & BOOK REVIEWS



John Fisher, *Gentleman Spies, Intelligence Agents in the British Empire and Beyond*, (Stroud, Sutton Publishing 2002)

Here we have a fascinating insight into the lives of a different kind of traveller and of the kind of 'work' which they carried out. Many of those in whom ASTENE has been interested have contributed also to this type of work, often in ways similar to those described here. In his first chapter on the background JF comments tellingly that John Beverly Nichols who went to Greece in 1921 'was well aware of the thin divide between travellers of any sort that then existed in the minds of those Whitehall mandarins who required up-to-date information'.

All these gentlemen, whatever one calls them, gave information that displayed both insight and detail. JF has put together accounts from a range of sources but concentrates on those who went disguised and made their way incognito. More concerning the various individuals may always come to light but is hampered by the official attitude - 'he was working for the Secret Intelligence service and there is no access to the files of that organisation' (letter I received from the FCO in 1996).

JF starts with a comprehensive background

account under the heading 'Briefings' and goes on to give six chapters on chosen individuals and their work. Of these three travelled in the region covered by ASTENE. The accounts are packed with detail making fascinating but often difficult reading. All forms important background to the study of the countries concerned and their populations.

The index, divided into Places and General, is effective though the varied spelling of place names could cause problems. There is an extensive bibliography and an invaluable well-organised list of sources and their whereabouts, both published and unpublished.

As the daughter of one of those from other occupations with intimate knowledge of the Levant who was conscripted into the SIS in each of the world wars of the last century, I wish I could agree with JF's conclusion that 'current international events point to a renaissance of espionage as an essential accompaniment to more warlike activities'. But I fear that this kind of local knowledge and expertise which delights us is no longer valued.

Elizabeth French

MR JOHN MASON COOK & THE EXPEDITION TO RESCUE GORDON

John Mason Cook, son of Thomas, the founder of Cook's Tours, was requested to provide the transport for the expedition since he had, as he said himself, 'a monopoly of the Nile steamers and therefore the Government had to give him the work or buy him out'.

'The instructions I received,' said Mr Cook, 'were to provide for 6,000 men with six to eight thousand tons of stores which had to be carried from Assiout, the termination of the upper Egyptian railway, to Wady Halfa, the fort of the second cataract. I was also to convey 400 special row-boats by railway from Alexandria to Assiout. The Admiralty also calculated that I should require 12,000 tons of coal.'

Though the interview took place in April the Government orders to Mr Cook did not arrive until September. Despite this delay. Mr Cook began transporting the troops and stores, which eventually turned out to total 18,000 troops, 40,000 tons of stores and 40,000 tons of coal, for the transport of which Cook had to charter 28 steamers from Newcastle to Alexandria.

Colonel GA Furse, who served in the Expeditionary Force, recorded of Cook and his work:

'He was the real Quarter Master General of the Expedition. Here was the man who, in anticipation of the work to be done on the Nile had on his own hook sent out to Egypt some thousand tons of coal, was asked by the War Office when in the midst of his work for some guarantee for the fulfilment of his contract: this was really sweet, quite in keeping with the traditions of the Supply and Transport Department.'

Based on an extract from Thomas Cook & Sons 'The Time Traveller Gazette - the Decade of 1880'

And from the same source

Moslem pilgrim traffic

An unusual task has been taken on by Mr John Cook, son of Mr Thomas Cook, at the request of His Excellency Lord Dufferin and Ava, Viceroy of India. Her Majesty's

government has been much concerned by the poor conditions of travel for Moslem pilgrims wishing to make a pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca. In many cases pilgrims have been cheated of their fare, or have found on arrival at Bombay, their embarkation port, that there was no place for them on the ships to Jeddah. Moreover, conditions on board ship have been highly censurable with inadequate accommodation and overcrowding.

Mr Cook has been asked to correct this situation and has undertaken to organise the pilgrim traffic in an orderly and reliable manner as with the well-known Cook's Tour's in Europe. We understand this new service is proceeding satisfactorily and that Mr Cook will continue to operate this service as long as it is necessary.

Except that this extract refers to an event in the 1880's, there is a lamentable lack of a precise date. One would also like to know just *how* long the service was considered necessary.



THE FOREIGN OFFICERS

Their respective governments requested that these officers accompanied the Abyssinian Expedition. The officers received free passages to and from Suez and free rations and transport while in the field.

Major Bacon & Captain Osio - Italian Staff
Lt von Stumm - Prussian Hussars
Lt Count von Seckendorf - Prussian Guards
Captain d'Henrecourt - French Army
Commander Galli-Passebre - French Navy
Count von Kielmansegge &
Count Sayre - Austrian Navy
Baron von Kodolitch - Austrian Army
Lt Prinz & Ist Lt Buijs - Netherlands Navy
Brig Don Hipolito Llorente &
Col Count de Mirasol - Spanish Navy

Alastair Hamilton, *Arab Culture and Ottoman Magnificence in Antwerp's Golden Age*, (The Arcadian Library in association with Oxford University Press, 2001) pp134, illus and maps, £60 ISBN 0-19-714401-2

It is a measure of the enduring impact of the Ottoman Empire that it continues to generate opinion, discussion, publication, illustration and exhibition. This is not a question of admiration or condemnation; it is simply impossible to ignore an institution which dominated so much of Europe and the Middle East from the 14th century to its final collapse in 1925. Certainly the great commercial city of Antwerp during its golden age of the 16th century understood only too well the importance of understanding both the Ottoman and contingent Arab worlds and the possibilities of contact and trade with them.

This book was written to accompany an exhibition *Arab Culture and Ottoman Magnificence in Antwerp's Golden Age* held at the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp, 30 November 2001-3 March 2002, and aims to illuminate the cultural and intellectual interests which contact generated. Seventy four Arabic and European manuscripts, prints, books and letters, drawn mainly from the two great collections of the Arcadian Library in London and the Plantin-Moretus Museum, explore the theme. They are all catalogued and accompanied by a collection of closely related essays, notes and bibliography which makes the publication an excellent work of reference and a permanent record of an intriguing exhibition.

Professor Hamilton's scholarly and finely written text interweaves background information and specific topics. Antwerp was a centre of multilingual printers of whom Christophe Plantin between 1568 and 1572 produced the Antwerp Polyglot Bible which stimulated the academic study of Arabic. Standard works on the manners and customs of the Ottoman Empire written by Melchior Lorch and Nicholas de Nicolai were published in Antwerp. Topics of interest to ASTENE members include Maps and Panoramas, Early Travel Accounts, Anthologies of travel Literature. Dipping at random into the book produces fascinating information such as an engraving of Mulay Hasan, the exiled Hafsid Bey of Tunis, in Arab dress, which was to serve Rubens as a model for his painting of the Ethiopian King, one of the Three Magi.

This is a sumptuous production, with double page colour illustrations of North

African Quran manuscripts, pages from a polyglot psalter, panoramic scenes of Ottoman processions and other delights. While it is obviously not a handy volume to slip into the traveller's pocket, a few notes pencilled from it into the margins of a guidebook are guaranteed to enrich a journey to the Ottoman and Arab worlds.

Jennifer Scarce

Roger O De Keersmaecker, *The Temples of Semna and Kumma. Travellers' Graffiti from Egypt and the Sudan II* (Antwerp, Graffito-Graffiti, 2003) pp46, illustrated, bibliography. Euros 15

With the creation of Lake Nasser, several ancient buildings came under threat but the temples of Semna and Kumma were salvaged and moved in 1964. They were rebuilt between 1965-6 in the garden of the National Museum in Khartoum. The graffiti found in the two temples has been recorded in a numbered card index. Wherever possible, bibliographical and biographical information on the graffitist has been collected. Several travellers left their names on both temples, but Semna on the west bank bears considerably more inscriptions than Kumma, probably because of the easier access.

This volume is the second in a projected series; the first, on *The Kiosk of Qertassi*, is also available from the author at Graffito-Graffiti, 1 Willard, B-2640 Mortsel, Antwerp, Belgium

Hugh Leach with Susan Maria Farrington, *Strolling about on the Roof of the World: The first Hundred Years of the Royal Society for Asian Affairs* (London, Routledge Curzon, 2002), 212pp, 190 ills. Hardback, £25 (but see below) ISBN 0-415-29857-1

The book opens with a chronology of the first hundred years of the Society against the background of the 'Central Asian Question'. The second part comprises vignettes of the more remarkable, even eccentric, members and their exploits: presidents, religious leaders, adventurers and spies, missionaries and medics, scholars, engineers, journalists and businessmen. The final section covers the Society's own activities and medal awards. The book is generously illustrated, with many unique archive photographs.

The Royal Society for Asian Affairs have kindly offered this book to ASTENE members at the price for their own members - £18, US\$37.50 (cheques only) Postage &

packing £3.50 in UK; £4.20 to Europe: \$7.75 to USA. Order from the Royal Society for Asian Affairs, 2 Belgrave Square, London SW1X 8PJ (Tel: 020 7235 5122, fax: 020 7259 6771, email: info@rsaa.org.uk)

Robert Morell, "*Budgie...*" *The Life of Sir E.A.T. Wallis Budge. Egyptologist - Assyriologist - Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum, 1892 to 1924* (Privately published, 2002), pp75, £5.66 inc postage from RW Morell, 43 Eugene Gardens, Nottingham NG2 3LF

Wallis Budge (1857-1934) has always been a controversial figure. In his lifetime the mention of his name provoked strong responses, and a recent book on Assyriology describes him as 'probably the most completely unpleasant person in the history of the field.' To establish the truth, a balanced and objective biography is needed. *By Nile and Tigris*, Budge's own account of his experiences, is very much a professional autobiography. It is reticent on his personal life and needs to be treated with circumspection. Budge had no direct descendants, and very few surviving papers throw light on his private life. The author of this short essay has used published sources, newspaper reports, the archives of the British Museum, and the correspondence of contemporaries. These furnish a biographical outline, but there are still many gaps in the record, and the writer is frequently tempted to speculate.

The puzzles of Budge's biography begin with his birth. His mother was unmarried and the identity of his father has never been clearly established. Budge himself stated that his father was a 'gentleman' named Vyvyan, but the author rejects this and comes to the more startling conclusion that Budge was the product of an incestuous liaison between his mother and her own father. Readers must judge for themselves how convincing they find this.

Employed initially by a London bookseller, the precocious Budge showed an early talent for oriental languages, and this defined the direction his career would take. Despite his humble origins, he assembled an impressive array of supporters, including Samuel Birch, Sir John Stainer and WE Gladstone, whose influence got him to Cambridge University and ultimately to a post at the British Museum. He was undoubtedly determined

and hard-working, and his published output was vast, though marred by carelessness and 'too great a hurry to finish'. He made numerous visits to Egypt and Iraq, on which he bought many antiquities for the Museum, and his own colourful account of these journeys forms the core of his autobiography. The present essay relies mainly on that source, but also introduces unsupported speculation that Budge may have spied for the British government on his journeys to the East.

In contrast to his adventures abroad, Budge's work at the Museum was routine, but his life was punctuated by a series of disputes with contemporaries; Hormuzd Rassam, Peter la Page, Renouf, Theophilus Pinches and Lady Meaux. As the author shows, each of these scrapes arose from relatively minor causes (where any cause can be identified), and it is hard to escape the conclusion that Budge's strong personality and outspokenness contributed to his troubled career.

It is his personality, rather than his actions, which has coloured posterity's view of him. In his methods of acquiring antiquities he was perhaps no more unscrupulous than several of his European counterparts, but his candid accounts of his own exploits and frankly-worded opinions of others have made him an easy target for criticism. Equally, the unreliability of his writings should not be allowed to obscure his phenomenal ability as a scholar. On the evidence presented here, SRK Glanville's appraisal of Budge carries conviction: 'No man of his virility could fail to make enemies; nor could one of his positiveness easily escape criticism, some of it deserved'.

This book would have benefited from more rigorous editing; the text contains many typographical errors and grammatical infelicities. That said, it is a lively account, and serves to point up the need for further research into this complex character.

John Taylor

Rita Severis, ed., *The Diaries of Lorenzo Warriner Pease, 1834-1839, An American Missionary in Cyprus & his Travels in the Holy Land, Asia Minor and Greece* (Ashgate 2003) 2 vols, pp1100, 186b/w illus. £150 ISBN 0 7546 3561 9

We hope to review this book in the Autumn.

Barnaby Rogerson, *The Prophet Muhammad* (Little, Brown, 2003), hardback £14.99
ISBN 0 316 86175 8

'Extremely enjoyable reading. Its style and portrayal of the Prophet's character are excellent.' *Professor Badawi, Director of the Muslim College, London*

Rogerson's account of the life of Mohummad begins in Mecca and spreads out to the desert, the Medina and Abyssinia. Within Islam, Mohummad represents almost everything of human value, yet his story is virtually unknown to the West. This biography shows the Prophet as 'founder of the Caliphate, one of the greatest empires of the world; creator of classical Arabic, a new literature and world language; originator of a new national identity, the Arab; and creator of Islam, a worldwide culture that is now 1200 million strong and growing rapidly'. We hope to have a full review of this book in the Autumn Bulletin.

Naim Turfan, *Rise of the Young Turks. Politics, the Military and the Ottoman Collapse* (London & New York, IB Tauris, 2000), ppxix, 490

In the Ottoman Empire and during the time of the Turkish republic, the words 'military' and 'politics' seemed to go hand in hand. Turfan examines the beginning of the Ottoman period to provide a historical context for the famous speech of Mustapha Kemal at the 1909 Congress of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) in Thessaloniki. In it he seemed to propose a separation of the two. But for anybody familiar with the period in question, the two remain closely connected. No military institution, Turfan argues, can remain outside politics because it is in itself a political institution. Kemal's speech is much quoted in the ongoing struggle over the interpretation of his legacy; between the liberal 'Kemalists' (social scientists who insist that he did want to take the military out of politics), and the hard-line 'Kemalists', the Turkish army, whose aim it was to bring the unpredictable Turkish political process back on track.

Turfan proposes a more analytical interpretation of Kemal's statement in trying to understand his intention. In his opinion, the apparent paradox in Kemal's words would not have been so ambiguous in 1909. It only seems so today because his words are quoted with little regard for the long history

of the Ottoman Empire, especially its later years.

Turfan's presentation is strongly influenced by sociological theory, which historians may find difficult to absorb. The last years of the Ottoman Empire, and the Young Turk period in particular, have frequently been analyzed with the hindsight of the early years of the Republic. The author tries to redress this balance in his work.

Albertine Gaur

Patricia Usick, *Adventures in Egypt and Nubia. The Travels of William John Bankes (1786-1855)*, (British Museum Press, 2002), pp224, 66 col, 46 b/w illus, Hardback £25
ISBN 07141 1803 6

The title is exactly descriptive of the book. Six of the twelve chapters are about the activities of William Bankes in Egypt and Nubia in the years 1815 and 1818-19; a seventh chapter is about an expedition to Meroe in 1821 which he sponsored. During his visits Bankes and his various associates (including Henry Salt, Linant de Bellefonds, Henry Beechey and Alessandro Ricci) observed and recorded in great detail as much as they could of the ancient buildings which they encountered. A hundred and twenty-eight drawings were made at Philae alone during a nine-day period in 1818, and altogether over 1500 drawings from Egypt and Nubia survive. Bankes himself delighted in copying inscriptions, particularly those in Greek, though his corpus of ancient Egyptian texts proved particularly important in the decipherment of hieroglyphics.

Bankes' Egyptian and Nubian travels were simply part of his wanderings between 1813 and 1820. He also visited Spain, Italy, Greece, Asia Minor and Syria. These travels are outlined by Usick, who also tops-and-tails her central narrative with accounts of Bankes' early life, his activities following his return to England, his arrests for indecent behaviour and his consequent exile (from 1841). Although away from England for the last 14 years of his life, Bankes thought constantly about his home, Kingston Lacy, reconstructed in the 1830s and the setting of his various collections.

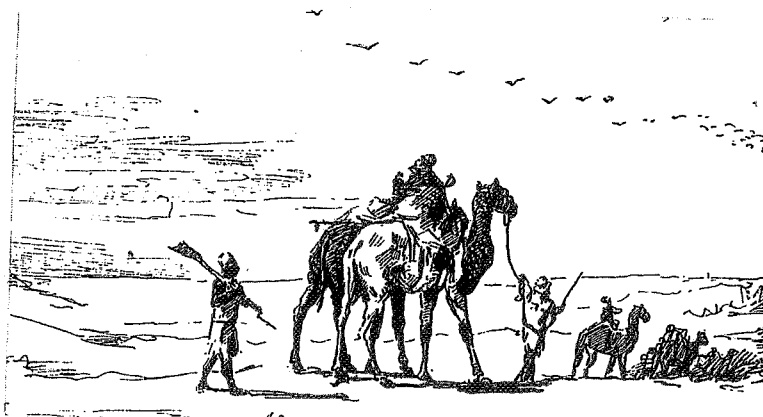
The task of tracing Bankes' activities has clearly been a great challenge for there is no complete record from which to work, not even a journal. Patricia Usick has had to make sense of a mass of undated, fragmentary notes, scribbled on scraps of

paper, as well as the drawings and inscriptions. Help was provided by the publications of Bankes' travelling companions and perhaps especially an account of his travels allegedly written by Bankes' dragoman, Mahomet (the renegade Giovanni Finati), but probably 'ghosted' by Bankes who provided the erudite notes.

Bankes' contemporaries confidently expected him to publish a brilliant scholarly book on his travels. He never did so. Various explanations emerge. The sheer quantity of his materials and their lack of organisation presented an almost impossible task. To some extent Bankes was pre-empted by some of his travelling companions and his anger at James Silk Buckingham resulted in a successful libel action against him. Bankes, however, had a mercurial temperament. He was easily bored and 'loathed the bother of writing'. Sustained, plodding scholarly work, the patient sorting and organising of notes, was not his style. The nearest he got to publication apparently was the preparation of lithographic stones to publish some of his transcribed inscriptions.

Patricia Usick claims in her prologue that she wanted to remedy the loss of Bankes' great unpublished work. She has done so spectacularly well in a narrative that has pace and interest. She restores Bankes' reputation as a scholar, without disguising his pride, arrogance and insufferability or omitting his reputation as a wit and raconteur. The book itself has been beautifully produced by British Museum Press. It contains 112 plates, most of them reproductions of the drawings and paintings made by Bankes and his associates. While the Hellenes amongst us may feel slightly frustrated, the Egyptologists will surely relish this book.

Malcolm Wagstaff



ASTENE PUBLICATIONS

All three books developed from papers given at the 1999 ASTENE Conference in Cambridge have now been published.

I *Desert Travellers from Herodotus to TE Lawrence*, edited by Janet Starkey and Okasha El Daly, illustrated
ISBN 0-9539700-0-0

II *Travellers in the Levant: Voyagers and Visionaries*, edited by Sarah Searight and Malcolm Wagstaff, illustrated
ISBN 0-9539700-1-9

III *Egypt through the Eyes of Travellers*, edited by Nadia El Kholy and Paul Starkey, illustrated
ISBN 0-9539700-2-7

All the volumes cost £19.95 (£17.50 for ASTENE members) and are obtainable from The Museum Bookshop, 36 Great Russell Street, London WC1 3QB
Tel: 0207 580 4086; fax: 0207 436 4364
email: mbooks@btconnect.com

The volumes based on papers from the 1995 Durham Conference (I) and the 1997 Oxford Conference (II) & III) are also available.

I *Travellers in Egypt*, edited by Paul and Janet Starkey (London, IB Tauris, 1998), £25 hardback, ISBN 1 86064 324 8
£14.95 paperback ISBN 1 8604 674 3

II *Unfolding the Orient*, edited by Paul and Janet Starkey, (Reading, Ithaca, 2001), illustrated, £35 ISBN 0-86372-257-1

II *Interpreting the Orient*, edited by Paul and Janet Starkey, (Reading, Ithaca, 2001), illustrated, £35 ISBN 0-86372-258-X

Ithaca Press: orders@garnet-ithaca.co.uk
or from The Museum Bookshop

A single volume, entitled provisionally *Travellers in the Near East*, based on papers given at the 2001 ASTENE Conference in Edinburgh, will be published by Stacey International. It is hoped to bring the volume out by the time of the July 2003 Conference in Oxford.

Publication of the 4th Astene Conference, Edinburgh 2001

After considerable thought and discussion, the Committee decided on a fourfold system of publication of the 2001 conference bearing in mind the various problems which had arisen from the systems used for the publication of the first three conferences.

1. A single volume, entitled provisionally *Travellers in the Near East* will be published by Stacey International. Charles Foster is editing this and he with an editorial group has chosen a selection of papers for this purpose. It is hoped to bring the volume out before the 2003 conference in Oxford.

2. Working Papers: The editorial group has also selected a further group of papers presented which will form a pilot study for a proposed series on individual papers under this title. These will be available for single purchase through the Association. The series will develop if there is sufficient interest.

3. Papers published elsewhere either individually or as part of a larger study.

Will all those whose papers have or will appear elsewhere in any form please let the secretary know as soon as possible.

Dr Patricia Usick, 32 Carlton Hill, London NW8 0JY email: Usick@dircon.co.uk

4. Papers not covered by 1-3

We hope that authors of these papers will be willing to have interested specialists put in direct touch with them through the ASTENE office.

A revised list of the 2001 papers will appear in the Bulletin and on the website, giving which form is relevant in each case.

A Bibliography of Contemporary Accounts of the Abyssinian Expedition

Roger Acton, *The Abyssinian Expedition and the Life and Reign of King Theodore*, London 1868

Charles Tilstone Beke, *The British Captives in Abyssinia*, 1867

Henry Blanc, *The Story of the Captives: a narrative of the events of Mr Rassam's Mission to Abyssinia*, 1868

A Narrative of Captivity in Abyssinia, London 1868

George Alfred Henty, *The March to Magdala*, London 1868

Trevenen J Holland & Henry M Hozier, *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, London 1870

Henry M Hozier, *The British Expedition to Abyssinia*, London 1869

Theodor von Kodolitsch, *Die englische Armee in Abyssinien im Feldzug*, 1867, Vienne 1868

Augustus F Lindley, *The Abyssinian War from an Abyssinian Point of View*, London 1868

Clements Robert Markham, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869

Hormuzd Rassam, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia*, London 1869

Graf von Seckendorf, *Meine Erlebnis mit dem englischen Expeditions corps in Abyssinien, 1867-8*, Potsdam 1869

William Simpson, *Diary of a Journey to Abyssinia, 1868*, ed Pankhurst, Tsehai Publishers and Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 2002

Henry Morton Stanley, *Coomassie and Magdala; The Story of Two British Campaigns in Africa*, London 1874

Henry Aaron Stern, *The Captive Missionary*, London 1868

RESEARCH RESOURCES

have, on microfilm, most of the thousands of pages of notes taken by Antoine and Arnauld d'Abbadie during the 12 years they spent in Ethiopia.

Most of this information was taken from the Institute's website, and this may be the best way in to gaining further information.

<http://www.ies.ethiopia.org/foreign.htm>

THE SUDAN ARCHIVE DURHAM UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The Sudan Archive was founded in 1957, the year after Sudanese independence, to collect and preserve the papers of British men and women who had lived and worked in the Sudan during the period of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (1898-1955).

It comprises over 320 individual collections of official, semi-official and private papers from Sudan Political Service administrators, missionaries, soldiers, businessmen, doctors, midwives, agriculturists and teachers. Each collection is named after the donor who is usually the creator of the records, and collections can vary in size from a handful of postcards to 180 boxes of papers. The core period covered is 1898 to 1955, but there is a significant amount of Mahdist material as well as some 19th century travellers' accounts and papers relating to the military campaigns of the 1880s and 1890s, while in recent years the scope of the Archive has extended to the period after independence and now contains material up to the present day. Moreover, as officials were frequently seconded or posted to neighbouring countries, or simply passed through them on leave, the Archive also holds substantial numbers of papers relating to Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria and African states bordering on the Sudan. Large individual collections include the papers of General Sir Reginald Wingate, Governor-General from 1900 to 1916, and the Sudan papers of Sir James Robertson who served as Civil Secretary from 1945 to 1953. New material is still being added.

In addition to official and personal papers (correspondence, reports and memoranda, trek notes and diaries, letters home and so on), collections may include a variety of records in other formats such as photographic images (c50,000 prints, lantern



INSTITUTE OF ETHIOPIAN STUDIES

The Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES), the oldest of the five research institutes within the Addis Ababa University system, was founded in 1963. Its broad aims are:

1. To conduct, promote and coordinate research on Ethiopian Studies with special emphasis on the humanities and cultural studies
2. To aid in the conservation of the Ethiopian cultural heritage by collecting, classifying, cataloguing, preserving and displaying in a museum objects reflecting the material and spiritual culture of the diverse nationalities of Ethiopia.

The Foreign Language unit library consists of published and unpublished documents on Ethiopia written in several foreign languages, predominantly English, French, Italian and German.

Rare collections date back to the 17th century. Some of them are:

Lettere Annive Di Ethiopia, 1628

The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia, 1710

Iobi Ludolfi alias Leutholf ad suam Historiam, 1681

Although I am informed they hold no unpublished travellers' accounts, they do

slides and 35mm slides), cinefilms from the 1920s to the 1960s, sound recordings, maps, museum objects and a large amount of related printed material. Most of the material is in English, with a small amount in Arabic.

Detailed catalogues for the collections are available in Durham, and a growing number are also accessible via the Web at <http://www.dur.ac.uk/library/asc> where details of opening hours will also be found. Copies of the *Summary Guide to the Sudan Archive* (price £5) may be ordered by post. A searchable database of the Archive's photographic images can be accessed at Durham.

Search Room hours: In term, Mon & Fri 0900-1700, Tues-Thurs 0900-1800, Sat 1000-1300 In vacation, Mon-Fri 0900-1700

Please give advance notice of a personal visit.

For further information, contact the Assistant Keeper,
Sudan Archive, Durham University Library,
Palace Green, Durham DH1 3RN
Tel: 0191 374 3028 or 3001 Fax: 0191 374 3002
Email: pg.library@durham.ac.uk
Jane Hogan, Assistant Keeper

One of the most useful research tools of all is nearing completion. All the 50,107 articles for the *New Dictionary of National Biography* had been approved by 30 September 2002 and more than 48,500 were already entered in the database. It was hoped that by October 2003, 'one of the largest single works ever to be printed in English' would start going to press. The number of women included has doubled, but still only amounts to 10% of the total. Her fans will be pleased to hear that Sarah Belzoni has joined her redoubtable husband, with an article all her own.

You should have now received that very important Research Resource, available to ASTENE members only, the Yellow Pages, the list of our members and their interests. Our thanks are due to Neil Cooke for the exacting work needed to produce it.

QUERIES

Maurizio Re asks: In Drovetti's *Epistolario* there are letters from three Italian doctors (Gentili, Bianchi, Rosignoli) telling Drovetti several attempts have been made on their lives by Ermengildo Frediani and Bozari. They were on the military expedition in Nubia commanded by Ibrahim Pasha (see Lets. 120, 121, p155)

After these letters I've heard no more of these men, though some years later an Italian traveller Ferlini remembers these poor fellows. Do anyone of you know something more of them?

Via della Mimosa, 54/1, 16143 Genova, Italy email: maurizio.re@passabanca.it
Maurizio Re has a website on travellers, www.doit.it/egypt - comments and critics are appreciated!

Roger de Keersmaecker asks: I would be grateful to know if somebody has information about a graffito in my database of C(ount) et C(ountess) Schulenberg, in Upper Egypt 16 April 1844. Also, any information about W(illiam?) Boggie, in Egypt 1819-20, see article Graffiti on the Propylon of Amun-Re-Monthu at Karnak-North.

Willard 1, B-2640 Mortsel, Antwerp, Belgium

Cassandra Vivian asks: I am looking for a Mr Hunter who was a merchant in Cairo in the 1780s. Here is the quote: 'This account is confirmed by a letter from Rosetti, the Venetian Resident at Cairo, to Mr Hunter, an English merchant who had lived in great intimacy with Mr Ledyard from their time of their travelling together from Alexandria to Cairo to that of Mr Hunter's departure to England.' Who was Mr Hunter? Is there any other mention of him? Did he keep a diary? 333 Manown St, Monessen PA15062, USA email: cass@telerama.com

Maria Engberg asks: I am a student of Tourism Management at the University of Surrey, UK. I am writing my MSc dissertation on the role and use of travel guidebooks by young travellers. I am interested in the historical development of travel guides as well as possible studies where young people have been the focus. Would be grateful if there are any researchers 'out there' with tips!

Maria Engberg, Senior Lecturer/International
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Tel: +358-2-4580 153 Fax: +358-2-4580
047
email: Maria.Engberg@sydvast.fi

The Griffith Institute, Oxford, holds three
books of sketches and paintings of Egypt and
the Near East, including Aleppo and
Damascus, made in 1850-2 by Edward James
Hawker. There was an Edward Hawker (son
of James Hawker) who became an admiral.
Could this have been he? Does anyone know
anything about him?
Dr Jaromir Malek, Griffith Institute, St John
Street, Oxford OX1 2LG
email: griffith@ermine.ox.ac.uk

Angela Thomas asks: Recently we have been
approached to purchase an Egyptian
sculpture, said to come from the house sale
of the 4th and last Earl of Egremont at
Silverton Park in 1892. Unfortunately, the
sale catalogue gives only a vague description
of this object. The 4th Earl, George Francis
Wyndham (1785-1845) does not seem to
have any well-known connection with
collecting antiquities. However, his uncle the
3rd Earl of Egremont, Sir George O'Brien
Wyndham (1751-1837), was a patron of art
at Petworth. His father, the 2nd Earl,
Charles Wyndham (1710-1763), acquired
material in Rome as did the 3rd Earl and his
brother Charles and they knew Gavin
Hamilton who found antique sculpture for
them in Rome. I wondered if anyone in
ASTENE might have information about any
relevant travels of the 2nd and 3rd Earls and
his brother. It would be interesting to know
if they had any direct connection with
Egypt.

Angela Thomas, Keeper of Egyptology &
Archaeology, Bolton Museum and Art
Gallery Tel: 01204 332212 Fax: 01204
332241

Michael Decker asks: I am a postdoctoral
fellow at Rice University, Houston, Texas.
My specialty area is Late Roman/Early
Byzantine history, particularly archaeology in
Syria-Palestine. In the course of my
dissertation, I utilised 18th and 19th century
travel accounts of those who had journeyed
to the Near East in order to provide
comparative data. In doing so, I was struck
both by the difficulty in obtaining the

writings of many of these authors outside of
a handful of privileged institutions, as well as
by their usefulness to a vast array of
scholars.

I am presently in the process of initiating a
digital archive project at Rice University.
This undertaking seeks to produce a digital
copy of many out of copyright (English
language) travel accounts to the Levant
during the 18th, 19th and early 20th
centuries. The purpose of such an archive is
both to preserve these works in an efficient
manner, but more to make them more widely
accessible via the worldwide web.

Is any member of ASTENE aware of any
other projects with the same aims? Also, I
would like opinions as to the usefulness of
this exercise, and suggestions for material to
be included.

Michael Decker, Andrew Mellon Postdoctoral
Fellow, Rice University, Centre for the Study
of Cultures MS-620, PO Box 1892, Houston,
TX 77251-1892...Tel: +1 713 348 5456
Fax: +1 713 348 2729

AN ANSWER

The queries about the Boy Jones, seen on
our website, attracted a response from a
non-member of ASTENE, Karl Sabbagh, a
writer who 'for years has been collecting
references to Jones for a possible future
book'. ASTENE member James Rennie
confirmed the editor's guess that he was the
London street urchin who managed to get
into Buckingham Palace in 1838, again in
1840, was apparently then put in jail, but
returned yet again. 'In the end they had to
send him away to sea where he did well,'
wrote Elizabeth Longford, in *Victoria RI*
(1964), p155. His reported presence on two
different Royal Naval vessels suggests that it
was the Royal, rather than the merchant,
navy that Jones was sent away to. In either
case, more information might be found
about him at the Public Record Office, Kew,
in Ships' Muster Books (ADM 36-39), which
sometimes give ages and place of birth.
James Rennie had seen the film, 'The
Mudlark', which was about the Boy Jones'
forays into Buckingham Palace, and starred,
if the editor remembers aright, Andrew Ray
as the Boy. Mr Rennie says if one were
feeling imaginative, one might wonder if the
reason for his disappearance from the
Warspite in 1847 was that he was on some
'confidential mission'. A friend of Mr Rennie

was pretty sure that the Boy Jones was at some time on the music halls. 'I do not know what kind of act he actually did,' Mr Rennie added, 'It may be that, having become a celebrity, he really did not have to do very much.'

As the Boy Jones has now appeared as many times in the pages of the Bulletin as he did in Buckingham Palace, perhaps we may have heard the end of him!



THE PHOTOGRAPHERS

It was probably the first time that an army included its own photographers. A team of seven men, led by Sergeant John Harrold, and attached to the 10th Company of Royal Engineers 'generally marched with the HQ camp photographing plans and views, as well as surveys of the routes onward, prints of which were handed over to the commanding officers of

corps previous to the march... and completed a series of views from Zula to Magdala illustrating all points of interest on the line of march,' recorded Holland and Hozier, adding, with perhaps too perfectionist a disapproval, 'It is to be regretted that not rather more professional and artistic knowledge was not brought to bear on this subject. Some beautiful effects of light and shade were lost, owing to the views not having been taken at the proper time of day.'

Two mules made up one 'unit' of camera, one mule carried 100 pounds, the camera itself, the other 140 pounds of developing equipment. In all, the team produced 15,200 prints, each taking two hours to develop. All are said to have reached England. There are some in the National Army Museum, and the British Army Museum's Ogilby Trust, both in London, some in the Library of the Institution of the Royal Engineers, Chatham, Kent, and an album of 65 in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa. There may well be other collections.

Coincidentally, the earliest photographer in Ethiopia was one of the captives, the missionary, Henry Aaron Stern, who took a number of pictures of people and places,

twenty of which were later published as engravings in Stern's book, *Wanderings among the Falashas in Abyssinia* (London 1862). Several other engravings apparently based on Stern's photographs appeared in AA Isaacs' *Biography of the Rev Henry Aaron Stern* (London, 1886).

IN CHAINS

Did you ever picture what being 'in chains' actually involved? Henry Blanc learnt from personal experience when the captives arrived at Magdala on 16 July 1866, to be told that it was the custom on the Amba to chain all prisoners. Their jailer was apologetic, but dared not do otherwise, lest Theodore be angered.

'Our chains were composed of two large heavy rings hammered on the legs above the ankles, riveted together with three short, thick links; at full stretch the distance between the ankles is about a span [about nine inches]. Having the chains hammered on was a very painful operation....The chains are the worst; our legs and feet get thinner and thinner, and the pressure of the iron on the bare bone is very painful. To be able to walk from one house to another, we are obliged to roll bandages under the chains; otherwise we could not move a step, so great is the pain.'

This was written while Blanc was still a captive. The chains did not come off for nearly 21 months. It is not clear how many of the male captives were chained, nor if any of the women and children were. The European artisans, who were working for Theodore up until the last days, were put in hand fetters only each night.

Despite his chains, Dr Blanc pursued his profession: 'Not many days after our arrival, frequent demands were made for medicine, and before a fortnight had elapsed, I was, *nolens volens*, gazetted in medical charge of Magdala....In our position, we must endeavour to make friends with even the worst ruffians, and I have therefore always done my utmost to please and satisfy everyone.

'I am glad to say, that I have always been very fortunate up till now, and have not a death to record, either amongst ourselves, our servants, or our followers, or in my large but unprofitable private practice.'

AND NOW FOR SOMEWHERE COMPLETELY DIFFERENT

The western edge of ASTENE's area of study is the Libyan border; however, we do have members whose interests reach further west. One is Barnaby Rogerson, who has organised several small conferences looking at other parts of North Africa. The latest, entitled *North Africa and Sahara Travel*, was held at Southside House, Wimbledon, on October 9 2002.

Patricia Usick reports:

Finding the prospect of another marathon run a bit tame? Then how about running the Sahara? Apparently there are at least 700 people happy to carry their food and clothes and run 35km (almost two marathons), varying the sand-dunes with mountains and the odd oasis. (Best pack gaiters to avoid abrasive sand removing toenails.) You will not want to waste water for washing, so when you dry out your salt and dust encrusted clothes they may snap. There is a medical tent but it looks like something out of *Mash*. Alternatively, for insomniacs, snap on your head-torch and try the 333km race non-stop through four days and nights. Or perhaps the multi-sport 'Eco-challenge', amusingly known as the 'e-coli challenge' where teams work south from Essaouira, first on camels, then 'coasteering', swimming and climbing over coastal rocks, kayaking through the 10' swell (just like being in a washing machine), then a 40km walk into the Atlas mountains, abseil down the odd canyon, 50km on Moroccan army horses and finally bike ride into Marrakesh. Some of you may ask Why?, but James Henderson felt that people are just testing themselves, physically and mentally, still, like early travellers, in search of adventure. And no woman will be surprised to learn that when it comes to endurance the women are on a par with the men.

Meanwhile we armchair travellers sat back happily once more in the dilapidated splendour of Southside House, in the safety of Wimbledon, for another extremely fascinating day covering so many aspects of North Africa. John Wright spoke first on 'Corsairs, Captains & Consuls in Tripoli', descriptions of Tripoli from Leo Africanus, through 19th century painters, commercial explorers and geographers, to early 20th century Italian colonists.

Jeremy Keenan spoke about the current

state of travel in the Algerian Sahara. An expert on the Tuareg, he explained the clash between their desire for the income from tourism and their wish to control environmental damage. Sadly, looting and the illegal export of antiquities and other goods are increasing.

After a delicious lunch laid out in the portrait-clad dining room, we ambled around the grounds among miniature temples, a canal and some eccentric topiary. Then Albert Lorocco showed us the rock-art of the Moroccan Sahara. The meaning of it is not yet understood and the dating is hotly debated. Some, showing wild, and perhaps pastoral, animals may date back up to 12,000 years, while others are more recent. Many lithic tools have been found and the art is so prolific in some areas they may have been ceremonial ritual centres or meeting places. Unfortunately the sites are endangered as there are no conservation or management strategies.

All tourists in the souks of Marrakesh are eventually lured into sipping mint tea in carpet emporiums. Myriem Naji asked how far these carpets are standardised designs made for westerners and how they differ from authentic 'art' carpets made for domestic use. She considers that all the carpets are hybrids, the result of a two-way dialogue with the west, and so the distinction does not exist. Art carpets are also a commodity and tourist pieces can be creative and innovative. The 15th century saw European textiles exported to west Africa in exchange for slaves. The French colonial administration encouraged local culture production, established quality controls, and even produced a corpus of carpet types. Moroccan carpet designs suited the aesthetic of modernist architects like Frank Lloyd Wright, Alvar Aalto and le Corbusier. But in Morocco today, local people want modern, light-weight, easy-clean carpets from the west, and consider their own products old-fashioned, which leaves tourists buying the traditional ones and Moroccans choosing foreign imports. Interestingly there is a new local style of gaudy kitsch designs, which I predict may be a future trend. Buy now!

A cup of tea taken against the faux-tapestry hangings of an ante-room refreshed us for the story of Susan Searight's journey into the Atlas mountains to find rock art that

differed considerably from that shown earlier. Much later in date, it showed what are interpreted as battle scenes with metal weapons, chariots and shields, proving that Morocco had a metal age, of which all other archaeological traces have disappeared. Many drawings are open to interpretation; men wear fringed garments or perhaps have their ribs cut out, and there are mysterious 'idols'. There seems no link between this and present cultures and the Moroccans do not claim these people as their ancestors.

Henrietta Butler brought the day to a close with her truly splendid photographs of participants at the two Niger festivals of Cure Salée and de l'Aire. The Tuareg people are elegant and graceful and her photographs of the nomadic Woodoobe people show their obsession with (male) beauty. Tall, thin men with make-up, jewellery and elaborate costumes compete to attract the attentions of the women, who, in this dating ritual, can choose their partners. After the migrations of the nomads the homecoming festival at the end of the dry season includes the cacophony and dust of a prize camel competition, a (leisurely) camel race at midday (40 degrees!) and a contest for the number of different facial expressions that the men can generate. The festival de l'Aire is a Tuareg occasion, a gathering of women in (factory made) sequined outfits parading on donkeys with men in warrior dress holding lances on camels. Dancing, an award for the most beautiful turban, ballet and music produce a highly theatrical effect.

A convivial glass of wine, and a last chance to chat, lingering in front of the flaming logs of the massive open fire in the galleried hall, then out into the not very starry night of Wimbledon common.

And remaining in the same part of the world

A PROPOSAL FOR CONVENIENT TRAVEL IN AFRICA

'A plain and very simple method for visiting Timbuctoo in safety and returning again, might be pointed out by either the American or English Consuls residing at Tangier, Algiers, Tunis, or Tripoli: - to accomplish this journey, the traveller, after being duly qualified, has only to become a slave by his own consent, and a secret understanding with his hired master; being bargained away by the Consul to one of the principal

merchants trading to that city in the yearly caravans, and who might be induced to enter into the project for an ample remuneration.'

This practical suggestion comes from *An authentic narrative of the loss of the American brig Commerce, wrecked on the western coast of Africa, in the month of August, 1815. With an account of the sufferings of her surviving officers and crew, who were enslaved by the wandering arabs of the Great African Desert, or Zahahrah*, by James Riley, late Master and Supercargo, published by himself.

Riley was born in Connecticut in 1777 and was largely self-educated. He was part owner of the *Commerce*, 220 tons, which was nearly new when he set out from Hartford, Connecticut for New Orleans in 1815. From there he went to Gibraltar. The intention was to continue to the Cape Verde islands via the Canaries, but wind and current caused the boat to be grounded on the Mauretania coast. Riley and his crew were taken prisoner; one was massacred. They escaped, only to be captured again and sold into slavery. Various terrible things happened, until after several months he and some of the men regained their freedom through the good offices of an English resident at Mogador and his contacts. By that time Riley weighed less than 90 pounds, having started at over 240 pounds.

Throughout his sufferings he was evidently sustained by alert curiosity, energy and intelligence. His book is over 500 pages long and apart from the narrative of events of his own life, includes details of offshore currents (so that others may escape his fate), descriptions of people and customs, including those of the Jewish community, the habits of the locust, a description recounted to him of a journey across the desert to Timbuctoo and beyond, discussion of the possible fate of the Niger (to enter the Congo) and the necessary accomplishments of anyone who wished to attempt a complete navigation of the river. Already familiar with Spanish, which was widely used in Morocco, he learnt Arabic in order to communicate more freely, and provides an appendix containing the Arabic letters with their phonetic equivalents, a little grammar, a vocabulary and an idiosyncratic list of phrases. There is much here that would be invaluable to someone embarking on the package tour he suggests.

I do not know whether James Riley is widely known. My own copy was an unregarded

item at an antique fair in Massachusetts several decades ago. A search on the internet shows that his book had been republished as a paperback (Lyons Press, 2000) under the title *Sufferings in Africa*. Its current interest is said to be as an account of slavery as experienced by a white American. He is certainly a fascinating and lively writer making something wonderful out of a personal tragedy.

Laurence Cook

THE EXPEDITION'S ELEPHANTS

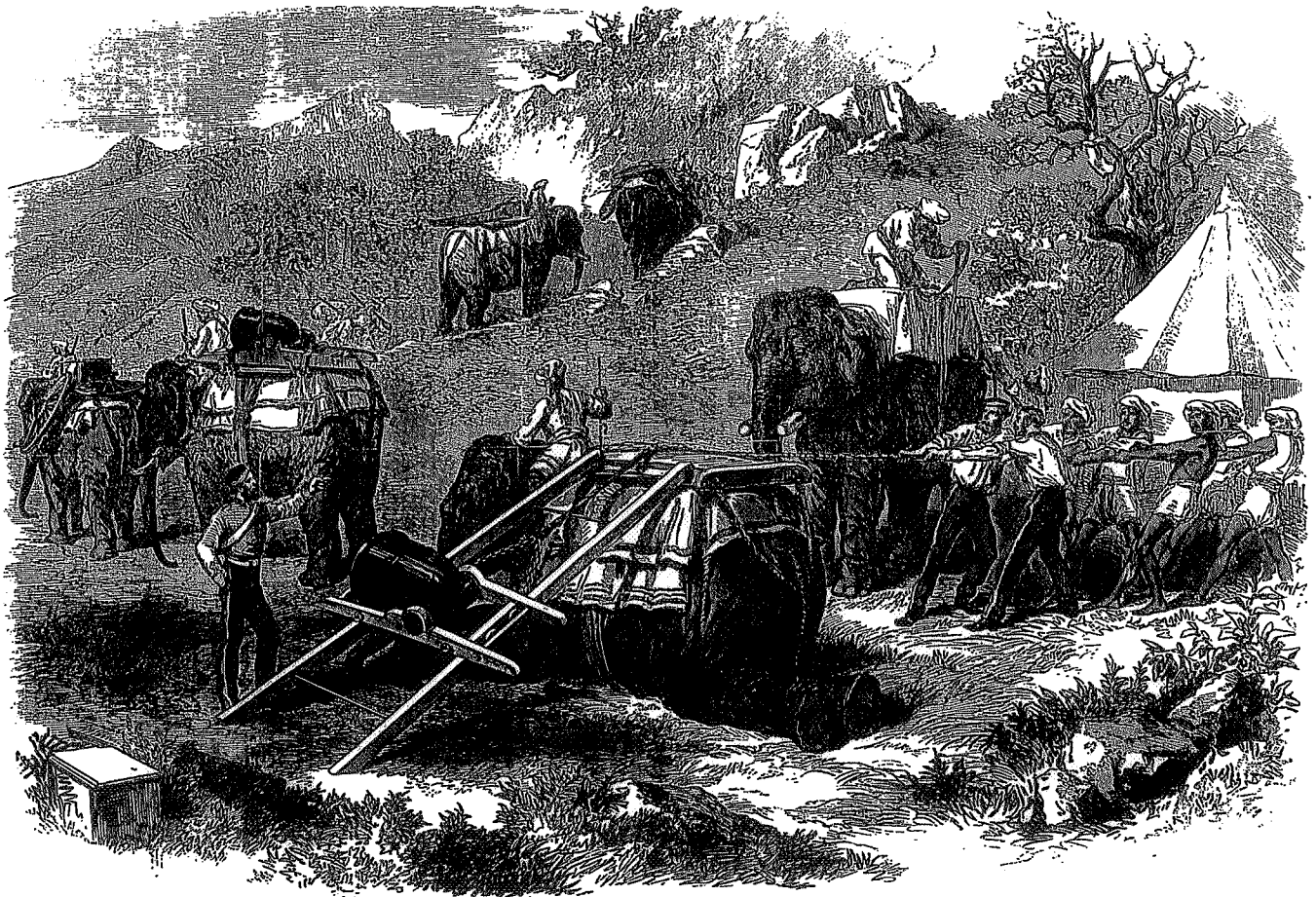
44 elephants were shipped from India, to carry the Armstrong cannons. Each beast was attended by its own mahout and coolie. Their daily rations were: 4lbs gram; 20lbs rice or flour; 2½ oz salt; 175lbs hay or kirben; 40 gallons of water.

Considering the narrow and precipitous paths they had to follow, it is amazing none fell to their death. The five who died did so from exhaustion, the rest returned to India, we must hope to a long and rather more restful life.

THE EXPEDITION'S MULES

Mules had to be brought from all parts - India, Egypt, Syria, Spain, or wherever they could be found. The mule, with its pack-saddle, became an all-important subject of reports, opinions, and speculations. In fact it became a sort of sacred animal. Had the Abyssinian Expedition occurred two or three thousand years earlier I believe the mule would have been worshipped, and myths would have arisen as to how it fed a whole army of soldiers...

William Simpson



OTHER EVENTS

A Charity Egyptological Conference, 9.30 to 5.30, Sunday, 18 May
The Egypt Centre & Taliesin Arts Centre,
University of Wales, Swansea

Very short notice on this, unfortunately. Several good speakers, some not unknown to ASTENE! Aidan Dodson, University of Bristol; Alan B Lloyd and Kasia Szpakowska, both of University of Wales; Richard Parkinson and John Taylor from the British Museum.

Tickets are £30 + lunch £3, fundraising dinner £25. A cheque or postal order made out to The Nile Cycle Charity Challenge should be sent to Wendy Goodridge, The Egypt Centre, University of Wales Swansea, Singleton Park, Swansea SA2 8PP
Tel: 01792 295960

An Englishman's Travels in Egypt: Edward Lane in Cairo (1825-35)

On during our Conference, and until 20 July, The Eric North Room, Department of Eastern Art, Ashmolean Museum, Beaumont Street, Oxford OX1 2PH

Some years ago the Department of Eastern Art received a full set of Turkish clothing worn by Lane during his two extensive visits to Cairo. These are displayed alongside some of his diaries and sketches from his travels in Egypt, now in the Griffith Institute. Lane was trained as an engraver, and his drawings are of outstanding quality. He became famous for his book *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* and his *Arabic-English Lexicon* remains an important work for students of Oriental languages.

For further details, contact Dr Ruth Barnes, Ashmolean Museum
Tel: 01865 278076
email: ruth.barnes@ashmus.ox.ac.uk



Edward Lane by
Richard Lane

Mad, Bad and Dangerous to Know: The Cult of Lord Byron, an exhibition from the National Portrait Gallery is now on tour - at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery until 26 May, then from June-October at Dove Cottage, The Wordsworth Trust, Grasmere, in the Lake District.

Seuils & Traverses 4/Borders & Crossings 4 2-4 July, 2003, at the University of Ankara
At this international, inter-disciplinary conference, organised by the Department of French, University of Ankara, papers, of no more than 20 minutes duration, will be given in either English or French. The three themes of the conference are 'Writing Travel', 'Orientalism' and 'Travel and Translation'. Concerning the first and third themes, contact Arzu Etensel Ildem, email: aeildem@kilim.com.tr; concerning the second, contact Emin Ozcan, email: ozcanemin@isnet.net.tr

Oxford University Department of Continuing Education,
Rewley House, 1 Wellington Square, Oxford
Tel: 01865 270360

1. Weekend School, **Orientalism & Gardens**, 3-5 October. An exploration of gardens of the East and their influence on and connections with gardens of the West - the spread of Oriental ideas and motifs and their interpretation and occasional distortion in Europe. With a visit to the 'Hindu' garden at Sezincote. Fee, residential £181 single, £159 shared; non-residential, £119 with meals, £80 without.

2. Day School, **Islam and the West Today**, 15 November. Topics will include the Arab-Israeli conflict, Islamic fundamentalism, and the prospects for Islamic Reformation. Fee, £45 with lunch, £35 without

3. Day School, **The Crusades: Causes and Consequences**, 24 January 2004. On the 1000th anniversary of the Crusaders' infamous sack of Constantinople, this day school will assess Runciman's denunciation of the Fourth Crusade as 'a crime against humanity' and 'an act of gigantic political folly', and address the evolving objectives and long-term impact of the crusading movement. Fee, £45 with lunch, £35 without lunch

4. A series of lectures on women travellers begins on Monday, 13 October, with a discussion on how women travellers may differ from their male counterparts, and the special contribution they have made to travel writing. On 20 October, Susanna Hoe considers women in China; on 27 October, Deborah Manley takes Eliza Fay and Sarah Belzoni on the Nile; on 3 November, Susanna Hoe turns to Polynesia; on 10 November, Sarah Searight introduces the 'Queens of the Desert' and on 17 November, the emphasis moves to Russia.

For further details on all these courses, contact OUDCE at the address above. If you are not already on the OUCDE mailing list, it is worth arranging to be on it.

The Anglo-Ethiopian Society's lecture on 16 September is entitled 'The Life of Prince Alamayou Teodoros in the UK 1868-79: his missing correspondence'

The great-grandfather of the speaker, Sandy Holt-Wilson, owned a prep school where the Prince spent a year cramming when he was at Rugby. There is a renewed interest in his life, as the rightful heir of the Emperor Theodore. The lecture will be held at 7pm in Room G50 at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square, London WC1.

Prince Alamayou

23 April 1861-14 November 1879

After Theodore's death, his Queen had agreed to General Napier's proposal that her seven-year-old son, Alamayou, should be taken under his protection, to keep him safe from any aspirants to the throne of Abyssinia. The Queen died, probably of a pulmonary infection, on the march back to the coast.

The child travelled to England with Napier, under the particular care of Captain Speedy (see Dorothy Anderson's article in *Bulletin 8* p18). At Zoulla, reported William Simpson, he chanced to sit beside the child at breakfast, and 'I...gave him his first lesson in manipulating bread and marmalade. He had not the faintest notion what to do with these articles when placed upon his plate.' At Suez, Simpson accompanied Speedy and Alamayou on a shopping trip to buy them some clothes - 'but the difficulty, in a place like Suez, was

to find garments for two such extreme customers. Speedy was 6 feet 6 inches, and the boy was only seven years. Speedy did find a pair of trousers that he could wear - but they suggested to my eye that he had grown a little out of them. Alamayou was more easily rigged out, and in that shop I saw him for the first time in elastic-sided boots - a curious change for a young savage.'

Alamayou later accompanied Speedy and his wife to India, then Penang, from whence he was summoned back to England to go to Cheltenham College, Rugby and Sandhurst. He died in Leeds of consumption, and is buried in St George's Chapel, Windsor, where a plaque was placed in his memory by Queen Victoria.



The Railway

General Napier invited some of the headmen from Tigre to travel on the newly built railway to Zoulla. 'The Abyssinians endeavour,' said Simpson, 'to conceal their feelings of astonishment, but a railway was too much for them..[there was] a great deal of loud and animated conversation..discussing "whether Solomon in all his glory ever could have conceived such a mode of travelling"...it seemed that this "Board of Enquiry" were coming to conclusions rather adverse to Solomon's knowledge on the subject. "See," said a warm and very practical admirer of the railway system, "one could go to sleep and travel at the same time."' "

THEODORE'S ARMY AFTER MAGDALA

20 April 1868. ...We met the disarmed army of Theodoros coming...They streamed down upon a plain of yellow grass like a vast flight of locusts...Here was perhaps a most perfect picture of an Eastern army - I mean of an ancient army such as Genghis Khan or men of that time would have - formed of a mixed multitude all moving along carrying their houses - a few rags and a pole for a tent, carrying their household utensils in the shape of bags and pots with their food, wives, children, servants or slaves as the case may be...There were swells with silk coats, and others with leopard skins. Some were carried upon men's shoulders on extemporised litters...We learnt afterwards that they were being sent to their homes.

William Simpson

THE CAPTIVES

Consul Cameron, his secretary, Mr Kerans, servants Pietro (Italian), Makerer (French) and McKelvie (Irish); Mr Rassam, Dr Blanc and Lieutenant Prideaux; Rev Stern, Mr Flad, wife and three children, Mr Rosenthal, wife and one child, of London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews; Mr Brandeis and Mr Staiger, German missionaries sent by a Scottish Society; Mr Essler and Mr Schiller, German naturalists; Mr Schimper, German botanist and Mr Schimper Junior, an artisan; Mr Waldmeier, Swiss engineer, half-Abyssinian wife, one child; Mr Saalmüller, German artisan, half-Abyssinian wife, sister to Mrs Waldmeier, one child; Aleegas, brother to the two ladies above, artisan; Mrs Kenzlen, widow of an artisan, one child; Mr Bourgaud, French artisan, French wife, five children; Mr Bender, German artisan, German wife, three children; Mr Moritz, wife and child; Mr Mayer, German artisan, wife and three children; Mr John Parkins, British artisan; Mr Zander, German artisan, native wife and four children; Mr Bardel, French (not at Magdala as ill)

Report by TJ Holland and HM Hozier



DEPARTURE OF RELEASED PRISONERS FROM THE HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP