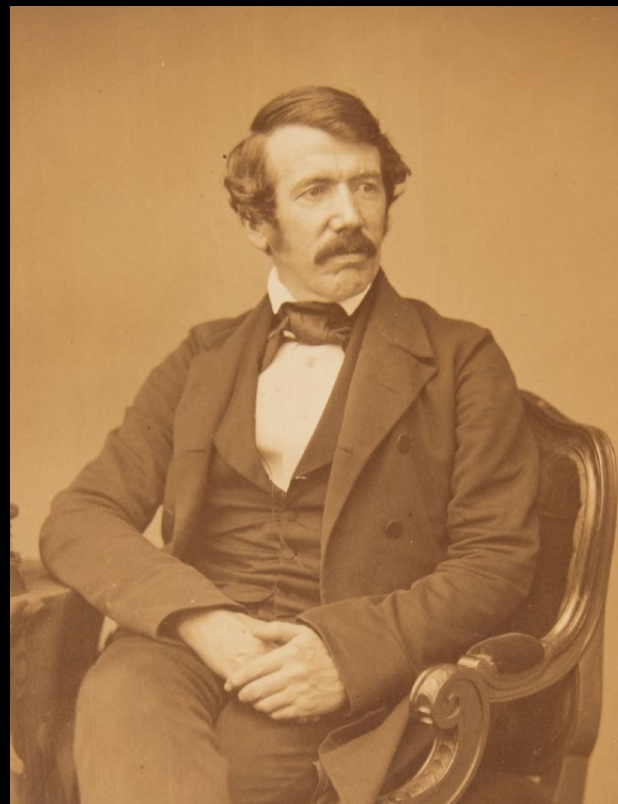
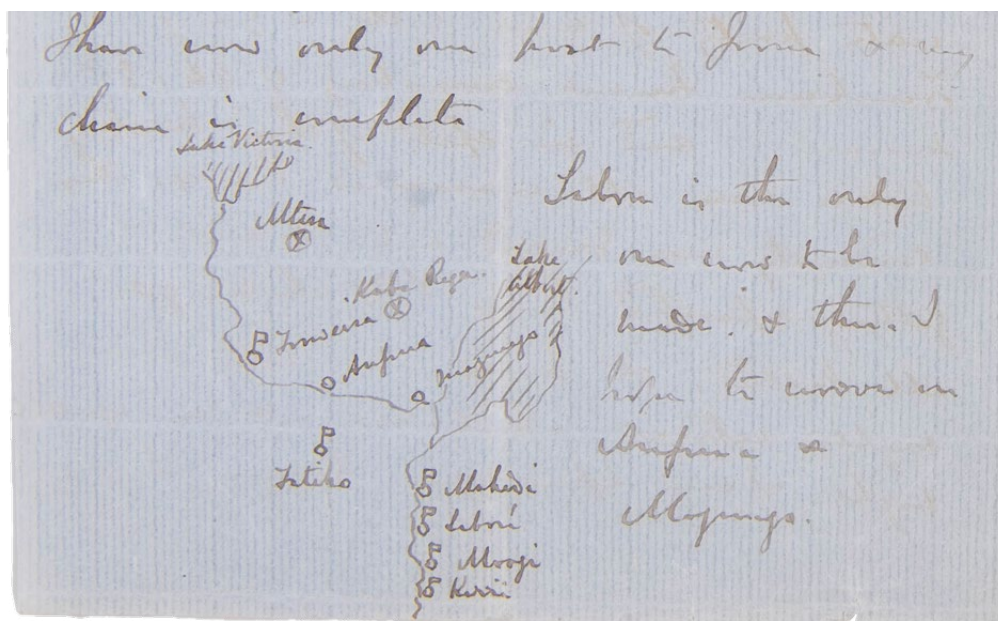


# AFRICA ~ EXPLORERS, OFFICERS & GOVERNORS





Item 31: GORDON (Charles George). ALS to Colonel [Charles] Nugent

MAGGS BROS. LTD.

48 Bedford Square London WC1B 3DR

46 Curzon Street London W1J 7UH

Telephone: ++ 44 (0)20 7493 7160

Email: [travel@maggs.com](mailto:travel@maggs.com)

Prices marked with an asterisk\* are liable for VAT for customers in the UK.

Access/Mastercard and Visa: Please quote card number, expiry date, name and invoice number by mail, email or telephone.

The goods shall legally remain the property of the seller until the price has been discharged in full.

© Maggs Bros. Ltd. 2025

Design by Radius Graphics

AFRICA

---

EXPLORERS, OFFICERS  
&  
GOVERNORS

## THE TRAVEL DEPARTMENT

EMAIL: TRAVEL@MAGGS.COM



BY APPOINTMENT TO  
HIS MAJESTY THE KING  
PURVEYORS OF RARE BOOKS  
& MANUSCRIPTS  
MAGGS BROS. LTD., LONDON

MAGGS BROS. LTD.

---

## AFRICA: EXPLORERS, OFFICERS & GOVERNORS

Maggs Bros Ltd is delighted to present a significant group of letters and ephemera documenting some of the most important European explorers and colonial governors of East Africa and Sudan. Major figures from the era such as David Livingstone, John Hanning Speke, General Charles Gordon, Henry Stanley, Richard Burton, and James Grant are all represented, the latter two in cabinet cards. The letters clarify many of the relationships among the men; the importance of local officials and consuls; explorers efforts to assist others; and shows each negotiate precarious and hostile situations. Two of the great themes of colonial activity in Africa are evident throughout, namely, the disruption of the slave trade, and the search of the source of the Nile.

Among the highlights are a very early letter by David Livingstone addressed to Thomas Dick who provided the motivation for him to become a missionary. Another to William Stearns is one of thirty-one which Henry Stanley carried with him after famously discovering the missionary-explorer.

John Hanning Speke writes to Roderick Murchison as he prepares for his second African expedition in 1859. Three years later in the field, he writes to Colonel Rigby worrying about influence of his nemesis, Richard Burton.

The substantial group of letters from Charles Gordon concern his suppression of the slave trade in Central Africa, the construction of the Sudan Railway, as well as his thoughts on the promotions for himself and his colleagues. Finally, he writes from a besieged Khartoum. Gordon's comments to Sir Samuel Baker on his recently-published *Ismailia ...*, and his personal letters on religious matters to his Aunt Amy, are an important addition to our understanding of him. Several letters feature illustrations and two include a manuscript map.

In addition, there is a large, signed photograph of Livingstone plus a wide selection of cabinet cards of each of the explorers. A tender cabinet card portrait of Stanley with his adopted son, Kalulu, a handsome woodburytype of Richard Burton, and Sir Horatio Kitchener's signed cabinet card.

---





## DAVID LIVINGSTONE

David Livingstone (1813-1873) achieved many things in his two decades in Africa, and is arguably best remembered as a symbol of colonial benevolence. The Scottish physician was a missionary, explorer, abolitionist, and by the time of his death, his status as a national hero was indisputable. Of course, he was more complicated than the “missionary saint” portrayed in Alan Moorehead’s *The White Nile* (London, 1960).

ODNB puts some meat on his bones, describing him as “versatile in practical skills, intellectually curious, strikingly free from religious or racial prejudice, exerting unusual charm, and inspiring at least a few to great loyalty; yet deficient in political sense, tactless, touchy, rancorous, stingy with thanks or encouragement, devious, and callous when other people’s interests seemed to conflict with his duty to God” (ODNB). His travels took him to South Africa, Mozambique, Malawi, the Zambezi, Zambia, Congo and Tanzania. This group of letters are particularly interesting for the light they shed on the relationship between him and fellow explorer John Kirk.



Kwuman South Africa 7 July 1843

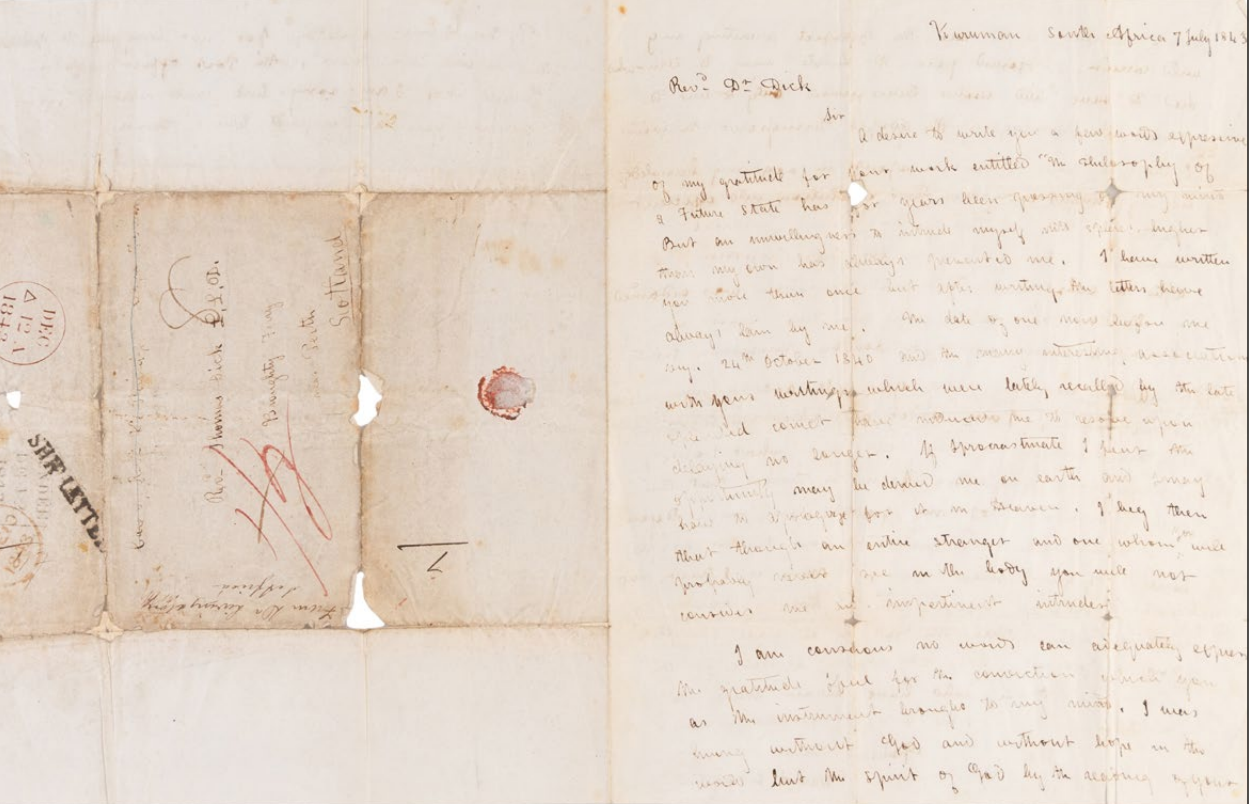
Rev<sup>d</sup> Dr Dick

Sir

A desire to write you a few words expressive of my gratitude for your work entitled "The Philosophy of a Future State" has for years been pressing on my mind. But an unwillingness to intrude myself into spheres higher than my own has always prevented me. I have written you more than once but after writing the letters have always lain by me. The date of one now before me says. 24<sup>th</sup> October 1840 and the many interesting associations with your writings which were lately recalled by the late splendid comet have induced me to resolve upon delaying no longer. If procrastinate I fear the opportunity may be denied me on earth and I may have to apologise for it in Heaven. I beg then that though an entire stranger and one whom <sup>you</sup> will probably never see in the body you will not consider me an impertinent intruder.

I am conscious no words can adequately express the gratitude I feel for the conviction which you as the instrument brought to my mind. I was living without God and without hope in the world but the spirit of God by the reading of your





## The Spark for Livingstone's Missionary Career

### 1 LIVINGSTONE (David). ALS to Thomas Dick.

Manuscript in ink. Bifolium with address leaf. Old folds, some splits along them, remnants of wax seal & post marks. Kuriman, South Africa, 7 July, 1843.

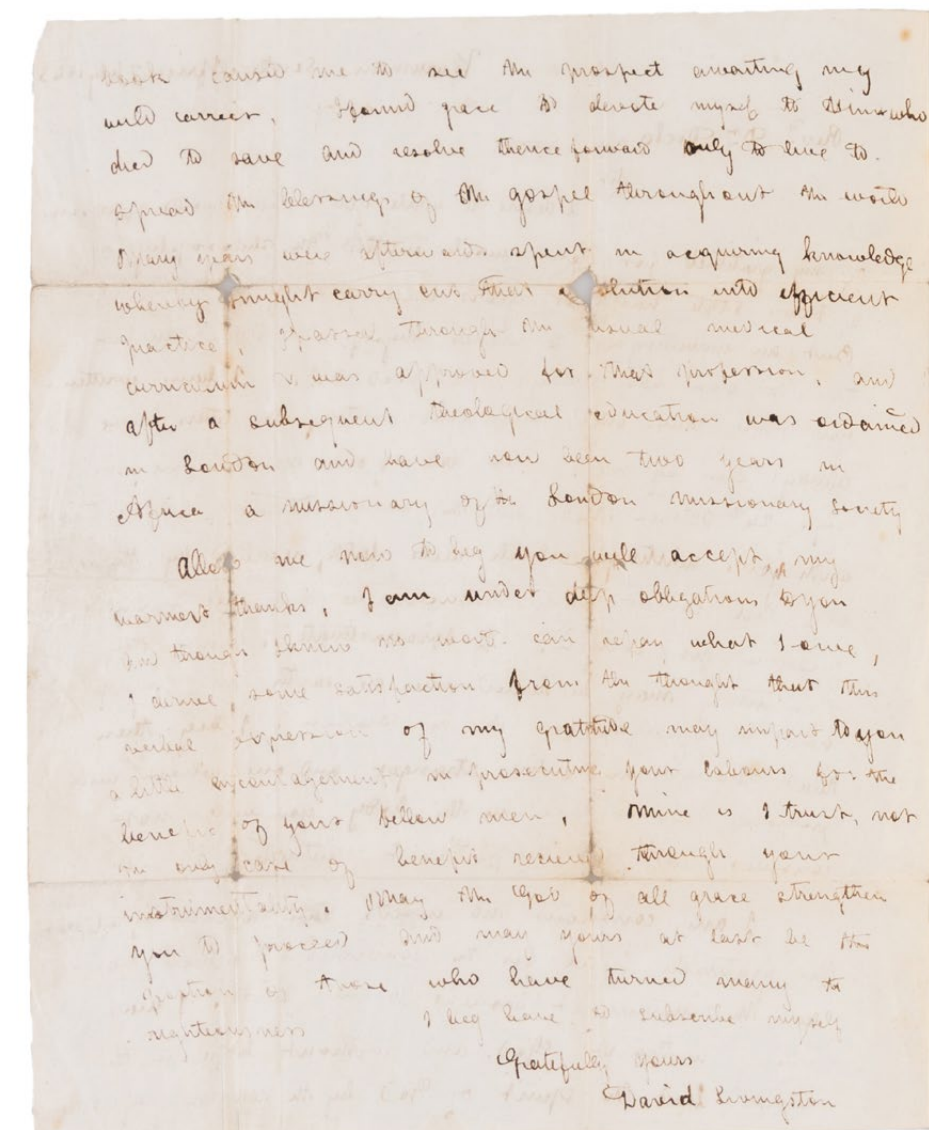
[With:] DICK (Thomas). Ms. draft reply to Livingstone. Ms in ink, likely secretarial. 12mo. 20pp rectos only, plus blanks. Old folds & creases. Broughty Yerry, near Dundee, 8 January, 1857.

An important and early three-page letter to scientist, reverend and philosopher, Thomas Dick (1774-1857), setting out the reasons for Livingstone becoming a missionary and linking them to the influence of Dick's, *The Philosophy of a Future State* (London, 1827) in which he argued that science was not incompatible with Christianity.

Livingstone states that "I am conscious no words can adequately express the gratitude I feel for the conviction which you as the instrument brought to my mind. **I was living without God and without hope in the world but the spirit of God by the reading of your book caused me to see the prospect**

**awaiting my mild career.** I found space to devote myself to Him who died to save, and resolve thence forward only to live to spread the blessings of the gospel throughout the world. Many years were afterwards spent in acquiring knowledge whereby I might carry out that mild efficient practice. I passed through the usual medical curriculum and was approved for that profession, and after a subsequent theological education was ordained in London and have now been two years in Africa a missionary of the London missionary society."

Furthermore, he emphasises the importance and influence of Dick's writings by adding: "Allow me now to beg you will accept my warmest thanks. **I am under deep obligations to you and though I know no word can repay what I owe,** I derive some satisfaction from the thought that this verbal expression of my gratitude may impart to you a little encouragement in prosecuting your labours for the benefit of your fellow men. **Mine is I trust, not the only case of benefit received through your instrumentality.**"





Dick's reply, beginning with - "About 8 or 10 years ago I was favoured with a letter from you in which you stated that you had derived some benefit from the perusal of some of my writing ..."—largely concerns the reasons for the delay in his response, though he does note that he'd heard Livingstone had been attacked by a lion. He also mentions that he met Robert Moffat, Livingstone's father-in-law, in 1841 and demonstrates that he has followed the careers of both men.

(3)

Broughty Ferry  
near Dundee  
8<sup>th</sup> Jan'y 1858

My dear Sir

About 8 or 10 years ago, I was favoured with a letter from you in which you stated that you had derived some benefit from the perusal of some of my writing particularly the volume entitled The Philosophy of a Future State. I was very highly gratified on the receipt of your letter and intended soon to return you a reply but just about the time when I intended to return an answer I was extremely sorry to learn that you had been attacked by a lion and had been so much torn and injured that it was doubtful whether you would recover. I thought therefore it would be expedient to delay my

1858  
Jan'y  
David Livingstone  
3 March

John Laird Esq

Zambezi Exped<sup>n</sup>

3<sup>rd</sup> March 1858

My dear Sir  
Pearl arrived here a short time ago I shall feel obliged if you say sorry of my

### Livingstone Prepares to Set Sail

## 2 LIVINGSTONE (David). ALS to John Laird.

Manuscript in ink. Single sheet folded to make 4pp. 8vo. Old folds, some ms. annotations, but very good. [Liverpool], Edg[e]hill, 3 March, 1858.

David Livingstone (1813-1873) is possibly the most famous of all the British explorers of nineteenth century Africa. This letter was written just a week before departing on his Zambezi Expedition, 1858-64.

John Laird's firm, Macgregor Laird, built the steamer and Livingstone writes to him with some anxiety at the apparent delay.

"I got a telegram yesterday saying that the Pearl would leave at one o'clock. I cannot find that she has arrived though it was expected she would about 10A.M."

He also asks that Laird tell any of Livingstone's companions who ask after him that he'll "come over to your place tomorrow morning."

The Pearl carried not only Livingstone, his family, and other members of the expedition, but also the steamer, Ma-Robert, in three sections. En route to Africa, Livingstone learned that his wife, Mary, was pregnant and so she, and their son, Oswell, left the expedition at Cape Town.



They can do anything  
 of that sort without  
 compunction & lie  
 afterwards like  
 fishwives. We know  
 them to be thieves  
 and have just to  
 lay our account  
 with it.

The "serpent" is I  
 think typical  
 Matikenya - in the  
 Barotse valley. It  
 holds canoes fast  
 though 20 men paddle  
 if no one knows the  
 proper words to use  
 to him - any one with  
 a bad tongue in his  
 head would become  
 a dead man of course  
 David Livingstone

Cataracts 7<sup>th</sup> June  
 1863

My Dear H

Recd your  
 acceptance of a bit  
 of beef and hope  
 you may have no  
 scruples of conscience  
 in eating it as  
 it was killed  
 in a most atrocious  
 manner - I shall  
 let you know

A cheerful letter from Livingstone to Horace Waller, a member of Bishop Mackenzie's missionary party.

"I beg your acceptance of a bit of beef and hope you have no scruples of conscience in eating it as it was killed in a most atrocious manner. I shall let you know how just to try your stomach. In trying him in the yoke he lay down, evidently an old trick and rise he would not. As I had a craving for meat fresh and good I said 'if you don't get up we shall eat you.' Stopped his breath a remedy I never saw fail before, then cut his throat and felt rather glad the experiment ended as it did for I had a sore longing for fresh beef. I fear another must fall for he runs at the men and tries to gore them."

"I send two Shupanga men and your boy to see they don't crib the meat in the way they can do anything of that sort without compunction and lie afterwards like fishwives. We know them to be there and have just to lay our account with it."

Livingstone ends his letter with his opinion of the "serpent" ... "I think [it is] typical of Matikenya in the Barotse Valley, it holds canoes fast though 20 men paddle if no one knows the proper words to use to him. Anyone with a bad tongue in his head had better go overland. He would let me pass of course."

This was a difficult time for Livingstone and his party. In early 1863, an outbreak of dysentery forced his brother, Charles, and John Kirk (his second-in-command) to leave the expedition.

Furthermore, the Mañanja burned one of his boats and just three weeks after this letter, Livingstone received word of Earl Russell's order that he discontinue the expedition. Livingstone wrote another letter to Waller at time, in which he famously stated: "I don't know whether I am to go on the shelf or not. If I do, I make Africa the shelf."

Horace Waller (1833-1896) worked for a period with Charles Frederick Mackenzie, bishop of Central Africa. After Stanley succeeded in discovering Livingstone, Livingstone's journals were entrusted to Waller for publication.

### Forwarding Supplies in the Field

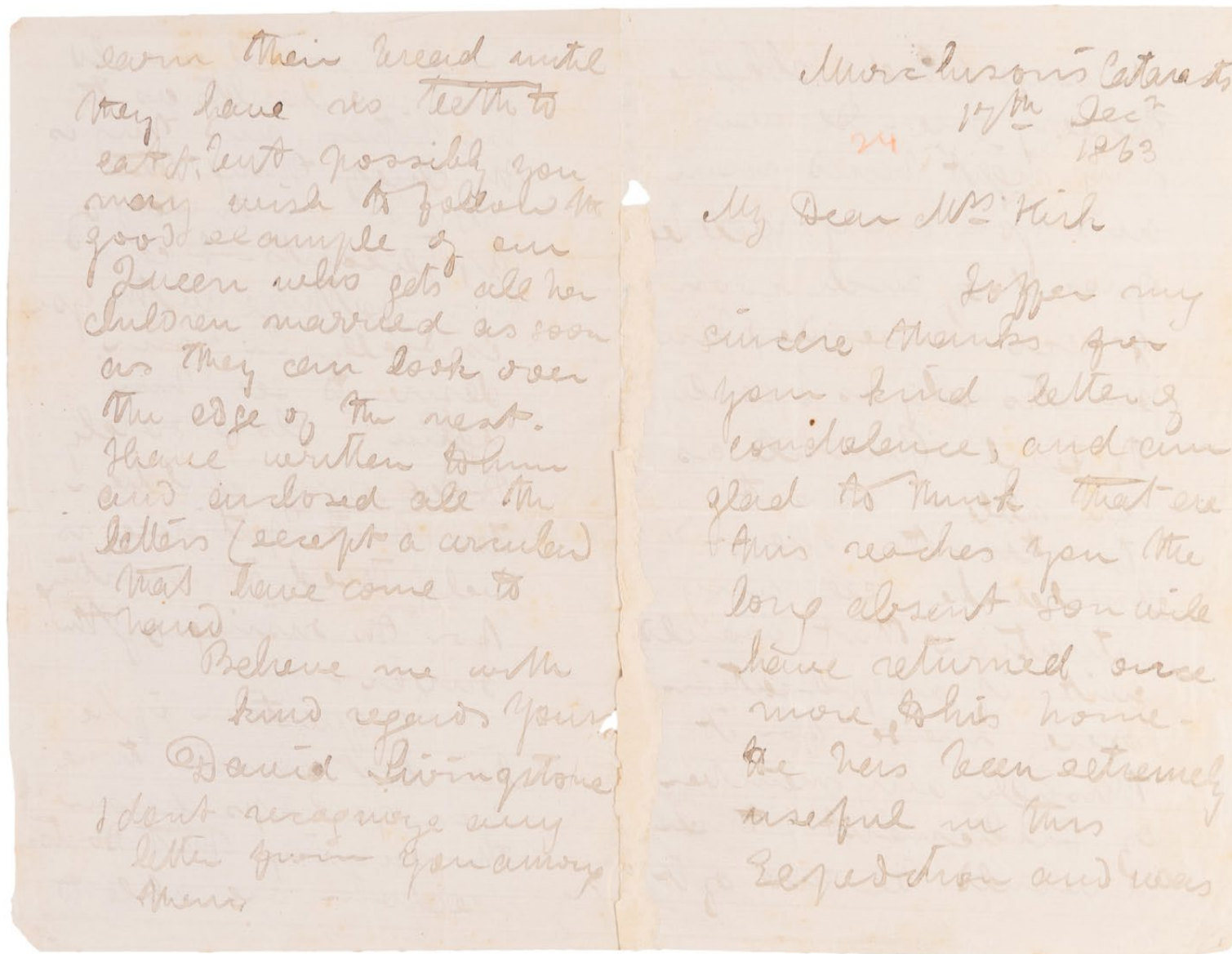
#### 3 LIVINGSTONE (David). ALS to H[orace Waller].

Manuscript in ink. 4 pages, 8vo, light browning to edges, small hole affecting a few letters. Cataracts, 7 June, 1863.



how just to try  
 your stomach. In  
 trying him in the  
 yoke he lay down.  
 evidently an old  
 trick and rise he  
 would not. as  
 I had a craving  
 for meat + fresh  
 + good I said "if  
 you don't get up  
 we shall eat you"  
 stopped his breath  
 a remedy I never  
 saw fail before.

Then cut his throat  
 and felt rather glad  
 that the experiment  
 ended as it did  
 for I had a sore  
 longing for fresh  
 beef. I fear  
 another must  
 fall for he runs  
 at the men and  
 tries to gore them.  
 I send two  
 Shupanga men +  
 your boy to see  
 they don't oil the  
 meat in the way



### Kind Words to Kirk's Mother

#### 4 LIVINGSTONE (David).

##### ALS to Mrs Kirk.

Manuscript in ink. 4pp. Bifolium folded to make 4pp. 8vo. Old folds, some toning. Murchison's Cataracts, 17 December, 1863.

A touching letter from Livingstone to Christian Guthrie, the mother of John Kirk (1823-1922), physician and naturalist on Livingstone's second Zambesi

expedition. Kirk had contracted dysentery and was made to return to England. This was written shortly after he departed the expedition.

Livingstone writes in glowing terms of John: "**He has been extremely useful in the expedition and was always kind and obliging to everyone. He was my right hand man and you may well be proud of such a son.** I recommended him as strongly as I could to Earl Russell as an able and most trustworthy man ..."

Kirk was Livingstone's chief assistant on his second Zambesi expedition and would later become Consul and then Consul-General at Zanzibar.

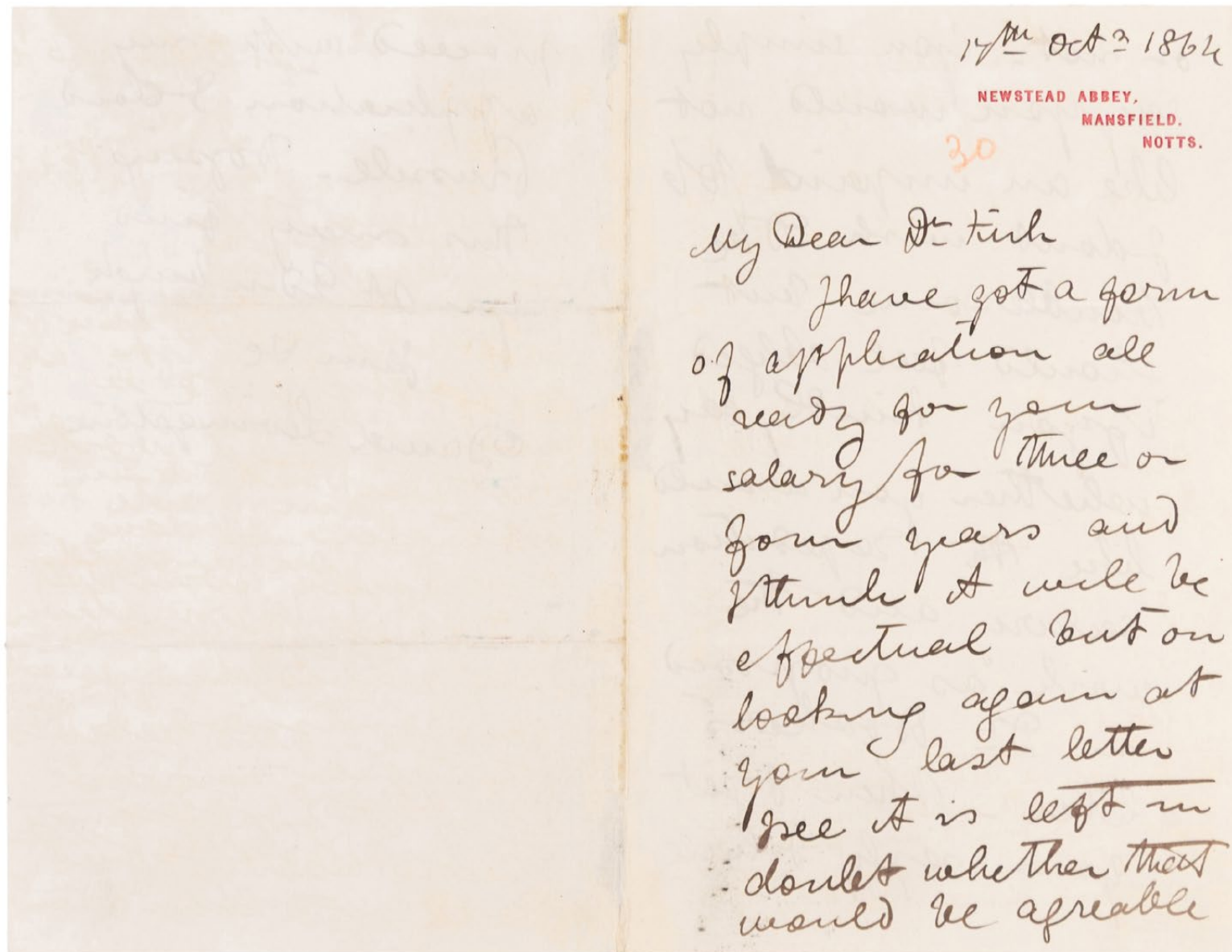
Christian Guthrie née Carnegie (d. 1865), was descended from a cadet branch of the Carnegie family of Southesk.



always kind & obliging  
 to every one. He was  
 my right hand man  
 and you may well be  
 proud of such a son.  
 I recommended him  
 as strongly as I could  
 to Earl Russell as  
 an able & most  
 trustworthy man &  
 should be in any  
 situation that would  
 suit, if application  
 were made for it  
 through any member  
 of Parliament I think  
 we would be sure of it

Earl Russell would  
 have no doubts as to  
 his fitness, and this is  
 the chief thing that  
 stands in the way of  
 applicants. I can  
 sympathize with you  
 cordially in your  
 desire to see him  
 again. I long sorely  
 to see my children  
 too, but patience is  
 well tried in waiting  
 for the rising of the  
 river.

I question if he  
 has lost much time  
 you perhaps know  
 the saying that Doctors  
 seldom are able to



### *Assisting his Assistant*

#### **5 LIVINGSTONE (David). ALS to John Kirk.**

Manuscript in ink. Bifolium on Newstead Abbey stationery. 3, [1]pp. 12mo. Old folds, a little worn but perfectly legible throughout. Newstead Abbey, Notts., 17 October, 1864.

Here Livingstone tries to make good on his promise to John Kirk's mother in the previous letter, but it seems less straightforward than expected. He writes:

"I have got a grant of application all ready for your salary for three or four years and I think it will be effectual but on looking again at your last letter I see it is left in doubt whether that would be agreeable or no. You simply say you would not like an unpaid job. I don't wish to be troublesome but should feel obliged if you kindly say whether you would like the expedition salary and the work as proposed in Dr Hooker's letter ..."

This is presumably Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817-1911), who was one of the most important botanists of the nineteenth century.



or not. You simply  
 say you would not  
 like an unpaid job  
 I don't wish to be  
 troublesome but  
 should feel obliged  
 if you kindly say  
 whether you would  
 like the repetition  
 salary and the  
 work as proposed  
 in Dr. Hooker's  
 letter. When I get  
 your reply I shall

proceed with my  
 application to Lord  
 Russell. Hoping  
 thus may find  
 you at Edinburgh  
 I am &c

David Livingstone

## The Long-Suffering Mentor

### 6 LIVINGSTONE (David). ALS to John Kirk.

Manuscript in ink. Bifolium on Newstead Abbey stationery. 3, [1]pp. 12mo. Old folds, a little toned but perfectly legible throughout, ms. red pencil "32" to first page. Newstead Abbey, Notts., 7 November, 1864.

Livingstone once again offers to help John Kirk find employment, perhaps showing a little frustration via his direct manner: "May I ask what you intend to go in for. If for any situation ... **if you would call on me to testify to your abilities etc my recommendation might do you no harm and it would delight me if it could do you any good.**"

He then turns to botanical matters: "What is the name of the stinking plant we so encountered ... the people eat the bean very extensively farther north during the famine." He goes on to discuss a plant that gave Kirk a headache on the expedition, mentions a palm which he illustrates, and asks for permission to use some of the "information you have given in the Linnean Transactions" promising to credit him in every instance.

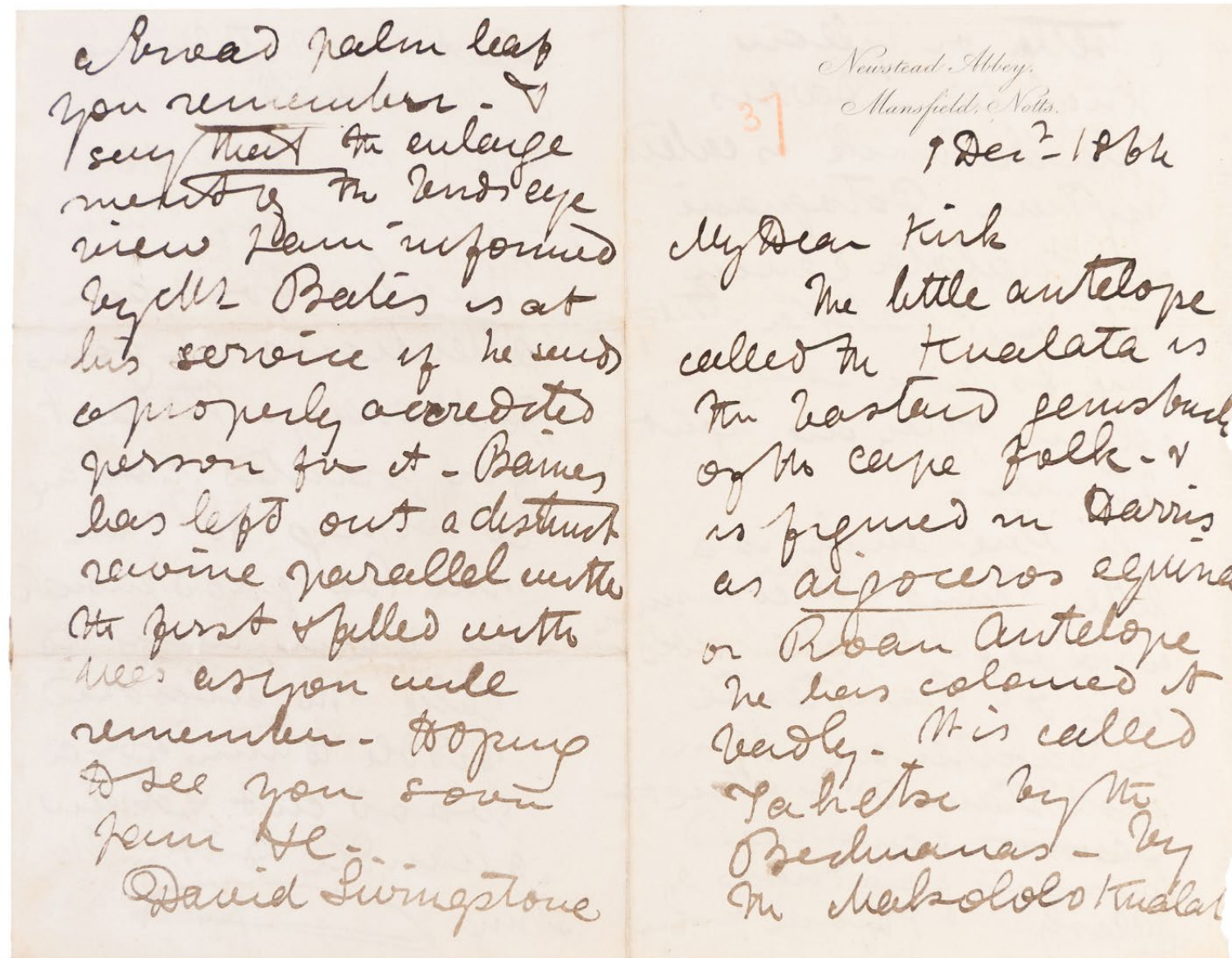
information you have  
given in the Linnean  
Transactions be used by  
me as notes or otherwise  
due acknowledgement  
being in every instance  
made - I would bring  
them into notice and  
I should only believe what  
is popular of them  
I have not seen any thing  
of them but knowing  
whether you have  
written will be genuine  
should like to use it  
but not without your  
sanction - I shall be  
up at the meeting of the  
R. & S. on the 12th I hope  
David Livingstone

Newstead Abbey.  
Mansfield, Notts.  
7 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1864

32

My Dear Dr. Kirk  
I received your  
note & enclosures last  
week with many thanks  
but fear that nothing  
can now be done  
of the rascally firm that  
entrapped the poor fellow  
I am glad to receive  
the admission of the  
Portuguese and will  
put it in a footnote  
below what I have  
said of the inner claims





### The Natural Historian

#### 7 LIVINGSTONE (David). ALS to John Kirk.


Manuscript in ink. Bifolium on Newstead Abbey stationery. 4pp. 12mo. Old folds, a little edgewear, ms. red pencil "37" to first page. Newstead Abbey, Notts., 7 December, 1864.

A chatty letter which commences with Livingstone providing information on various types of antelope. He refers to the Kualata, which was depicted in William Cornwallis Harris's *Portraits of the Game and Wild Animals of Southern Africa* (London, 1840) and called it the Roan Antelope (he also notes that Harris "has coloured it badly"). He also provides the names used by the Bechuana and the Makololo (or Kololo) people. Furthermore, he criticises a bird's eye view drawing by Thomas Baines which he says "has left out a distinct ravine parallel with the first and filled it with trees."



e better or yellow  
Kualata - Darrus  
Black Ink is called  
by them Potagani  
or Kualata e e e e  
black Kualata. They  
are so like some the  
colour they are right  
I think -

The blue body is a  
little thing <sup>skin</sup> is common  
as a bag - Hi Makololo  
call it Fakitenae  
or Dakitenae. I am  
not "stamped" so the ~~same~~  
~~same~~ scummed  
from its goodness &  
flesh. I think from

what Webb tells me  
of the sure in Natal  
that the Teinyane  
is no other than it  
Merulis for your  
attentions in going  
Durray. Take it  
for granted you are  
coming - so you  
are the good enough  
in your way to  
take the enclosed  
fiddle skin for a  
wood cut & draw  
a handle to it. The  
strap  was



but suppose that  
could not have  
been secured for  
the money. I wrote  
to Dr. Buchanan  
today - Tom will  
go to Arrowsmith's  
when it is a little  
milder. The frosts  
are getting on but  
slowly.

I am &c  
David Livingstone

41  
NEWSTEAD ABBEY,  
MANSFIELD,  
NOTTS.

11 Feb 1865

My Dear Kirk

I heard from  
Captain Chapman  
yesterday that Sunley  
has not given up  
the Consulate - but  
still I think that  
as no consul over-  
looks Mozambique  
it would be well  
to set it before the  
Government.

### Dipping his Toe into Colonial Politics

#### 8 LIVINGSTONE (David). ALS to John Kirk.

Manuscript in ink. Bifolium on Newstead Abbey stationery. 4pp. 12mo. Old folds, some toning, ms. red pencil "41" to first page. Newstead Abbey, Notts., 11 February, 1865.

Livingston writes to Kirk with news from Captain Chapman, reporting that "Sunley has not given up the Consulate—but still I think that as no consul overlooks Mozambique it would be well to set it before the Government." He's possibly referring here to William Sunley, the disgraced consul of the Comoros Islands who was forced to resign his post having been discovered to use enslaved labourers. But he continues, eager to assist, "As Sir Roderick [Murchison] likes to do a good turn I shall write to him today to that effect."

He notes some other gossip referring to John Rae, who was about to assist the Hudson's Bay Company in anticipation of their telegraph link to Russia by surveying the Red River to Victoria, and finishes by saying that the "microscope had arrived safely and I gave your address which had been previously asked for."

## Filling the Vacuum after Baikie

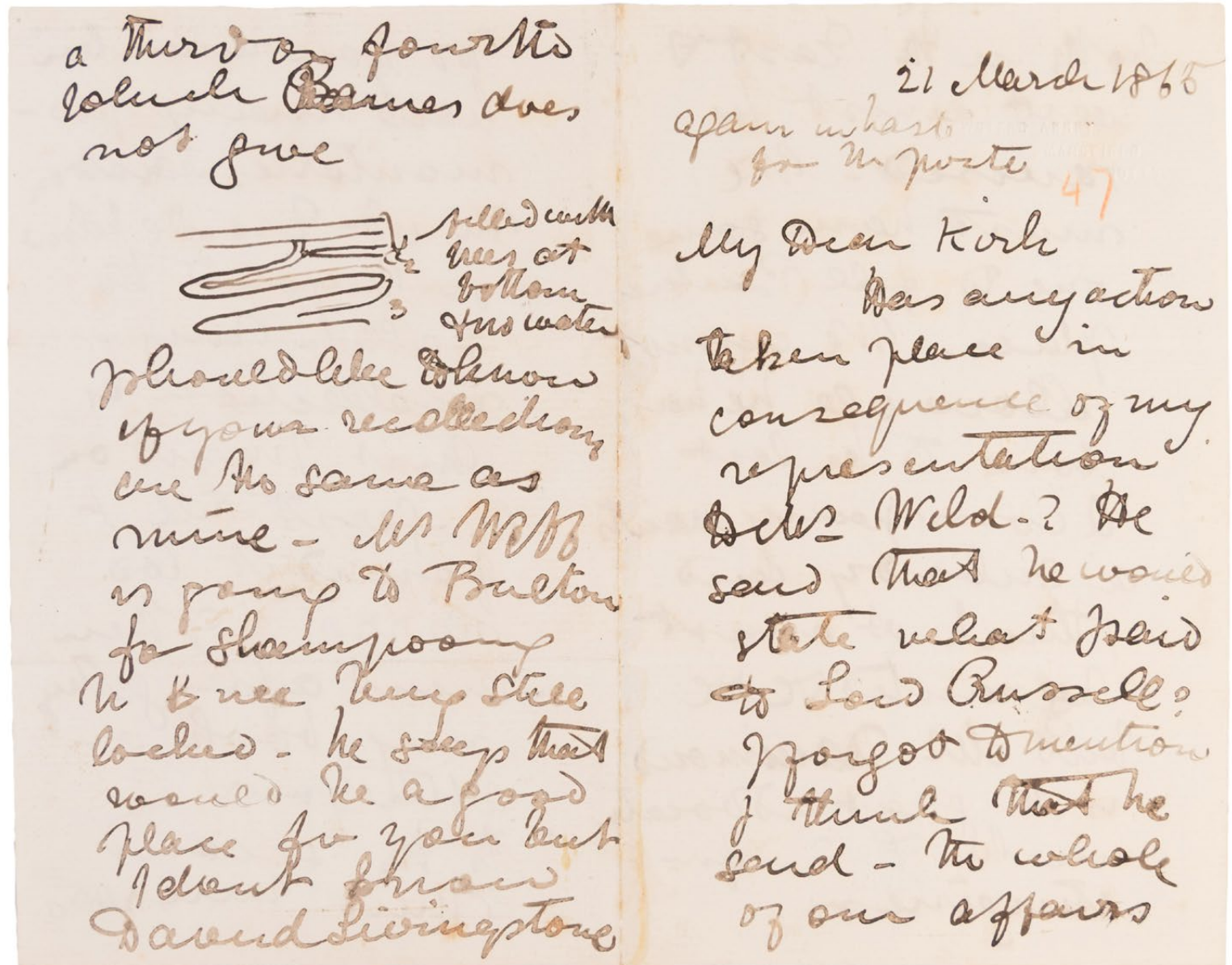
### 9 LIVINGSTONE (David).

ALS to John Kirk.

Manuscript in ink. Illustration to final leaf. Bifolium. 4pp. 12mo. Old folds, some toning, ms. red pencil "47" to first page. Newstead Abbey, Notts., 21 March, 1865.

A sorrowful letter in the wake of the news of William Baikie's death on 12 December 1865 and the vacuum left in his absence. "I think that the whole of our affairs both with the East and West must be revised. We must have someone to fill Baikie's place. We cannot allow all he has done to be lost."

Like Livingstone, Baikie (1825-1864) was a trained surgeon and travelled in that capacity on the 1854 Niger Expedition. He was appointed expedition leader after the death of John Beecroft at Fernando Po and proved his worth as a doctor by demonstrating the anti-malarial properties of quinine and as a leader by navigating the Niger. He returned on a second expedition in 1857 and purchased land at Lokoja and "soon had a considerable settlement there, which remained under his authority after the abandonment of a scheme to bring it under government control as part of a drive to secure cotton supplies. He explored the surrounding countryside and persuaded the king of Nupé, the next powerful sovereign to the sultan of Sakatù, to help the passage of traders by land and river to Lokoja. He opened up the navigation of the Niger, made roads, and established a regular market" (ODNB).





5 April 1865

My Dear Kirk

I have written  
 Lord Dalhousie  
 today & put the thing  
 down pretty fairly -  
 I brought out his  
 recollection of his  
 kindness to your  
 Father - and told him  
 all about the West  
 Coast of Madagascar  
 & Zanzibar - and  
 begged his influence  
 with Lord Russell

#### Political Connections & Concerns

#### 10 LIVINGSTONE (David). ALS to John Kirk.

Manuscript in ink. Illustration to final leaf. 4pp. 12mo. Old folds, some toning & edgewear, ms. red pencil "50" to first page. Newstead Abbey, Notts., 5 April, 1865.

Another letter showing Livingstone's connections with the world of politics and ongoing interest in Africa. He was to return there for the final time a mere eight months' after writing this letter.

The Makololo cattle -  
 so as seemed likely  
 things there are in a  
 mess. Where does  
 Melvill hold forth?  
 The London Advertiser  
 was "much exercised on  
 my orthodoxy, a Scotch  
 paper says, after bishop  
 Colenso drank my  
 health - and accused  
 me of ingratitude to  
 the London missionary  
 society because having  
 received some theological  
 training - he says "all my  
 education" - I do not con-  
 sider it slave for ever!  
 David Livingstone

"I have written to Lord Dalhousie today ... and told him all about the west coast of Madagascar and Zanzibar and begged his influence with Lord Russell ... If necessary I could write to Sir Bartle Frere a first rate man, Governor of Bombay ... I got a letter from [the missionary] Mr Moffat ... Mamire and Mamochusane have been fighting for the regency and Mamire [?] fled to Lake Ngami and returned with the people there to steal the Makololo cattle so as seemed likely there things are in a mess."

Burnbank Road  
Hamilton  
56 24 June 1865

Dear Dr Kirk

Our very  
sincere and deep  
sympathy with  
you in the sore  
loss, we see by  
today's paper,  
you have sustained  
All the more  
cordial many

as we have had  
the same tender  
ties severed our-  
selves - wrote  
another yesterday  
David Livingstone

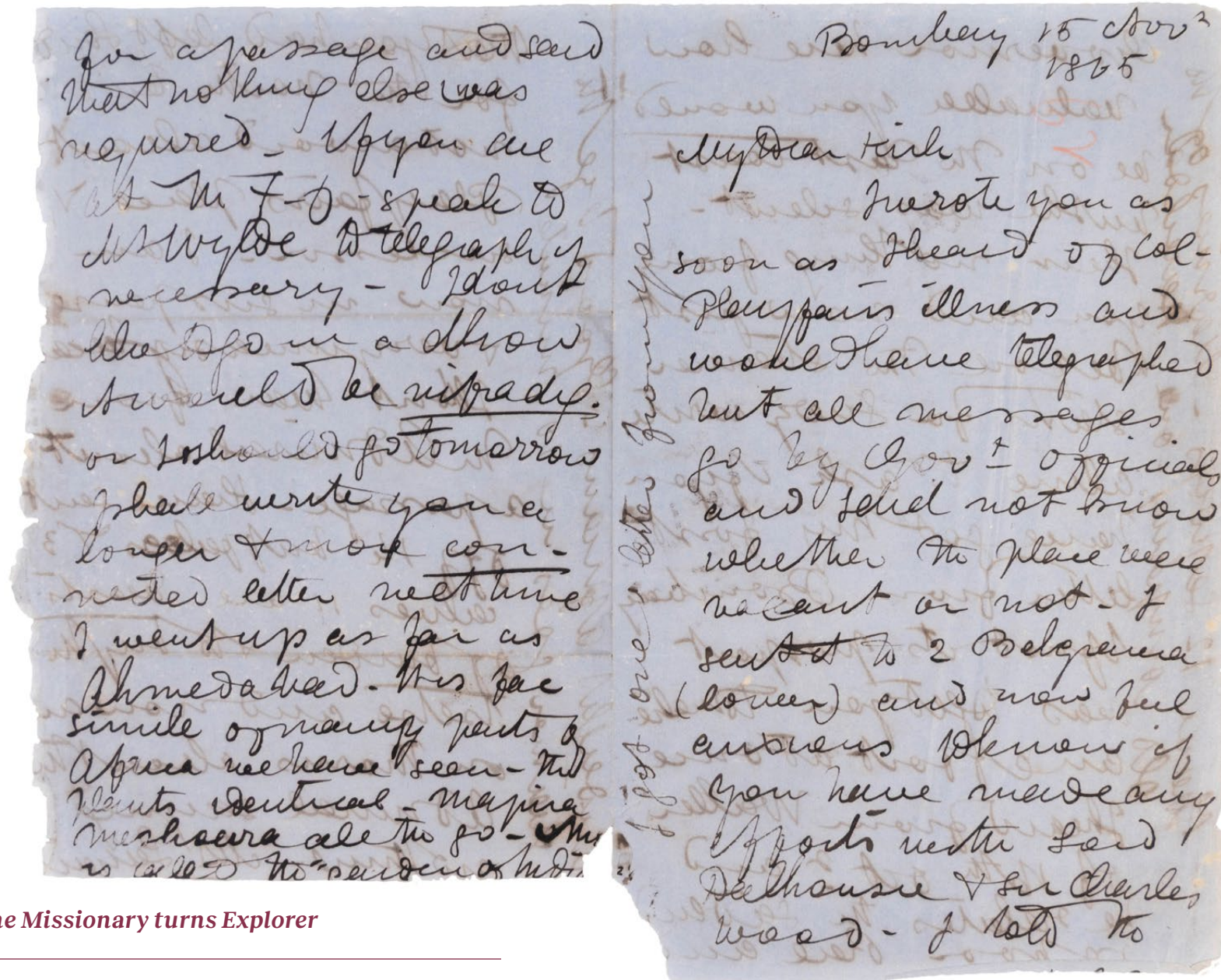
#### A Sympathetic Friend & Colleague

#### 11 LIVINGSTONE (David). ALS to John Kirk.

Manuscript in ink on mourning stationery. 2pp on a bifolium with 2 integral blanks. 12mo. Old folds, some toning & edgewear, ms. red pencil "56" to first page. Burnbank Road, Hamilton, 24 June, 1865.

A brief, but heartfelt condolence letter from Livingstone: "Our very sincere and deep sympathy with you in the sore loss ..."





**The Missionary turns Explorer**

## 12 LIVINGSTONE (David).

### ALS to John Kirk.

Manuscript in ink on blue paper. 4pp. 8vo. Old folds, some dampstaining, ragged edge, partially clipped. Bombay, 16 November, 1865.

A rare survival, written in haste at the outset of his final expedition to Africa.

In the wake of Stanley's confirmation of the source of the Nile, and Baker's discovery of a second source of Lake Albert, "**Livingstone questioned whether both lakes might receive their water from a common source located further to the south, possibly in the latitude of Lake Tanganyika.**" In addition there

remained the unsolved problem of the direction in which Lake Tanganyika discharged its overflow, as well as the whereabouts of the source of the Congo, as yet undiscovered" (Howgego).

Livingstone begins, "I wrote to you as soon as I heard of Col. Playfair's illness ... I hear nothing from you and now just before the steamer starts for Suez write a line ... I heard from Waller of 16<sup>th</sup> Oct and he relates the sad end of poor Rae and that you have left South for the North but not a word about Playfair's place & sickness. I am now in suspense & very uneasy ..."

Howgego IV, L35.



Grateful for Gifts

13 LIVINGSTONE (David).  
ALS to Arthur Mills.

Manuscript in ink. Single sheet of mourning stationery folded to make 4pp. 8vo. Old folds, a little wear. London 48 Euston Square, 28 July, 1865.

Written not long before embarking on his final, and fatal, expedition to discover the source of the Nile, he thanks MP and writer on colonial affairs, Arthur Mills (1816-1898)

"[M]y departure has been delayed till the 12<sup>th</sup> instead of today and yet as I have to return again to the country both to Newstead & Cambridge I fear that I must say goodbye on paper—and I take the same means of thanking Mrs Mills very cordially for her very kind present. She must not please imagine from my silence that I did not appreciate her favour. If sent here I shall prize it very highly & remember her kindness as I use it in the African forest..." Alas, we don't know what the gift was.

Clendennen and Cunningham record four letters from Livingstone to Mills including this one, no. 1779. It is partly but not wholly published. Clendennen, G.W. & Cunningham, I.C. (comp). *David Livingstone: a catalogue of documents* (Edinburgh, 1979).

please imagine from  
my silence that I  
did not appreciate  
her favour. I sent  
here shall prize it  
very highly & remember  
her kindness as I use  
it in the African  
forest.

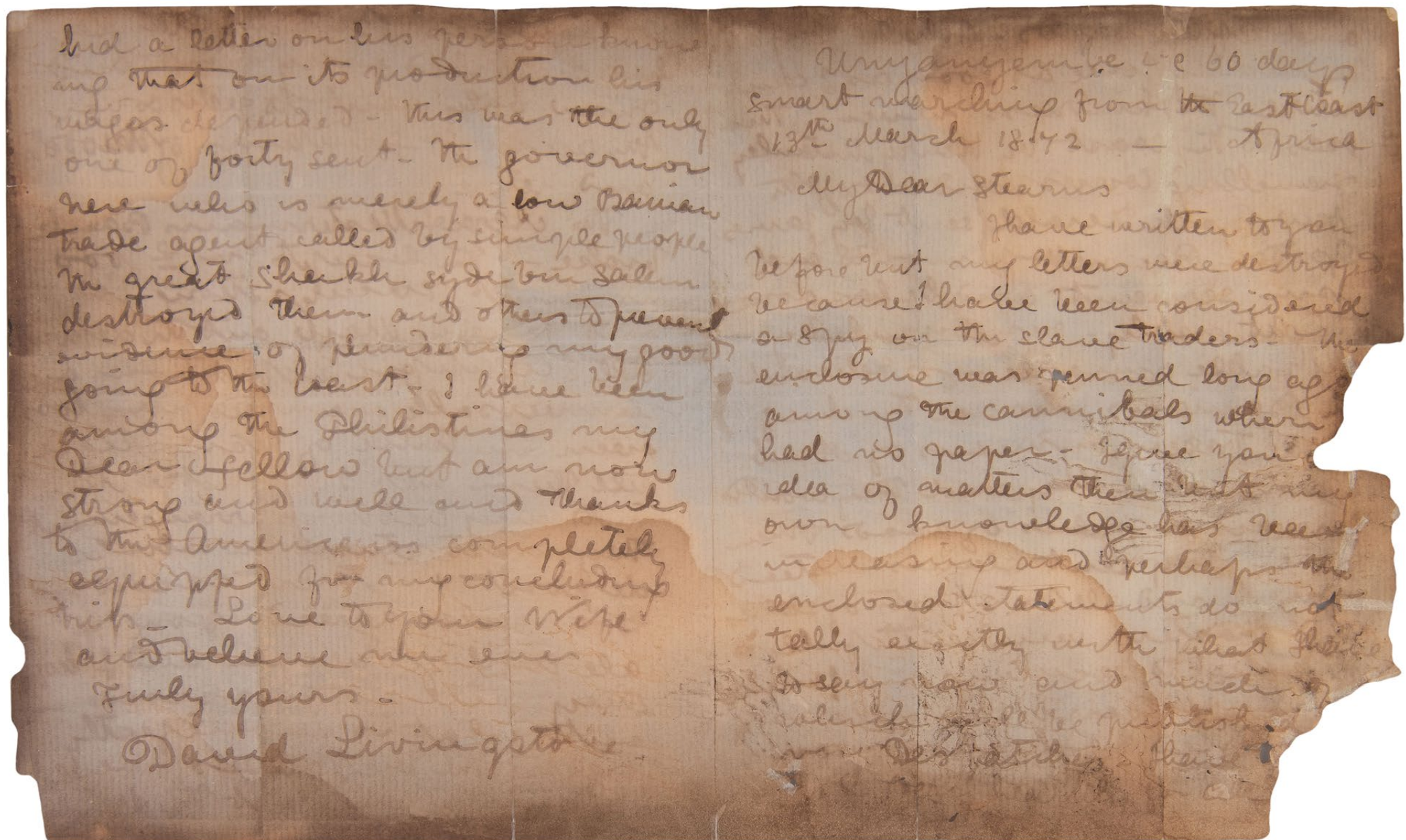
I was sincerely sorry  
to see that you failed  
in being elected for  
Parliament & trust  
you will yet be  
successful in devoting  
your energies to your  
country's service  
David Livingstone

48 Euston Square  
28<sup>th</sup> July 1865

My Dear Mr Mills

I received  
your note some  
time ago but did  
not answer it  
because I thought  
it would be better  
to wait on Mr  
Mills in person  
and while thanking  
her for her





**"I am Now Strong and Well and Thanks to the Americans  
Completely Equipped for any Concluding Trip"**

#### **14 LIVINGSTONE (David).**

##### **ALS to William French Stearns.**

Manuscript in ink. 4pp. 8vo. Dampstained and discoloured with some fading affecting approximately seven words, small losses and tears to folds, losses to

Unyanyembe i.e 60 days  
smart marching from the East Coast  
13<sup>th</sup> March 1872 — Africa

My Dear Stearns

I have written to you  
before but my letters were destroyed  
because I have been considered  
a spy on the slave traders. The  
enclosure was opened long ago  
among the cannibals whom  
had no paper. I give you  
idea of matters there with my  
own knowledge has been  
increasing and perhaps the  
enclosed statements do not  
tally exactly with what I have  
to say now and much of  
which will be contradicted  
by Despatches I have

outer margin of first leaf affecting approximately 9 words, smaller losses to  
outer margin of second leaf, skilful modern restoration. Conserved in an archival  
mount. "Unyanyembe i.e. 60 days smart marching from the East Coast, Africa,"  
13 March 1872.

An important, content-rich letter, written at the end of the months spent  
together with Henry Stanley, having been 'discovered' in November 1871. This  
was one of the thirty-one letters carried out by Stanley.



and afterwards - (I shall pay all  
the money I owe as soon as I can  
retire - The kindness never) - This  
goes to the coast by Henry M Stanley  
Greville's correspondent of the  
New York Herald sent by James  
Gordon Bennett junior to and  
your servant and he has done  
it right nobly - our Consul by  
all possible amicable means believed  
the Danians who are the chief  
of the Traders by means of Arab  
agents when they said they would  
forward supplies of goods then  
to me - They sent slaves instead  
of men and all the efforts of slaves  
and masters were faithfully  
directed to securing my failure  
as plundered shamelessly  
forced back about 500  
miles from discovering the  
great Lake below the

the sources But Mr Stanley  
has supplied every want and  
now only want to rediscover  
the ancient fountains of Herodotus  
and retire

The Agre & Masterman's Bank  
broke - The Receipt for £1000  
is in Mr Gracey's strong box  
and he can draw out the deposit  
All scientific Expeditions are  
universally exempted from loss  
even in time of War - Please  
tell them that I cannot enter  
into any creditors arrangement  
They must return the whole  
deposit & interest according  
to the rules agreed upon by  
all civilized people and I hope  
they will act in accordance  
with what is manifestly  
right - The buffaloes were  
killed for me but the driver



**“I have written to you before but my letters were destroyed because I have been considered a spy on the slave traders.”**

After that dramatic start, Livingstone goes on to thank Stearns for his kindness to him in Bombay, “I shall pay all the money I owe ...—the kindness never.” His gratitude isn’t limited to Stearns. Regarding Stanley’s famous mission, Livingstone considers that “he has done it right nobly.”

John Kirk is singled out for a rare written rebuke, namely his negligence in sending supplies via the slave traders—“they sent slaves instead of men.” Nonetheless, Livingstone was provided for and acknowledges that “Mr Stanley has supplied every want and I now only want to discover the ancient fountains of Herodotus and retire.”

Furthermore, Livingstone reports the failure of the Agra and Masterman’s Bank, giving instructions for the recovery of his deposit (the proceeds from the sale of the *Lady Nyassa*), “I cannot enter into any creditors arrangement—they must return the whole deposit & interest according to the rules agreed upon by all civilized people”, and complains again of the interception of his letters and plundering of his goods: “I have been among the Philistines my dear fellow but am now strong and well and thanks to the Americans completely equipped for any concluding trip”.

William French Stearns (1834-1874) was a merchant from Massachusetts and partner in the firm of Stearns, Hobart and Co. in Bombay from 1857-1868. Livingstone had met him on board ship on his way to Bombay in 1865 and stayed with him in Bombay in the period immediately before his last departure for Africa (“I am living with ... Mr Stearns, a very good fellow”, letter to Kirk, 2 December, 1865). Five letters to him from Livingstone are known, three of them from Zanzibar in February 1866; a fourth, the enclosure referred to here, was written, on a leaf from a cheque book, from “Manyema Country, Central Africa” in November 1870, and describes Livingstone’s observations on the watershed (Norman R. Bennett, “Livingstone’s Letters to William F. Stearns” in *African Historical Studies* (Boston, Mass., 1968), vol 1, no 2 (1968)).

Stanley is known to have carried 31 of Livingstone’s letters with him on his return to the coast. This is one of the five listed by G.W. Clendennen & I.C. Cunningham, *David Livingstone: A catalogue of documents* (Edinburgh, 1979). Given the others were to Sir William R.S.V. Fitzgerald, Governor of Bombay, 1867-72; Agnes Livingstone, his eldest daughter; Sir Bartle Frere; and Sir Roderick Murchison (who in fact had died on 22 October 1871), Livingstone clearly held Stearns in some affection.

The present letter was previously known only from a text published in the *New York Herald*, 21 September 1872, with the omission of three phrases and a name, amounting to 24 words in total.



**A Handsome Inscribed Portrait**

---

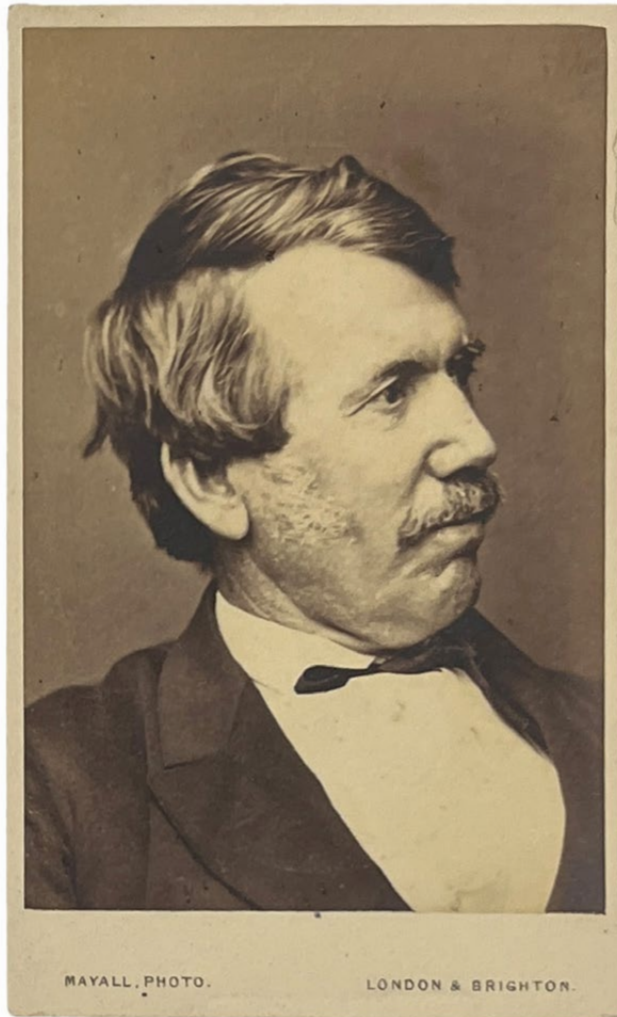
**15 [LIVINGSTONE (David).],  
MAYALL (John Jabez Edwin Paisley).  
[Portrait of David Livingstone.]**

Albumen print, 275 by 220mm. Manuscript caption below image on passepartout. Framed & glazed. London, Mayall, 1857.

**A handsome portrait of Livingstone, inscribed by him on the mount: “David Livingstone London 20<sup>th</sup> Novr 1857.”**

This photograph was taken between Livingstone’s expeditions, yet these years in London were a busy time. He was awarded the RGS gold medal on December 15, 1856. His account of his crossing of Africa, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, was written and published in 1857. He was also making preparations for his Zambezi expedition, 1858-1864.

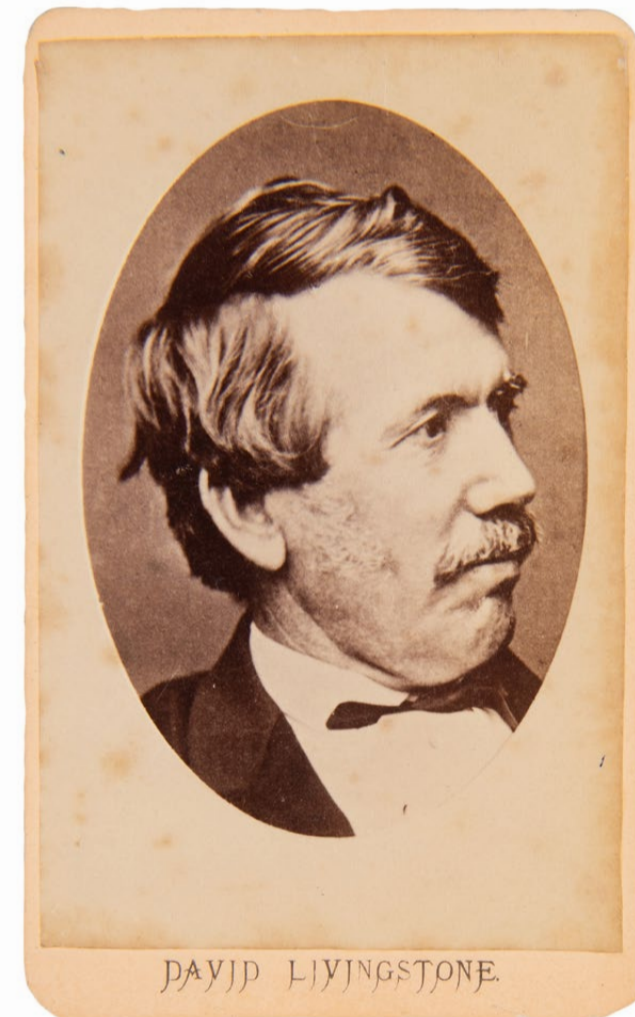
The photographer John Mayall (1813-1901) was involved early on in making daguerreotypes and spent some years in America perfecting the process. He returned to England in 1846 and, having shown 72 images at the 1851 Great Exhibition, his reputation was secure. Indeed, Prince Albert invited him to photograph the queen and so took the first cartes-de-visite of her. He also photographed Karl Marx. It’s only natural that someone of Livingstone’s fame would sit for a portrait, and Mayall was the perfect person for the job.



**16** [LIVINGSTONE (David)],  
MAYALL (John Jabez Edwin).  
[David Livingstone carte de visite.]

Albumen print portrait, 90 by 60mm, mounted on cardboard backing, 104 by 63mm. London and Brighton, by Mayall and published by Marion, c.1863.

Another portrait of Livingstone by John Mayall. Having become increasingly interested in the commercial prospects of Brighton, he set up a studio there in 1863.



**17** [LIVINGSTONE (David).]  
[David Livingstone carte de visite.]

Circular albumen print portrait of Livingstone, 94 by 60mm, mounted cardboard, 102 by 63mm. Some foxed spots to portrait. No place, by an unknown photographer, c. 1860.





## JOHN HANNING SPEKE

John Hanning Speke (1827-1864) is best known for his discovery of Lake Victoria in August 1858, which he believed to be the source of the Nile. Local unrest prevented him from surveying the entire lake at the time, and so he was unable to prove his supposition. Accompanied by James Grant, Speke's dedicated Nile Expedition, 1860-1863, suffered inordinate delays while seeking permission from Mutesa to go to Lake Victoria. Permission was eventually granted and Speke was able to prove that Lake Victoria flowed into the Nile. However, in a bid to make the most of the otherwise wasted time, James Grant had been sent to the north and so was unable to confirm the discovery.

Let's not forget that Speke had made a particularly important and dangerous enemy in Sir Richard Burton, who maintained that Lake Tanganyika was the true source. Burton wasn't his only foe. Speke faced enormous censure over his claims that John Petherick, Vice-Consul at Khartoum, used forced labour and shot those who resisted. Never mind that the discovery of Petherick's wife's diary at the Wellcome Library would later exonerate Speke, he may rightly have felt not just misunderstood but besieged.

Speke and Burton were due to debate the Nile question before the Royal Geographical Society in 1864. However, the day before the debate, Speke was killed in a freak accident while out shooting partridges. The strange and untimely manner of his death only served to consolidate his enigmatic reputation.



Seymour 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1855

My Dear Playfair.

I came over this morning on my way to  
Berbera and finding a Buffaloe found for Aiden take the opportunity  
to write and by a favour of you: The case is about Ahmed Ahmed &  
his wife & two men of the Roah tribe who came  
over with me to help in getting Camels at Eldras; arrived there with  
the full complement obtained at Karam, I made them my secret  
mission, but the Blackguards took that opportunity of robbing me -  
Whilst nominally not touching the cattle they made off with a  
horse, and two spears then in their charge, and as a Camel was  
also missing at that time I imagine they stole it, however they are  
unrecoverable, for leaving their charge - Now as Warfa has a wife  
living in the Akab Jorhapi line (who the Pasha all know) it  
would be a great kindness to loan her and let the value of  
all damage sustained by them - The horse was got back for  
me by Abdi of Eldras giving them 10 dollars, the Camel I  
paid 5 dollars for, and the two spears 4 Rupees, and as  
we are not on even terms with these lawless tribes, even  
if it is not in accordance with English law it would be  
very beneficial the women should be confined until the  
sum be paid & then the whole lot to be banished from  
Aiden, or there will be no moving over here shortly I  
feel confident - If you can do this little job which the  
Colonel I think would at once agree to and have it



proclaimed throughout Aden that it  
 the intention of Great Britain all the  
 offenders in the same way we shall  
 reign here supreme - I have no Abban  
 at present but my interpreter is a  
 first rate man so I can do anything -  
 All I have to say, I can make him  
 see home in the spirit it is given, -  
 I see clearer than ever my intention and  
 look having been cursed both dead in  
 monster as I have named Samatar for an  
 Abban - With kind regards to Mrs  
 Playfair I remain  
 Yours very faithfully  
 J. Speke

Lieut Playfair  
 Aden

### Robbed in Somalia

#### 18 SPEKE (John Hanning). ALS to Robert Playfair.

Manuscript in ink on blue laid paper. Folio. One and a half pages on a single sheet.  
 Old folds, some toning and loss to edges. Sayarah, 2 April, 1855.

On his first African expedition which took him to Somalia, Speke (1827-1864) complains to Lieutenant Robert Playfair (1828-1899) about the theft of several of his animals. At the time, Playfair was assistant to James Outram, first political

agent at Aden. Speke writes from Sayarah just one day before he arrived in Berbera and was attacked and severely wounded by tribesmen.

"The blackguards took the opportunity of robbing me & whilst nominally out tending the cattle they made off with a horse, and two spears then in their charge, and as a Camel was also missing at that time I imagine they stole it, however they are answerable for leaving their charge. Now Warfa has a wife ... [and] it would be very beneficial [if] the woman should be confined until the sum be paid & then the whole lot be banished from Aden; or there will be no moving over here shortly I feel confident--If you can do this little job with the Colonel I think it would at once open up and have it proclaimed throughout Aden that it is the intention ... [that] we shall reign here supreme."



I have not given before you these accounts only  
 that I have along this manuscript and know the feeling  
 of the people with <sup>up to</sup> the sea power & their cunning —  
 As Burton will be on the sea before this can reach you  
 Herne has desired me to ~~say~~ say the Hahn Awal  
 are anxiously looking out for an answer to the letter he  
 wrote at their request concerning Shumankin having come  
 here and threatened them — I have been talking with  
 the chief men, they know themselves perfectly well  
 by my speaking of them on the coast, the game trade is at  
 an end, the Hahn will be the last and only hope for  
 keeping their lives above ground. That of Abba is now  
 taken away — I left my sextant and artificial  
 horizon at Nassenwangi Port for sale but  
 as Herne says it will be useful to have it with us would you kindly  
 spare too much trouble get it from him and send it over here — Herne sent  
 his love and says James will send you the prison  
 as soon as he can get it —

With kind regards to Mrs Playfair  
 Believe me

Yours very faithfully  
 J H Speke

2 ¼ pp. Folio. a few small tears at the fold, probably acquired when it was removed from an album, which slightly affect two words. Berbera, 3 April, [1855].

John Hanning Speke had written to Playfair the previous day [see item 1], informing him of the theft of a horse, camel and spears. Speke, who had relatively recently arrived in Africa following his service in India with the Bengal Native Infantry to join Burton's Somalia expedition, no doubt lacked his leader's understanding of the Native tribes. However, much worse was to befall both men within a few weeks. Burton rejoined Speke and Lieut. Herne of the Bombay Infantry at Berbera on 7 April and on 19 April the party was attacked by Somali natives during the night. Herne was beaten, Speke wounded, and Burton himself was struck in the face by a javelin, leaving him with a distinctive scar.

"I sent you a few lines from Syarah concerning the robbery at Eldruga, but would it not be better for the furtherance of trade to make the people of that place stump up ten times the amount taken so that they will never attempt to play tricks with British subjects again, to enforce this you would only have to ... send a ship over demanding it under penalty (sic) of the destruction of their fort, village and well by adopting such measures you would at once have the whole mass of people cringing to you ... but on the other hand if left alone they will consider it inability on our part ... and from the courage so gained no one will ever be able to move amongst [them] without the inconvenience of having an escort and that feeling spreading amongst

these ignorant grasping creatures will throw the whole country back an age I would not presume to offer you these remarks only that I've been a long time amongst and know the feelings of the people with regard to our power & their cunning—As Burton will be on the sea before this can reach you Herne has desired me to say the Hahn Awal are anxiously looking out for an answer to the letter he wrote at their request concerning Shumankin having come here and threatened them ... I left my sextant and artificial horizon at Nassenwangi ... for sale but as Herne says it will be useful to have it with us would you kindly if not too much trouble get it from him and send it over here ..."

**"They will Never Attempt  
 to Play Tricks with British Subjects Again"**

**19 SPEKE (John Hanning).**

**ALS to Lieut [Robert] Playfair**, assistant to Sir James Outram, political resident at Aden, suggesting severe measures to deal with Arab thieves, following a robbery of which he was the victim.



Berkeley 3<sup>rd</sup> April

My dear Playfair

I sent you a few lines from  
 Seyarakh concerning the robbery at Eldo-ye, but want  
 it not be better for the furtherance of trade to make  
 the people of that place stamp up ten times the  
 amount <sup>taken</sup> so that they will never attempt to play  
 tricks with British subjects again, to enforce this you  
 would only have to present Buffaloes trucking them till  
 the sum is received, or send a ship over demanding it  
 under penalty of the destruction of their fort, village and  
herb. By adopting such measures you would at once  
 ban the whole mass of people crawling together and  
 the traffick would go on more briskly than ever, but on  
 the other hand if left alone they will consider it wisdom  
 on our part to remove the injury and from the cause  
 so gained no one will ever be able to move amongst  
 without the interference of having a escort and that  
 feeling spreading amongst these ignorant grasping  
 creatures will throw the whole country back an age



## Anticipating his Nile Expedition

### 20 SPEKE (John Hanning).

#### ALS to Roderick Murchison.

Manuscript in ink on East India club stationery. Bifolium written on all sides. 4pp. 8vo. Old folds, some minor toning but very good. [London,] Tuesday, [summer, 1859].

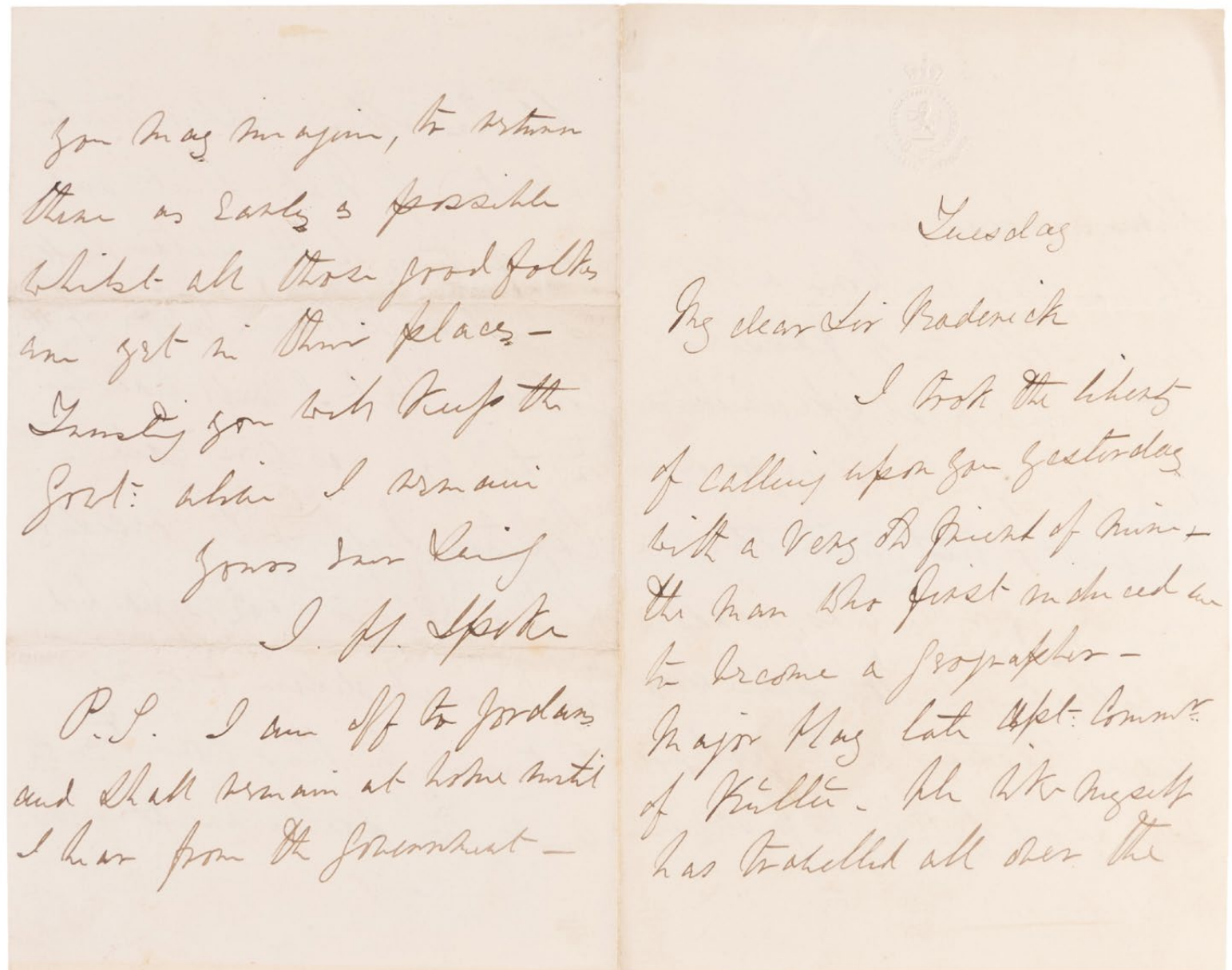
An excellent letter to Sir Roderick Murchison (1792-1871) during preparations for Speke's second African expedition. Murchison had served as director-general of the British Geological Survey since 1855 and was president of the Royal Geographical Society.

Speke wasn't long back from his expedition with Richard Burton, during which he claimed to have discovered the source of the Nile. Both he and Burton presented papers to the Royal Geographical Society on 13 June 1859 and it was Speke who was granted support to pursue a second expedition to confirm his alleged findings.

Here he writes that "**Captain Rigby & the residents of Zanzibar have expressed an earnest desire for my returning to their country and making me doubly anxious, as you may imagine, to return there as early as possible.**"

He also mentions having dropped by unannounced with "the man who induced me to become a geographer ... who like myself has travelled all over the Himalayas and Thibet ... he has, in addition to collecting, written some very clear treatises on the geographical formations of those high regions ..."

We date the letter to August 1859 as we know Speke was staying in his club during that month and it's written on club stationery. He'd applied for a government grant in May which was granted in November the same year and it's only natural that he would be in touch with Murchison whose support was critical for the expedition being approved.





## Difficulties in the Field

### 21 SPEKE (John Hanning).

#### ALS to Col. Rigby, consul at Zanzibar.

Manuscript in ink. 4pp. 12mo. Old folds, toned and a little dampstaining but entirely legible. Mizinga, 28 March, 1862 or 1863.

In the midst of his second African expedition with James Grant (1827-1892), Speke writes to the former Consul at Zanzibar, Col. Christoph Rigby (1820-1885), lamenting the difficulties he and Grant experienced hiring porters and anxious about the influence of his nemesis, Richard Burton.

By this time, Rigby was back in London and so Speke writes: "In case there were any discussions with Burton about the Beloochis I wish to tell you that it was especially mentioned by Colonel Hamerton we could not expect the Sultan to pay the wages of these men whilst they were waiting with us and therefore anything the Sultan may have given them should not have been considered as pay by us ..."

Speke goes into the minutiae of the arrangements with the Sultan and porters before concluding, "**Burton says they, as a matter of right, received 10 dollars a month ...** pay from the Sultan but he could not have, in fact did not know, that the Sultan's soldiers got any mass of pay when going on service until I accidentally found it out through Bombay and told him—**this is how he got the information and now you can see what a blackguard use he has turned it to.**"

He also asks that Rigby write him a long letter conveying news of "the state of the country, the public opinions, how the Wangambeki fight and what explorations are going on & what number of Photos Frost has made for me ..."

Mizinga  
28<sup>th</sup> March

My dear Rigby

Gallon's letter will show you where we are, and what we are doing - I am sending back two life certificates signed as Grant seems to think the last two ordered before we were not signed. All well so far though we do wish we could make more progress - Whither you do not forget to write me a good long letter addressed to the Consul in Cairo I shall be glad to read it and know what you have to say on all points the same - In the state of the country the public opinions, how the Wangambeki fight and

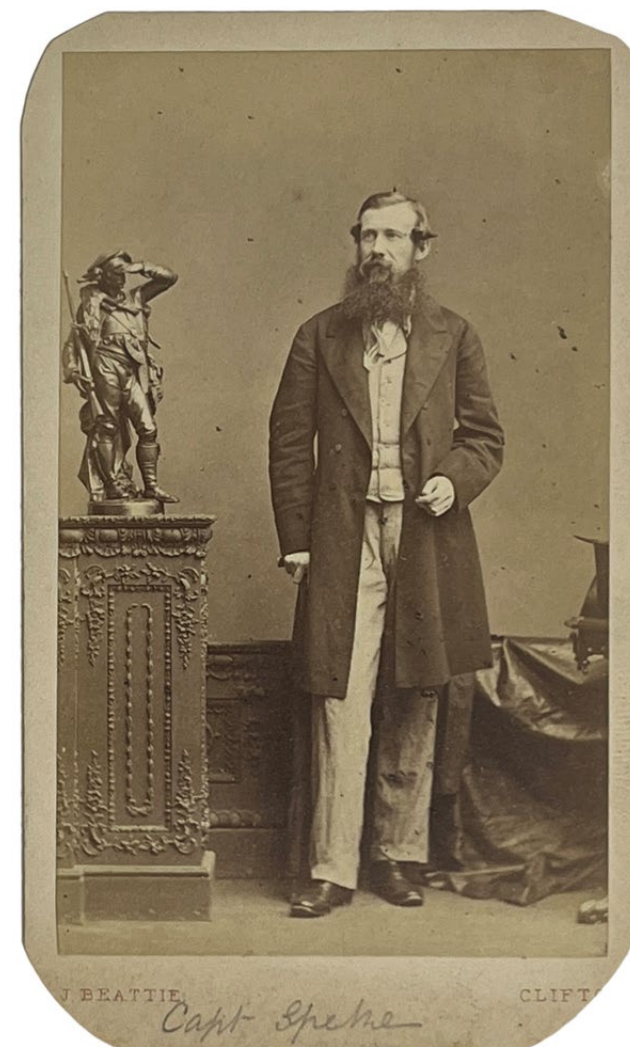
Sultan equal to some in money and also the 5 dollars a month he had proposed to give them - They certainly could not have expected to lose one by the receipt of the other <sup>separately</sup> when whatever the Sultan bid for them was kept secret from us - Burton says they, as a matter of right, received 10 dollars a month service pay from the Sultan but he could not have, in fact did not know that the Sultan's soldiers got any mass of pay when going on service until I accidentally found it out through Bombay and told him - This is how he got the information and now you can see what a blackguard use he has turned it to -

With ever so many good wishes  
Yours ever  
J. H. Speke -



**22** [SPEKE (John Hanning)],  
SOUTHWELL (Frederick and Edwin).  
[Captain John Hanning Speke carte de visite.]

Albumen print portrait, 90 by 60mm, mounted on cardboard, 100 by 62mm.  
London, Southwell Brothers, 1860s.



**23** [SPEKE (John Hanning)]  
BEATTIE (John).  
[John Hanning Speke carte de visite.]

Albumen print, 96 by 57mm, mounted on cardboard, 105 by 64mm. Lower corners  
trimmed, not affecting print. Manuscript caption in pencil. Clifton, John Beattie,  
n.d. [1863].





## CHARLES GEORGE GORDON

By the time he was appointed Governor of Equatoria in 1873, Gordon (1833-1885) had already made his name for his exploits in China. Having famously negotiated a *reduction* in salary from £10,000 a year to £2,000, he arrived in Khartoum in March, 1874. "Gordon's chief tasks were to launch steamers flying the Egyptian flag upon the Great Lakes, and then to suppress the flourishing Equatorian slave trade, but it was his ardent conviction that a governor's first duty was to the subjects he ruled, and only subordinately to the imperial power" (ODNB). The tension that resulted—and a feeling that his role didn't have sufficient scope, led Gordon to resign only to be promoted to Governor of Sudan (which included Equatoria) in 1877. He remained in that role until December 1879 and succeeded in disrupting the slave trade between Darfur and the Red Sea.

With the Mahdist Rebellion, Gordon was called back into action and arrived in Khartoum in February, 1884. Initially, he was to assist in the evacuation of Khartoum, but was re-instated as Governor of Sudan by the Khedive. He promptly evacuated some 2000 civilians and 600 soldiers. Finding the treasury empty, Gordon was forced to issue his own promisory notes in piastres. "Gordon withstood a siege of 317 days supported by two white officers with native troops wasted by famine and disease. Then, on 26 January 1885, a fall in the level of the Nile enabled the Mahdists to succeed in a final assault on Khartoum. Gordon was speared by dervishes in his palace, and his dis severed head was displayed in the Mahdists' camp. Wolseley's river steamers came in sight of Khartoum on 28 January, then withdrew. Gordon's body was never found" (*ibid*).







## Working Documents from an English Interlude

### 24 GORDON (Charles George).

[Ms. sketches of Coal House Fort.]

Ms. in ink & watercolour on blue paper. Foolscap bifolium. Old folds, toning & spotting. Gravesend, 1868.

On 16 February 1864, not long after his return from China, Gordon was promoted to brevet lieutenant-colonel and the following year was appointed royal Engineer officer at Gravesend where he supervised the erection of forts along the entrance of the Thames.

This is an excellent example of one of his working documents. The images are likely in an engineer's hand, but it is signed and dated by Gordon in the lower right hand corner. [see preceding page for illustration]

Letter from the illustrious Nubar Pasha today, he is extremely kind about the matter, but it is not settled at all for certain that

### His Religious Confidante

### 25 GORDON (Charles George).

ALS to Aunt Amy.

Manuscript in ink. 3, [1]pp. 8vo. Old folds with a little toning. Galatz, 18 November, 1873.

A tender letter from Gordon to his aunt, thanking her for looking after both his mother and Aunt Doris who were both ill.

Here he writes of religious matters, leisurely referring to a situation as "it was Job v.19 to the end" [i.e. "My closest friends look at me with disgust; those I loved most have turned against me"].

The letter concludes with, "I trust Augusta to send you my letters to keep you au fait with the Egyptian affair she is quite interested. I got a letter from the illustrious Nubar Pasha today, he is extremely kind about the matter but it is not settled at all ..." At this time Gordon was Governor of Equatoria.

Galatz 18 Nov 1873.

My dear Aunt Amy,

Thank you for your kind letter. I know you have a lot to do & think about with both Aunt Doris & my mother so ill at the same time & only hope you will not get knackered up with the worry. It was Job v.19 to the end I meant. I like to give a verse to them when I write to or leave. I am not sure in many ways. I hope that with a shaven fall to the ground without his will, if so little a thing as that happens with his discomfiture, everything that happens here is with his will & therefore I accept everything that happens as decreed by him, and as far as I am concerned unavoidable. The Lord said this & that must happen because it was thus written, & if I were ever persuaded to happen to the head & write me persuaded to happen to the members, I feel sure that

GORDON, C.G. 01B338-30005  
Nov. 18, 1873 A.L.S.  
To Aunt Amy; religious bel.

perfect peace must be based on this doctrine viz that God ordains all things & that if our loved ones happen to be by the will of the Lord, it is by the will of the Lord. Key to the scriptures as our own map with Christ; and if Augustus offered you exist magical or hell's deep things, I feel you you would have liked them. The proof of union with Christ is love did the lady. As you mention her name of this point afterwards, then before she was laid to rest of the dead, she was a genius by it. A Christian is known by men to be a disciple because he shows forth love, in no other way does one find his love they will be known. He then would, how much is made up of trust & belief & how much little of the true mark. I wish

you were possessed with Augustus' books, & ideas, you would from knowing the scriptures have such treats & such comfort. Give my kind love to Burnett & Eliza, I was afraid he would always be so worried. I trust Augustus to send you my letters to keep you au fait with the Egyptian affair she is quite interested. I got a letter from the illustrious Nubar Pasha today, he is extremely kind about the matter, but it is not settled at all for certain that I go or not. Nubar was my dear Aunt Amy with kindest love to Aunt Doris.

Believe me  
Yours affectionately  
C. Gordon.



# Entrance of Saubet River.

14 July 1874

My dear Nugent.

Still delayed here on my way  
south waiting for a slaver named Napor  
who I heard was about to descend to  
Khartoum from the slave stations a  
b & c on Babr Zaroffi

My friend Napor  
thought to do me  
and make arrange-  
ments to come  
down with 2000  
cows & a large  
convoy of slaves to  
Khartoum. I found it  
out, and am now

lying in ambush for him here. I  
was not sure if he had left the  
station a, so I went up there in  
a steamer & 30 soldiers. I found  
a lot of slaves in a palisaded  
village, and gave them 7 days to  
clear out. Napor had left I found  
out, with a lot of slaves. I got to the

## With a Manuscript Map

### 26 GORDON (Charles George). ALS to Col. Nugent.

Manuscript in ink. 4pp. on a single folded sheet. 8vo. Ms. map to first page.  
"Entrance of Saubat River", 14 July, 1874.

"My dear Nugent. Still delayed here on my way south waiting for a slaver named Napor who I heard was about to descend to Khartoum from the slave stations a b & c on Babr Zaroffi. My friend Napor thought to do me and made arrangements to come down with 2,000 cows and a large convoy of slaves to Khartoum. I found it out and am now lying in ambush for him here. I was not sure if he had left the station a, so I went up there in a steamer & 30 soldiers. I found a lot of slaves in a palisaded village, and gave them 7 days to clear out ... Down they came some 70 of them. I told them to clear out & that I would burn their [stockade?] They said if I did the native tribes would come down & murder all their friends in stations b & c ... The great fault of Baker was not cleaning up the rear of his province you see he pushed on too frivolous and left all their slave stations behind him."

60 on  
that I got rid of them, I hope they  
will like it. It is a nasty climate  
and I am truly glad you did  
not risk it. I know you have quite  
well & have plenty to do.

Believe me very dear  
Nugent with kind regards to  
Mrs Nugent & to your

Yours sincerely

C. Gordon



9.20 A. L.  
 Entrance of Saubat R.  
 31. July. 1874

Carl Bailey, Esq.  
 Topographical Dept.  
 War Office  
 Pall Mall

My dear Bailey

I ought to have written to you ere this, but I have such a lot of letters to write to my relations. You may have heard I left Cairo 21. July, and passing by Suez Suakin and Berber got to Khartoum on 13 March. left for Gondokoro on the 21. March & got there on the 16 April. As I shed my stores in route I only staid there 5 days, and came down again to Khartoum in 11 days, a very quick passage thus I am delayed a month & am now on my way back to Gondokoro, taking my time about it. In the south of my province is the direction of the flow of slaves, it is well to be secured there first, instead of plunging into the interior. This place the junction of the Saubat River with the Nile is a very important strategic point, as it cuts off the route they take with their slaves. I am & have been for three months waiting here to try and capture a gang of 900 whom I heard were en route, although I have not got them, the row I have made will cause the Govt at Khartoum to arrest the slavers & confiscate the slaves poor creatures will not gain much but the slavers will be ruined. To any one up here seeing things he cannot help thinking that a voluntary emigration of the Blacks would be a good thing, they are so insecure in property & life that they plant only enough to keep their black souls in their black skeleton bodies, no affection seems to exist between parent & child they quit one another without a word of regret. The worst of slavery is the forced slavery where the slaves make war! on the wretched unarmed blacks ... I hope in my district to give security to life & property and to give them ... to sow with a hope of reaping, but they have been so harried & hunted that it will be a long time ere they will have confidence in any one. I have no doubt myself that a well watched over emigration could succeed & be most beneficial to both Egypt & the Blacks ... How is Mrs Bailey? I was sorry I could not go & see her before I left. How I was harried & hunted (like the Blacks) the few days I was in England! Such a humid unhealthy climate, such a flat uninteresting country, such desolation ... I do not think this is one of my staff who does not wish he had not come. It is the worst country I ever saw the shooting may be good, only I have not seen it to be so ... huge rank grass with hooks & spikes ...

### Strategic Suppression of the Slave Trade

## 27 GORDON (Charles George).

ALS to Captain Bailey at the Topographical Department of the War Office, writing at length about his plans for the suppression of the slave trade, his impressions of the native population and his immediate reactions to the country.

Manuscript in ink. 2pp. Large 8vo, "Entrance of Saubat R.", 31 July, 1874.

In 1873, Charles Gordon (1833-1885) was appointed to succeed Sir Samuel Baker as Governor of the equatorial provinces of Central Africa. He took up his post early the following year, and his most important task, certainly in his view, was the suppression of the slave trade.

"... You may have heard I left Cairo 21 July and passing by Suez Suakin and Berber got to Khartoum on 13 March left for Gondokoro on the 21 March & got there on the 16 April... I only staid there 5 days ... I am delayed a month & am now on my way back to Gondokoro ... it is well to be secured there first instead of plunging into the interior. This place the junction of the Saubat River with the Nile is a very important strategic point, as it cuts off the route they take with their slaves. I am ... waiting here to try and capture a gang of 900 ... Although I have not got them, the row I have made will cause the Govt at Khartoum to arrest the slavers & confiscate the slaves poor creatures will not gain much but the slavers will be ruined. To any one up here seeing things he cannot help thinking that a voluntary emigration of the Blacks would be a good thing, they are so insecure in property & life that they plant only enough to keep their black souls in their black skeleton bodies, no affection seems to exist between parent & child they quit one another without a word of regret. The worst of slavery is the forced slavery where the slaves make war! on the wretched unarmed blacks ... I hope in my district to give security to life & property and to give them ... to sow with a hope of reaping, but they have been so harried & hunted that it will be a long time ere they will have confidence in any one. I have no doubt myself that a well watched over emigration could succeed & be most beneficial to both Egypt & the Blacks ... How is Mrs Bailey? I was sorry I could not go & see her before I left. How I was harried & hunted (like the Blacks) the few days I was in England! Such a humid unhealthy climate, such a flat uninteresting country, such desolation ... I do not think this is one of my staff who does not wish he had not come. It is the worst country I ever saw the shooting may be good, only I have not seen it to be so ... huge rank grass with hooks & spikes ..."

By the end of the year, no fewer than eight of Gordon's men had succumbed to the unhealthy climate and he eventually moved his headquarters to Laido. He had made some progress in making the country more secure, but by 1876 it became entirely apparent to him that he would not succeed in abolishing the slave trade without greater powers in the Sudan. He resigned his post, but returned a year later with the wider powers that he had sought.



I hope in my districts to give security & life & prosperity, and to  
 give them confidence to sow with a hope of reaping, but they  
 have been so harried & hunted that it will be a long  
 time ere they will have confidence in any one. There  
 is doubt myself that a wellwatched over emigration would  
 succeed & be most beneficial to both Egypt & the  
 Blacks. I must give my kind regards to Major Wilson, I  
 was so glad to see he was with you again &  
 had a separate rule, at least that is what I gathered  
 from the papers. I remember we also to Damascus & I  
 hope is well. How is Mrs Bailey? I am very anxious  
 to see her before I leave. How I am harried & hunted  
 (like the Blacks) the few days I was in England! Such a  
 hurried unhealthy climate, such a flat uninteresting  
 country, such dissipation however thank God, I keep my  
 health perfectly. I am very careful about diet and  
 apparently rash, for men take more care of themselves.  
 How many hundreds would have gone with me & how  
 bitterly would they have repented it. I do not think  
 there is one of my staff who does not wish he had  
 not come. It is the worst country I ever saw the shooting  
 very bad, only I have not seen it to be so & the  
 labor is great if you walk any distance. Large mud traps  
 with hooks & spikes, with pools of water here & there make it  
 hard work. Goodbye.

My dear Bailey

Yours truly

C. R. Gordon



**"You have no Idea how they Bothered Me"**

**28 GORDON (Charles George).**  
**ALS to Carl Kuhl reporting**  
**the status of the expedition.**

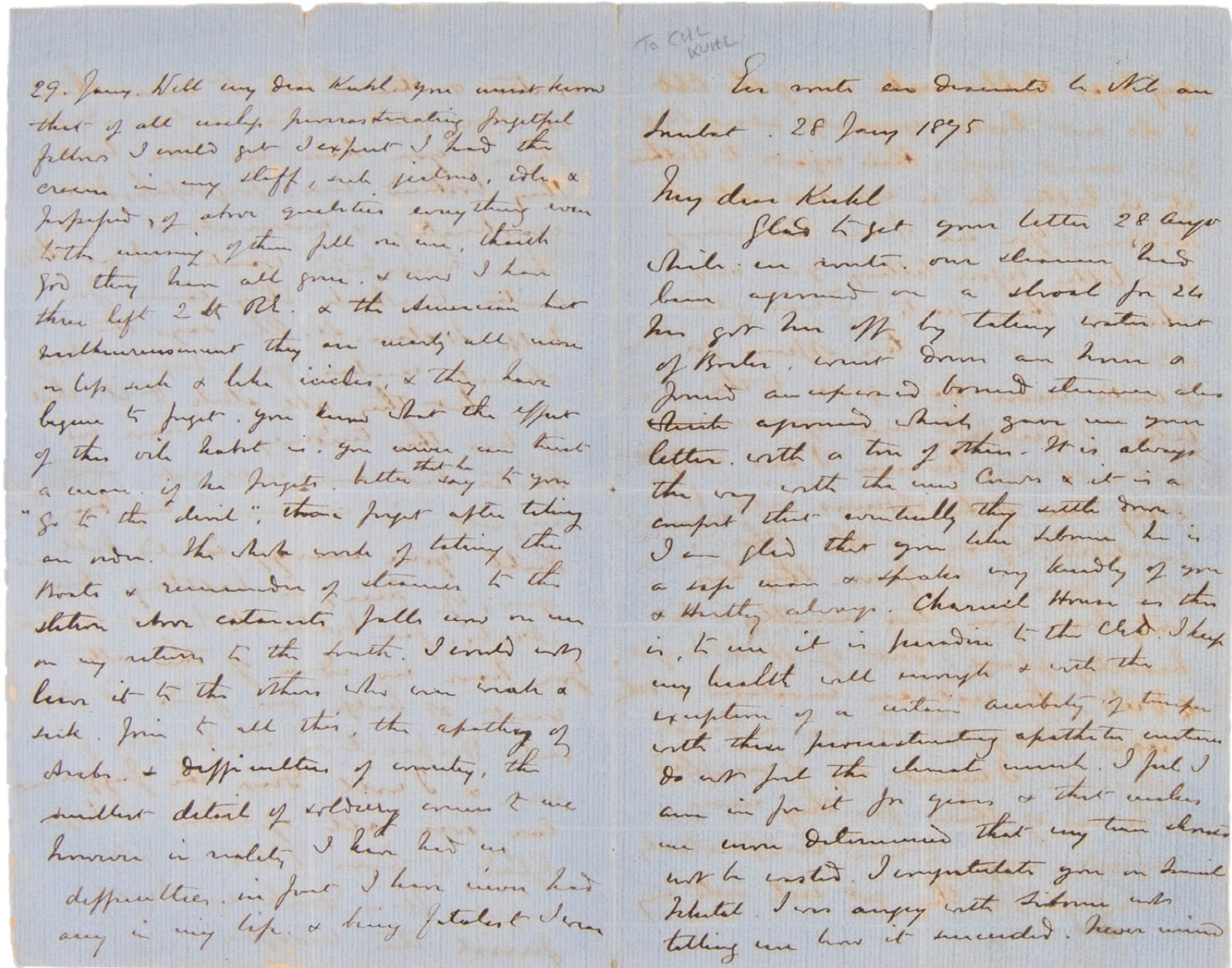
Manuscript in ink. 6pp. 8vo. Tears to the folds and at some edges, which have been repaired under our direction, and the ink has somewhat oxidized the paper, giving some yellow show-through to the blue writing paper. En route to Nile on Saubat, 28 & 29 January, 1875.

In addition to his role in suppressing the slave trade, Gordon was also asked to launch steamers on the Great Lakes flying the Egyptian flag, a task he was much less interested in. Nonetheless, he seemingly combined this duty with "establishing a chain of stations stretching into northern Uganda and of mapping the Nile and lakes" (ODNB).

Harry Johnston summarises his efforts: "Gordon made an interesting survey of the country between Suakin and Berber on the Nile, and together with Lieutenants Watson and Chippendall mapped the main Nile from Khartoum to Gondokoro and Lake Albert. He also caused the circumnavigation of that lake to be effected."

This letter reports on the ongoing trials of the expedition, particularly regarding his own staff.

"I was glad indeed to get the two officers for I could never have got to the lake. I made a map of [the] river up to this place ..." However, not all of his officers were equals. Gordon lists the casualties: four of eleven officers had died, "the rest are invalided or rather have resigned, it is a deadly climate. I must say that I am glad to be rid of them ... you have no idea how they bothered me, forgetful, procrastinating ..." Johnston, H., *The Nile Quest: A Record of the Exploration of the Nile and Its Basin* (Cambridge, 2011) p.231.





Yours very truly  
C. G. Gordon

P.S. You will excuse I hope my remarks about book writing but I cannot help feeling for the Khedive in this matter after all the enormous expense he has gone to. I declare most solemnly of I were & in his place, I would just send the undersigned an order to be out of his country at once, and thus have no more of my C. G. Gordon.  
wastefulness exposed.

Sir S. Baker  
Athenaeum Club  
Waterloo Place  
London

Bohr  
En route to Saubat  
29.1.75

My dear Sir Samuel  
I received your letter 27 Oct. yesterday and am much obliged for your kind intention of sending me your book. Think of heaven I received a copy of by the mail that brought your letter. You will not be offended I hope if I express my opinion (which differs from most people of my acquaintance) in saying I cannot think it a fair thing for an officer to enter the service of a Foreign Power and afterwards to expose all that Foreign Power's weaknesses & blots. This is the second time I am in such a position and now will I expose the troubles and shortcomings of the nation who fed me. I know badly it may do it. For about 18 months I am entirely up here with me. I am entirely

**“Never will I Expose the Troubles and Shortcomings  
of the Nation Who Feed Me”**

**29 GORDON** (Charles George).

**ALS** to explorer and former Governor General of the Sudan Sir Samuel Baker, giving his frank opinion of Baker's book [*Ismailia: a narrative of the expedition to central Africa for the suppression of the slave trade*].

Manuscript in ink. 3 3/4pp. Large 8vo. Tears to the folds and at some edges, which have been repaired under our direction, and the ink has somewhat oxidized the paper, giving some yellow show-through to the blue writing paper. Bohr, En route to Baubat, 29 January, 1875.

Gordon, at the time of writing, was serving as Governor General of Sudan. He saw his primary task as the suppression of the slave trade and the improvement of the lives of the native population. He was remarkably more sympathetic to people of the Sudan, and also to the Khedive, than his predecessor in the post, Sir Samuel Baker to whom he writes here.



"I ... am much obliged for your kind intention of sending me your book, which however I received a copy of by the mail that brought your letter. You will not be offended I hope if I express my opinion ... in saying **I cannot think it a fair thing for an officer to enter the service of a Foreign Power and afterwards to expose all that Foreign Powers weaknesses & blots**. This is the second time I am [in] such a position and never will I expose the troubles and shortcomings of the nation who feed me however badly it may do it. For Abou Saoud's coming up here with me, I am entirely and solely responsible ... Abou S. did the work I wanted him to do perfectly and was no failure at all to me, by his misconduct afterwards his removal was necessary but his real work was done. I think for myself I will bend to no one to direct my line of action, and I value the opinion of the world at what it is worth. I see by reading the 1 Vol. that I did you wrong in thinking that you entered into the Contract with Azad ... or that you had brought up Abou Saoud to Gondokoro, I am sorry for the mistake which I was led to by seeing your name & Moura Azads to some agreement about trade up here... Wat el Mek went to Kaba Reza after your departure & bought from Kaba your uniform for a gun ... I took it from him & put it in store with the promise that either he should have it back or you would pay him ... P.S. You will excuse I hope my remarks about book writing but I cannot help feeling for the Khedive in this matter after all the enormous expense he has gone to. I declare most solemnly if I were in his place, I would just send the undersigned an order to be out of his country at once and thus have no more of my weaknesses exposed."

Abou Saoud, a local slave trader, had encouraged attacks on Baker and his troops when Baker was Governor General. Gordon apparently managed him better, which is not entirely surprising as perhaps his greatest strength was his ability to deal effectively with the native population, whether in Sudan or in China.

### Public Image Problems: Expedition turned Invasion

## 30 GORDON (Charles George). ALS to Sir Gerald Graham.

Manuscript in ink. 8pp. 8vo. Old folds, some light wear & short splits at the folds.  
Lahore, 13 August, 1875.

A long and excellent letter to Sir Gerald Graham (1831-1899) concerning his Egyptian expedition and religious sentiments. Gordon had befriended Graham during their time in the Crimea and they remained in touch for the rest of their lives.

"I fear my expedition cannot be turned *autrement* than one of invasion and conquest, for it is nothing else. That the natives will eventually gain, I think, will be the case ... Wat el Mek is under my hand for a murder he has committed he hung a sheikh or native chief because he would not give him porters. He was drunk when he did it. The Khedive left me to deal with him. I have not yet decided."



far too numerous & could evade her efforts with ease, in fact unless they wish it, they need keep out of her way & under her stationer deserts as far as the neighborhood would be concerned. Wat el Mlek is under my hand for a murder he has committed he hung a shikah or native chief because he would not give him porters, he was drunk when he did it. The Khedive left me to deal with him, I have not yet decided. Abu Saoud is at Kartoum & sends me letters & asking me to take him back early every steamer. My dear friend, you & yours are thought of every day at least once & most often twice, & that is just what you think of me so often. I have a long list of names, & I look forward to seeing that

will be the ultimate result of my solicitations. I have no doubt that in some mysterious way our destinies have been interwoven, now this remembrance of you & yours is of many years standing, & I say it should have happened to me to have selected this or that friend & to have left others I know it. You came between Harry and a Government Ragged school boy. You used to be a man of independent thinking spirit who was not led to think this or that at the dictation of your neighbors. I say not grapple with God's help with the great mystery of man's relation to God with respect to his soul. You will study it with relation to the bible, the key of it & of all things is Christ, and your union with Him. Answer me this question mentally not by correspondence. Have you not a distinct sentiment or feeling in you that God personally dwells (occupies) you? this question will haunt you till you know it. You would think me an enthusiast, if I was to say that a wonderful experience I have been given



**31 GORDON (Charles George).**  
**ALS to Colonel [Charles] Nugent**  
**of the Royal Engineers.**

Manuscript in ink on blue paper. Small ms. map insert in Gordon's hand. 8pp. 8vo. Old folds with a little toning. Mrozi, 10 September, 1875.

Col. Nugent CB  
 87 Director of Artillery  
 W. Office  
 London/Mrozi. 10 Sept 1875

Labore' in two days, to quell one tribe that  
 is hostile then and then to return and  
 quell another on the East side of River  
 the most of the hostility of the natives is  
 that it forces me to keep larger numbers  
 of troops than I should otherwise do, then  
 the natives are quiet, but when the  
 natives are quiet, then I have difficulty  
 for communication for I cannot make  
 them subsist us, but we take away  
 the crop of crops & then they are  
 hostile again, it is a difficult  
 problem to solve. I see Summons has  
 got J. G. F. & I suppose Sir F. C. will  
 get Lib. after Sir F. Williams. Give me  
 a good thought-out-in-railway-carriage opinion  
 on morality of employing native auxiliaries in  
 these wars, there was much written on both  
 sides during the American war of independence  
 owing to the Indians giving us quarter & helping  
 their enemies, and conventions were entered  
 into to be broken, then signed for the war  
 employment of these subsidiary forces.

My dear Nugent.  
 Only a few lines, for you will  
 I know spare me writing more than I  
 have to, by getting the news from my  
 brother, we have got the steamer 108  
 tons & two Nuggers up here & there is  
 little doubt of their getting into the lake  
 whether it will be this season or next  
 rainy season I do not know. For I  
 have been much delayed by the hostility  
 of the natives, they have attacked us several  
 times, & been repulsed, but one unfavourable  
 water party of mine with a young  
 Lieutenant consisting of 45, got  
 surrounded and in spite of their much  
 losses were all massacred except 4. They  
 evidently were dropped into a snare &  
 getting separated being lost shots, got  
 all killed. It forced me into a  
 night retreat. Which was not an equal  
 fight - I can assure you. However I was

A lengthy and important letter from Gordon to Nugent. He commences by noting that they have "got the steamer 108 tons & two Nuggers [Egyptian sail boats] up here and there is little doubt of this getting into the lake whether it will be this season or next rainy season I do not know. For I have been much delayed by the hostility of the natives, they have attacked us several times, & been repulsed ... It is no use trying to subdue them by day, you must march into them at night and surprise their cattle."

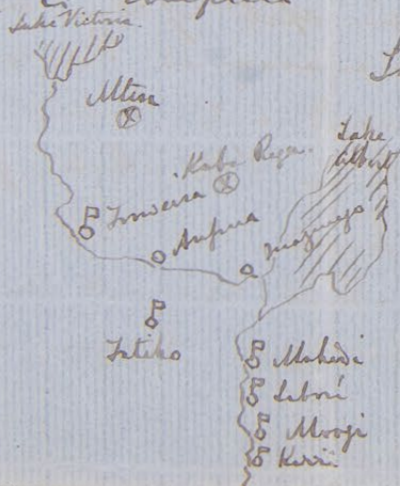
Gordon then turns to his ongoing project to establish a network of settlements along Lake Albert, which includes his own hand-drawn map. "I have now only one post to form & my chain is complete. Labra (?) is the only one now to be made & then I hope to move on Aufrua & Mojonga."

Gordon's imperialist attitude is made evident when he notes, in exasperation: "I have hopes to get over all these wretched wars, it is nothing more than could be expected that the natives would resist the passage of their territory but one's superiority in arms I had trusted would have prevented them trying solutions with us." He then describes in detail the patterns and movements of the enemy tribes in the dry season and the strategic advantages it afforded British troops.

Of real interest are Gordon's notes on the Nyat-gani (?) troops under his command.



we have plenty of troops & have  
 furnished one of my <sup>sons</sup> then for.  
 I am in <sup>possession</sup> of my <sup>own</sup> Dett to  
 one of the two <sup>places</sup> others. it is as we  
 trying to subdue them by day, you  
 must march into them at night &  
 surprise their cattle. miserable work  
 enough, & which I wish I could avoid  
 in day time, they are far too quick to  
 be caught & my men are not  
 trustworthy enough for ambuscade work.  
 There was only one post to form a very  
 chain is complete



Loboi is the only  
 one now to be  
 made, & then I  
 hope to move on  
 therefore a  
 Mlogungu.

I have hopes to get over all these wretched  
 wars? this year, and it will be a great  
 comfort for me, it is nothing more than  
 could be expected that the natives would  
 resist the passage of their territory. but our  
 superiority in arms I had trusted would  
 have prevented them trying solutions with us  
 they are most stupid for they cannot  
 escape or migrate, they would be  
 fallen on in a moment, by their  
 neighbours. In the dry season, they must  
 come down to the River from their  
 pastures in the upper lands, for the  
 forest beds will be dry. & then will be  
 exposed to our attacks, unless they give in;  
 they cannot then keep their cattle far from  
 the river. for the cattle must be entered right  
 & move in their lands & the best pasturage  
 is near the river. What a difficulty this  
 will have been & still is, I do not think  
 any river has given so much trouble  
 the climate here is good enough, & there  
 are no mosquitoes. I hope to start for



**"I Cordially Disapprove of the Whole Affair & if I was not Bound to Get the Steamer on Lake, I would Leave at Once"**

**32 GORDON (Charles George).**

**ALS to Sir Samuel Baker.**

Manuscript in ink. 8vo. Slight tears at the folds but very good. 4pp. Moogie, 15-29 December, 1875.

Written during the first years as Governor-general of the province of Equatoria (south of Egyptian-occupied Sudan), Gordon sought to prosecute one of his directives, being to "launch steamers flying the Egyptian flag upon the Great Lakes" (ODNB). His disdain for the enterprise is evident here, as is the idea of him assisting with any geographical endeavours.

Gordon "endured extreme physical suffering while undertaking the strenuous work of establishing a chain of stations stretching into northern Uganda and of mapping the Nile and lakes. Disclaiming any desire to be a geographical explorer, he deputed to his companion Romolo Gessi the achievement of reaching Lake Albert, which he thought would put him at risk of being glamorized" (ODNB).

He writes in part: "That this expedition is likely to be of any good to the people I do not believe & it is absurd to talk of its civilizing effects. I cordially disapprove of the whole affair & if I was not bound to get the steamer on lake, I would leave at once. I am only putting these ignorant fellows in a position to do harm ... Do not be under the impression that I am going to examine the lake, most positively I will not do so, I am not going to box myself up in that little steamer or the life boats to solve any Geographical problems for any one whatever, let those who are interested come and do it, & I hope they will enjoy the trip. You may look on my decision as quite decided on that score, and let the Royal Geo. Soc. know that they must not rely on me for any exploration of the lake. If I see Stanley & he has not accomplished the lake exploration, I may offer him the steamer when it is completed, but most assuredly I will not go myself. I have had quite enough misery with these fellows to deter me from boxing myself up with them for a fortnight, to ascertain a fact of no import to me ..."

By the time the second portion of the letter was completed, 29 December, the exploration was complete and Gordon made for home. He begs Baker not to offer him the hospitality of dinner or even a visit: "of all things I dislike & strenuously resist, there are two that have preeminence viz sleeping out of my own house, and dining out, so you will kindly not ask me, if God grants me life to return."

Moogie. 15 Decr 1875

My dear Baker:  
Thanks for your letter 18 Sept received 13 Dec. I am detained here much longer than I expected owing to the extent of the Moogie tribes who are being subdued. I hope to get away in a week or so and in four months to have the steamer put together in lake. That this expedition is likely to be of any good to the people I do not believe & it is absurd to talk of its civilizing effects. I cordially disapprove of the whole affair & if I was not bound to get the steamer on lake, I would leave at once. I am only putting these ignorant fellows in a position to do harm. The Shilluks driven to desperation, have risen, killed the Medis & a large number of soldiers, taken & burnt Kaka, and would have captured Gashode, if Gessi had not arrived there. Now what have they done? They sent back Ali Eff. Kurdi, from whom were the merchants flee. Gashode is now almost deserted. Do not be under the impression I am going to examine the lake. most positively I will not do so. I am not going to box myself up in that little steamer or the life boats to solve any geographical problems.



recd  
20/2/77 night

My dear Mr Janson.

Could you, if the Viceroy gave  
you them utilize the 4 Elephants  
he has, on the Railway works. You  
would have to see the Mahouts, and  
arrange for their pay &c & have  
them on your budget, and also see  
to their transport to Wadi Halfa.  
I have asked about them.

Yours sincerely  
Gordon

19. 2. 77.

Suez.

reply

Telegram Gordon Pacha  
Suez

Animals cannot be used  
There is no proper food for  
them Janson

### "Utilize the 4 Elephants"

#### 33 GORDON (Charles George).

**ALS to Mr. Janson**, the engineer in charge of the construction of the Sudan Railway, asking him if he could "if the Viceroy gave you them utilize the 4 Elephants he has on the Railway works."

Manuscript in ink. Single sheet of grid paper, perhaps taken from a notebook. 8vo. Suez, 19 February 1877.

A letter written at the beginning of Gordon's second period in the Sudan. During the following three years Gordon achieved remarkable results in charting the territory and establishing communications, and his skills as an engineer proved invaluable. In this letter he obviously feels that the use of elephants for the railway might be a good idea, saying "You would have to see the Mahouts, and arrange for their pay &c & have them on your budget, and also see to their transport to Wadi Halfa. I have asked about them." Janson's autograph note of his telegraphed reply to "Gordon Pacha" is at the foot: "Animals cannot be used There is no proper food for them."



*"I Hope to Extirpate the Slave Trade"*

**34 GORDON (Charles George).**  
**ALS as Governor-General of the Sudan,**  
**to his "Dear Aunt Amy",** expressing his  
hopes of "extirpating" the slave trade.

Manuscript in ink. Single sheet. 8vo. Suez, 22 February, 1877.

Gordon arrived in Cairo on 8 February and two weeks later wrote this letter to his Aunt Amy, stating very simply the overriding aim of his mission.

"I leave today for Massawah, and thence go up, DV [Deus volens], to Kartoum. The Khedive has given me vast powers, and if God wills, I hope to extirpate the slave trade. Give my kind regards to the Kinnairds and Admiral Sir J. Hope, if you see him, and my kind love to Uncle George ..." Gordon's deep-rooted Christian faith is underlined here as he twice refers to all things being dependent on God's will. It was this faith which made him so determined to destroy the slave trade—a task he came close to achieving before he resigned in 1880 on the accession of the less sympathetic Tewfik Pasha. The Kinnairds, close friends of the family, were equally religious and active in many benevolent institutions, including Dr. Barnardo's Homes and the Church Missionary Society. Admiral Sir James Hope, at this time nearing retirement, was known to Gordon from his days in China, when both men were involved in the suppression of the Taiping rebellion.

There is a small red stamp at the top left corner, not touching the text, indicating that this letter was once sold at auction for the benefit of the Red Cross.



Suez. 22. Feby 1877.

My dear Aunt Amy  
I leave today for Massawah, and thence go up, DV, to Kartoum. The Khedive has given me vast powers, and if God wills, I hope to extirpate the slave trade. Give my kind regards to the Kinnairds and Admiral Sir J. Hope, if you see him, and my kind love to Uncle George.

Believe me  
my dear Aunt Amy  
Yours affec<sup>t</sup> hapless  
C Gordon

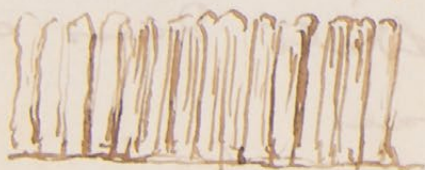


28 Mars. 1877.


Mon cher Monsieur Habib.

Vous luez ces lettres à Osman  
Pacha, qui j'ai écrit à Prince  
Kapan, et à General Stani. Il  
faut en finir avec les irrégularités  
qui existent. 40 hommes, si ils  
étaient bien déterminés peuvent  
prendre cette forteresse, on a besoin  
seulement de faire brûler les  
broussailles autour du Fort.

On devait faire le fort près  
de l'eau, avec des troncs d'  
arbres, bien fongés en terre.



Est ce que le  
Fort à Amadum

Pacha devant ouvrir une  
même, et aussi à  
Amadum. une fois, qu'il  
a vu ces Forteresses, il en  
sera plus convaincu qu'il  
croient, dans le cas, qu'il  
est nommé Generalissimo.  
Le profil du Fort est comme  
ça  on a seulement  
besoin de mettre le feu aux  
broussailles, et c'est fini. Je puis le  
donner 500 £ pour la construction d'  
une nouvelle forteresse ici et 500 £  
pour une nouvelle forteresse à  
Amadum.

### Two Charming Illustrations

#### 35 GORDON (Charles George). ALS to Mon cher Monsieur Habib.

Manuscript in ink. French text. 4pp. 8vo. Including two small drawings. Old fold, faintly toned. 28 March, 1877.

A warm letter discussing his thoughts on fortification in Sudan, augmented by the two ink sketches.



Yours sincerely  
with kindest regards to Mrs  
Nugent, and Charles  
G. Gordon

**"I have a Deal of Troubles to Contend with"**

**36 GORDON (Charles George).**  
**ALS as Governor-General of the Sudan,**  
**to "My dear Nugent"** [his friend Colonel  
Charles Nugent of the Royal Engineers].

Manuscript in ink. 3, [1]pp. 8vo. Thin paper with some 'show-through', but is in fine condition. Casala [Sudan], 14 April, 1877.

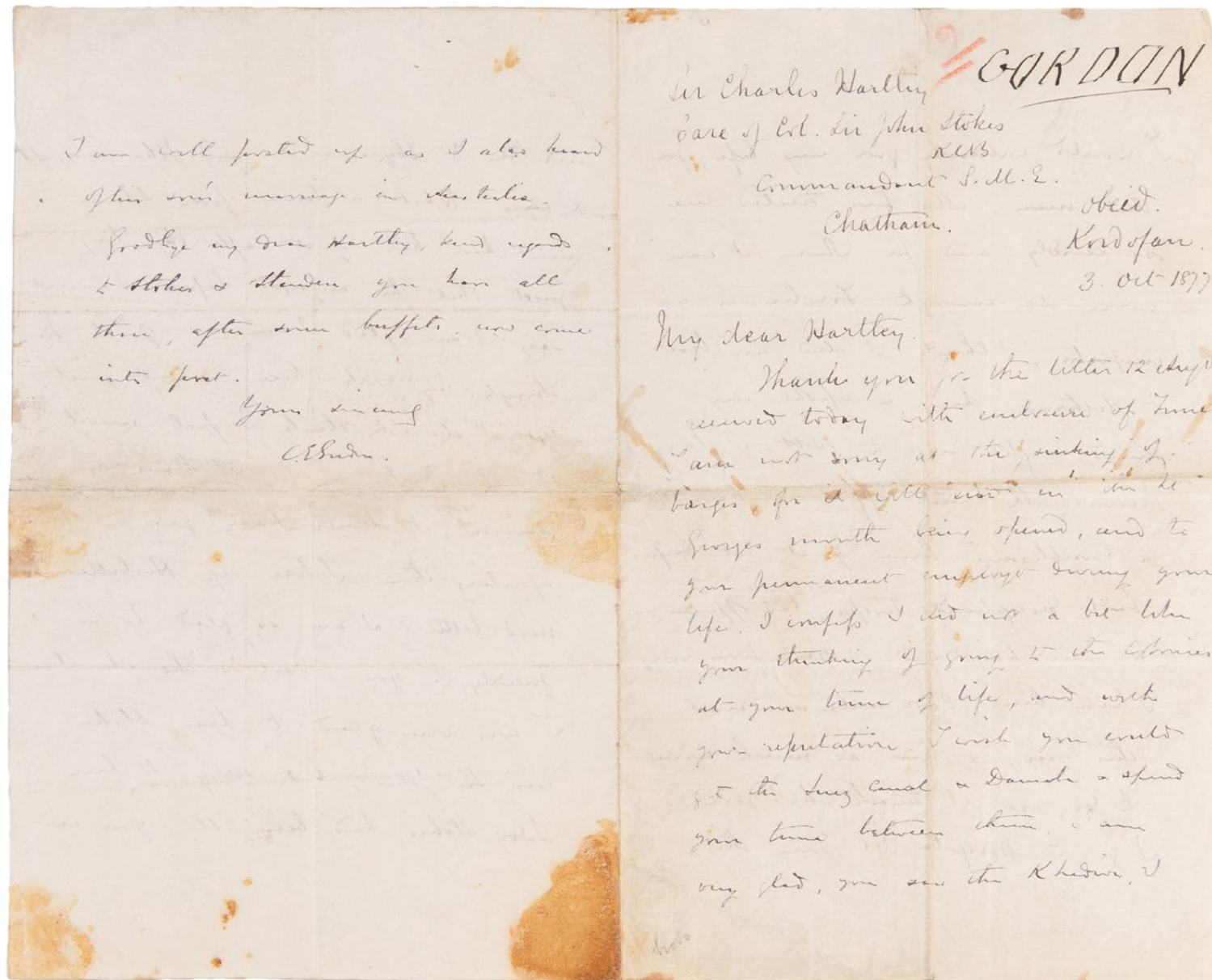
A letter written at the beginning of Gordon's second period in the Sudan. **As a deeply committed Christian, slavery was abhorrent to him; however, as an administrator he knew that it was impossible to liberate all slaves immediately.** In August 1877 the Anglo-Egyptian Convention for the suppression of the Slave Trade agreed that all slaves must be registered by January 1878 and that no one could be taken into slavery after that date. Slavery would consequently decline and was to be abolished entirely by 1889. Gordon had come close to accomplishing this immense task, which he regarded as entrusted to him by God, when the less sympathetic Tewfik Pasha succeeded Ismail as Khedive in 1880, and he eventually resigned.

"... I came up here on 11 April, and found Col Knox & W. Baird here, they had been shooting ... both first rate fellows and who know more of the land than ever I can hope to. If any fellows complain I do not answer their letters, tell them I answer every one I receive, but I have received none whatever for two months. **I have a deal of troubles to contend with, and some of these are composed of burning questions, such as the slavery among the people, not the hunting of slaves.** I shall, even when I do get to Khartoum, only stay there 10 days, for I have to go to Darfur, and then may have to come back here. I cannot think now of asking Watson to come out, for things are in too great disorder for him to be utilized. I could willingly have him later, when at any rate, quiet is restored in the country ... I have a lot to do here, with all sorts of petty detail, which I try to shunt on those whose duties it is to see to them ..."

Colonel Nugent CB  
Royal Engineers  
Horse Guard  
Whitehall  
Casala.  
14 April 1877

My dear Nugent -  
I received your letter of the 11th  
which I have just received today. I came up here  
on 11 April, and found Col  
Knox & Baird here. They had  
been shooting ... both first rate  
fellows and who know more of the  
land than ever I can hope to.  
If any fellows complain I do  
not answer their letters, tell  
them I answer every one I  
receive, but I have received  
none whatever for two months





**"I would Willingly give my Life for that Man"**

**37 GORDON** (Charles George).  
**ALS as Governor-General of the Sudan, to Sir Charles Hartley**, Care of Col. Sir John Stokes, Commandant, S[chool of] M[ilitary] E[ngineering], Chatham.

Manuscript in ink. 31/2pp. 8vo. A previous owner has written "GORDON" in large letters at the top right, and there are some brown stains at the bottom of the

last sheet of the letter, as well as slighter stains on the folds, none of these affect the text. Obeid, Kordofan, 3 October, 1877.

A quite personal letter to Sir Charles Hartley (1825-1915), with Gordon extending his best wishes for his professional career. He also admits to a bit of scheming of his own in trying to depose "Fowler", possibly Robert Fowler (1828-1891), future Lord Mayor of London and, importantly, reiterates his loyalty to the Khedive.

"Thank you for the letter 12 Aug. received today with enclosure of Times. I am not sorry at the sinking of the barges, for it will end in the St. Georges mouth being opened, and to your permanent employ during your life. I confess I did not a bit like your thinking of going to the Colonies, at your time of life, and with your reputation. I wish you could get the Suez Canal & Danube & spend your time between them. **I am very glad, you saw the Khedive, I would willingly give my life for that man, who has treated me so kindly, and for whom I can never do enough.** Fowler is an imposter, I think, I did my best to dethrone him & spoke my mind right out to HH. I do not know with what effect. I have had a troublesome time of it, at Darfur, badly disciplined troops, bad officers &c &c and have aged 10 yrs from worry. I have been 2300 miles on camel this year, & have as much more to do, ere I finish the year. I go to Dongola DV from this, and then to Abyssinia to see Johannes, if I can ... I was very glad to hear Stokes was Sir John, but sorry to hear Lady Stokes had been ill, you see I am well posted up, as I also know of his son's marriage in Australia. Goodbye my dear Hartley, kind regards to Stokes & Standen. You have all three, after some buffets, now come into port."

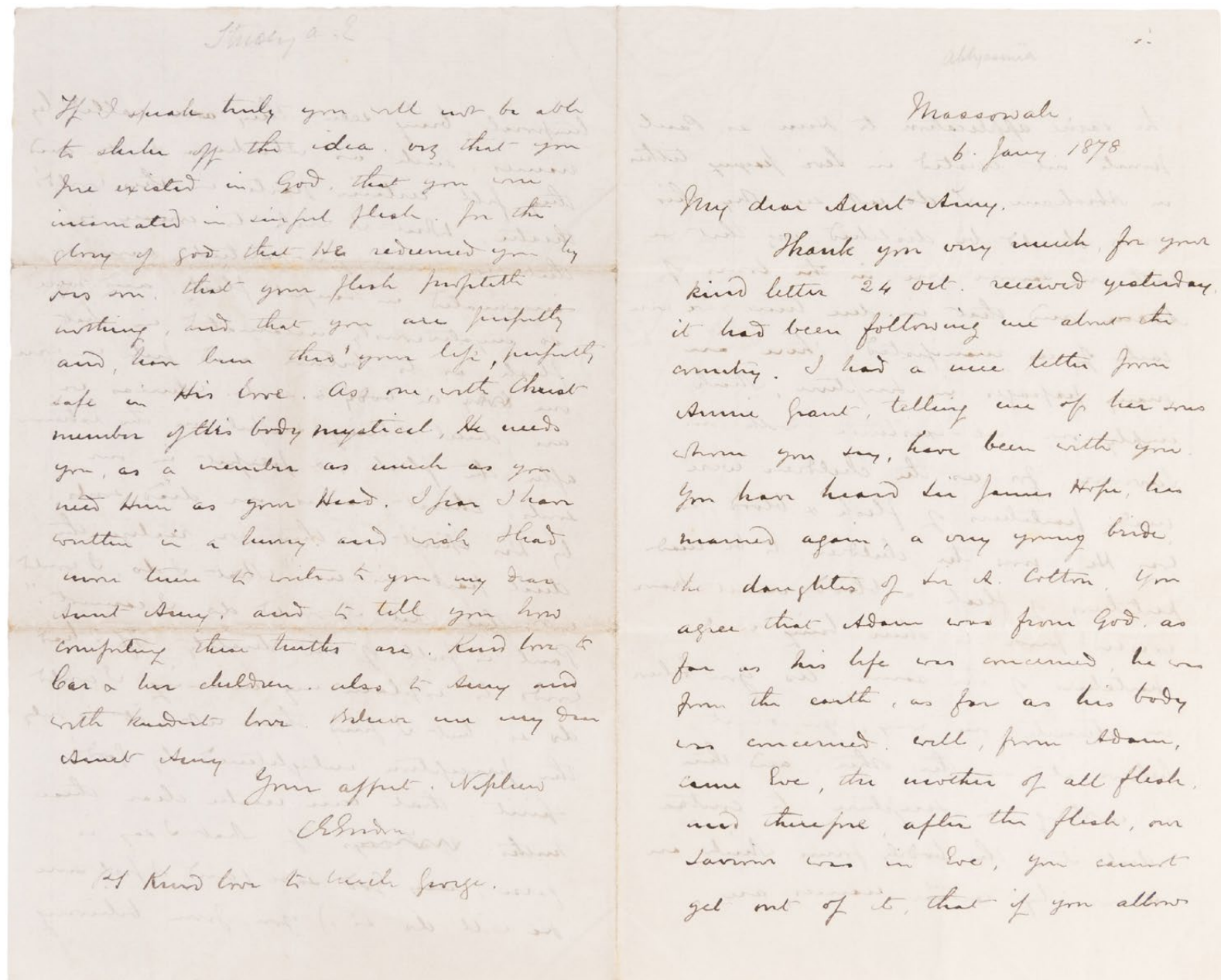
As a young man, Gordon had served in the Crimea, and was subsequently one of the Royal Engineers delegated to study the improvement of navigation on the Danube. Here he encountered Charles Hartley, who was Chief Engineer to the European Commission on the Danube, a post for which he had been recommended by Stokes, the British Commissioner. The St. George mentioned in this letter is one of the principal estuaries of the Danube. Hartley was consulted on the improvement of Madras harbour, and it is likely that the "Colonies" referred to is India. A year earlier, Col. Stokes had met the Khedive, when he advised the British government to purchase the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal in order to ease his financial difficulties.



I would willingly give my life, for  
 that man, who has treated me  
 so kindly, and for whom I can  
 never do enough. Involun is an  
 impostor, I think, I did my best  
 to determine him & spoke my  
 mind right out to him. I do not  
 know, with what effect. I have had  
 a troublesome time of it, at Dargah,  
 badly disciplined troops, bad officers &  
 & and have spent 10 yrs from my  
 I have been 2300 miles on camel  
 this year, & have as much more  
 to do, ere I finish the year.  
 I go to Dargah at June this.

and then to Abyssinia, to see Johannes, if  
 I can. What a time, from Lahore  
 must have had of it, after the long  
 quiet that he enjoyed before. I must  
 say I am glad I am out of it, for  
 though my work here is not quiet,  
 yet I do not think I feel much  
 for the work, & yet I know "con"  
 "anore", I should have gone on to  
 assisting them. I tore up Herbert's  
 nice letter. I am so glad he is  
 friendly to you. Where is the Chevalier?  
 I was very glad to hear Stokes  
 was in John, but sorry to hear  
 Lady Stokes had been ill, you see





**"It is not Settled at all for Certain  
that I go or Not."**

**38 GORDON (Charles George).  
ALS to Aunt Amy.**

Manuscript in ink. 4to and 8vo. 7pp together. Galatz, 18  
November 1873 and Massawah, 6 January, 1878.

**Gordon's highly personal letters to his Aunt Amy add considerably to our knowledge of Gordon the man and are revealing of his inner life.**

A decade before the Siege of Khartoum, Gordon considers the offer to serve as Governor of the Equatoria: "I got a letter from the Minister Nubar Pasha today, he is extremely kind about the matter, but it is not settled at all for certain that I go or not."

His religious faith is somewhat under-reported but, as we see here, Gordon saw himself as a mere instrument of God: "I am not sound in many ways. I accept that not a sparrow falls to the ground without His will, if so little a thing as that happens with His direction, everything that happens to us is with His will & therefore I accept anything that happens as directed by Him, and as far as I am concerned unavoidable."

Gordon did go to Egypt at the beginning of 1874 and declined the offered salary of £10,000, taking only £2,000 instead. He resigned his post at the end of 1876 in frustration over the brisk trade in slaves in the region. The Khedive of Egypt pleaded with him to stay on, and in January 1877 Gordon saw his powers expanded beyond the equatorial provinces to include the Sudan, Darfour, and the Red Sea littoral.

Nonetheless, religion was never far from his thoughts and he continued to send his Aunt Amy his musings on such matters: 6 January 1878: "we were pre-existent, were incarnated in sinful flesh and so were mysteriously incarnated in that flesh as to believe and feel we were one in body & soul. Whereas we are dual, being sinful in the extreme after the flesh, & perfect in our souls ..."



the same application to Him as Paul points out existed in Levi paying tithes in Abraham. I do not see why this view should be disliked, viz that we with our Saviour were in the loins of Adam and that in due time, we were each of us manifested. There are many passages in Scripture; which imply our pre-existence with our Saviour, for as the children were made partakers of flesh & blood, so was He. Now the children to be made partakers of flesh & blood must have existed prior to their being made partakers of the same. As you believe in eternity one way, you must believe it in the other, and there is nothing in Scripture to contradict it. The bodily forms which are known by certain names, are

temporal, being seen, they are called by names, such as Abraham &c. and they fill certain parts in this world's theatre. What I wish to convey is that we were pre-existent, were incarnated in sinful flesh, and were so mysteriously incarnated in that flesh, as to believe and feel we were one body in body & soul. Whereas we are dual, being sinful in the extreme after the flesh, & perfect in our souls. Christ raises our dead souls by His spirit, & then we realize the dual part in us. That I do, I could not. That I could do, I cannot." Now, that that I could do, I cannot." Paul is full of the duality. If I had words to explain my meaning, I could do so, but I find them not. It is only the perception enlightened by God's spirit, that can make clear these truths. ~~It says~~ If that I say is false, may God save (and I feel sure He will do so,) you from believing



5, Rockstone Place,  
Southampton.

28. 1. 80

My dear Vivian.

Thank you for your note. I will answer the friendly part, after I have answered the Nubar part. I came to Cairo, extremely vicious agst the Nubar Riaz R. Wilson clique, when I had left for Abyssinia. The new Khedive had been most civil, when I returned, though he was still most civil, certain paragraphs had appeared in the papers, saying I had disobeyed his orders, etc. he denied any part in his order. I forgave him, but I did not. I forgive Nubar & Riaz, and also felt extremely bitter, with our part, for supporting these two. I am thinking over how to hang any attack on Nubar, when I, perhaps, by Nubar's

letter to  
"ought to  
as he  
of you  
I le  
mult  
he t  
tha  
havi  
Dun  
the  
for  
e  
e

I le

mult

he t

tha

havi

Dun

the

for

e

e

e

e

e

e

e

e

e

e

when I r

an us I

complains

finances

will you

me to

know

straight

I s

Sanct

read

we are agreeable

you can't see

I spoke about it

letter, he, at

the substance

Mr Malet,

Mr

5. Jan. an

you

you

you

you

you

you

you

you

you

you

you

you

you

at 12 noon, when I

or ought to be at

my card in my hand

door opened, I heard

found Nubar was the

he had seen me come

the glass window, &

catch me, well,

"thought you were

he made me come

you going to stay

unmindful to do

I turned the subject

we are agreeable

you can't see

I spoke about it

letter, he, at

the substance

Mr Malet,

Mr

5. Jan. an

you

you

you

you

you

you

you

you

you

you

you

you

We are now going on the very

safe track, in Cairo, but it

cannot last long, the tension &

different interests of the two

parts are too great. Goodbye. ✓

am very glad, & thinking of getting

free of official business.

Believe me

Yours sincerely, my dear

C. S. Gordon

Vivian

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

C. S. Gordon

### Conflict with the Khedive

#### 39 GORDON (General George). ALS to Sir Vivian Hussey.

Manuscript in ink on printed stationery. 8pp. 12mo. Punch-hole in the upper left corners. Southampton, 28 January, 1880.

After nearly three years in the employment of Egyptian Khedive (Tewfik Pasha), as Governor General of the Sudan, Gordon resigned his post and arrived at Cairo before sailing for England on 10 January, 1880. Here he complains of

the Anglo-Egyptian clique of Nubar Pasha, the Prime Minister Riaz Pasha and C Rivers Wilson, the Khedive's finance minister.

"I came to Cairo, extremely vicious agst the Nubar Riaz R. Wilson clique, when I had left for Abyssinia the new Khedive had been most civil, when I returned, though he was still most civil, certain paragraphs had appeared in the papers, saying I had disobeyed his orders, etc, he denied any part in these & I forgave him, but I did not forgive Nubar & Riaz, and also felt extremely bitter with our part for supporting these two. I am thinking over how to hang any attack on Nubar ..."

Gorden then goes into considerable (i.e. petty) detail of the whole affair.



# Memo

Burnaby retires this year 1881. Promotes

Gordon.

Gordon Promoted in June April 1882 Retires

Cook " " Gordon " " 1882 Retires

Pasley " " Pasley Oct - 1882

Wray " " Pasley Oct - 1882

Murray & Inglis are out of calculation for July 83

Also Lieut. Clarke.

Moggridge James De Brette, Kelly will all retire so that

Dewart will take Gallwey's place July 83.

and Nugent will take the chance of a casualty up to 25 Sept 1883. If a casualty takes place, he will be promoted and thus a good wedge put in between those men, who got Majorities in India and China

men, who got Majorities in India and China for service with Subalterns. The rule, not to recognize these services, was held to, in

a great measure in Crimea, was a

good one for the Corps.

C. Gordon

14.5.81

I hope the enclosed memo, will cheer you up. You have to watch Murray 58 in 1.3.83. Inglis 58 in 14.9.82 Clarke 58 in 27.7.82 thus if no promotions take

## The Politics of Promotions

### 40 GORDON (Charles George). ALS to Colonel [Charles] Nugent of the Royal Engineers.

Manuscript in ink. 2pp. 8vo. Some minor dampstaining not affecting legibility. Together with a signed single sheet "Memo". Le Havre, 14 May, 1881.

In the spring of 1881, Gordon volunteered to go to Mauritius to command the Royal Engineers in place of Colonel Sir Howard Elphinstone, who was unable to take up his post for personal reasons; had Gordon not volunteered, Elphinstone would have been forced to retire. En route to Mauritius, Gordon writes to his close friend Charles Nugent, listing prospects for promotion.

He gives the names and ages of Murray, Inglis, and Clarke, all of whom were 58 years old. Furthermore, he clarifies that the information should be kept discreet: "I should not mention this, for perhaps Murray might retire on what they offer him."

The memo clarifies that "Burnaby retires this year 1881," that Gordon and Pasley will do the same in 1892, and that "Murray and Inglis are out of calculation for July 83 also is A. Clarke."

More importantly, "If a casualty takes place [Nugent] will be promoted and thus a good wedge put in between those men, who got Majorities in India and China ... The rule, not to recognize these services, which was held to, in a great measure in Crimea, was a good one for the Corps."



I hereby agree not to retire  
from the Army of my own  
free will, till 2. March  
1883. unless Murray retires  
before that date. C.G. Gordon  
Lt Col. R.E. & M.O.  
Colonel  
10. 5. 81  
Havre.

**"I Hereby Agree not to Retire from the Army ..."**

**41 GORDON** (Charles George).  
**ALS to his friend Colonel [Charles] Nugent**  
**of the Royal Engineers, discussing promotion**  
**prospects for himself, Nugent and other officers.**

Manuscript in ink. 2pp. 8vo. Together with a separate small 8vo note signed. Hotel  
d'Europe, Le Havre, 16 May, 1881.

Here Gordon follows up on his previous letter regarding promotions within  
the Royal Engineers

"... you see you have only Murray to contend with, for a good chance of  
promotion to General, supposing there is a casualty, it is running it very close,  
if Murray hangs on to expect that step to happen just between March 3. 83 and  
Sept 25. 83. Tell me what is to be done. Looking at the health prospects, Saffan  
& Browne are the only two likely to go and the latter is the most likely. Tell me  
what you think is to be done about it. If I went to the Mauritius for Elphinstone  
I would do much more for you. If I am promoted in April 82 I get 570£ a year on  
retiring in April 83 I should get 580£ and destroy Murray ..."

There follows a list of names of officers, pasted in by Gordon, and their  
likely "exit" [retirement] dates. Alongside four of the names, he has noted "can

never hope to be I.G.F. [Inspector General of Fortifications]." In a postscript he  
adds, "If a vacancy should happen between this and 1.3.83, I think I shall hold  
on till 2.3.83 and thus you will get it or rather Ewart will get it, and you will get  
Galloways and be I.G.F. 10 July 83..."

In the rather curious accompanying note Gordon states, "I hereby agree  
not to retire from the Army of my own free will, till 2. March 1883 unless Murray  
retires before that date." By 1883, the Inspector General of Fortifications was  
Sir Andrew Clark, and the maligned Murray was Colonel on the Staff at Malta.  
Gordon's correspondent Nugent was a Member of the Ordnance Committee.  
As he here anticipates, Gordon was promoted in 1882, to Major-General.

in April 83. I should get 580 £  
and destroy Murray. Write me  
fully what would suit best for  
you. In myself I can look  
out. I have to report to him  
for Charles & William & the  
other friends. Yours  
C.G. Gordon.

Gordon, C.G., C.B.	exit 14.11.82	58 yrs of age
Cooke, A.C., C.B.	"	"
Pailey, C., C.B.	"	"
Wray, H., C.M.G.	"	"
Murray, T.A.L.	"	"
Inglis, T.	"	"
Clarke, Sir A., C.B.	"	"
Mogridge, J.	"	"
Jervois, J.G.	"	"
De Bute, J.C.B.	"	"
Tilly, G.S.	"	"
Ewart, C.B., C.B.	"	"
Nugent, C.B.P.N.H.	"	"

Can never  
hope to be  
I.G.F.

P.S. If a vacancy should happen  
I think before 1.3.83. I think I shall  
hold on till 2.3.83. and then  
you will get it or rather Ewart will  
get it, and you will get Galloways & be  
I.G.F. 10 July 83.



publication for the present of any  
 thing, it is nothing to me. &  
 also it is quite after your  
 idea that these inconvenients  
 ought to be put down with the  
Iron Rod. You know the Sudan  
 even if we annexed ~~India~~  
 Egypt, we must have our  
 laws. how could you govern  
 Egypt with Sudan with those  
 laws. Kind regards to Lady  
 Baker.  
 Believe me very dear  
 Sir Samuel Yours sincerely  
 C. E. Gordon.

Sir Samuel Baker  
 Sandford Leigh  
 Newton Abbotts.  
 Devon.  
 18. 5. 82  
 Cape Town.

My dear Sir Samuel  
 I received your kind note 28  
 Feby. on 1 April as I was leaving  
 Mauritius for Cape Town, thanks  
 for it. I am sorry the delay in an-  
 swering it. In fact I owe you  
 several letters, but I never knew  
 where you were. Kind regards Miss  
 Haliday. It is interesting that you  
 say of Mauritius, Miss H. will  
 tell you how it is changed.  
 I cannot agree with you in the  
 views you express in ~~India~~ taking  
 it that you disapprove of the  
 National movement. Whether  
 this actual ~~oppression~~ is ~~serious~~ or  
 not, it is something to see life

Manuscript in ink. 4pp. 8vo. There is some 'show-through' on the white paper, but the letter is clear fresh condition. Cape Town, 13 May, 1882.

After a year in command of the Royal Engineers in Mauritius—where he thought he had identified the location of the Garden of Eden as an island in the Seychelles—Gordon travelled to Cape Town. Always adept at communicating and negotiating effectively with local populations, whether in China, the Sudan or the Cape Colony, Gordon was employed in negotiations with the Basuto people who held numerous grievances against the colonial government. Gordon's approach to the Basutos led to a difficult relationship with the High Commissioner, who disapproved of his friendly and, within the context of the time, more egalitarian attitude.

"I received your kind note 28 Feby on 1 April as I was leaving Mauritius for Cape Town ... In fact I owe you several letters, but I never knew where you were... it is something to see life in any people, and from my Soudan experience, I think the people are being by degrees aroused to stick up ag[ain]st the circassian oppression. I know I worked harder to encourage a spirit of independence in the people than I did at any other thing ... With respect to myself, though certainly the Colonial govt invited me to come here, I was coming any way ... they asked me to take command of Col[ony] Forces & after some palaver I accepted it yesterday, & go up to Basutoland this next week. As for war, there

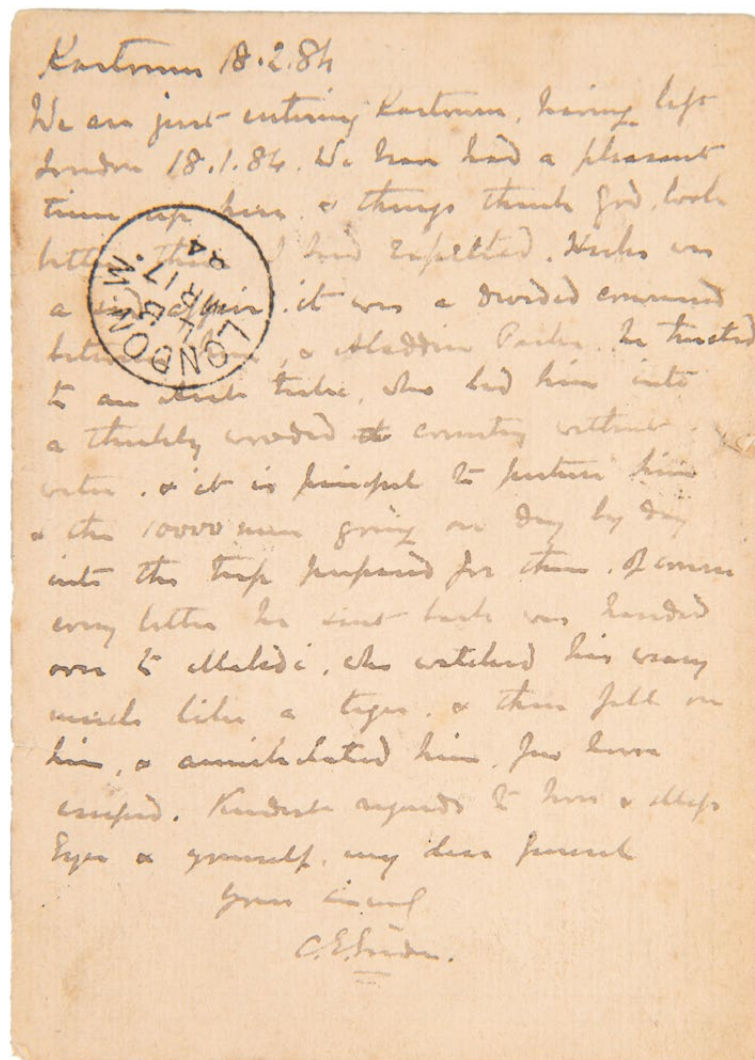
will be no more DV [Deus Volens - God willing] the Colonials paid 4 Million for the last, & lost prestige, and they want no more of that. Do you know R.B. Brett Lord Hartington's secretary, he has my ideas written on Egypt, from 1874 to 1882. it is called Israel in Egypt but it is not a musical paper. it may amuse you but I have given up the publication for the present of anything, it is nothing to me & also it is quite ag[ain]st your idea that these inconvenients ought to be put down with the Iron Rod. You know the Soudan even if we annexed Egypt, we must have our laws. how could you govern Soudan with these laws ..."

### Applying lessons from Sudan to Basutoland

#### 42 GORDON (Charles George).

ALS to Sir Samuel Baker in Devon, the explorer and Gordon's predecessor as Governor-General of the Sudan, announcing that he has accepted command in the Cape Colony and that he is to travel to Basutoland.



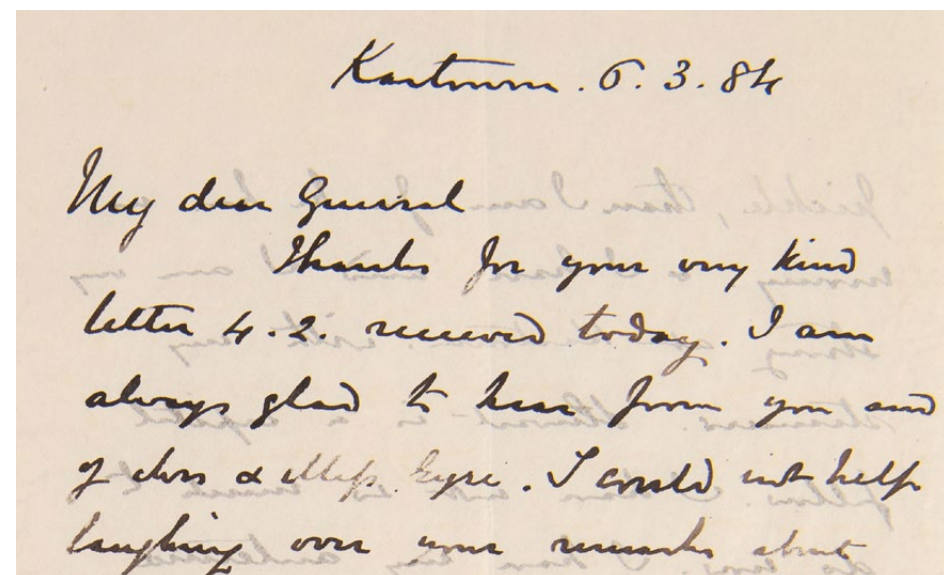


### A Wary Gordon Enters Khartoum

#### 43 GORDON (Charles George). A.P.S. to General Eyre.

Manuscript in ink. Postcard measuring 85 by 120mm. Ink stamps, a little toned and soiled. Khartoum, 18 February, 1884.

"We are just entering Kartoum, having left London 18.1.84. We have had a pleasant time up here and things thank God look better than I had expected. ... it was a divided command between [Hicks] and Aladdin Pasha. He trusted to an Arab ... who led him into a thickly crowded country ... & it is painful to picture him and the 10,000 men going on day by day into this trap ... Of course every letter he sent back was handed over to Maledi who watched his every move like a tiger & then fell on him & annihilated him ..."



### The Hicks Massacre: how Strong are the Mahdi?

#### 44 GORDON (Charles George). ALS to Eyre.

Manuscript in ink. 12mo. 4pp. Includes autograph envelope with red wax seal. Khartoum, 6 March, 1884.

General Gordon's thoughts are with the murdered Col. Hicks in the first of these two letters to General Eyre:

"We are just entering Kartoum, having left London 18.1.84. We had a pleasant time up here & things thank God look better than I had expected. Hicks was a sad affair. It was a divided command between him & Aladdin Parks. **He trusted to an Arab tribe who led him into a thickly wooded country without water & it is painful to picture him & the 10,000 men going on day by day into the trap prepared for them.** Of course every letter he sent back was handed over to Mahdi, who watched his crazy march like a tiger, & then fell & annihilated him."

On 6 March Gordon tries to be optimistic and speculates that the "Mahdi is in as great or greater pickle than I am, for he has no money & I have, and I am very strong at Kartoum with my steamers. Stewart is a capital fellow. I have not so much to do now. I have my antennae in all directions. Hick's defeat was terrible, facing his guides every night having communication with agents of Mahdi. It is terrible the Mahdi knew everything which went on."



H.E.D. Montreal

pickle, than I am. Jack has no  
money & I have. and I am very  
strong at Kaituma. with my  
steamers. Stewart is a capital  
fellow. I have not so much to  
do now. I have my antennae  
out in all directions.

Hicks' defect was trouble  
finding his guides every night  
having communication with  
agents of Malindi. it is trouble  
the Malindi know everything that  
went on.

Kendall reports to Ross &  
Hugh Eyre and your son &  
his family & to yourself.

my dear General. I hope Dr. L  
be home, within 6 months &  
my starting, if our Lord will  
it, it looks likely.

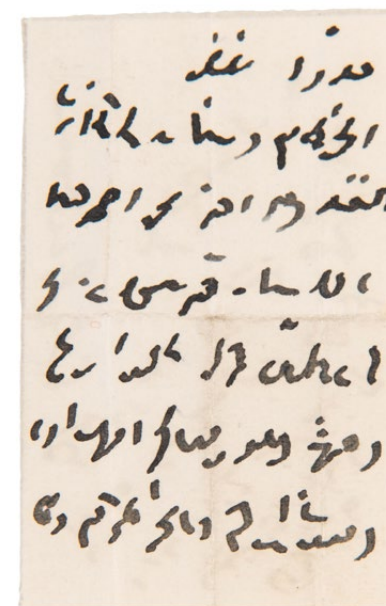
Believe me  
Yours sincerely  
Ch. Gordon.

P.S. after such a lot of  
inconsiderate behaviour. I feel  
HARRIS was exceedingly kind.  
he has always had my  
earnest prayers. I will  
remember you seeing me at  
Chatham station as I was  
leaving.





Item 44: GORDON. ALS to Eyre



*Besieged in Khartoum*

- 45 GORDON (Charles George).**  
**Letter Signed to the Mudir (provincial governor) of Dongola, written while besieged in Khartoum, giving him news and asking about the "position of the relieving force."**

The text in Arabic, written on both sides of a tiny piece of paper, 30 by 46mm. A few words of Dunlop's letter are affected by original filing holes. [Khartoum], 25 Ramadan 1301 [22 June 1884].

Gordon was by this time in a hopeless position, besieged in Khartoum by the Mahdi. He had arrived on 18 February 1884, the Mahdi's attack began on 12 March, and the last telegram he was able to send out before the wires were cut went out on 16 April. This poignant message, which shows signs of having been folded into a minute scrap for greater security, was probably smuggled out in the hair of the courier. In it Gordon expresses what proved to be unfounded optimism about his situation and the likelihood of being relieved; unknown to him, the relieving force had not yet left England.

Trans: "Khartoum and Senaar in perfect security and Mohamed Ahmed carries this to give you news and on his reaching you give all the news as to







the direction and position of the relieving force and their number and as for Khartoum there are in it 8000 men and the Nile is rapidly rising on arrival of the bearer give him 100 real mejidieh from the state." The relieving force was not sent out until September, when a reluctant Gladstone gave way to public pressure, and came within sight of Khartoum on 28 January 1885, two days after the fall of the city and Gordon's death. In this communication Gordon notes that the Nile was rising; it was the fall of the river's level on 26 January that allowed the Mahdists to make their final successful assault. Gordon had withstood a siege of 317 days, with two officers supported by Native troops wasted with famine and disease, a truly remarkable achievement.

In excellent fresh condition, with faint fold creases. Together with an early 20th century manuscript translation and a letter from Gordon's nephew W.W. Dunlop (?) to a Mr. Rooker, dated 4 February 1909, saying "I was very glad indeed I was able to give you one of my uncle's letters. I think they are all gone now except the ones I want to keep ..."

### Siege Currency

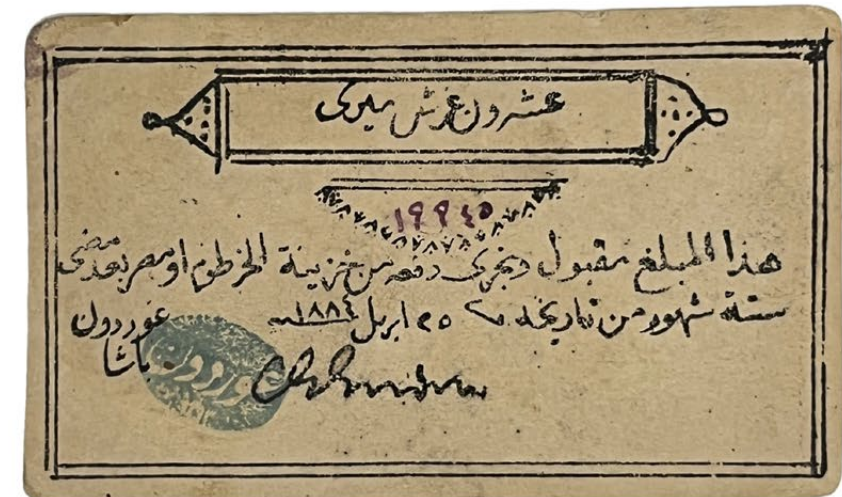
#### 46 GORDON (General Charles George). [Three Khartoum Banknotes.]

Printed banknotes. Measuring 65 by 125 mm, signed by Gordon, ink stamps of the Gouvernat General du Soudan. Lightly browned, laid down on card, but overall very good. Khartoum, 1884.

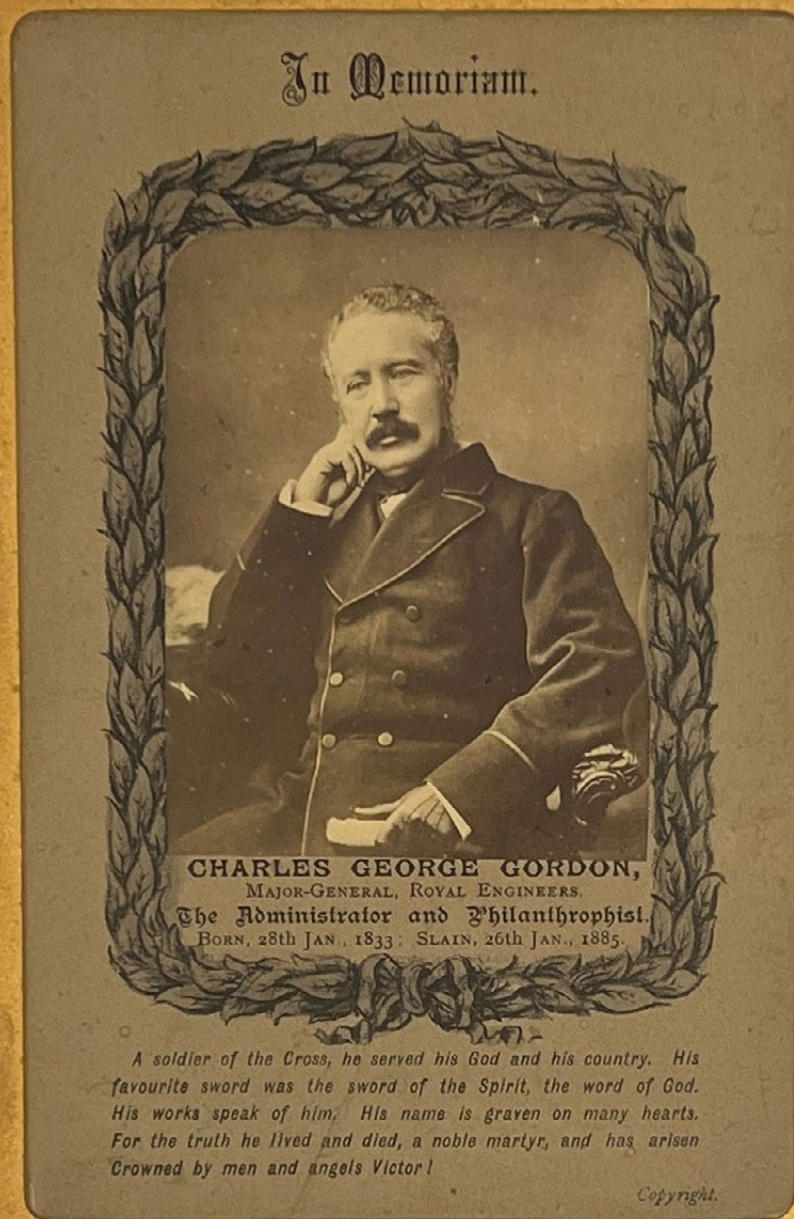
The treasury being empty, and no funds being available for the foreseeable future, Gordon was by this time in a hopeless position, besieged in Khartoum by the Mahdi. He had arrived on 18 February, 1884, the Mahdi's attack began on 12 March, and the last telegram he was able to send before the wires were cut went out on 16 April.

In an attempt to maintain the defence of Khartoum, he established his own printing press for printing serially numbered promissory notes. In effect these were post-dated bank-notes to be honoured from the Cairo or Khartoum Treasury six months from the date of issue, all were dated 25 April, 1884. Gordon signed around half of those issued. As soon as the city fell ownership of the notes was proscribed, with heavy punishments for anyone possessing them. Despite this, some were smuggled out in the hope that they would be honoured; the majority, however, were repudiated.

A rare and evocative relic of the man who wrote in his diary shortly before the end, "Better a ball in the brain than to flicker out unheeded."







**47 [GORDON (General Charles George)].**  
**["In Memoriam" cabinet card for General Gordon.]**

Albumen print, 86 by 67 mm, mounted on cardboard, 166 by 108mm; the entire cabinet card on cardboard mount, 256 by 182mm. No place, by an unknown photographer, 1885.



**48 [GORDON (General Charles George)].**  
**[General Gordon cabinet card.]**

Albumen print, measuring 150 by 105mm, mounted on cardboard, 166 by 109mm. Photograph somewhat faded. Removed from an album with glue stains to verso and manuscript note in pencil. No place, by an unknown photographer, 1884.

Here Gordon is shown riding a camel.





**49** [GORDON (General Charles George)].  
[Gordon Pasha cabinet card.]

Albumen print, 143 by 99mm, mounted on cardboard, 166 by 110mm. Cardboard mount lightly foxed, former owner's inscription and sellotape stains verso. London, London Stereoscopic Company, 1870s.

A handsome portrait of Gordon in full Egyptian uniform. The caption reads "Photographed at Khartoum."



**50** [GORDON (General Charles George)].  
[General Gordon cabinet card.]

Albumen print, 137 by 102mm, mounted on cardboard, 166 by 110mm. Some foxing to edges, recto and verso. London, London Stereoscopic Company, 1870s.

Another portrait of Gordon in Egyptian uniform. The caption reads "Photographed at Khartoum."





**51** [GORDON (General Charles George)],  
KINGDON (Abraham).  
[General Gordon cabinet card.]

Albumen print, 145 by 95mm, mounted on cardboard, 166 by 110mm. Photograph faded. Photograph by Abraham Kingdon & Co. in Moorgate (with their stamp verso), published in London by Marion & Co., 1870s.

Portrait of Gordon in an Egyptian uniform.



**52** [GORDON (General Charles George).]  
[General Gordon carte de visite.]

Albumen print, 89 by 56mm, mounted on cardboard, 102 by 65mm. Photograph slightly faded. No place, by an unknown photographer, 1870s.

Portrait of Gordon in an Egyptian uniform.





## SIR HENRY MORTON STANLEY

Henry Stanley (1841-1904) was one of the most controversial of all figures in the exploration of Africa. Born in Wales as John Rowlands, he emigrated (i.e., stowed away) to the United States where he christened himself William Henry Stanley soon after his arrival in January, 1859. After a couple of adjustments, he emerged as Henry Morton Stanley in 1872.

The great showman of African exploration, Stanley's controversies rank nearly as highly as his achievements. ODNB puts it well: "On the one hand, he is generally acknowledged to have settled many of the long-running controversies over the sources of the Nile and the geography of the great lakes. On the other hand, the style of his expedition-making marked a new phase in the history of exploration, virtually erasing the distinction between geography and warfare."

Stanley ranks alongside Burton and Livingstone as one of the most important of the nineteenth-century African explorers. "He [did] more than any other explorer to solve the mysteries of African geography, and open up the interior of the dark continent to European trade, settlement and administration" (*ibid*).

Tim Jeal confirms this in his work *Explorers of the Nile ...* : "Stanley's contribution to the Nile quest during its later years was second to none and no other explorer played a more important role in involving Britain in Uganda and East Africa."



thus to threaten to fine me  
£20 & treble duty. How  
can any person declare what  
his Income is until he  
receives it? I should

feel obliged to you if you  
would inform me of how  
it can be done.

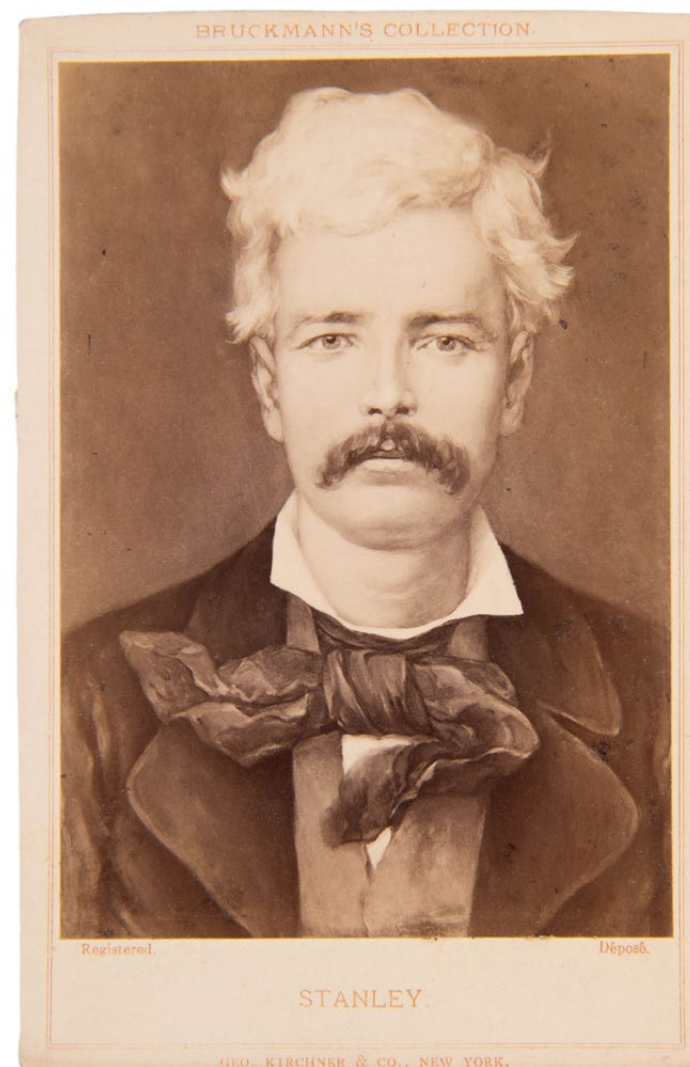
Yours obedtly  
Henry Stanley

### HMS vs HMRC

#### 53 STANLEY (Henry Morton). ALS to Charles Maguire concerning income tax.

Manuscript in ink. 2pp. 12mo. On Whitehall stationery. Old fold, a little damp-staining to verso. London, 15 June, 1891.

A bemused Stanley writes in response to a request for a "statement of Income up to April 5, 1892" and a threat "to fine me £20 and treble duty." His tone is typically frank, "How can any person declare what his Income is until he receives it? I should feel obliged to you if you would inform me of how it can be done."



#### 54 [STANLEY (Sir Henry Morton)], KIRCHNER (Geo.), photographer. [Cabinet card portrait of Sir Henry Morton Stanley.]

Albumen print of a painted portrait of Stanley, 140 by 100mm, mounted on cardboard backing, 170 by 112mm. One of a series of portraits in "Bruckmann's Collection" of cabinet cards. New York, Geo. Kirchner, c. 1870.

An unusual and somewhat romanticised image of Stanley as Byronic hero.





**55** [STANLEY (Henry Morton).]  
[Cabinet card portrait of Sir Henry Morton Stanley.]

Albumen print, 140 by 95mm, mounted on cardboard cabinet card backing, 165 by 110mm. No place, by an unknown photographer, c. 1875.

A very good portrait of a rather sullen Stanley. Given that he's identified as "Mr.", the photograph was taken before he was knighted in 1897.

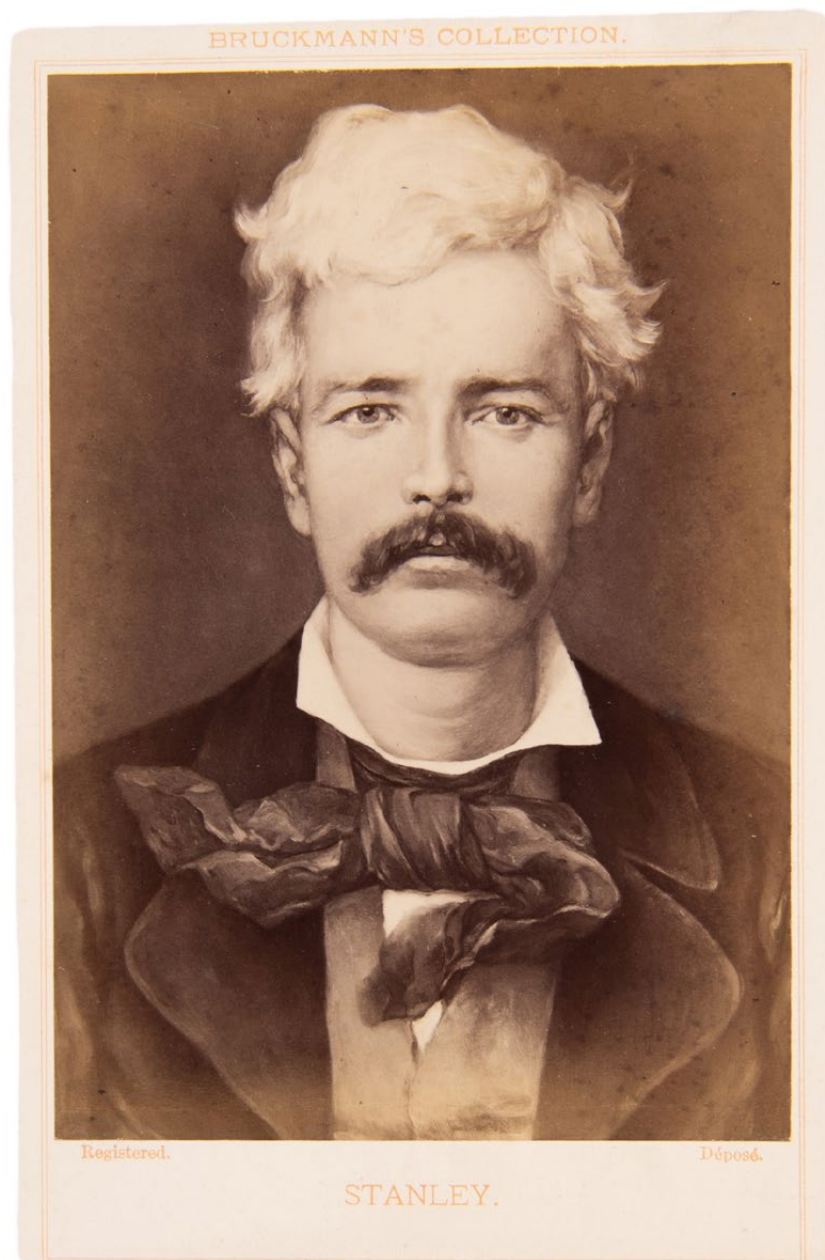


**56** [STANLEY (Sir Henry Morton)],  
GROSSMANN (Alexander).  
[Cabinet card of Sir Henry Morton  
Stanley's Landing at Dover.]

Albumen print, 100 by 145mm, mounted on cardboard, 103 by 166mm. Small crease to lower right corner, slightly affecting print. Contemporary manuscript description verso. Photograph by Grossman in Dover, published by G. Houghton & Son, c. 1890.

The image depicts Stanley on a boat, returning to Dover, most likely after the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition. Surrounded by the great and the good, he could hardly look more eminent.

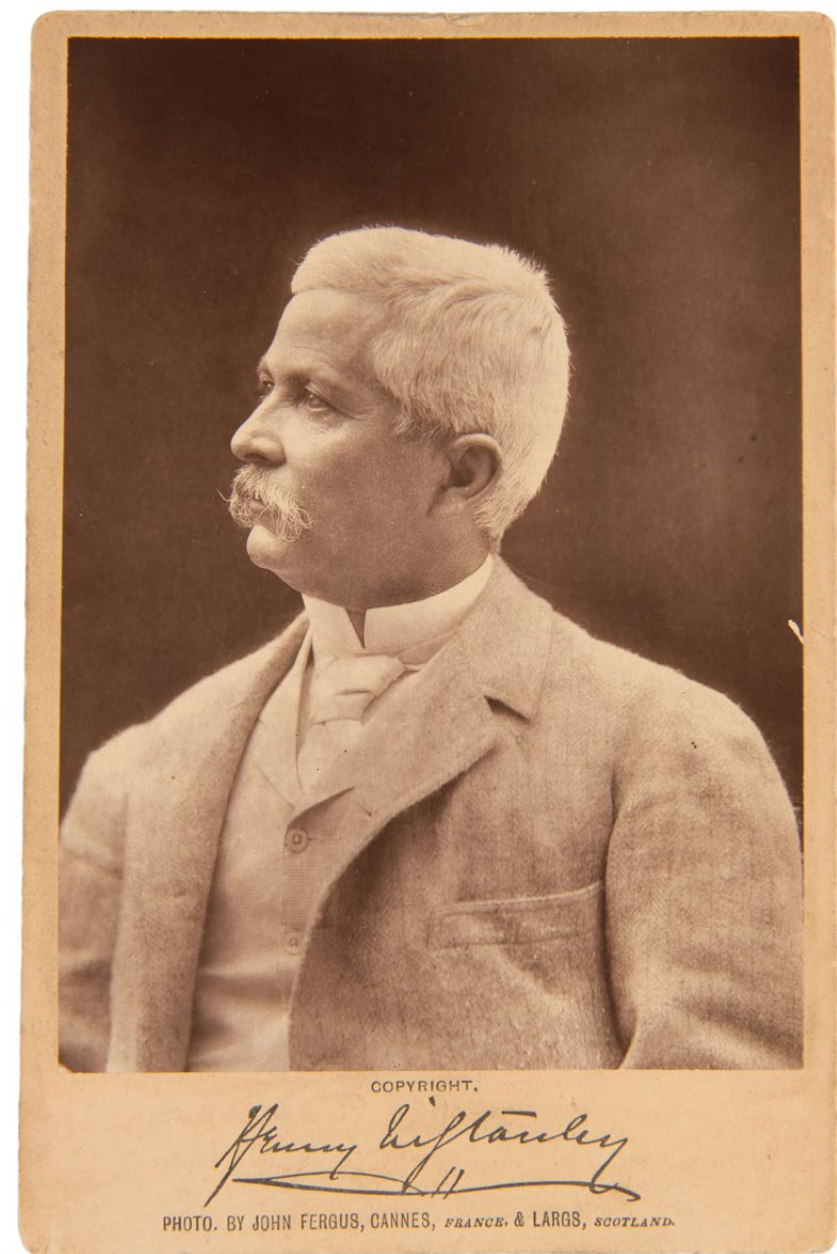




**57** [STANLEY (Sir Henry Morton).]  
**BRUCKMANN** (Friedrich), publisher.  
 [Cabinet card portrait of Sir Henry Morton Stanley.]

Albumen print of a portrait of Stanley, measuring 141 by 98mm, on cardboard backing, 166 by 110mm. [London & Berlin, Bruckmann, c. 1870.]

A similar image to that in [Stanley 2], this was part of the "Bruckmann's Collection" of cabinet cards.



**58** [STANLEY (Sir Henry Morton)],  
**FERGUS** (John).  
 [Cabinet card portrait of Sir Henry Morton Stanley.]

Albumen print, 137 by 100mm, mounted on cardboard, 165 by 107mm. Stanley's printed signature below the image, some manuscript notes in pencil verso. Cannes and Largs, photograph by John Fergus, 1880s.

This is Stanley in full heroic mode: besuited, looking to our left, chin slightly raised, ready for triumph.



## With the Young Kalulu

### 59 [STANLEY (Sir Henry Morton).]

#### [Sir Henry Morton Stanley and Kalulu carte de visite.]

Albumen print, 90 by 58mm, mounted on cardboard, 106 by 64mm. New York, Gurney & Son, after 1872.

A tender image of the young Stanley with his adopted son, Kalulu.

In *How I Found Livingstone ...*, Stanley recounts how they first met, and how simply ownership was transferred to him: "An Arab named Mohammed presented me to-day with a little boy-slave, called 'Ndugu M'hali' (my brother's wealth). As I did not like the name, I called the chiefs of my caravan together, and asked them to give him a better name." Having considered Simba, Ngomba and even Bombay Mdogo, "Ulimengo, however, after looking at his quick eyes, and noting his celerity of movement, pronounced the name Ka-lu-lu as the best for him ..." Kalulu is the name for the blue buck antelope.



Stanley grew immensely fond of Kalulu and kept him as a constant companion. Returning to England, they spent a short time on Seychelles where a series of photographs of them were taken. The following year, Stanley published a novel after him, *Kalulu, Prince, King and Slave: A Story of Central Africa*. (London, 1873).

They travelled together through Europe and America before setting off on Stanley's Trans-Africa Expedition, 1874-1877. Alas, Kalulu died tragically in March, 1877 at the Lualaba River, the headstream of the River Congo. Stanley later re-named these rapids Kalulu Falls in his honour.

Stanley, H.M., *How I found Livingstone ...* (London, 1895), p.230.



### 60 [STANLEY (Sir Henry Morton)], BRUTON (James E.)

#### "H.M. Stanley The African Explorer."

Carte de visite. Albumen print portrait, 90 by 58mm, mounted on cardboard, 105 by 64mm. Photographed by J.E. Bruton in Cape Town, published in London by F. York, c.1897.

A handsome portrait of Stanley, seated, and facing the camera. This was taken during his visit to South Africa where he was invited to attend the opening of the Bulawayo Railway.

James Bruton was an important, early photographer in South Africa. He operated a studio in Gqeberha (Port Elizabeth) from 1859 to 1874 and "to him history is indebted for some of the finest reproductions of the old town of Port Elizabeth" (Redgrave).

Redgrave, J.J., *Port Elizabeth in Bygone Days* (Cape Town, 1947) p.130.

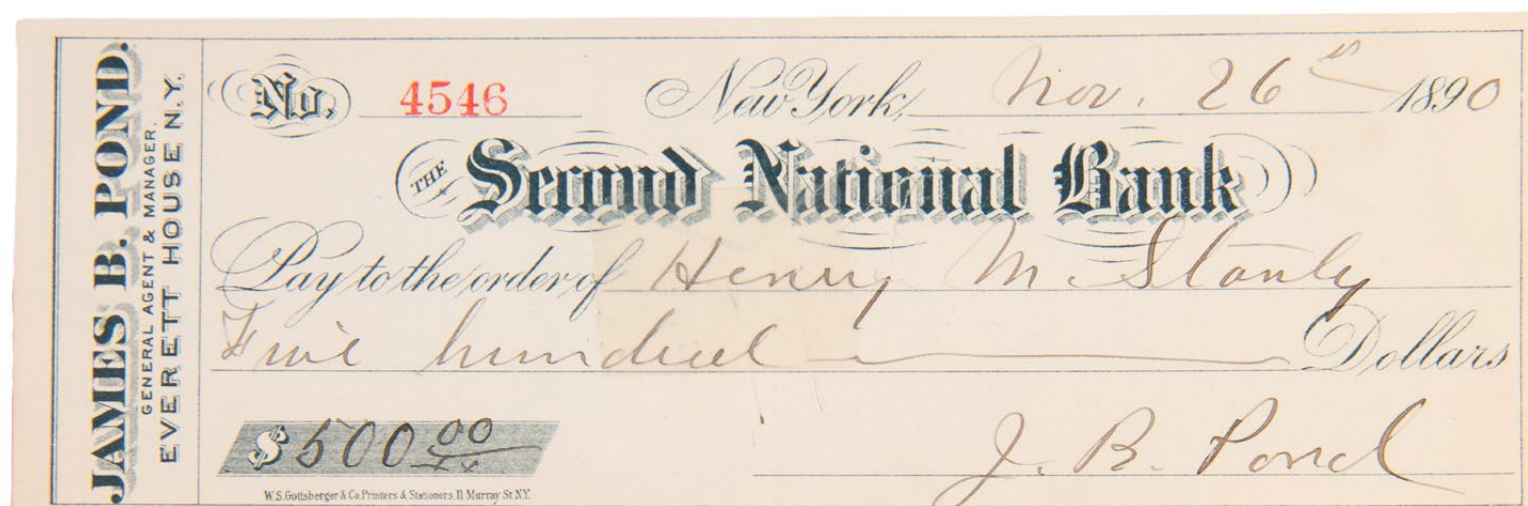




**61 [STANLEY (Sir Henry Morton)].**  
**"Discoverer of Livingstone."**

Carte de visite measuring 102 by 64mm. Albumen print portrait, 85 by 61mm. Two small rubbed spots in the image background, small marginal stain verso. Signed by Stanley. London, the London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company, c. 1872.

A comparatively youthful looking Stanley, recently-returned from his famous quest to find David Livingstone.



**62 [STANLEY (Sir Henry Morton)].**  
**[Cheque made out to Henry M. Stanley.]**

Signed by J.B. Pond, for the amount of 500USD. Measuring 67 by 209mm. Torn in centre, partially repaired with sellotape. With paid stamp (1 December 1890) and Stanley's signature verso. New York, Second National Bank, 1890.

Having served with distinction in the Civil War (he received the Medal of Honor for his actions in the Battle of Baxter Springs), James B. Pond became a successful agent and managed Stanley's appearances on the lecture circuit. This cheque would likely have been an advance for appearances on his November, 1890 to April, 1891 tour of the United States.





## SIR SAMUEL WHITE BAKER

After nine years in Sri Lanka and a few more travelling Europe, Samuel White Baker (1821-1893) grew interested in Africa and decided to lead his own expedition to find the source of the Nile, 1861-65. Accompanied by his wife, Florence, throughout, he mistakenly believed he'd found it at Luta N'zigé (christening it Lake Albert), and later led a search to find Speke and Grant.

In 1869, "the Khedive Isma'il appointed Baker to a four-year term as governor-general of the equatorial Nile basin, with the rank of pasha and major-general in the Ottoman army. It was the most senior post a European ever received under an Egyptian administration ... Baker's duties included annexing the equatorial Nile basin, establishing Egyptian authority over the region south of Gondokoro, suppressing the slave trade, introducing cotton cultivation, organizing a network of trading stations throughout the annexed territories, and opening the great lakes near the equator to navigation" (ODNB). With these four years' experience behind him, Baker writes with some authority of Gordon's predicament in Khartoum.



Gellabat upon Khartoum I should  
send a portion of my force by the  
Blue Nile in boats, and march the  
main body along the banks by the  
route that I took in 1862—vide  
"Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia"—

My grandchildren  
and their parents left us on  
Monday, and the house is very  
dull—

Love & best regards to  
Mr Barnes and family  
in which I join  
Yours truly  
Samuel Baker  
(Rev. Richard Barnes)

9 July 1884 Gordon

Sandford Orleigh,  
Newton Abbot.

My dear Mr Barnes

I am very sorry  
that I cannot run over  
to see you but we shall  
always be very glad to see  
you should you have time  
to spare for a trip here—

I return the enclosed  
"in Memoriam" which is  
charmingly written and  
would comfort the ghost  
of the lost friend could he

## Advance on Khartoum from Gellabat

**63 BAKER (Sir Samuel White).**  
**ALS to the Reverend Richard**  
**Barnes,** vividly giving his  
thoughts on the possible  
relief of Khartoum.

Manuscript in ink. 4pp. 8vo on mourning paper, Newton  
Abbot, 9 July, 1884.

General Gordon arrived in Khartoum in February  
1884 and within the month he was surrounded by the  
Mahdi's forces. Both Baring in Egypt and Gladstone in  
London found him difficult; indeed, Gordon himself  
remarked that "I know if I was chief I would never  
employ myself, for I am incorrigible." (ODNB). Baker  
knew the territory well, and his comments on a potential  
relief expedition—much favoured by the general public  
and championed by Queen Victoria—are illuminating.

"... **no good work can be effected by any officer  
in Abyssinia unless the British Govt shall have con-  
cluded a treaty with the King for special action in  
the Soudan.** The rains commenced about June 1st and  
they will terminate 15 September. No military force  
could advance from Abyssinia upon Khartoum until  
the end of the rainy season, as the camels would be  
killed by the flies, and they would be unable to march  
upon the muddy soil. Should an expedition be pre-  
pared in Abyssinia there would be no difficulty in an  
advance upon Khartoum from Gellabat, starting upon  
15 Sept., and following the margin of the river Rahad  
to Abou Harraz upon the Blue Nile. If Gordon could  
be communicated with, it would be easy for a force  
to advance direct from Gellabat west to the Blue Nile,  
and to descend by that river in steamers and vessels  
sent by him from Khartoum for that purpose. **If I were  
advancing from Gallabat upon Khartoum I should send  
a portion of my force by the Blue Nile in boats, and  
march the main body along the banks by the route  
that I took in 1862—vide 'Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia.'**"



look over your shoulder and  
follow your able pen.

In reply to your query -

No good work can be effected  
by any officer in Abyssinia unless  
the British Govt shall have concluded  
a treaty with the King for special  
action in the Soudan.

The rains commenced about  
June 1<sup>st</sup> and they will terminate  
15<sup>th</sup> September. No military force  
could advance from Abyssinia  
upon Khartoum until the end of  
the rainy season, as the camels  
would be killed by the flies, and they  
would be unable to march upon

the muddy soil -

Should an expedition be  
prepared in Abyssinia there would  
be no difficulty in an advance  
upon Khartoum from Gellabat,  
starting upon 15 Sept.<sup>r</sup>, and following  
the margin of the river Rahad  
to Abou Harrax upon the Blue  
Nile -

If Gordon could be  
communicated with, it would be  
easy for a force to advance direct  
from Gellabat West to the Blue  
Nile, and to descend by that river  
in steamers and sampels sent by  
him from Khartoum for that  
purpose -

If I were advancing from





## EARL HORATIO HERBERT KITCHENER

Kitchener of Khartoum (1850-1916) acted as an “intelligence officer for the relief expedition to the Sudan to rescue Charles George Gordon; he continually pressed Wolseley, the commander of the expedition, to push forward more rapidly. Despite the expedition’s failure to save Gordon, Kitchener emerged with credit and some fame” (ODNB).

Sir Samuel Baker had preceded General Gordon as Governor-general of Sudan. He firmly believed that England should resume its involvement in the future of that country and, after the death of Gordon and the capture of Khartoum by the forces of the Mahdi, “with considerable foresight regarded Colonel Kitchener as the instrument most likely to bring this about” (ODNB).

Kitchener was determined that Gordon would be avenged. The charismatic Mahdi, whose mystical and implacable view of pure Islam led him to attack Westerners and, in his view, corrupt Ottoman and Egyptian rule, survived Gordon by only five months. At the time of writing, Kitchener was Sirdar, or Commander in Chief, of the Egyptian army. Six years later, on 2 September 1898, Kitchener finally defeated the last forces of Mahdism, led by the Khalifa Abdullah, at the Battle of Omdurman.



which they believe  
would be bound to  
follow a reoccupation  
of the country -

With very many  
thanks for the great  
assistance you have  
given me

Believe me  
Sincerely yours  
A K Kitchener

Colonel Kitchener  
Sirdar of Egyptians  
1 May 1892

MAISON, ALI, PACHA FEHMY,  
CAIRO.

1<sup>st</sup> May

My dear Sir Samuel Baker

I am immensely  
obliged to you for your  
notes which no doubt  
give the key to the  
whole question of the  
reoccupation of the  
Soudan

I only hope that

**"The Religious Mania Of Mahdism is Dying Out"**

**64 KITCHENER** (Horatio Herbert, Earl).

**ALS to the explorer Sir Samuel Baker**, thanking him for his notes on Sudan and hoping that "it may fall to my lot to use your notes and recover the country."

Manuscript in ink. 4pp. 8vo. In excellent condition. Cairo, 1 May, [1892].

"I am immensely obliged to you for your notes which no doubt give the key to the whole question of the reoccupation of the Soudan. I only hope that it may fall to my lot to use your notes and recover the country ... I wish something could be done to clear up the slavery question which I believe now that the religious mania of Mahdism is dying out is the main cause that prevents the Soudanese from kicking out their present oppressors they dread the general freedom of slaves which they believe would be bound to follow a reoccupation of the country ..."



MAISON, ALI, PACHA, FEMMY,

CAIRO.

it may fall to my  
lot to use your notes  
and recover the Country  
There is no doubt that  
one day it must be  
done -

I wish something  
could be done to clear  
up the slavery question

Which I believe now  
that the religious  
mania of Malodism  
is dying out is the  
main cause that  
prevents the Soudanese  
from kicking out their  
present oppressors  
they dread the general  
freedom of slaves





### ***Boldly Signed***

#### **65 KITCHENER (Herbert Horatio, Earl).** **Fine head-and-shoulders cabinet photograph.**

Signed ("Kitchener of Khartoum"), a striking image of the victorious general in uniform and medals. c.145 by 100mm, signed on a light portion at the foot, laid down on the original mount, measuring in all c. 185 by 140mm. Dated on the verso, 7 December, 1898.

Kitchener stares unblinkingly at the camera in familiar heroic pose. This photograph is dated only three months after Kitchener's great victory at Omdurman of 2 September 1898, when his Anglo-Egyptian army avenged Gordon by crushing the forces of the Khalifa Abdulla, the Mahdi's successor, and reconquering the Sudan. Two days after the battle, on 4 September, he was able to fulfil his goal of raising the British flag over the ruins of Gordon's palace in Khartoum. Shortly afterwards he was raised to the peerage as Baron Kitchener of Khartoum, so this must be one of the first photographs he signed using his title. He remained in the Sudan for a year as Governor General, and then was posted to South Africa on the outbreak of the Boer War as chief-of-staff to Lord Roberts.

#### **66 [KITCHENER (Herbert Horatio, Earl)]** **BASSANO (Alexander).** **"Lord Kitchener of Khartoum."**

Silver gelatin print portrait of Kitchener in military dress, 143 by 101mm, mounted on cardboard, 170 by 111mm. Light foxing verso. London, Bassano, c. 1900.







## EDWARD RODERIC OWEN

Edward “Roddy” Owen (1856-1896) combined a successful career in horse racing (he won the 1892 Grand National) with military action in the West African Jebu War. He saw action in Uganda during the Unyoro War, Chitral and the Afghan frontier, and finally Dongola.

After Chitral, Owen travelled to Egypt. At this time Kitchener was “preparing the last stages of the advance which, two years later, brought him and the Regiment to Khartoum ... In June, Owen was present at the Battle of Firkeh, where, after a daring night march, Kitchener’s Egyptian and Sudanese regiments won a complete victory over the Dervishes—an omen of things to come. But then all progress was temporarily stopped by a series of misfortunes. Violent storms swept the desert, turning every gully into a torrent, and tearing away miles of the precious railway. Worse still, cholera struck the army, and the death rate began to rise steadily ... Owen was himself smitten by cholera; he died on July 11th, 1896, and his Arab followers buried him that night in a desert grave beside the River Nile. His memory is still cherished in the Regiment. He was not a typical regimental officer ... but he was typical of generations of high-spirited, audacious individualists whose contribution to the Army, and the nation, has been invaluable” (Eastwood).

Eastwood, J., “The Lancashire Connection” <<https://www.lancs-fusiliers.co.uk/feature/roddyowen/RoddyOwen.htm>> accessed 12 April 2025.



### On the Dongola Campaign

#### 67 OWEN (Edward Roderic).

##### ALS to Rennell.

Manuscript in ink. Single sheet folded to make 4pp. 12mo. Toned with old folds. Ambigol, 19 May, 1896.

This, and the letter below, were only discovered recently and do not appear in the posthumously published memoir *Roddy Owen* ... (London, 1897) compiled by his sister.

This letter was one of the last he wrote while serving in the Dongola Campaign which was part of the Anglo-Egyptian conquest of the Sudan. At this time he'd been "placed in command of the Alighat Arabs with orders to patrol the left flank. He started south from Ambigol, crossing the Desert to Sarras in three days, and arranging an elaborate system of patrols" (Bovill). The following three weeks were spent patrolling between Ambigol, Sarras and Akasheh.

This letter was written not long after his promotion as he states that he's no longer with the Camel Corps. Amid a description of his life on patrol, and the Arabs under his command, he adds that, "Gleichen had been called to Suakin just arrived here for a look at Akasheh before leaving ..."

Bovill, M. ed, *Roddy Owen* ... (London, 1897) p.240.

Ambigol  
19.5.96.  
Dear Rennell.  
Thanks for yours.  
I am sending you some more of my 'best  
pins' which I find more in my bag  
to keep for me: also my presentation  
Compass which I should be glad if you  
have minded. I have been C.O. for a  
few days got diarrhoea & badly &  
went on patrolling - but pretty well  
now though and am squeezing up  
these Arabs in fun. Ammunition  
pay - before proceeding to Akasheh  
for he no longer with the Camel  
Corps but command the various  
lots of Arabs - & to ensure them



Akaska. 16. 6. 96.

Dear Rennell.

Your letter announcing  
your departure recd today.  
How can I thank you sufficient-  
ly for your noble self sacrifice  
in plunging into the Cauldron  
of Cholera after to save me  
from the pangs of Stomach aches.

It will be a relief for you & to  
be so kind as to only to avoid  
the constantly recurring applications  
from me for articles of clothing  
& other necessaries of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

The wounded Enemy is  
few only of whom are Baffara  
are a model of fortitude and  
compel one's admiration.

Firket was a distinct success  
& it should have been.

### "They were Undoubtedly Surprised"

#### 68 OWEN (Edward Roderic).

##### ALS to Rennell.

Manuscript in ink. Single sheet folded to make 4pp. 12mo. Toned with old folds.  
Akaska, 16 June, 1896.

Written just a month before his death, Owen (1856-1869) had been ill for at least fortnight beforehand, this rich letter contains a detail description of the action at Firket. He commences this letter on a note of thanks for "plunging into the cauldron of cholera ... to save me from the pangs of stomach aches."

Owen then turns to the battle at Firket which he calls "a distinct success," noting that "They were undoubtedly surprised & deservedly so, but collared they faced the music, though without cohesion and apparently without plan." He then clarifies: "We had of course an overwhelming force of 5 to 1, to say nothing of horse artillery, Maxims [etc]."

Furthermore, we gain insight into the intelligence made available to Owen, "Wingate's or Slatin's information of the numbers Emirs present ... seems to have been very accurate (much I fancy to the regret of some of the purely military 'know alls.'). It was decided I believe that the Special Service Officers should be passengers as much as possible, and so that have been made ..."

Notably, he ends with the following: "If the Khalifa don't jump into the breach now & strongly reinforce Dongola from Omdurman, he's a juggins. I hear he intends withdrawing the Italian Army for this purpose but this may not be in time for the job."

Writing of her brother shortly after his death, Mai Bovill notes that "[h]is life only lasted forty years, and in that short time he gained reputation, not only as one of the most successful riders of his day, but also, from the time he gave up racing and took seriously to his profession, as a soldier."

An important survival from a charismatic member of the XXth Lancashire Fusiliers.

Bovill, M., 'Roddy Owen' ... (London, 1897), p.2.





## MAJOR ARTHUR SANDBACH

Sandbach (1859-1928) was commissioned into the Royal Engineers in April 1879 and one of his first actions was to serve in the Anglo-Egyptian War of 1882. He fought at the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir and was also involved in the 1885 Sudan campaign. Sandbach would eventually reach the rank of Major General. At the time of writing the two letters below, he was assistant adjutant general in the Egyptian army during the Gordon Relief expedition.



Wadi Haifa.  
May 2<sup>nd</sup> / 98.  
My dear Mother.  
Many thanks for  
yours of 14 April.  
I am busy, as usual, on mail day.  
We have sick convoys, & wounded  
coming through. Men coming & going  
& stores at the rate of 300 tons per day.  
All requires arrangement & foresight:  
but to tell the truth, it is much  
easier to arrange now, I am running  
it myself, than when I have to  
run it under a General, who may  
have different views on small  
details.  
Major John Mackenzie has just  
arrived by mail from Cairo.  
He is in the Seaforth High School  
at the Staff College with me for  
one year. Before that he was up in  
Sudan & carried on in Sudan  
when Alf Du Rand was wounded.

### Reporting from Wadi Haifa

#### 69 SANDBACH (Major Arthur). ALS to his mother.

Manuscript in ink. Single sheet folded to make 4pp. 8vo. Old folds, some minor creasing, but very good with stamped envelope. Wadi Haifa, 2 May, 1898.

An affectionate letter from Arthur Sandbach (1859-1928) to his mother with news of the camp.

"We have sick convoys, and wounded coming through. Men coming and going and stores at the rate of 300 tons a day. All requires arrangement and foresight, but to tell the truth it is much easier to arrange now I am running it myself, than when I have to run it under a General, who may have different views in small details."

He adds, giving a sense of the scope and timing of the expedition that he has "an officer called Herbert living with me now in this house. He has just come down from Berber with 400 Sudanese recruits to train and will be here for 3 months or so."

I think I have just kept the  
one a week up though, so far  
up to date.  
My best love to both the  
Aunties & all at home.  
Yr aff son.  
Arthur Sandbach



With News of Kitchener

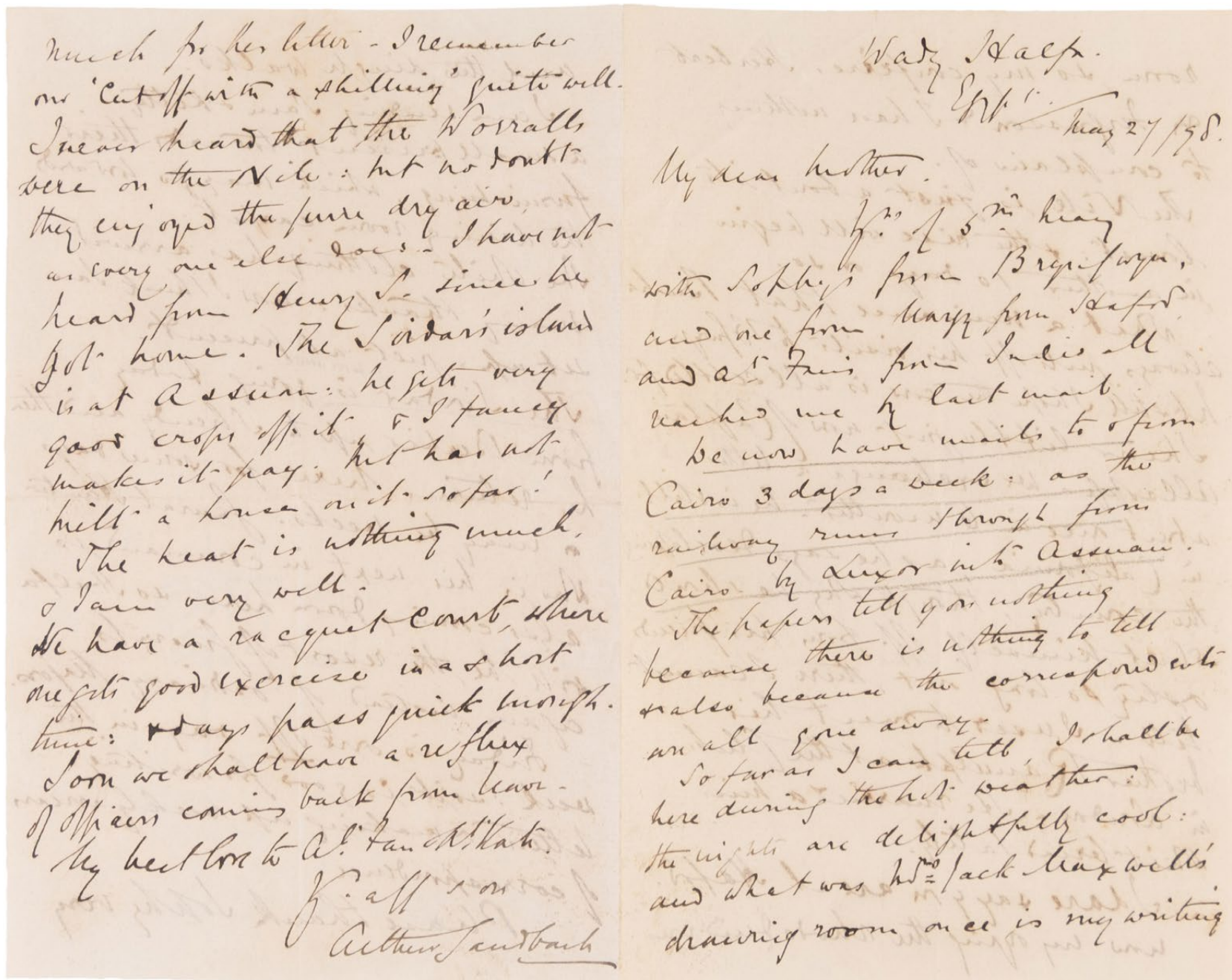
**70 SANDBACH (Major Arthur).**  
**ALS to his mother.**

Manuscript in ink. Single sheet folded to make 4pp. 8vo. Old folds, some minor creasing, but very good with stamped envelope. Wadi Haifa, 27 May, 1898.

Another warm letter from Sandbach to his mother largely describing life at base camp—the heat, the Nile, days off, exercise—during the failed expedition to relieve General Charles Gordon at Khartoum. Sandbach served as assistant adjutant general in the Egyptian army during the expedition.

He advises that they now receive mail three times per week “as the railway runs through from Cairo by Luxor into Assuan.” The expedition was in something of a lull at this point, Sandbach notes that even the journalists have moved on.

Nonetheless, and this was before the official secrets act, he notes that Kitchener “is going today from Berber up to Shendi and then he returns here for some days & may be weeks. General Hunter which is next in command is also coming down here: so Haifa will be the resort of generals again instead of ordinary majors.”





room, so my confidant, Herbert  
& Jansson & I have nothing  
to complain of.

The Nile is just about its  
lowest: the rise will begin  
in another 10 days or so.

What a nuisance that Bush  
always puts off his visits to Bgypt:  
but still I hope the case is all settled for.  
I hear little just now of Captain  
Allsopp - we exchange a letter  
about once in 6 months. he is still  
in California, as he says developing  
the country, though why he should  
shut himself off from his friends  
staying so long out there I cannot  
tell. I used to meet his  
brother Raulph at the Club  
in London. He married a nice  
white-bread lately.

I dare say you are at Hafod.  
now enjoying the rhododendrons

and the dingy walks.

I am sending Sam & Kitty  
a small present towards their  
furnishing, which may go towards  
the dining room carpet.

The white clothing has arrived  
many thanks: now I think Sam  
set up - just <sup>KITCHEN</sup> at present.

The Sindar is going today  
from Berber up to Shendi and then  
he returns here for some days  
or may be weeks. General Hunter  
who is his next in command is  
also coming down here: so Hafod  
will be the resort of generals  
again instead of ordinary Majors.

Friday is one off day in the  
week: so it is good for writing  
letters & making up weekly accounts  
of correspondence.

Please thank Sophy very



Letts's  
No. 31<sup>614a</sup>  
COLONIAL  
ROUGH DIARY

WITH A WEEK IN AN OPENING,

FOR

1896.

*(Bissextile or Leap Year)*



Price 1s. 6d., or with Blotting, 2s. 6d.

Interleaved Blotting with Cloth Boards, 4s. 6d.

An Edition giving more space (No. 42) is published at 3s.;  
CLOTH, Plain, 4s., Interleaved Blotting, 5s.



PUBLISHED FOR

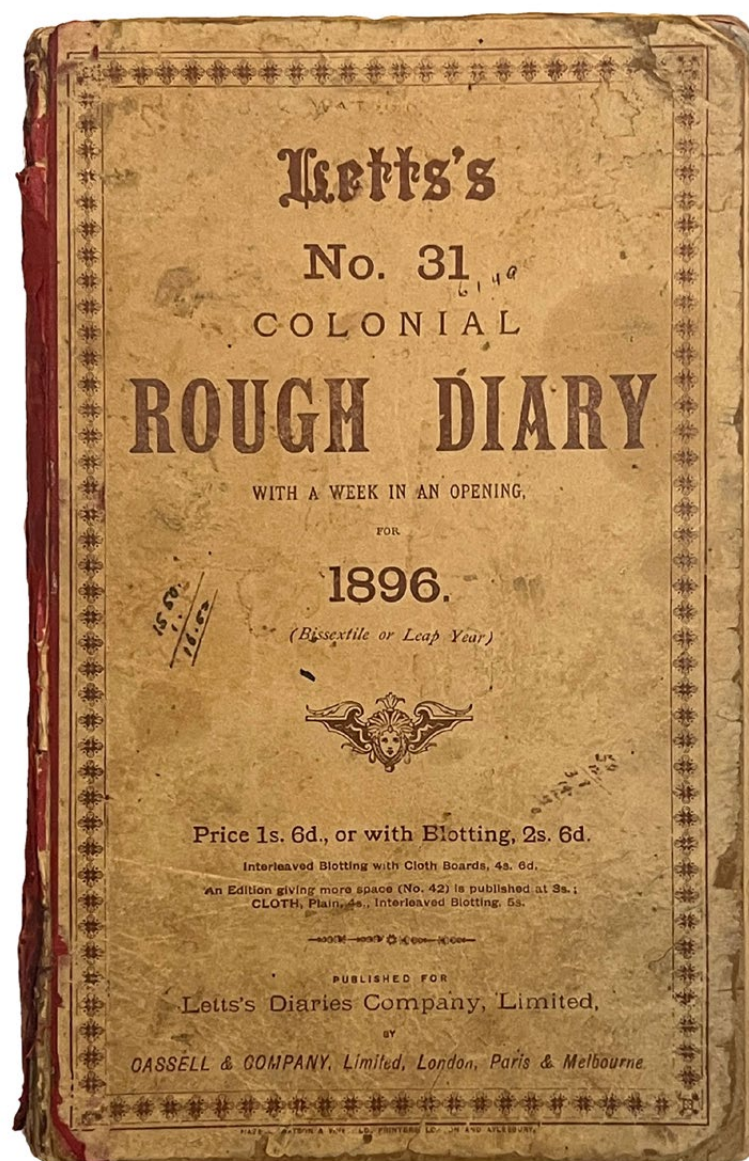
Letts's Diaries Company, Limited,

BY

CASSELL & COMPANY, Limited, London, Paris & Melbourne

DIARY OF THE SUDAN CAMPAIGN

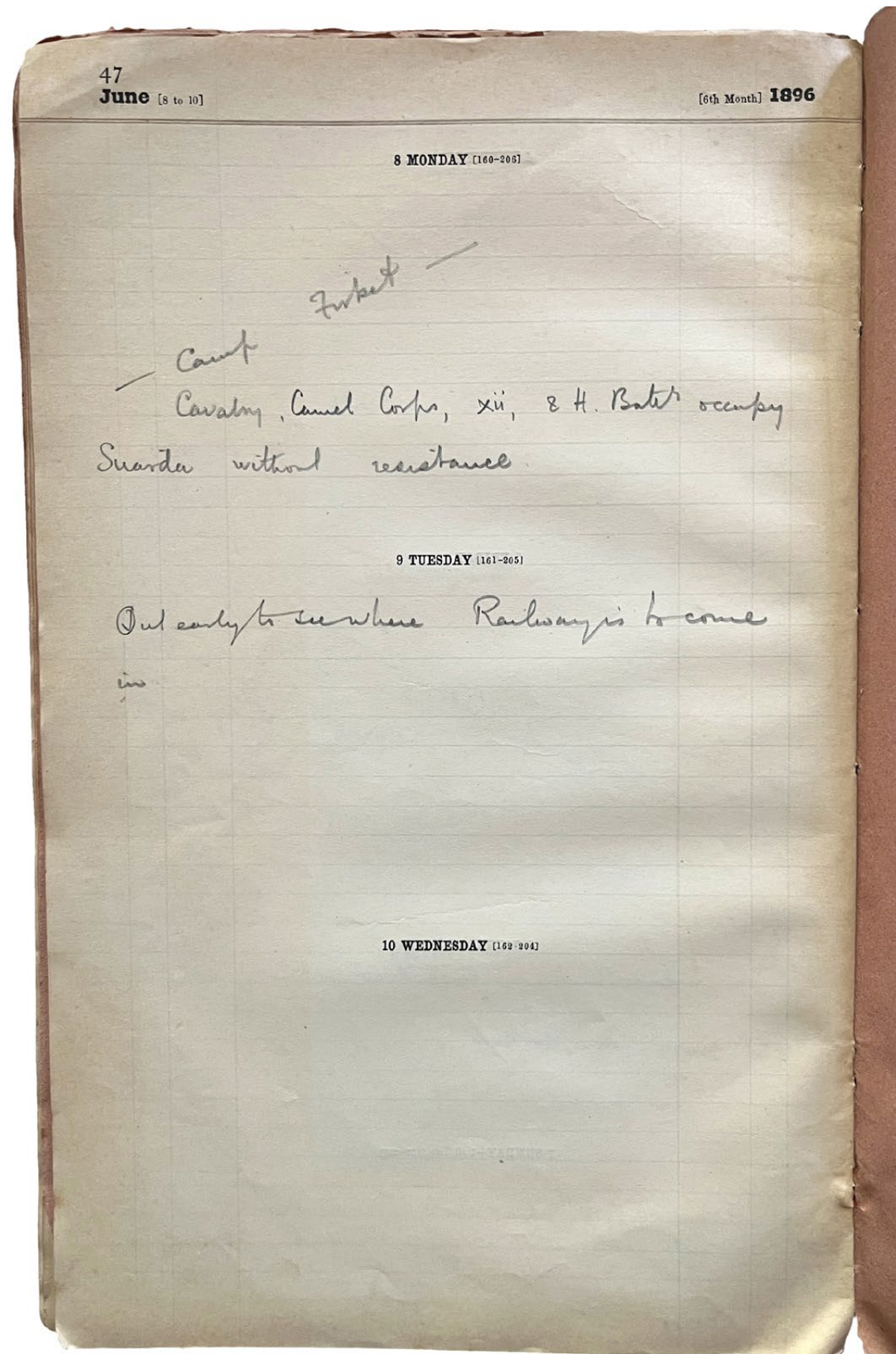




### A Rare Firsthand Account

## 71 [ANON.] [Diary of the Sudan Campaign.]

Manuscript in ink and pencil in Lett's Colonial Rough Diary and Almanach for 1896. Small folio. Publisher's cloth backed printed boards, spine worn, upper board split & just holding, interleaved with pink blotting paper. 113 leaves. Sudan, 1897.





## 23 MONDAY (83-84)

Arrived at Baliana about 11.15 am. Station about 11,000 yds from River - and branch line not completed, but nearly so. Large flotilla of steamers in readiness. Waterlily amongst them, but Kahara not arrived - put everything on former. N. Staffords arrived Baliana about noon and embarked on Ramesses & Ambigole. Maxine Battery left at noon for South. VI Egyptian Batt<sup>n</sup> also left during the day. Real bad "Hamseem", and a very unpleasant day. Kahara arrived at midnight. transferred Baggage aboard.

## 24 TUESDAY (84-85)

Sirdar, Wingate, Slaten, Watson left Baliana in Kahara at 6.20 am. closely followed by Waterlily with Shakoor & Badr and barge with horses on board. Proclamation to Arabs under preparation. Farshoot 11.30 am. Deneb 2.30. arrived Keneb 6.30. Coaled and left at 7. arrived Keneb 10.30 p.m.

MacDonald with xi and xii left Halfa for Akasha

25 WEDNESDAY (85-86)  
Annunciation. Lady Day. Quarter Day

Left Keneb 4 am. - delayed 1 hour owing to bad channel arrived Luxor 8.45 am. - Waterlily close behind - Left Luxor 9 a.m. Arrived Edfou 10.30 p.m.

The diary of an officer in the upper echelons of the British army, who over the course of the year fraternises with Horatio Kitchener, General Charles Gordon, Sir Reginald Wingate, and Robert Playfair and provides a valuable firsthand account of the Sudan Campaign.

Entries commence on January 4, noting merely that he was at Halfa in Northern Sudan. He attended the Khedive's Ball on January 30 and dined with Prince Osman and Prince Hussein in March. The entries are mostly brief but telling. Below is a selection from the busy month of March

**12 March:** "First news of Advance South came in the middle of the night. General and Knowles knocking us up."

**On the 16th:** "I was to have dined with the Sykes but a telegram came which required decoding and I couldn't get away till after dinner."

**The 24th:** "Sirdar [Kitchener], Wingate, Slaten, Watson [James Keiro Watson, Kitchener's ADC] left Baliana in [steamer] Kohara at 6.20am closely followed by Waterlily with Shakoor and Badr and barge with horses on board. Proclamation to Arabs under preparation."

**The 28th:** "Korosko at 6pm. (News of dervish patrol b strong visiting Akasha and being shelled retire without loss ... Supply of arms and amm[unition] sanctioned to Sheiks on their request. This may lead to sending Indian troops to Suakin."

**The 30th:** "First news of our advance seems to have reached Omdurman thro' Kassala. Reinforcement from there have arrived at Debbah [Al Dhaba]. Much excitement and activity at Dongola. Wady Bishara has sent reinforcements under Osman Azrak from there to Suada. Sirdar takes over command of Expeditionary Force. Doubtful whether the E.A. can take Dongola. Does England really mean to assist? Position at present not a pleasant one."

Alongside Wingate et al, our author was present at the Battle of Firket which was critical in the reconquest of Sudan.

The final pages of the diary comprise a list of expenses along with a register of incoming and outgoing correspondence.

The ink stamp of "G. Penasson Cartoleria, Libreria, Tipografia Cairo" suggests our unknown officer purchased this diary on arrival. The dates have been re-numbered in pencil so that Friday January 3, reads Friday January 1 and so on.

The Anglo-Egyptian conquest of the Sudan, 1896-1899, was fought over three years with the object of recapturing territory lost in the Mahdist War of



13 THURSDAY [286-140]

A Highling sandstorm came up just after sunrise and enveloped us all the morning.

In the evening the wind began to get round to N.

Rode out with Adams to Amara. dined and spent the night there.

14 FRIDAY [227-139]

N. Wind. again thank goodness - Rode out to Abri before breakfast. Rode by Camel in here again in time for lunch -

Metemeh got up the Big Bab X

15 SATURDAY [228-138]

0h 2m P.M. (Greenwich)

First four sections of Gunboat came in at 5. pm.

Captain Colville R.N. arrived 11. pm.

16 SUNDAY - 11 aft Trin [229-137]

Colville rigging sheers and commenced getting sections at. Rope at and caused much delay

all 7 ships passed Bab

24 MONDAY [237-120]  
St. Bartholomew, Ap.

Transport passed me about 5 am. and I started at 6. K. and I had breakfast together about 7. and at 8 am. I then rode on to Absarat being obliged to leave Hussein behind his camel being young & tired. Got in to Absarat at 11 am not a soul there. Hussein came in about 12 and I got further into village under shade. McKon, Milford and Cavalry of Macdonald's force arrived at 3.15. pm. with them. Filton and Whittles. Mac D. got in at 1. am.

25 TUESDAY [238-128]

Stopped at Absarat. a dreadful morning. dust storm began at 3 am. and continued all forenoon. Infantry got in about 6. Lunched with Maxims. Visited xi. and xii. Left Absarat 6.15. Terrible dust storm from 7.15. to 8.45. Reached first water depot 10.15. dined found Transport filling tanks. dined and slept there -

26 WEDNESDAY [239-127]

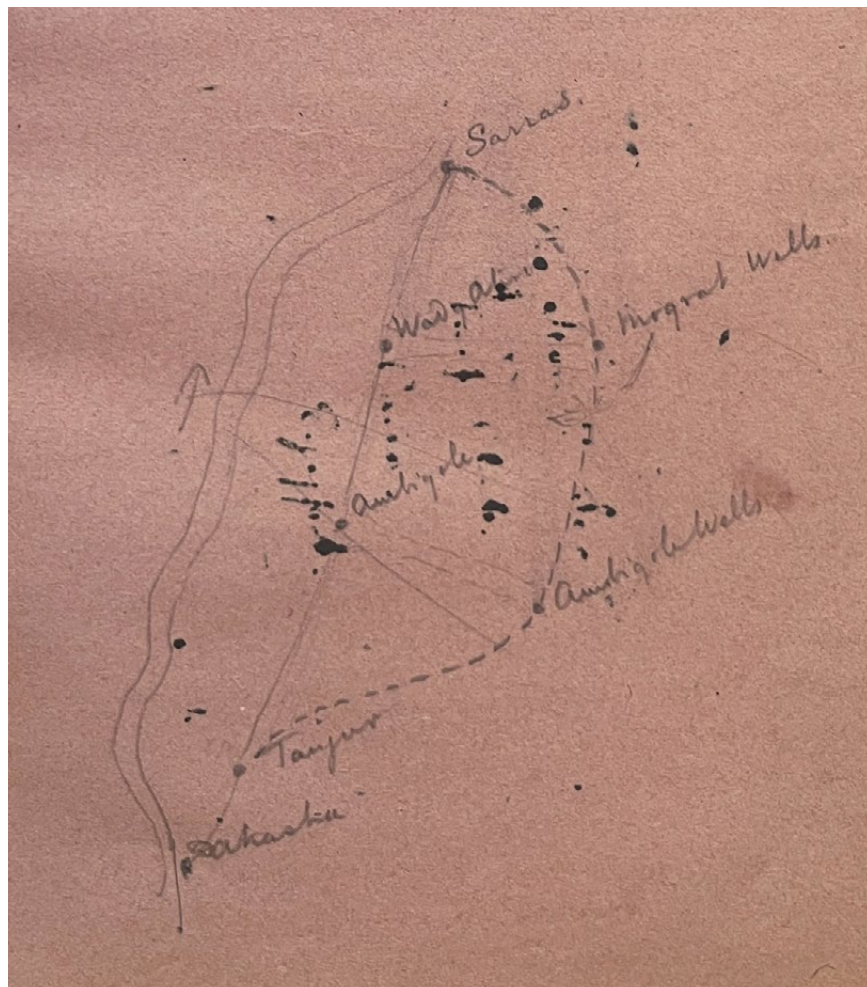
Left water depot at 6. am. got into Koshih at 10.15. am. Found the storm had been very severe here. both sheers blown down - many limbs and buckles down for. Weather extremely hot and muggy -

P. B. was to have marched to Absarat but put off for a day.

all Steamers except Tib. have gone to Absarat.



1884-5. The campaign wasn't a walkover. The fall of Dongola in 1896 came as a shock as it made Omdurman vulnerable. Though instead of moving forces to the capital, Kitchener devoted much of 1897 to the ongoing construction of the railway to Abu Hamed and beyond. Meanwhile, Egyptian forces re-established the overland route from Berber to Suakin which allowed for reinforcements and reprovisioning by both land and sea.



Dr.		APRIL, Cash Account.		Cr.	
Rec.	Amount	Amount			
August 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Jess ✓	July 14 <sup>th</sup>		Sept. 17 <sup>th</sup>	J.K.W.
3	Salmon ✓	- 7 <sup>th</sup>			M.
	M. ✓	- 13 <sup>th</sup>			Mrs. Farmer
	J.K.W. ✓	- 17 <sup>th</sup>		21.	Mrs. Saltmarsh
9 <sup>th</sup>	Mrs. Saltmarsh ✓	- 16 <sup>th</sup>			Mrs. Farmer
	Mrs. Williams	- 19 <sup>th</sup>			J.K.W.
	Mrs. Murdoch				Jess ✓
10 <sup>th</sup>	J.K.W. ✓	- 24 <sup>th</sup>		Oct. 23.	J.K.W.
12 <sup>th</sup>	Mrs. Dickson ✓	- 24 <sup>th</sup>			Jess.
	C.T. M.	- 24 <sup>th</sup>			Mrs. Saltmarsh
15 <sup>th</sup>	Jess ✓	- 26 <sup>th</sup>		- 15	- 15
	Jess ✓	- 27 <sup>th</sup>		- 17	- 17
17 <sup>th</sup>	Mrs. Cator Woodville	- 31 <sup>st</sup>		- 13	- 13
	Lady Isabel ✓	- 30		- 26.	- 26
	Mrs. V. Johnston ✓			- 29	- 29
	Mrs. Saltmarsh ✓				
	Molly ✓	- 27			
	J.K.W. ✓	- 30 <sup>th</sup>			
20	Mrs. V. Johnston ✓	- 30 <sup>th</sup>			
24	Jess ✓	Aug 2 <sup>nd</sup>		Nov 3	Mrs. Saltmarsh
	Dawkins ✓	- 9 <sup>th</sup>		5	Mrs. Woodville
	Walker	July 27 <sup>th</sup>		5	J.K.W.
	J.K.W. ✓	Aug 4 <sup>th</sup>		5	C. J. Munkham
Sept 1 <sup>st</sup>	Pechell				
	W. L. L.				
	Mrs. Saltmarsh ✓	Aug 11 <sup>th</sup>			
Sept 5 <sup>th</sup>	M. ✓	Aug 13 <sup>th</sup>			
	J.K.W. ✓	Aug 14 <sup>th</sup>			
Sept 6.	Mrs. Murdoch				
8	Jess ✓	Aug 16 <sup>th</sup>			
	R.K.W.	- 21			
	J.K.W. ✓	- 21			
Sept 13	Mrs. Portman	- 22			
	Mrs. Dawkins				
	Mrs. Saltmarsh				
	Jess ✓				





RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON.



London & Brighton.



The Late Major-General EARLE.  
WILLIAM LUKS  
LONDON



GENL. LORD WOLSELEY.  
LONDON STEREOSCOPIC COMPY

COPYRIGHT.

## CABINET CARDS & PHOTOGRAPHS





CAPTAIN RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON.

**72 [BURTON (Captain Richard Francis).]  
[Portrait of Captain Richard Francis Burton.]**

Woodburytype oval portrait, mounted on paper, 271 by 205mm. [London], Lock and Whitfield, n.d. [1876].

A dedicated explorer, formidable linguist, a prolific author and translator, Captain Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890) is perhaps the most notorious of all those to have attempted to find the source of the Nile.

Burton made two attempts to find the source of the Nile. The first in 1855, which came to an abrupt end just outside of Berbera where his camp (which included Speke) was attacked. Supported by the Royal Geographical Society the Foreign Office, and the East India Company, which gave Burton two years' leave on full pay, his second expedition departed Zanzibar in December, 1856.

The crux of the expedition occurred at Tabora in May, 1858. Having discovered Lake Tanganyika (which he believed to be the source), Burton was fighting a lingering illness and decided to concentrate on his ethnographic studies while recuperating. Speke preferred to continue and they agreed that he would travel north. This was a fateful decision as it would lead to the discovery of Lake Victoria. With Burton opting to recuperate at Aden, Speke returned to England in advance and promised not to reveal the expedition's discovery until Burton joined him.

On arriving in England in May 1859, Burton was incensed to find that not only had Speke failed to keep his promise, but had taken the lion's share of the credit for the expedition as a whole, and had already received sponsorship for another expedition to satisfy the Nile question.

Of Speke, Burton wrote in his account of the expedition: "During the exploration he acted in a subordinate capacity; and as may be imagined amongst a party of Arabs, Baloch, and Africans, whose languages he ignored, he was unfit for any other but a subordinate capacity. Can I think fee otherwise than indignant, when I find that, after preceding me from Aden to England, with the spontaneous offer, on his part, of not appearing before the Society that originated the Expedition until my return, he had lost no time in taking measures to secure for himself the right of working the field which I had opened, and from that day he has paced himself *en evidence* as the *primum mobile* of an Expedition, in which he signed himself 'surveyor,'—*cujus pars minima fuit?*"

"The dispute between Burton and Speke became one of the most celebrated scholarly controversies of the nineteenth century. Although Speke can be faulted for his conduct, the episode ultimately did little credit to either man. As each sought to strengthen his own claims and diminish the other's, the scientific purpose of their labours, elucidation of the sources of the Nile, was obscured. Meanwhile they were incited by malicious individuals who found cruel sport in watching two famous explorers destroy each other's reputation" (ODNB).

Burton, R.F., *The Lake Regions of Central Africa* (London, 1860), p.ix.





**73** [GRANT (James Augustus)]  
MAYALL (John Jabez Edwin).  
[Captain James Grant carte de visite.]

Albumen print, 90 by 57mm, mounted on cardboard, 104 by 62mm. Lower corners trimmed, not affecting print. Grant's name in manuscript in pencil verso. London and Brighton, John Mayall, 1860s.

In 1846, Grant obtained a commission in the 8th native Bengal infantry and during his time in India he met John Hanning Speke, they became friends and hunted tigers together. In 1859, Speke invited him to join his expedition to confirm that Lake Victoria was the source of the Nile, a fact he was unable to conclusively establish on his expedition with Burton the preceding year. Grant travelled with Speke from Zanzibar to Cairo. The two were often separated and, in those instances, Grant had command of his section of the column. He collected some seven hundred species of plants along the way, eighty of which were unknown to the scientific establishment.

**74** [WOLSELEY (Garnet).]  
Genl. Lord Wolseley.

Cabinet card portrait. Albumen print portrait, 142 by 98mm, mounted on cardboard, 166 by 110mm. London, London Stereoscopic Company, c. 1856.

Garnet Wolseley (1833-1913), later Field Marshal Viscount Wolseley, was to become one of the most distinguished soldiers of the Victorian age. He devoted much energy to Army reform and organization, to such effect that the phrase "All Sir Garnet" became popular slang for "all correct."

Wolseley befriended Gordon when both men served in the Crimea. Having commanded the Egyptian Expedition of 1882, where he won battles at Kassassin and Tel-el-Kebir, in 1884, Wolseley was given command of the relief expedition to Khartoum, arriving too late to save his long-time friend.







**75** [EARLE (Major-General William)],  
LUKS (William).

**“The Late Major-General Earle.”**

Cabinet card portrait. Albumen print, 137 by 98mm, mounted on cardboard, 166 by 110mm. Photograph slightly faded, a few foxed spots. Manuscript description in pencil verso. London, William Luks, c. 1885.

Despite being commander of the Alexandria garrison, William Earle (1833-1885) was underestimated by his friend, Wolseley, and the commander of the Egyptian army, Evelyn Wood. Earle soon proved his worth with Wolseley commenting that he was “the most businesslike & reliable man I have on the Line of Commns.—I wish he had been at its head instead of dear puzzle-headed Evelyn Wood” (Preston).

He was rewarded with command of the Nile column and, despite being tasked with a punitive detour to avenge the killings of Colonel J.D.H. Stewart and Frank Power, reached Khartoum earlier than expected. At Kirbeka on 10 February, 1885, Earle led a successful attack against a large group of Mahdists. At the very last of the action, he was shot and killed.

Preston, A., ed., *In relief of Gordon: Lord Wolseley's campaign journal of the Khartoum relief expedition, 1884-1885* (London, 1967), p.85.